

THE PEACEFUL WAVE

靜靜的漣漪

A Study of the History of Ningbo 1820s-1949

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Introduction

The two opposite debating sides of China's modern history have been revolving around the core question concerning the West's impact on China's political, economic, and social changes, especially in the 19th and 20th century. One side regarded that before the arrival of the West, China's development, due to her own intrinsic reasons, was in a stagnant status; and it was firstly the West and then the later Westernised Japan who imposed necessary external influence upon China and subsequently triggered the latter's changes and evolution. On the contrary, the other side raised poignant or modest challenges towards the above claim. Someone stated that the external impact China received from the West and later Westernised Japan actually hindered China's independent evolution towards a modern society characterised by science, free trade, industrialisation and so forth. In addition, someone challenged the idea whether is it proper to judge the historical development of China by adopting a Western norm of evolution. Their researches also tended to prove that there had already been internal pivotal and substantive changes occurred in China before the arrival of the West.

The first group of scholars, who hold a positive attitude concerning China's external influence, includes the Stimulus/Response and the Tradition/Modernity paradigms. The Stimulus/Response model are proposed by John King Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yü, their paradigm emphasising the stimulating impact of the West in triggering and promoting China's political, economic and social changes in the 19th and

20th century. More specifically, Fairbank and Teng argue that the modern history of China was mainly shaped by its response, reform and revolution, towards the Western impact set upon it.¹ During the 1950s and 1960s, this paradigm had been widely applied into the study and research of China's modern history in the 19th and 20th century.

Apart from Fairbank and Teng's comment on China's modernity transition, this group also thought that China bears its own intrinsic reasons for its failure to successfully realise a variety of changes in the late 19th and the first 80 years of 20th century. Both Mary Wright, and Albert Feuerwerker argue that the failure of China's modernisation² in the 19th and early 20th century should not be ascribed to external factors, such as, its contact with the West, but instead some of China's own internal

¹ Ssu-yü Teng and John King Fairbank, *China's Response to the West : A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 2.

² It should be noted here that the term modernisation in this thesis will be defined as, a transition process which is reflected from three different perspectives. They are respectively from political, economic and social dimensions. Politically, it refers to a transition from an autocratic regime to a liberal democratic political institution, or more briefly to a limited government bounded by law and constitution. Economically, the transition from a limited or monopolist trade system into a free trade system which encourages individuals and institutions to freely exchange commodities, labour, intelligence, technology and so forth. No doubt, the economic transition also consisted of the industrialisation process with the application of enlightened ideas, science and mechanical technology in order to achieve mass-production. Socially, the transition reveals two points. Firstly, it is the individual liberty which refers to the guarantee of personal safety, the freedom to pursue personal happiness, the right of free assembly, and rational expression. So long as one will not intervene in other's liberty, his or her personal liberty could also be simultaneously granted by others. Secondly, conflicts within a society could be solved through an impartial judicial system, the operation of which will be independent from the intervention of the political authoritative regime.

reasons. For instance, Wright suggests, in her research on the Tongzhi restoration, that the reason for the failure of China's modernisation in 1860s and 1870s was due to the inner stability requirement of Confucian tradition³. In addition, Feuerwerker considers that the failure of China's modernisation effort in the late 19th century and early 20th century was the lack of an appropriate political system to constantly support modern technology innovation and application.^{4 5} Both Wright and Feuerwerker have pointed out that China needed to change its intrinsic political, economic and cultural characteristics, otherwise it could hardly achieve modernisation in the same way as had been previously achieved by a significant number of Western countries and Japan.

Within the stimulating side, and with regards to specific studies on Ningbo, there are researches dealing with the co-relationship between the prosperity/openness of coastline regions and China's central authority's governing capability. For instance, Lo Jung-pang claims that the sea power of China has a dynamic developing pattern. The prosperity of China's sea power tends to start with the emergence of coastline kingdoms and the corresponding decline of the central regime. The apogee of the sea

³ Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism; the T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874*, Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, (Stanford,: Stanford University Press, 1957), 312.

⁴ Albert Feuerwerker and Yu Heping (Translation) 虞和平 (译), *Zhongguo Zaoqi Gongyehua Shen Xuanhuai He Guandu Shangban Qiye 中国早期工业化 盛宣怀 (1844-1916) 和官督商办企业 [China's Early Industrialisation Sheng Hsuan-Huai (1844-1916) and Mandarin Enterprise]* (Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社, 1990 (1958)), 342.

⁵ Albert Feuerwerker, "Presidential Address: Questions About China's Early Modern Economic History That I Wish I Could Answer," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 4 (1992): 768-69.

power of China tends to be achieved at the time point when a new central authority has just formed. However, as the regime started to shift its focus towards land issues, its maritime power and outward developing trend subsequently started to decline. This historical pattern repeated and could be seen from the Southern Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties.⁶

The stability of local elites in Ningbo before the arrival of the West has been studied by Timothy Brook. Brook points out, during the Ming and Qing era and before the arrival of the West, Ningbo's local elites had been continuously monopolising cultural capital. This elite stratum in the mid of 19th century, as argued by Brook, was consolidated and hard to be challenged by the alliance between the local masses and the lower elites possessing merely wealth.⁷ Thus, there was in lack of an impulse for significant political, economic and social changes in the locality in the mid-19th century and the subject was not even mentioned the time point before.

⁶ Jung-pang Lo and Bruce A. Elleman, *China as a Sea Power, 1127-1368 : A Preliminary Survey of the Maritime Expansion and Naval Exploits of the Chinese People During the Southern Song and Yuan Periods* (Singapore; Hong Kong: NUS Press ; Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 339-43.

⁷ Timothy Brook, "Family Continuity and Cultural Hegemony: The Gentry of Ningbo, 1368-1911," in *Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance*, ed. Joseph Esherick, Mary Backus Rankin, and Joint Committee on Chinese Studies (U.S.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 49-50.

With regards to the start of a significant change in the locality after the West forced China to open itself up to the outside world, Zheng Xiaowei subtly observes the details of this transition via her research on the Taiping rebellion which occurred at the east of Zhejiang from 1851 to 1864. Zheng not only points out the divergence among local elites but also notices the power shifting in the locality from traditional cultural capital to modern economic capital. She contends that this power transition from cultural to economic capital paved the way for later political transition in the locality.⁸

An important endorsement towards the continuity of the Qing Empire was the support it received from the gentry social stratum in China proper. The gentry, when compared with commoners, enjoyed tax and judicial exemption and formed a privileged stratum of Chinese society in exchange for buttressing the monarchical regime.⁹ The term gentry here adopts the definition initiated by Chang Chung-Li who emphasised the requirement of passing imperial examination and holding Confucian literate degrees.¹⁰ However, by the mid-19th century, during and after the Taiping rebellion, the power of local elites had been shifting from the gentry's cultural capital to the newly rising up merchants' economic capital. This process had also triggered the start of the

⁸ Xiaowei Zheng, "Loyalty, Anxiety, and Opportunism: Local Elite Activism During the Taiping Rebellion in Eastern Zhejiang, 1851–1864," *Late Imperial China* 30, no. 2 (2009): 39.

⁹ S. E. Finer, *The History of Government from the Earliest Times*, 3 vols. (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), vol.3 1146-47.

¹⁰ Chung-li Chang and Franz Michael, *The Chinese Gentry, Studies on Thier Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society* (University of Washington Press, 1955), xvi-xvii.

crumbling of traditional gentry as a social stratum in China and the rise of the merchants who had involved themselves in and learned from Western countries' modernisation.

Lloyd E. Eastman, also a scholar from the stimulating faction, contends that it is somewhat unfair to blame and ascribe China's slow modernisation to Western imperialism. Eastman points out that imperialism was marginally responsible for China's slow modernisation, but the deeper reason lay elsewhere. In addition, Eastman also considers that China's modernisation from 1880s to 1949 was not so dismal, as is usually suggested, but impressive progress was achieved during this period.¹¹ Unfortunately, China's achievement at this time period had always been, if not deliberately neglected, at least significantly underestimated.

Eastman's argument is shared by R. Keith Schoppa. The latter, in his book *Chinese Elites and Political Change*, does not contend that there was no political progress in Zhejiang from 1913 to 1927, and the author does not regard the local elites at Zhejiang as betrayers of the 1911 revolution, but rather considered the local elites as having progressive features.¹² Schoppa observes that various kinds of elites, not only the traditional ones holding degree titles, but also the rising up ones with economic

¹¹ Lloyd E. Eastman, *Family, Fields, and Ancestors : Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550-1949* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 187-90.

¹² R. Keith Schoppa, *Chinese Elites and Political Change : Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* / R. Keith Schoppa (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1982), 3.

capital and professional expertise, were active in promoting the modernity transition at the provincial level during the first three decades of 20th century.¹³

With regard to the population mobility of Ningbo during the late Qing and early Republican era, Zhu Jvying's research shows that the mobilisation of Ningbo's population from 1889 to 1924, substantially increased. She contributes this result to the rise of Shanghai, for which the Western countries brought advanced technology and a model of economic management.¹⁴ Zhu also studied the rapid development of the maritime transportation between Ningbo and Shanghai during 1880s and 1920s.¹⁵

After briefly outlining the stance of the stimulating side, it is time to turn to the challenging side of the debate. The challenging side, as its counterpart, could also be subdivided into two groups: the Marxist approach and the China-Centric approach. The Marxist approach shares two underlying assumptions with the Stimulus/Response and Tradition/Modernity paradigms. Firstly, the development of China, before the arrival of the West, was in a stagnant status. Secondly, China's future will be based on a model of Western countries characterised by modern science, industrialisation, free trade and

¹³ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴ Zhu Jvying 竺菊英, "Lun Jindai Ningbo Renkou Liudong Jiqi Shehui Yiyi 论近代宁波人口流动及其社会意义," *Jianghai Xuekan 江海学刊* (1994): 134-35.

¹⁵ "Cong Jindai Ningbo Lunchuan Hangyunye De Chansheng He Fazhan Kan Yonghu Liangdi Jingji Hudong Guanxi 从近代宁波轮船航运业的产生和发展看沪甬两地经济互动关系," *Xueshu Yuekan 学术月刊*, no. 9 (1994): 58-60.

so forth. Nevertheless, the main divergence is that the Marxist approach scholars claim that the presence and influence of the West and Japan has encumbered China's independent progress towards modernity transition. Within this group, two representative scholars were James Peck and Frances V. Moulder.¹⁶

The second sub-group is the China Centric approach. Its critics towards the Stimulus/Response and Tradition/Modernity paradigms was not as poignant as the Marxist approach, however it also regarded that the external influence upon China from the West and Japan if not has hindered China's independent modernisation but had an insignificant impact upon it. This approach disapproved to observe the history of China from a Western perspective, instead by adopting an internal Chinese perspective so as to focus on important and substantive changes occurred inside China before the arrival of the West.

A landmark effort for this statement was Philip Kuhn's book *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China* published in 1970. Kuhn regards that during the late 18th and early 19th century, even before the first opium war in the 1840s, there had

¹⁶ Paul A. Cohen and Lin Tongqi (Translation) 林同奇 (译), *Zai Zhongguo Faxian Lishi Zhongguo Zhongxinguan Zai Meiguo De Xingqi* 在中国发现历史 中国中心观在美国的兴起 [Discovering History in China : American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past] (Beijing 北京: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe 社会科学文献出版社 [Social Sciences Academic Press], 1984 (2017)), 222-36.

already been underlying social changes occurring within Chinese society with regard to the formation of local militia institutions.¹⁷ This argument implicitly points out the idea that even without the impact from the West upon China, the latter still could independently have achieved a transition from its tradition to modernity all by itself.

In 1984, William T Rowe published his book, *Hankow, Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889*. By using Hankow as a case study, Rowe expresses his divergence from the Stimulus/Response paradigm's interpretation which argues for the inadequate development of Western style urban institutions had led to the 'backwardness' of Chinese cities. Instead, Rowe, adopting Hankow as an example which manifested the highest stage of indigenous development of Chinese urbanism, which, as Rowe argues, had been in existence before the city widely emulating and absorbing Western style modernisation in 1889.¹⁸

By the same token, trying to limit the impact caused by the West on China's modernity transition, Kenneth Pomeranz remarked in his book, *the Great Divergence*, published in 2000, that the West and the East actually shared a variety of similarities concerning their social and economic conditions up until almost 1800. However, the

¹⁷ Philip A. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China, Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864*, Harvard East Asian Series, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 1-10.

¹⁸ William T. Rowe, *Hankow : Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), 1 11 13-14.

West, due to its access to overseas colonies and coal, escaped from the fate of falling back into the labour-intensive economic growth which occurred at the East and upgraded instead into a capital-intensive economic growth.¹⁹ Pomeranz did not consider that there was a cultural advantage on the Western side which led them to achieve modernisation, for which China failed.

Paul A. Cohen summarised the dynamics of the scholarship of China's history study in his book, *Discovering History in China*, in which, he highlights the new researching trend, naming it the 'China centric approach'. Specifically, Cohen noted 4 characteristics of this new trend: 1, studying Chinese history from the Chinese rather than the Western context. 2, shifting from state level studies of China to regional ones. 3, from upper social echelon studies to lower ones. 4, actively adopting methodology from other academic fields.^{20 21}

With regard to the shift from state level to regional level research, G.W. Skinner firstly advocated studying the history of China in terms of different large physiographic

¹⁹ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence : China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, The Princeton Economic History of the Western World (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3-4.

²⁰ Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China : American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past*, Studies of the East Asian Institute (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 153-86.

²¹ Wang Qingjia 王晴佳, "Meiguo De Zhongguoxue Yanjiu Pingshu 美国的中国学研究评述," *Lishi Yanjiu 历史研究*, no. 6 (1993): 187-88.

“macro-regions” and observing the history of China from different local and regional perspectives.²² Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski further developed Skinner’s views. With regard to the lower Yangtze, the macro region which Ningbo belonged to, they remark that, this region is the most economically advanced region of China.²³ Specifically on Ningbo, it has been stated that, “Ningbo was a rising 18th century entrepot for coastal and overseas trade, especially with Japan.”²⁴

Susan Mann Jones’ research concerning local financial institutions of Ningbo was published in 1972. Jones considers that before the arrival of the modern Western banking system in Ningbo, the city had already possessed a strong autonomous tendency in terms of finance management. Through her study on Ningbo’s ‘*Qian Zhuang*’ as financial institutions in the locality covering the period from 1750 to 1880, Jones drew the conclusion that Ningbo’s banking system during the Qing dynasty enjoyed considerable autonomy in managing regional credit transfer by itself.²⁵

²² G. William Skinner, "Presidential Address: The Structure of Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011): 288.

²³ Susan Naquin and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 148.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

²⁵ Susan Mann Jones, "Finance in Ningpo: 'Ch'ien Chuang,' 1750-1880," in *Economic Organization in Chinese Society* ed. W. E. Willmott (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972), 77.

In 1977, Shiba Yoshinobu thoroughly reviewed the history of Ningbo from its emergence during the Qin and Han dynasty as a town, then to its moving from the old town to its present city position during the 8th century, and finally to the city's prosperity during the 19th century before the arrival of the West. Shiba has compared and analysed historical evidence recorded in a variety of gazetteers of Ningbo compiled during the Song, Ming, Qing dynasties and the Republic era.²⁶ Shiba tries to make clear and highlight the city's economic vitality before the West arrived.

Mary Backus Rankin also claims that the pre 1908 progressive intellectual revolutionists at Zhejiang had received influence from the Chinese traditional concept of the self-sacrificing hero. In addition, these revolutionists eagerly seek to gain the internal endorsement from local secret societies.²⁷ Rankin, to some extent, tries to emphasise the internal impulse for China's modernity transition, simultaneously distancing China's revolution in the early decade of 20th century away from the impact it received from the West and the Westernised Japan.

²⁶ Yoshinobu Shiba, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner and Hugh D. R. Baker, Studies in Chinese Society (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1977), 391-439.

²⁷ Mary Backus Rankin, "The Revolutionary Movement in Chekiang: A Study in the Tenacity of Tradition," in *China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913*, ed. Mary Wright (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968), 319-20.

Yue Chengyao has conducted a series of thorough researches concerning the history of Ningbo in the late 19th and early 20th century. Yue's researches paid special attention to the function and significance of the anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism while constructing his narrative and interpretation.²⁸ Yue also contends that, Ningbo merchants' activities were not motivated by their will to generate wealth, but revolved around the patriotic requirement and the contradiction between imperialism and Chinese nationalism.²⁹ Yue's research bears the characteristics of a Marxist approach and mainly focuses on the impediment that the Western imperialism inflicted on the historical development of Ningbo, from which Sun Shangen, as a younger generation scholar than Yue, tended to shift away.

Sun Shangen's most important research is concerned with the charity endeavour in Ningbo during the Republic era. Sun argues that the period, from 1912 to 1936, was the most energetic era for the development of charitable activities and charity groups in the locality.³⁰ Sun, by thoroughly researching local gazetteers, local newspapers/magazines, and pamphlets published by charity organisations, claims that the rise of merchants provided the underlying impulses which contributed to the

²⁸ Yue Chengyao 乐承耀, *Ningbo Jindai Shigang 1840-1919 宁波近代史纲 1840-1919* (Ningbo 宁波: Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 1999), 62.

²⁹ "Jindai Ningbo Shangren Yu Shehui Jingji 近代宁波商人与社会经济," (Beijing 北京: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社, 2007), 404.

³⁰ Sun Shangen 孙善根, *Minguo Shiqi Ningbo Cishan Shiye Yanjiu 1912-1936 民国时期宁波慈善事业研究 1912-1936* (Beijing 北京: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社, 2007), 8.

prosperous development of Ningbo's charity endeavours. Compared with Yue's studies which focused on the Western imperialism's impediment upon the development of local society, Sun's studies had pushed the researching edge ahead and shifted the academic emphasis from the topic of anti-imperialism towards the internally energetic dynamics of local society itself, especially the significance of economic development and the important function of local merchants in the various local charitable activities.³¹

By the same token, Chen Cun, Sun Shangen's master student, conducted thorough research on the Riverside Girls Academy, a female missionary education institution at Ningbo. Chen's research is ground-breaking with regard to the use of the primary sources concerning Riverside Girls Academy restored at Ningbo archives. In her thesis, Chen considers the gradual 'localization' process of the Riverside Girls Academy as being successful. For 'localization', Chen refers this term to 'Sinification' and gradual reduction of the impact of Christianity upon the school.³² Disagreeing with Chen in her argument, this thesis holds a different interpretation towards these historical evidences with regard to the development of Riverside Girls Academy and will argue instead that the so called 'localization' process was actually a failure and conducive to,

³¹ Ibid., 18-26.

³² Chen Cun 陈存, "Jindai Zhongguo Jiaohui Xuexiao Bentuhua De Nuli Jiqi Chengxiao 近代中国教会学校本土化的努力及其成效" (Ningbo University 宁波大学, 2014), 155.

if not the disappearance, but the downfall and insignificance of the missionary education institution.

Compared with Yue's study, Sun and Chen's researches have shifted the focus from ideological debate at state level to the development of local society. This is no mean achievement in the scholarship of the history of Ningbo, however, both Sun and Chen have tried to maximise the importance of locally occurring indigenous changes towards economic and social changes, while simultaneously undermining the stimulating external impacts upon local society from outside world. Their researches, while not neglecting, nevertheless underestimated the significant impacts from the West and Westernised Japan upon Ningbo's economic and social development.

Feng Xiaocai published an article in 2008 and systematically reviewed the academic literature and historical resources concerning the study of Ningbo's history in the 19th and 20th century. Feng listed three main categories of resources concerning the modern history of Ningbo which scholars had frequently used: 1, the early research on trading enterprises conducted by missionaries, 2, local gazetteers, 3, Zhejiang

custom reports. Feng, in his conclusion, remarked that there is still potential space for discovering more documentary resources concerning the historical study of Ningbo.³³

This thesis, apart from using the three main historical resources mentioned above by Feng, will also adopt new primary sources found at, the First Historical Archives of China (FHAC) in Beijing, Gale database, and the Ningbo's local Municipal Archives (NA). Research will proceed from both state and local society level. Firstly, with regard to the state level, there are memorial communications of the bureaucratic institution founded in FHAC. Secondly, with regard to local society, there are resources from the Gale database concerning the Western missionary's endeavours in Ningbo in the late Qing and early Republican era. In addition, there are also historical materials related to local institutions founded at NA. These historical resources demonstrate the West and Japan's stimulating impacts on the local society's economic and social changes.

The reason why the 1820s have been chosen as the start of this research is due to that the West had not formally arrived at that time and had not imposed its treaty port system upon Ningbo. The end of the research is 1949, at which time, the Chinese

³³ Feng Xiaocai 冯筱才, "Jindai Ningbo Quyu Lishi Yanjiu De Shiliao Wenti: Yi Difang Wenxian Wei Zhongxin 近代宁波区域历史研究的史料问题: 以地方文献为中心," *Zhejiang Shehui Kexue 浙江社会科学*, no. 1 (2008): 95.

Communist Party had defeated its Nationalist opponent and successfully established its regime. Thereafter, the new regime decided to utterly sweep out the Western influence from the mainland of China. So, from 1820s to 1949, the dynamic of the impact from the West and the Westernised Japan upon the locality could be observed as a complete course from beginning, increasing, decreasing, and to the ending.

This thesis does not aim to illustrate comprehensive research on Ningbo's history in the 19th and early 20th century. It lacks both the width of historical materials and the depth of interpretation capability from the author. Instead with the discovery of a few new primary sources at the state and local society level, this thesis will try to examine the gradual declining trend of the state level influence over the local development during most of the 19th century, and how a few local institutions at the society level responded to their own opportunities and difficulties during the Republican era while a newly authoritative regime gradually emerged. This thesis will also suggest that academic scholarship concerning the study of Ningbo's history had underestimated the West's and the Westernised Japan's stimulating impacts over Ningbo's economic and social development during the late Qing and early Republican era.

In addition, Hu Sheng claims that the history of China experienced a dark phase during the late Qing and the post 1911 era.³⁴ This thesis disagrees with Hu's statement and suggests an opposite conclusion, that the late Qing and post 1911 (roughly the end of 1880s till the beginning of 1930s, especially the central phase covering the two decades from 1900 to 1920) was, at least for Ningbo, a safe, prosperous and progressive period for the economic and social development. This study will suggest that the last two decades of the Qing dynasty (1890 to 1911) and the early two decades of the Republican era (1912 to 1927) witnessed a prosperous development of, at least, a few local institutions at the society level. On the contrary, the two ends of the time span examined (1820s to 1890, and 1927 to 1949) either see no development of local institutions or that the development of these institutions had been inhibited by the authoritative regimes, the central government of firstly the Qing Empire and then the Nationalist Party.

³⁴ Hu Sheng 胡繩, "The Issues of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Industrialization in the 1911 Revolution," in *The 1911 Revolution in China : Interpretive Essays*, ed. Shinkichi Etō and Harold Z. Schiffrin (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1984), 27.

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Chapter 1 南田禁山 Closed Mountains in Nantian

1.1 Abstract

In the second half of the 19th century, after the imposition of the free trade institution by the West upon China, a significant number of successful stories of overseas Chinese demonstrates that free migration can create economic opportunities for Chinese to accumulate their own wealth and become prosperous. Even before the confrontation between China and the West in the 1840s, there had already been small scale individual-initiated migrations occurring in various areas of China. This chapter will examine an illegal migration case in 1822/1823 which occurred at a few of islands off the coast of Ningbo, with the reference of official memorials concerning the investigation of the case. It will show the bureaucratic institutions of the Qing Empire's responses towards the migration case, more precisely the divergence between senior and junior officials concerning whether to allow or prohibit the self-initiated migration.

1.2 Introduction

The substantial population growth in China during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties has been thoroughly studied by Ho Ping-ti.³⁵ Ho states that, by the first half of 19th century, the population pressure over land in China proper,

³⁵ Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953*, Harvard East Asian Studies, (Cambridge,: Harvard University Press, 1959).

especially the Yangtze region, was acute.³⁶ The substantial population growth in China proper consequentially led to internal and external migration. Researches concerning China's inner migration include Stephen C. Averill's work on shed people who had settled up in the highland of the Yangtze region.³⁷

Apart from that, overseas migration also displays Chinese people's efforts since the 15th century to adapt themselves to the rapidly changing and economically connected external world. Overseas Chinese migration also became the vanguard of China, not only to connect with, but also comprehend the distinct external world. Inevitably, this led Chinese tradition and norms to an interaction, sometimes even clash with the modern free trade system and the Western Christianity culture.

Wang Gungwu points out that there is an important academic debate in the scholarship concerning the identity of Chinese overseas migrants, which is whether Chinese like other migrants assimilated into the immigrant society, or after leaving their home country, they still keep their original identity as a Chinese.³⁸ On one side of the debate, Lynn Pan, in her book *Sons of the Yellow Emperor*, reviews the history of the Chinese Diaspora from 1500 till the 1980s. She points out and emphasises the sense of

³⁶ Ibid., 168.

³⁷ Stephen C. Averill, "The Shed People and the Opening of the Yangzi Highlands," *Modern China* 9, no. 1 (1983).

³⁸ Gungwu Wang, *The Chinese Overseas : From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 39.

the overwhelming and irresistible feeling of belonging and identity among the overseas Chinese.³⁹

As a response to Pan Lynn's argument, Li Minghuan contends that it is an inevitable trend for migrated Chinese to assimilate into the local community, with a specific case study on overseas Chinese in Indonesia during the 19th century.⁴⁰ Adam Mckeown in 2010 also advocates considering the Chinese diaspora from a broader historical perspective rather than merely focusing on the dimension of nation-state.⁴¹ Mckeown argues that it was the general economic growth in Southeast Asia, the expansion of global markets, and the economic networks across the Pacific which preconditioned the large volume Chinese of overseas migration in the latter half of the 19th century.⁴² This indicates that it was the economic growth in this area which attracted the Chinese migrating population.

Philip Kuhn reviews the emigration of Chinese after the lifting of a long-standing imperial ban on private maritime trade in 1567. Kuhn argues that in the

³⁹ Lynn Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: A History of the Chinese Diaspora*, Kodansha Globe (New York: Kodansha International, 1994), 379.

⁴⁰ Minghuan Li, "From Sons of the Yellow Emperor to Children of Indonesian Soil: Studying Peranakan Chinese Based on the Batavia Kong Koan Archives," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34, no. 2 (2003): 215-16.

⁴¹ Adam McKeown, "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842 to 1949," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (2010): 331.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 313-15.

following five centuries, China inexorably connected to the outside world, in which process, Chinese migrants played a significant and sometimes decisive role.⁴³ However, the greatest wave of Chinese emigration actually occurred in the second half of the 19th century, which is also the time when the West forced China to open itself towards the outside world. From 1848 till 1888, more than two million people had moved to Southeast Asia, North America, and Australia from China.⁴⁴

Apart from migration itself, there is another academic debate with regard to the Qing government's changing attitude towards the migrating population. Philip Kuhn slightly discussed the topic of internal migration in his book, *the Chinese Among others*. In this Kuhn explored the attitude of the imperial state towards migration. He states that despite the fact that the Empire could tighten or loosen its regulations concerning migration for security or pragmatic reasons, ideologically the Empire preferred stable land tax collection and consequentially despised population movement and migration.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, since the beginning of the Qing till the end of the dynasty, the Empire's negative image concerning the overseas Chinese gradually changed. This trend has been noted and studied by Yen Ching-Hwang. Yen's view is that the image

⁴³ Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese among Others : Emigration in Modern Times, State and Society in East Asia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 3.

⁴⁴ Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor : A History of the Chinese Diaspora*, 43.

⁴⁵ Kuhn, *Chinese among Others : Emigration in Modern Times*, 17-22.

of emigrating Overseas Chinese held by the Qing Empire during its ruling period 1644-1911, gradually transformed from negative, to neutral, and finally positive.⁴⁶ This dynamic illustrates the phenomenon of the Empire gradually giving up its cultural defence and slowly acquiescing to the desire of its population to join into the external changing and economically connected world.

A modern society with material affluence requires an effective allocation between the land and the labour, the two most important pillars of productive resources. For achieving this end, no doubt, the population's free mobilisation is an imperative means. Comparing with the overseas long-distance migration, the short distance off coast island migration distinguishes itself quantitatively in the terms of distance, nevertheless it shares the identical underlying nature that both means aim at fulfilling the potential capability of the land and the labour so as to maximise their productive outcome.

Thus, this study will provide some newly discovered historical evidence related to the Qing Empire's responses towards short distance off coast island migration which occurred in Ningbo in the early 1820s. The time point was just before the formal arrival of the West in the 1840s, which subsequently forced China to open itself up to the

⁴⁶ Ching-Hwang Yen, "Ch'ing Changing Images of the Overseas Chinese (1644–1912)," *Modern Asian Studies* 15, no. 2 (1981): 282-85.

outside world. The tiny case in the locality implicitly reflects the bureaucratic institutions of the Qing Empire's attitudes towards a core question of whether opening the Empire up in the early 1820s and acquiescing its vast population to gradually engage into the rapidly economically connected external world. Apart from this, this chapter will also demonstrate the divergence among the bureaucratic institutions of the Qing government, more specifically the distinct responses towards the 1820s' individual-initiated migration case as between the senior and the junior officials.

1.3 Daoguang Emperor's warning decree

1822 was the second year of the Daoguang Emperor's reign. It was on the 22nd of the first lunar month of that year⁴⁷, just as celebrating people started to forget the smell and taste of the delicious foods of the New Year festival and the Daoguang Emperor had already started his burdensome effort to govern his vast Empire. On this particular day, the Emperor issued a decree to his senior officials posted in the southern-east provinces along the maritime border of China proper. These provinces constitute Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang. In the list of recipients was written the name of Shuai

⁴⁷ The 22nd of the first lunar month of 1822 is February 13th, 1822 within the solar calendar. Without specific indication, all months and dates mentioned in this thesis will follow the solar calendar.

Chengying. Shuai was then the Zhejiang provincial governor, the highest post centrally appointed within the province.⁴⁸

This was a warning decree through which the Emperor warned Shuai and the other senior provincial officials concerning the recent recurrence of sporadic piracy plundering which had happened along the coast of Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang provinces.⁴⁹ The piracy problem was not strange, but familiar to the Empire. Within this warning decree, Daoguang had reviewed the past experience concerning the operations conducted by the Empire towards anti-piracy. He mentioned that large-scale pirate fleets, under some strong ringleaders⁵⁰, had caused serious troubles for the government in the past.⁵¹ Taking these extremely unpleasant memories into consideration, the Emperor warned that similar threats should be nipped in the bud, rather than allowing these sporadic crimes to further develop into a large-scale rebellion.

⁴⁸ Daoguangchao Shangyu 道光朝上諭, "Shangyu, February 13th 1822 道光二年正月二十二日 上諭," in *Jiaqing Daoguang Liangchao Shangyudang Di 27 Ce 嘉慶道光兩朝上諭檔第二十七冊*, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社 [Guangxi Normal University Press]).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ The two pirate ringleaders, mentioned by the Daoguang Emperor within his decree, were Cai Qian (蔡牽) and Niao Shi (烏石) .

⁵¹ Daoguangchao Shangyu 道光朝上諭, "Shangyu, February 13th 1822 道光二年正月二十二日 上諭."

Shuai, after receiving the decree of warning from the Emperor, immediately replied. He wrote a memorial at the end of March 1822,⁵² confidently promising to His Majesty that, even though there was a reappearance of small-scale piracy plundering activities, those crimes would not be allowed to expand into a large-scale rebellion.⁵³ Shuai's account shows his confidence in his ability to pacify the off-coast piracy and keep them under control. However, after more than a month's time, Shuai reconsidered the situation and sent a second memorial to the Daoguang Emperor, reporting back to His Majesty with more detailed information of what had occurred in the locality. This time, the memorial was not short.

1.4 Nantian Islands and the tradition of Qing Empire's closed policy

The detailed second memorial was written in June of 1822, jointly by Shuai and his immediate superior, the viceroy, Qing Bao, who was then in charge of the administration over Fujian and Zhejiang.⁵⁴ It was the first time that the name of Nantian

⁵² A memorial is a kind of official document written by local officials to the Emperor for reporting purposes. Officials must write in black ink. After reading the reports, based on the Emperor's analysis and judgment, he would write down comments and suggestions on the memorial with vermilion ink. Then the memorial would be sent back to local officials who technically must carry on his work, following the suggestions or orders from the Emperor.

⁵³ Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Zunzhi Yanchi Shuishi Yuanbian Shili Jibu Bingling Difang Wenwu Fangfan Kouan Yijing Haiyang Gongzhe Fuzou Yangqi Shengxun Shi 奏為遵旨嚴飭水師員弁實力緝捕並令地方文武防範口岸以靖海洋恭摺覆奏仰祈聖訓事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-01-0626-0038, March 30th 1822 道光二年三月初八).

⁵⁴ Qing Bao 閩浙總督慶保 and Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Zhesheng Nantian Difang Lijiu Fengjin Dalue Qingxing Niwei Dayuan Qianwang Quekan Shi 奏為浙省南田地方曆久封禁大略情形擬委大員前往確勘事," (FHAC Memorial with Vermillion

was mentioned. Nantian consists of several islands lying off the coast of Xiangshan county, Ningbo Prefecture and if directly translated into English, the name literally means the southern field. Combining the few main islands of Nantian together there is a total of approximately 37,000 acres of land. As Nantian's peripheral geographical position poses a severe threat to the central ruling government of China, both Ming and Qing regimes enforced rigid prohibition policies to prevent the islands from being freely cultivated by migrants.

Technically, these islands were under the governance of the officials who were in charge of Ningbo Prefecture; however, the eastern, western and southern part of these islands are all surrounded by sea so these maritime areas were technically under the administration of Taizhou Prefecture.⁵⁵ Since there was no specific and clear administrative division of responsibility between prefecture-level officials, governing chaos and administrative anarchy were normal. In other words, Nantian and its vicinity became an ideal hiding place for populations who had escaped from official taxation and made their living beyond the governing spheres of officials, engaging in illegal activities such as smuggling or piracy.

Comments (MVC) 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-22-0044-038, June 16th 1822 道光二年四月二十七日).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Another serious problem confronted by Shuai concerning Nantian was that, according to the previous policy of the Qing Empire, Nantian should be a completely forbidden area where migration was not allowed. Nevertheless, the closed policy was completely ignored by illegal migrants who rushed in, cultivated land, and settled there.⁵⁶ The history of the closed policy towards Nantian could be traced back to the period of Yuan/Ming dynasty transition in the mid-14th century. At that time, there were pirates who had established their base area on the Nantian islands. Zhu Yuanzhang, the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, after establishing his regime over China Proper in 1368, adopted a scorched earth policy (a closed policy) as a response to the piracy problem in Nantian and ordered the area to be completely closed. Later, in practice, local fishermen were permitted to land on these islands, build simple shelters, and dry their fishing nets there during the spring and autumn fishing seasons. However, according to official regulations, these temporary settlers were obliged to leave at the end of each fishing season and their simple shelters on the islands were required to be demolished.⁵⁷

To the Qing dynasty, enclosing land and preventing people from free migration as a policy had also started at the very beginning of its foundation after the banner troops of the Manchu regime occupied Beijing in 1644. In the following decades, there

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

were several Ming loyal officials who initiated resistance in the South of China Proper against the south-marching troops of the Manchu regime. No doubt, off-coast islands in the south of China provided a natural shelter for these anti-Manchu resistances. Ningbo's Zhang Cangshui was one of these loyal Ming officials who actively organised local defence against the Manchu regime. According to a historical narrativity in the locality, as Zhang's resistance failed, he fled to and hid on Huaao, an island among the Nantian Islands. Although this provided Zhang with a temporary shelter; he was finally captured in 1664 and was subsequently sent to Hangzhou where he was executed by the Manchu regime.^{58 59}

The newly formed Manchu central government launched coastal evacuations at Ningbo and other strategic coastal sites in the 1660s, as a response to these off-coast military resistance operations. These evacuation operations were established in order to fight against the pro-Ming resistance.⁶⁰ In addition, The Empire also adopted land prohibition policies in Manchuria. By this, the Manchu elites tried to protect their unique ethnic life custom which granted them unparalleled military advantages over

⁵⁸ Ningboshi Xiangshan Nantian Huaaodao Zhang Cangshui Jinianguan 寧波市象山南田花畧島張蒼水紀念館, *Ningboshi Xiangshan Nantian Huaaodao Zhang Cangshui Jinianguan* 寧波市象山南田花畧島張蒼水紀念館 (Visited on March 18th 2018 於 2018 年 3 月 18 日參觀).

⁵⁹ Zhang Huangyan 張煌言, *Zhang Cangshui Ji 張蒼水集* (Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1985), 247.

⁶⁰ Susan Naquin and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 148.

ethnic Han populations. For this, a Willow Palisade was established in 1681 along the border of present-day Liaoning and Jilin provinces.^{61 62}

Technically, the rationale of the closed policy towards Nantian was that a closed Nantian deprived pirates and potential government challengers of any meaningful resources for plundering and nutrition. These dissident groups would not be able to obtain provisions, water supply or trade opportunities from the Nantian Islands. In addition, it was rather convenient for army officials to investigate piracy movements or other resistance actions on these islands, since there was no need for soldiers to strenuously identify illegal pirates and potential rebellious forces from legal farmers and fishermen. According to the closed policy, anyone inhabiting here was automatically considered a criminal and rule breaker. Empire soldiers could catch and punish them without any hesitation.

The closed policies were decided by the central authority due to the consideration of their own interests. It worked for the government, but not for the ordinary people. The government did not want confrontations with any sort of organisations that would compete with them for the legitimate ruling position, and the

⁶¹ Leslie T. Chang, *Factory Girls : From Village to City in a Changing China*, 1st ed. (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2008), 127.

⁶² Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953*, 159.

Nantian Islands were beyond the effective administrative sphere of the government. From a purely financial perspective the government's investment in administration over Nantian was not worth the revenue extracted from it and consequently the imbalance between input and outcome led the central authority to make the decision to close the area. Simultaneously, the closed policy pushed up the land price in other places of the Empire which subsequently caused extra difficulties and hardship for ordinary people.

Even worse for the central authority, islands like Nantian provided perfect support for the development of potential competing organisations which could easily challenge the legitimate ruling power of the Empire. Scores of pirates may not have been a particular worry for the central authority, whereas any organisation with ten thousand members was a threat to the prefecture government; with one hundred thousand members, an organisation could hold a strong base area in any province of the Empire; with one million members, it would have been strong enough to overthrow the ruling government. Most probably it was this kind of potential development of opposition forces which caused the central authority a great deal of concern.

The condition of Nantian then may have provided the conditions leading to a development along just this track, thus deeply perturbing the Emperor. Shuai, in his June 1822 memorial, estimated that, at that time there were approximately four to five thousand settlers farming at Nantian, and the real figure of the settled population might

have been even higher than this estimation.⁶³ It was clear that the problem of Nantian had already developed beyond the range of sporadic crimes. There was the possibility that this case, if improperly handled, might further expand into a large-scale disturbance in the locality. Most probably with this in mind Shuai discussed this case with his immediate superior, Qing, and they then jointly decided to report the case to the Emperor at great length.

1.5 The swing between the opening up and the closed policy

In the June memorial, it seems that Qing and Shuai tried to figure out the attitude of the Daoguang Emperor towards the case of Nantian. Within their report, they reviewed court discussions concerning Nantian. In the past, there were two distinctive stances: the opening up and the closed policy. Qing and Shuai stated that the scorched earth policy (the closed policy) had been conducted ever since the early Ming dynasty. However, probably due to individuals' eagerness for land, the masses always secretly moved in, settled and began their cultivation of the land.⁶⁴

During the Yongzheng and Qianlong eras (from 1723 to 1735 and 1736 to 1796 respectively), on several occasions local officials petitioned to open up this closed area

⁶³ Qing Bao 閩浙總督慶保 and Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Zhesheng Nantian Difang Lijiu Fengjin Dalue Qingxing Niwei Dayuan Qianwang Quekan Shi 奏為浙省南田地方曆久封禁大略情形擬委大員前往確勘事."

⁶⁴ Ibid.

for free settlement. However, in 1752, the discussion ended regrettably with an insistence on the closed and prohibited policy.⁶⁵ The reason given for this decision was that administrating efforts would not bring benefits to the Empire. Instead it would merely cost a great amount of money for the Empire with regard to the arrangement of officials and soldiers.⁶⁶ Clearly, this was an argument solely from the perspective of the government. Nantian had very little significance to the central authority, whereas to the ordinary and impoverished local people these plots of land probably meant the opportunity to avoid starving to death.

For the impoverished people, settling in Nantian was a precious opportunity by which they could achieve a better living standard with their own labour and hard work. Their farming would produce more stock for the local market, and through trade and exchanges, the general welfare of the whole local community would improve accordingly. On the other hand, the prohibition policy not only created no wealth for the local community, but it also hindered the allocation of resources in the most efficient way, especially concerning two most important pillars of production, the land and the

⁶⁵ Qing Shilu 清实录, "Daqing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu Juan 412 Qianlong 17 Nian 4 Yue Shang 大清高宗純皇帝實錄 卷 412 乾隆十七年四月上 " in *Qing Shilu 清实录* (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館), 16-18.

⁶⁶ Qing Bao 閩浙總督慶保 and Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Zhesheng Nantian Difang Lijiu Fengjin Dalue Qingxing Niwei Dayuan Qianwang Quekan Shi 奏為浙省南田地方曆久封禁大略情形擬委大員前往確勘事."

labour. The rigid prohibition policies of the Qing government caused the extra supply of both elements to be wasted and unproductive.

Now, it seems that the old discussion repeated itself again in the roughly 70 years since 1752. If His Majesty preferred to adopt a more reforming and quasi-modern policy, with the rationale of respecting individual's will of free migration, and granted an opening up of these islands, this case would be relatively easy to deal with. However, Qing and Shuai clearly understood that, if the Emperor preferred a conservative closed policy concerning stability, it would be their duty to manage to solve this tough situation or at least pretend to do so.

After receiving the memorial written by Shuai and Qing in June, the Daoguang Emperor made comments with his vermilion pen that, "This is the kind of problem which must be solved. You (referring to Qing and Shuai) should investigate this case thoroughly and figure out a proper solution regarding it for the sake (of the stability of the Empire) in the long term. Noted this case reported by you."⁶⁷ From these comments, Daoguang did not give Shuai a clear indication; however, as he wrote down more comments than the normal simple one, "Noted", used frequently by himself and his ancestors, he clearly showed his special attention on this case. Clearly, he personally

⁶⁷ Ibid.

had a very limited impact on the specific case which he now left to the Empire's bureaucratic institution.

Apart from civil officials, Daoguang also received reports from Wang Delu, a military official serving in the locality. Wang was then in charge of the local military defence of Zhejiang. In August 1822, he reported back the situation of the acts of piracy in February and March of that year and corresponding military operations carried out by the government. According to Wang's report, some pirate ringleaders had allegedly been captured. However, it seems that Daoguang was not really interested in his report. He simply commented that it was, "Noted".⁶⁸ Now, to the Emperor, the underlying nature for these piracy problems was not a simple criminal case, but a potential challenge towards the stability of the central authority, which was closely related to the concerns of social and civil administration. Probably due to this, the reports from those civil officials, Qing and Shuai, were now more important to the Emperor.

On 7th August 1822, two days after Wang wrote his report, Shuai's immediate boss, Qing Bao, the viceroy in charge of two provinces, privately wrote a memorial to Daoguang, specifically pointing out that the Nantian problem was complicated. He

⁶⁸ Wang Delu 浙江提督王得祿, "Zouwei Gongbao Nucai Duhu Yuqijun Shi Bing Xuncha Yangmian Pingjing Huiying Xunlian Riqi Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為恭報奴才督護漁期竣事並巡查洋面平靜回營訓練日期仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-01-626-26, August 5th 1822 道光二年六月十九日).

hoped that more time could be granted to him and Shuai. His view was that the illegal migration was mainly driven by individual's eagerness for land and if the reclosing of these islands was to be insisted upon, he believed other arrangements should be prepared in advance for these settlers as otherwise, radical and rigid government operations might lead to crimes or even local disturbances.⁶⁹

Viceroy Qing advocated making a temporary compromise with the illegal settlers on Nantian islands. He proposed to first ensure the uncultivated land was closed and then to undertake registration of all the cultivated land. Qing promised Daoguang that capable officials had already been sent to these islands to undertake investigations and that if there was any development and progress His Majesty would be immediately notified. Daoguang, after reading this memorial, simply commented that it was, "Noted",⁷⁰ without any explicit instruction to be followed.

When signing their title and name on their memorials to the Emperor, there was a difference between Qing and Shuai. Shuai would sign using the term, 'your subject, Shuai'. Whereas Qing would sign using the term, 'your slave, Qing'. This indicated

⁶⁹ Qing Bao 閩浙總督慶保, "Zouwei Zunzhi Chicui Niesi Kanban Zhejiang Xiangshanxian Nantian Jinshan Kendi Youmin Andun Fangshou Shi 奏為遵旨飭催臬司勘辦浙江象山縣南田禁山墾地遊民安頓防守事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-0624-009, August 7th 1822 道光二年六月二十一日).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

that Qing's personal relationship towards the Emperor, compared with his counterpart Shuai, was much closer and more intimate. Qing was a personal slave to Daoguang so the Emperor could put more trust in him, unlike the ethnic Han officials with whom he needed to deal with great vigilance. Due to this, if Qing petitioned Daoguang for more time regarding this problem, the Emperor probably could be slightly relaxed and would not need to immediately link this case with an ethnic intrigue against the ruling Manchu ethnic group. The ethnic mistrust and conflict had always been a potential threat to the Manchu central government.⁷¹

Roughly two weeks after Qing wrote his private memorial to Daoguang, on 21st August 1822, Shuai reported further progress of the case back to the Emperor. In his memorial, he stated that when an official came, the vagrants would leave, but when the officials left, those vagrants would immediately return, which caused difficulty for the implementation of the reclosing policy. Without obvious new progress on this case, the Daoguang Emperor could only suppress his anxiety, keep patient and write down, "Noted".⁷²

⁷¹ Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers : The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 53.

⁷² Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Zunzhi Weipai Zhejiang Anchashi Zhu Guizhen Qinfu Nantian Fengjin Shanchang Chakan Bing Qicheng Riqi Shi 奏為遵旨委派浙江按察使朱桂楨親赴南田封禁山場查勘並起程日期事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-0626-022, August 21st 1822 道光二年七月五日).

The Emperor had probably already become used to this kind of hollow feeling as with many other memorial cases he had experienced before. Daoguang worried deeply about the stability of his Empire which had been established and consolidated by his ancestors. However, when dealing with specific cases, he could merely perceive his weakness. He was the Emperor and, although it was to him that all his subordinate officials had to express obedience, brief vital issues, and beg for insightful instructions, he could hardly tackle any problem by himself other than by quietly sitting in the Forbidden City, like a Buddha, to receive worship and reverence. In all probability the only option for him was relying on his officials to figure out problems on his behalf.

The only act which the Emperor could perform was to punish incapable officials by replacing them with others, but this was the last resort for him. Without a systematic reform of the administrative institution, the newly appointed official probably still could not solve the underlying origin of the problem. Many knots of problems were far beyond any single official's personal capability or moral character to unravel. It is very likely that a better choice for the Emperor was simply keeping neutral, calm, and patient, showing a kind of silent prestige to his subordinate officials, forcing them to finish or pretend to finish their work on behalf of the Emperor himself.

Due to this the destiny of any problem was probably related to whether the Emperor would be bothered by this case again in the future or not. So long as a

troublesome case would not develop into chaos or large-scale rebellion the Emperor plausibly would be delighted to believe any successful result whatsoever reported to him by his ‘loyal’ and ‘competent’ officials.

Shuai Chengying mentioned in his August memorial that, he had already sent Zhu Guizhen, a junior official, to conduct an on the spot investigation.⁷³ Zhu conducted his investigation on September 8th, 1822 and reported back that sweet potato had been widely planted in Nantian. the figure of the cultivated land as 16,700 mu, and the figure of population as 6,400. Zhu mentioned that ‘Hooligans’ would regularly come to Nantian during the harvest season to forcibly collect planted grain from the settled population. Due to the land being officially prohibited from cultivation, these settlers did not dare to report the plundering case back to the officials. Zhu suggested the government send officials and soldiers to Nantian, in order to catch those ‘hooligans’, officially recognise the cultivated land in Nantian, and treat the private salt enterprise in Nantian as legal.⁷⁴

Zhu’s report explicitly inclined to an opening up policy option, which was more practical and reasonable than the closed one previously imposed by the central authority.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Zhu Guizhen 朱桂楨, "Lun Nantianshan Kaikenzhuang 論南田山開墾狀," in *Weiyuan Quanji Di 15 Ce Huangchao Jingshi Wenbian* 魏源全集 第十五冊 皇朝經世文編 (Yuelu Shushe 嶽麓書社, 1822), 47-50.

In addition, Zhu's opening up proposal, to a large extent, expressed the appeal from the local population. This could be seen from a comment made on Zhu's proposal by Chen Hanzhang, an influential scholar and historian from Xiangshan county in the later Republican era. Chen highly praised Zhu's report, commenting that it had been thoroughly planned and practical, and suggesting that its excellence would endure.⁷⁵ The only problem was that Zhu was merely a junior official and his petition needs to gain the support and acknowledgement from the senior officials and the Emperor.

1.6 Shuai's final decision

Although Zhu's proposal illustrated the expectation from locality, his senior leader, Shuai, after reading it, drew a different conclusion. Shuai, after reading Zhu's report, wrote a memorial to the Emperor in January 1823. It mentioned that 6 officials and 400 soldiers had been sent to undertake the investigation. There were local leaders in Nantian, called '*Lao Ben*'. They had settled there first, acclaimed themselves the owners of the land on Nantian, and then actively recruited newcomers from their native villages. Later comers were not allowed to freely cultivate land by themselves but had to rent land from *Lao Ben* and pay back a rental fee⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ Chen Hanzhang 陳漢章, "Nantianshan Zazhi 南田山雜誌," in *Chen Hanzhang Quanji Di 13 Ce 陳漢章全集 第十三冊* (Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社), 774.

⁷⁶ Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Weiyuan Fucha Ningbo Taizhou Lianjie Nantian Fengjin Difang Siken Hukou Ji Yikai Dimu Shizai Shumu Shi 奏為委員複查寧波台州連界南田封禁地方私墾戶口及已開地畝實在數目事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-0624-033, January 10th 1823 道光二年十一月二十九日).

Lao Ben, to some extent, drew parallels with the plantation owners in the American South before the Civil War, and it seems that *Lao Ben*, being utterly beyond the effective administration of the central authority, had assumed the governing responsibility on Nantian and created a little kingdom there. It deserves to be noted that, all these efforts aimed at softening the acute conflicts between the shortage of land and the rapidly increasing population pressure, thus, achieving a sound allocation with regard to labour and land, as productive resources.

Shuai followed Zhu's report on the number of the settled population and reported that there were approximately 6,000 people living on Nantian islands. Obviously, it would be impossible for Shuai to forcefully move 6,000 settlers out of this area if he were to rely on the physical force of merely 400 soldiers and a single official document. The condition of Nantian was far beyond the capabilities of the civil and military forces of the Qing government in Zhejiang. Due to this, a rational and practical decision would be to respect the individual will of free migration and to implement an opening up policy towards Nantian.

However, to some extent, this memorial modestly illustrated the fact that Shuai had decided to side with the closed stance and proposed to solve this problem in a subtle but conservative way. According to Shuai's suggestion, he proposed to split up the 6,000 population. Obviously, it was impossible to forcefully push all these migrants out,

but it would be easy to do so with a small group of people. Shuai suggested that severe punishment should be imposed upon the small group of leaders who took the initiative in this series of settlements which would thus become a warning to the following masses. As a result, Shuai chose *'Lao Ben'*, those vanguard settlers on Nantian, as the scapegoats of his action.⁷⁷

Another circumstance which increased Shuai's confidence in solving this problem was that the most of these migrants only worked on the islands for the farming season from spring to autumn. After the autumn harvest, they would return to join their families in Ningbo or Taizhou prefectures and spend the whole wintertime and the immediately following spring festival at home. Since there were relatively fewer people living on the islands during the wintertime, this provided a precious opportunity for Shuai to reclose the mountain area again. By then a proportion of the population would have left these islands and the problem would be relatively much easier to deal with. Shuai proposed his solutions to the Emperor, begging for permission to recheck the population in the winter. After reading Shuai's memorial, Daoguang commented that, "I have a further imperial decree for your action."⁷⁸ It seems that Daoguang also thought that Shuai's plan might have a chance.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

22 days later, on February 1st, 1823, Daoguang issued his decree to Shuai, technically agreeing with the plan proposed by his official, to punish *Laoben* and expel the rest of the settler population in the winter. Interestingly, at the very end of Daoguang's decree, he warned his official that, on the one hand, the poor people should be properly resettled and prevented from being homeless; on the other hand, there should be no hiding places left for those unscrupulous people, such as bandits, pirates, and gangsters.⁷⁹ However, the paradoxical point here was that those two kinds of people clearly distinguished by the Daoguang Emperor himself, just like white paper and black ink, were to some extent actually on the same spectrum. The Emperor interpreted this case based on his imagination which may not have been the reality in Nantian.

After receiving the permission from the Emperor, Shuai immediately went into action. If he wanted to put his proposal into practice, the lunar spring festival of 1823 probably would not be an easy and comfortable period for him. It was in this winter that he needed to expel all the 'illegal' settlers in Nantian and reclose these islands. At the same time, a new viceroy, Zhao Shenzhen would be appointed to Zhejiang replacing Qing Bao. Shuai also had to carry out preparations to welcome his new immediate boss.

⁷⁹ Daoguangchao Shangyu 道光朝上諭, "Shangyu, February 1st 1823 道光二年十二月二十一日 上諭," 680-81.

At the early beginning of the winter, according to Shuai, 2,000 out of the 6,000 residents had already left Nantian and gone back to rejoin their family at Ningbo or Taizhou in order to spend the lunar spring festival with them.⁸⁰ To Shuai, the winter time was precious, he needed to solve the tough problem once and for all. Otherwise he probably would not have another chance.

Those 4,000 people who allegedly stayed at Nantian probably had already heard news about the possible official operations. They had gone there for their own living space and land and clearly would not like to be expelled and give up their early investment such as the finished irrigation works. However, at the same time, most of them were also not willing to directly confront the central authority, being afraid of the possible harsh punishments which might follow. The best choice for them was probably to first simply observe the determination of the central government on the reclosing policy.

Shuai probably understood the consideration of the masses, and was familiar with a famous Chinese proverb, “slashing the chicken, thus making the monkey

⁸⁰ Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Weiyuan Fucha Ningbo Taizhou Lianjie Nantian Fengjin Difang Siken Hukou Ji Yikai Dimu Shizai Shumu Shi 奏為委員複查寧波台州連界南田封禁地方私墾戶口及已開地畝實在數目事."

afraid”⁸¹ According to Shuai’s memorial, he captured six illegal private salt producers who were allegedly under the patronage of *Laoben*, and harshly punished them. Before this action, some *Laoben* had already been captured. He then checked registration information with the native place of those migrants and requested the local officials of their native places to prepare for the resettlement of these illegal migrants. If they did not possess a proper livelihood, it was the government officials’ responsibility to provide them with some infertile mountain or seaside land for subsistence. In addition, all of them should also be registered into local *Bao-Jia* system; local *Bao* and *Jia* leaders had to ensure that these people would not return to the closed area again in the future.⁸²

Although some parts of the above memorial from Shuai about the resettlement of Nantian migrants sound benevolent, the policy of limiting free cultivation could only push up the price of available land. Consequentially, the rich people, who owned land, simply received more benefits without any extra effort being required in order to receive these unexpected gains; on the contrary, the poor people had to pay more for acquiring or renting land which artificially increased the cost of production derived from the land.

⁸¹ It means punishing a small group of people first, using which as a warning to the rest of the masses.

⁸² Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Weiyuan Fucha Nantian Siken Minren Xianyi Jinshu Jiesan Bingwei Shefa Andun Xianxing Gongzhe Jvzou Wen Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為委員覆查南田私墾民人現已盡數解散並為設法安頓先行恭摺奏聞仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-22-46-3, February 22nd 1823 道光三年正月十二日).

As a result, the land prohibition policy of the Qing government decreased the productivity of Nantian. Otherwise, if the opening up option had been adopted the land of Nantian could have been used effectively as a production resource to generate more wealth for the locality.

Shuai reported back that junior officials were sent to Nantian to thoroughly search those closed mountains and persuade settled people to leave. The officials, after successfully expelling these migrants from Nantian, also destroyed the remaining irrigation facilities in order to prevent migrants from returning. According to the memorial written by Shuai on 22nd February 1823, twelve days after the beginning of 1823's lunar Chinese New Year, although there were sporadically a couple of small-scale conflicts, the situation was now firmly under the control of the Empire.⁸³

Shuai was very satisfied with the investigation and the expelling operation undertaken by his junior officials. He praised their contribution and petitioned to His Majesty for their encouragement and reward. However, discreet Daoguang merely commented in his memorial, "Please deal with the case with discretion, report back to me in further detail, and I will give you my decree later."⁸⁴ Although, it is hard to tell if the Emperor was satisfied with Shuai's work or not, plausibly, after reading through

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Shuai's memorial, he could feel somewhat relieved. At least, according to Shuai's memorial, Nantian was literally reclosed.

The new viceroy Zhao Shenzhen assumed his position in the February of 1823. Based on Shuai's new investigation and report, Zhao wrote a memorial about the Nantian case to the Emperor in May, in which he just reported back one piece of new information to Daoguang, which was that, most of these migrants came from Taizhou or Wenzhou prefectures rather than from Ningbo.⁸⁵ The gazetteer of Xiangshang compiled in the Daoguang era conclusively recorded in the case that Nantian was closed in 1823, and no less than 6,000 settlers had been expelled from it.⁸⁶

Three months later, by the August of 1823, it seemed that the case had already proceeded to its end. Zhao and Shuai sent a 56-page long memorial as a final summary of the Nantian case. It probably required Daoguang to have some patience to read them through. Zhao and Shuai raised six points to prevent vagrants from settling in Nantian in the future. These six points were mainly about superficial administrative policy, such as arranging civil and military posts, clarification of the division of working

⁸⁵ Zhao Shenzhen 閩浙總督兼福建巡撫趙慎畛, "Zouwei Jingchen Zhesheng Chaban Nantian Qingxing Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為敬陳浙省查辦南田情形仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-23-180-39, May 14th 1823 道光三年四月初十日).

⁸⁶ Xiangshan Zhi 象山志, *Xiangshan Zhi* 象山志 (Ningbo 寧波: Tianyige 天一閣, Daoguangchao 道光朝), Juan 8 21 Haifang Nantian 卷 8 21 海防 南田.

responsibility, and setting regulations to encourage hard working officials and punish lazy ones. Daoguang just comments that, "I have read through your thorough report and maps attached within."⁸⁷

An imaginative account of the Nantian case had been created by all the official memorial communications; this account, however, disillusioned itself in front of the reality. Nowadays, if a person travelled to Jin Qi Men village, which is positioned at the far southern edge of Nantian Islands, and climbed up a hill there, they would find a tiny temple within a garden. Before stepping into that temple, they would see there is a stone tablet erected by the Qing government in the third year of Daoguang (1823). It was carved with 'according to the order from the Emperor, Jin Qi Men and its nearby mountain areas should be forever prohibited (from settlement), the third year of Daoguang's reign (1823).' Although, the prohibition tablet is still there, just walking down the hill, they would meet a couple of local peasants now peacefully cultivating their own land.

⁸⁷ Zhao Shenzen 閩浙總督趙慎畛 and Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Nantian Jindi Quanjie Suqing Jinjiang Shanhou Zhangcheng Zunzhi Huitong Tuoyi Jvzou Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為南田禁地全就肅清謹將善後章程遵旨會同妥議具奏仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-644-22, August 18th 1823 道光三年七月十三日).

1.7 The echoes of Nantian

According to all the memorial communications it seems that, by the summer of 1823, the Nantian problem had already been successfully solved as the closed policy continued. One year later, in the early summer of 1824, the Daoguang Emperor was informed by a government censor called Bao Chen that, ‘now there were a significant number of shed people living in the remote mountain areas in Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Anhui Provinces. Most of these people came from the coastline prefectures of Wenzhou and Taizhou. They settled in different regions of the three provinces and shared similar dialects with each other. If there were some unscrupulous people living among them, this might cause serious problems (for the stability of the Empire). Advance attention should be given to these migrants’

Daoguang, after receiving this report from Bao, immediately ordered the current Zhejiang provincial governor to investigate. It was the reference to Bao’s account included in the provincial governor’s replying memorial which provided a hint of the above piece of information to this study.⁸⁸ Now, it is hard to tell whether Bao’s memorial reminded Daoguang of the case of Nantian or not. Would the Emperor link these migrants to the illegal settlers of Nantian? Indeed, it is hard to answer the above

⁸⁸ Huang Mingjie 護理浙江巡撫布政使黃鳴杰, "Zouwei Qinzun Yuzhi Chicha Pengmin Baojia Gongzhe Fuzou Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為欽遵諭旨飭查棚民保甲恭摺覆奏仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-658-23, June 24th 1824 道光四年五月二十八日).

question. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to argue that the expelling operation by no means solved the underlying origin of the problem concerning the illegal migration on Nantian. The tension between the land and the labour as productive resources was still there.

By the late 1820s, Nantian itself also bothered the Emperor again. To prevent people from secretly moving into and settling on the Nantian islands, junior soldiers were ordered to burn the whole mountains every winter. Probably the central government considered that this simple method would ensure the enforcement of its prohibition policy. In 1829, three government soldiers, while undertaking the order and setting fire on the islands, were accidentally burned to death. The Daoguang Emperor, after receiving this report, merely commented that, "I will give another decree on this."⁸⁹

It was 1857, 24 years after the expelling operation at Nantian. Duan Guangqing, a junior official then serving at Ningbo, was invited by one of his disciples to visit Zhoushan and Nantian where free settlement had been prohibited by the central government. Despite these official regulations, all these islands, according to Duan, had

⁸⁹ Sun Erzhu 閩浙總督孫爾準, "Zouwei Chaming Zhesheng Guanbing Fenshao Jinshan Chaicao Zhishang Bingding Shi 奏為查明浙省官兵焚燒禁山柴草致傷兵丁事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-16-0135-014, June 29th 1829 道光九年五月二十八日).

been filled with migrants. He further stated in his biography that, ‘Although you merely see mountains standing above the horizon from the opposite shore, as you walk into these mountains, there is a significant amount of cultivated land there.’⁹⁰

Duan tried to persuade senior officials to raise this issue again and to petition the Emperor for an opening up policy. The latter did not dare to report this case back, since the formal central order had already been stated that anyone advocating the opening up policy in the future would be punished under the law of conspiring with unscrupulous people. As a result, the migrants simply ignored the central policy and rushed again into officially forbidden area such as Nantian, while local junior officials observed this but could do nothing about it. The latter acquiesced and simply kept one eye open and one eye shut. Duan noted down his own feeling about this impractical forbidden policy as ‘stuffing up your own ears and then stealing a bell.’⁹¹ This metaphor, to some extent, parallels the Danish fairy tale of ‘*the Emperor’s New Clothes*’. Everyone, both the appointed officials and ordinary residents, knew that the closed policies made no sense, however, all of them kept silent before the central authority, and no one was willing to be the little boy who told the Emperor the truth.

⁹⁰ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu 鏡湖自撰年譜* (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company] 1960), 105-06.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

As a short conclusion to this chapter, the short distance migration at Nantian is a tiny local reflection of a much broader picture of external migration of Chinese in the 19th century. The case of Nantian, despite bearing the quantitative difference with regard to distance, shares with the Southeast Asia or the America long-distance migration the identical qualitative underlying nature so as to pursue the most efficient allocation of productive resources between land and labour. It is also a tiny part of Chinese people's endeavours to form economic and cultural links with the rapidly changing outside world. The historical evidence in this chapter have shown that, before the formal arrival of the West, the senior officials appointed by the central authority at Zhejiang, as the local representatives of the central government of the Qing Empire, held a conservative stance towards individually initiated migration.

However, it should also be noted that there was a divergence between senior and junior officials, concerning their distinct analysis towards the migration case. Zhu Guizhen, the junior official who had conducted an on the spot investigation in private, had proposed an opening up, pro modern, pro society and long-term service resolution. Nevertheless, the senior officials preferred to insist on the conservative closing, pro tradition, pro state, and short-term service resolution. Regrettably, it was the senior officials' policy which was finally adopted as, if this conservative policy had been strictly implemented, the potential mobility and wealth creating opportunities at local civilian society would correspondingly have been inhibited.

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Chapter 2 漁山海盜 Pirates in Yushan

2.1 Abstract

The British Navy, after the signing of the treaty of Nanjing, launched a series of anti-pirate operations along the coastline of China and Vietnam aiming at replacing the old tribute trade system in China with a new free trade system. This transition, however, had generated economic pressure and social tension, which had been gradually passed from firstly the British Navy, secondly to the Guangdong off-coast pirates, then to the Qing officials and finally to the local masses in Ningbo. As the local masses considered that the pressure had gone far beyond what they were able to bear, they protested and retaliated against the local government. While the official bureaucratic system crumbled, merchants in Ningbo took the initiative to purchase modern Western armed steamers to respond to the pirate problem. By examining the various accounts of the anti-pirate operation which occurred off the coast of Ningbo in 1849 and its aftermath, this chapter tends to suggest that the arrival of the West in 1840s triggered a chain of economic and social changes in Ningbo in 1850s.

2.2 Introduction

Wang Gungwu has reviewed the academic debate concerning the transition of the modern maritime order in East Asia and stated that one group of scholars considers that 1840-1842, the direct confrontation between the West and China, was an important

landmark for the beginning of the formation of modern China.⁹² John King Fairbank's Stimulus/Response model supports this argument which emphasises the significant role of the West in triggering China's economic and social transition in the 19th century. Mao Haijian also proclaims that the lack of capability or moral righteousness of certain individuals was not the reason leading to the defeat of China in the Opium War. The lesson that China had learned from the defeat was that China must change itself and start its modernisation.⁹³ On the contrary, Takeshi Hamashita disagrees with the 'Western Impact'. He believes that East Asia entering into the modern period was not due to the impact of the West, but because of the internal dynamism of the Sino-centric tributary system.⁹⁴

Apart from the two poles of the discussion, more modest statements were positioned in the middle of the debate spectrum, for instance, proposing a different time marker to indicate the beginning of modern Chinese maritime history, such as arguing that important changes occurred during the transition period between Ming and Qing.⁹⁵

As the Song and Yuan dynasties had generally been regarded as a golden age for free

⁹² Gungwu Wang, "Maritime China in Transition 1750-1850," in *Maritime China in Transition 1750-1850* ed. Gungwu Wang and Chin-Keong Ng, South China and Maritime Asia, 12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004).

⁹³ Mao Haijian 茅海建, *Tianchao De Bengkui 天朝的崩溃 [the Qing Empire and the Opium War: The Collapse of the Heavenly Dynasty]* (Beijing 北京: Sanlian Shudian 三联书店, 2014), 28-30.

⁹⁴ Takeshi Hamashita, "Changing Regions and China: Historical Perspectives," *China Report* 37, no. 3 (2001): 333.

⁹⁵ Wang, "Maritime China in Transition 1750-1850."

maritime trade transaction,⁹⁶ scholars used to put their focus on the official maritime trade banning policy of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Now some scholars have shifted their attention to the functions and achievements of Chinese private merchants under the limited opening policy during the Qing dynasty.

With regard to the limited opening policy during the Qing dynasty, Huang Qichen disagrees with the statement that the Qing dynasty had utterly closed its coastline and prohibited commercial activity with the outside world. On the contrary, he argues that apart from the Tribute Trade System, the Qing dynasty also conducted private trade with the outside world.⁹⁷ Wei Qingyuan points out the positive effects of the maritime opening up policy promulgated by the Kang Xi Emperor during the period 1684-1717.⁹⁸ Wang Jvchen's study also shows that both tribute trade and private trade existed in the Sino-Siamese trading activity.⁹⁹ Zhao Yifeng states that in the early period of the Qing dynasty, China's relationship with the outside world was

⁹⁶ *The Chinese Overseas : From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 16-18.

⁹⁷ Huang Qichen 黄启臣, "Qingdai Qianqi Haiwai Maoyi De Fazhan 清代前期海外贸易的发展," *Lishi Yanjiu 历史研究*, no. 4 (1986): 151.

⁹⁸ Wei Qingyuan 韦庆远, "Lun Kangxi Shiqi Cong Jinhai Dao Kaihai De Zhengce Yanbian 论康熙时期从禁海到开海的政策演变," *Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Xuebao 中国人民大学学报*, no. 3 (1989).

⁹⁹ Wang Jvxin 王巨新, "Qingdai Qianqi Zhongguo Yu Xianluo Shuanggui Maoyi Yanjiu 清代前期中国与暹罗双轨贸易研究," *Guojia Hanghai 国家航海*, no. 1 (2015): 130.

neither utterly closed nor completely open, but rather could be described as having limited openness.¹⁰⁰

Turning to the functions and achievements of Chinese private merchants, Tian Rukang shows the contribution of the Chinese private junk for commercial transactions in the East and Southeast of Asia region from 17th century to the mid-19th century.¹⁰¹ Jennifer Cushman's research on Sino-Siam trade during the 18th and 19th centuries provides a detailed and vivid account of off-coast trade transactions concerning the interactions between the official rules at a superficial level and the pragmatic ones at a practical level and in reality. Cushman states that before the Opium War the trading connections between Siam and China did not strictly abide by the rules of the Tribute System. On the contrary, Siam-Sino transactions were rather intimate and frequent.

Although, the trade transactions conducted by foreign vessels to China were restricted under the Tribute System, limitations were not imposed upon Chinese merchants, allowing the latter to freely conduct their maritime trade in East and Southeast Asia. Due to this, Siamese merchants would frequently send Chinese style

¹⁰⁰ Zhao Yifeng 赵轶峰, "Qingchao Qianqi De Youxian Kaifang: Yi Maoyi Guanxi Wei Zhongxin 清前期的有限开放: 以贸易关系为中心," *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan 故宫博物院院刊*, no. 6 (2015): 99.

¹⁰¹ Tian Rukang 田汝康, "Shiqi Shiji Zhi Shijiu Shiji Zhongye Zhongguo Fanchuan Zai Dongnan Yazhou Hangyun He Shangye Shang De Diwei 十七世纪至十九世纪中叶中国帆船在东南亚航运和商业上的地位," *Lishi Yanjiu 历史研究*, no. 8 (1956).

junks crewed by Chinese seamen to conduct trade with China. They used this tactic to avoid the defaults of the Tribute System's restrictions upon the Sino-Siamese trade. By adopting this practical tactic, when these Siamese merchants' Chinese style junks anchored off the Fujian coast they would be regarded as Chinese. Local officials would charge these junks a reasonable amount of import tax, and then cargoes could be unloaded and uploaded for further transactions without any further limitations being imposed.¹⁰²

In 2013, Zhao Gang published his book, *the Qing opening to the ocean, Chinese Maritime Policies 1684-1757*, within which Zhao specifically emphasised that, from 1685 to 1829, it was Chinese private traders rather than Western merchants who linked the trade transaction between China and the outside world.¹⁰³ Zhao's research signifies a study focusing point transition from Western merchants to Chinese private merchants. The researches on private merchants closely linked with another popular study area concerning the Chinese maritime order, which is the problem of piracy.

Turning to the problem of piracy, Lin Renchuan points out that there was a significant growth of private maritime trade during the Ming/Qing transition era. Lin

¹⁰² Jennifer Wayne Cushman, *Fields from the Sea : Chinese Junk Trade with Siam During the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1993), 43-44.

¹⁰³ Gang Zhao, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean : Chinese Maritime Policies, 1684-1757*, Perspectives on the Global Past (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 17.

further remarks that there was actually a very thin line between maritime merchants and pirates. As the maritime trade prohibition loosened, pirates transformed themselves into merchants; however, when the maritime trade prohibition became rigid, merchants transformed into pirates. Lin also states that pirates formed cooperation with influential local families on land so as to conveniently purchase and sell commodities.¹⁰⁴

Matssura Akira reviews the history of pirates in the Ming and Qing periods, to some extent basing his study on the previous research by Ji Shijia's on Cai Qian, a pirate leader roaming along the coastline of China during the early 19th Century.¹⁰⁵ Akira points out that both the famous Zheng Family in the Ming/Qing transition era, and Cai Qian in the early of 19th century, to some extent, were pirates who oversaw and supervised the order of maritime trade. For instance, in 1803, Cai Qian collected tax from the coastline population and cooperated with merchants who paid tax to him.¹⁰⁶

Despite these hints of economic changes brought by private merchants and pirates, Dian Murray in his article *Piracy and China's maritime transition, 1750-1850*, states that, based on the piracy episode during the transition between the late 18th

¹⁰⁴ Lin Renchuan 林仁川, "Mingqing Siren Haishang Maoyi De Tedian 明清私人海上贸易的特点," *Zhongguo Shehui Jingjishi Yanjiu 中国社会经济史研究*, no. 3 (1987).

¹⁰⁵ Ji Shijia 季士家, "Cai Qian Yanjiu Jiuti 蔡牵研究九题," *Lishi Dangan 历史档案*, no. 1 (1992).

¹⁰⁶ Matssura Akira 松浦章 and Li Xiaolin (Translation) 李小林 (译), "Mingqing Shidai De Haidao 明清时代的海盗," *Qingshi Yanjiu 清史研究* no. 1 (1997).

century and the early 19th century, it is still hard to argue that there had been a Chinese maritime transition by 1800.¹⁰⁷ Despite the scale of maritime trade gradually increasing in the East and Southeast of China from the Ming/Qing transition era to the outbreak of the Sino-British Opium War in 1840-1842, the maritime administration of the Qing dynasty had refused to actively respond to the rapid expansion of maritime trade. The court's conservative decision restrained and inhibited the potential trading capability of the coastline population of China.

Departing from all the above discussions, this study will examine the historical evidence in the mid-19th century concerning an anti-pirate operation off the coast of Ningbo and the aftermath social disturbances which occurred in the locality. The essential aim of this study is to try to show how was the anti-pirate operation of the West in the 1840s recorded and depicted by the Qing government officials and how the operation triggered a series of social and economic changes in Ningbo in the 1850s, thus using this tiny anti-pirate incident in the locality and the various political, economic and social responses towards the incident *per se* to test whether John King Fairbank's Stimulus/Response model works here or not.

¹⁰⁷ Dian Murray, "Piracy and China's Maritime Transition 1750-1850," in *Maritime China in transition 1750-1850*, ed. Gungwu Wang and Chin-Keong Ng (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004).

2.3 The 1849 Yushan anti-piracy operation

It was the piracy problems which triggered the early 1820s' Nantian investigation and the following expulsions carried out by the Qing central government. However, by 1849, 26 years later, the closed policy in 1822/1823 had not successfully prevented the reappearance of the maritime plundering. Government communicating memorials show that a new round of military attacks against pirates had been launched off the coast of Ningbo. This time, the target was not Nantian, but a couple of even smaller and remoter islands, called, the Yushan Islands.

Yushan had approximately 570 acres of land in total and was roughly 16 kilometres off the southeast coast of the Nantian Islands. According to officials' reports, the Yushan Islands were often used by pirates as their base area. On February 3rd, 1849, senior officials in Zhejiang and Fujian wrote a memorial to the Daoguang Emperor and introduced their plan of attack against the pirates living on the Yushan Islands. The memorial indicated that the Naval forces from Zhejiang's Taizhou and Wenzhou prefectures were assigned the mission to attack the Yushan Islands. Naval forces from Zhejiang's Zhenhai defence port were required to render support by guarding the

Northern maritime border between Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces in order to prevent the pirates from fleeing towards the North.¹⁰⁸

According to the February memorial, because the combat capability of the Fujian Navy was superior to the Zhejiang one, it was requested to render military support to the Yushan operation. After receiving this order, the Fujian Navy responded that since the North wind was still strong during the wintertime, it would be difficult for the Fujian Navy to sail northwards. However, if it were possible to wait until the middle of the second lunar month, the wind direction would change and allow them to sail towards Zhejiang, so the Fujian Navy respectfully proposed to provide support for the Yushan operation at that time.^{109 110 111}

¹⁰⁸ Xv Jishe 閩浙總督劉韻珂同福建巡撫徐繼畬, "Zou Yushan Shi Zhezi 奏漁山事折子," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-0833-0063, February 3rd 1849 道光二十九年一月十一日).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ The above memorial (04-01-01-0822-0063) is indexed and restored by the National 1st Archives in Beijing, and the date is recorded as lunar October (十月) of 1849, however, taking other memorials of this operation as historical context into consideration, this time recording might be wrong. A plausible date is actually lunar January (一月) of 1849. Since the operation took place in lunar February and this memorial introduced the plan of attack; probably this memorial was written down before the operation instead of after it. So, a date before lunar February is more plausible.

¹¹¹ The historical evidence of Fujian and Guangdong Navy is stronger than Jiangsu and Zhejiang Navy could also be seen from Qi Sihe and et al. 齊思和等, *Chouban Yiwu Shimo (Daoguangchao) 籌辦夷務始末 (道光朝)* (Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 1964 (2014)), Di 1 Ce 第一冊 489.

It was the early summer of 1849. On June 9th, the senior officials in Zhejiang and Fujian wrote a memorial to Daoguang. The Yushan operation had already been finished by then and, according to the officials' report, had achieved a great success. Furthermore, the officials introduced the geographical and social conditions of the Yushan Islands and briefly reported the developing course of the operation to the Emperor. The officials reported that there were three temples and roughly 1,000 simple shelters on the Yushan Islands.¹¹² This refers to the fact that the total population there was approximately 2,000 to 3,000. In addition, the officials also explained that, since the soil on the Yushan Islands is not suitable for grain cultivation, former governments had tried to force the pirates to surrender by imposing a trade embargo.¹¹³

With regard to the sailing capability of the official navy, it has been mentioned in the earlier February memorial that the Fujian Navy was more competent than their Zhejiang counterpart.¹¹⁴ However it had taken the Fujian Navy more than a whole month to sail from Fujian to Zhejiang province. Officials claimed that the late arrival

¹¹² Wu Wenrong 閩浙總督劉韻珂同浙江巡撫吳文鎔, "Zouwei Yushan Daofei Beiji Bentao Xianyi Qinhuo Duofan Chenhui Duochuan Bingjiang Chaoxue Koumen Fenbie Huichu Tiansai Jinjiang Xianhou Chouban Qingxing Gongzhe Zou 奏為漁山盜匪被擊奔逃現已擒獲多犯沉燬多船並將巢穴口門分別燬除填塞謹將先後籌辦情形恭摺奏," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-0833-0044, June 9th 1849 道光二十九年閏四月十九日).

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Xv Jishe 閩浙總督劉韻珂同福建巡撫徐繼畲, "Zou Yushan Shi Zhezi 奏漁山事折子."

was due to the adverse weather.¹¹⁵ However, spending more than a whole month to sail from Fujian to Zhejiang province in the mid-19th century was not very convincing evidence to prove the sailing capability of the Fujian Navy.

Turning to the pirate side, the pirates not only armed themselves with advanced maritime technology, but also firmly united themselves under spiritual guidance. Since life at sea is dangerous and full of uncertainties, shared spiritual belief united the ship's captain and his crew and, more importantly, it provided seamen with calm and inner tranquillity. There was a primary account written in the 1830s about the combat capability of pirates given by a native person living in Guangdong. It provides a record concerning the pirates who infested the China Sea during the period from 1807 to 1810. In this account the author stated that these pirates were amazingly competent and powerful in the early 19th century.¹¹⁶ Compared with the official Navy of the Qing, the pirates possessed more advanced junks and weapons. In addition, they had their own religious beliefs, worshipping the goddess Sanpo.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Wu Wenrong 閩浙總督劉韻珂同浙江巡撫吳文鎔, "Zouwei Yushan Daofei Beiji Bentao Xianyi Qinhuo Duofan Chenhui Duochuan Bingjiang Chaoxue Koumen Fenbie Huichu Tiansai Jinjiang Xianhou Chouban Qingxing Gongzhe Zou 奏為漁山盜匪被擊奔逃現已擒獲多犯沉燬多船並將巢穴口門分別燬除填塞謹將先後籌辦情形恭摺奏."

¹¹⁶ Yuan Yonglun 袁永綸 and Karl Friedrich Neumann, *History of the Pirates Who Infested the China Sea from 1807 to 1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1 16-22.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-62 67-68.

In a parallel with the knowledge of horses and the steppe of their nomadic counterparts,^{118 119} the pirates understood their junks and the ocean which they relied on for their lives. Since the official navy merely received their payment from the government and did not directly make a living from their maritime skills; it was extremely hard for them to match the ability of the pirates. Possessing superior maritime skills was often a matter of life and death to the latter.

The fierce competition on the ocean made the pirates professional and powerful as regards their maritime skills. The central government, after recognising this fact, instead of fighting directly with these pirates, adopted a more reasonable and practical technique. The government, via the offer of an amnesty, tried to separate the pirates along coast into differentiated factions and enlist one faction of the pirates to act as the official navy. Subsequently, the converted pirates were expected to counterbalance the rest of the other factions.¹²⁰

A similar observation was made by Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay, who served as an admiral for British Navy in the 1840s. He recorded that,

¹¹⁸ Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier : Nomadic Empires and China*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (Cambridge, Mass.: B. Blackwell, 1989).

¹¹⁹ Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China, 900-1800 / F.W. Mote* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹²⁰ Yuan Yonglun 袁永綸 and Karl Friedrich Neumann, *History of the Pirates Who Infested the China Sea from 1807 to 1810*.

“At all times piracy was known to be rife in the China Sea. At various periods it has assumed formidable proportions. In the 16th century Manila was threatened by one piratical fleet; in the 17th century Formosa was conquered from the Dutch by another. In 1808, another chief was known to have collected eight hundred armed junks and seventy thousand men. The Chinese war navy, never powerful, was helpless before these freebooters. It generally endeavoured to restore order on its seas by the payment of black mail, or by offering large bribes to the pirate chiefs, and if possible, enlisting them in the government service.”¹²¹

Even though there were those primary observations which indicated that the Qing Navy did not have the capability to compete with the pirates; provincial officials, within their June memorial, reported back to the Daoguang Emperor that, the Yushan operation had achieved a great victory against the pirates on the Yushan Islands. The actual details of this operation were that the Fujian Navy were late and did not arrive at the meeting location at the time originally planned. Due to this the Zhejiang Navy from Wenzhou and Huangyan launched a first wave of attacks by themselves on 6th and 7th

¹²¹ John Charles Dalrymple Hay, *The Suppression of Piracy in the China Sea 1849* (London: Stanford, 1889), 3.

April 1849. However, the attacks were not successful as the pirates in Yushan effectively defended themselves against the Navy of Zhejiang.¹²²

As the first round of attacks failed, the Fujian Navy arrived and joined the operation. The official navy, after receiving the reinforcement from Fujian, outnumbered the pirates. The latter subsequently gave up the base area and fled towards the south, reportedly withdrawing on 28th April 1849. After the retreat of the pirates, the official navy claimed they had occupied the Yushan Islands. Following the occupation, they allegedly destroyed all facilities constructed by the residents on the islands. Officials also poisoned all the drinking wells they could find there. All possible actions had been undertaken by the Qing government to prevent pirates from settling on Yushan again.¹²³

By the autumn of 1849, another memorial was written on October 12th. It reported the course of the attacks on the pirates who had fled to the open ocean. Again, the allegedly concrete results of official's chasing operation were reported back to the

¹²² Wu Wenrong 閩浙總督劉韻珂同浙江巡撫吳文鎔, "Zouwei Yushan Daofei Beiji Bentao Xianyi Qinhuo Duofan Chenhui Duochuan Bingjiang Chaoxue Koumen Fenbie Huichu Tiansai Jinjiang Xianhou Chouban Qingxing Gongzhe Zou 奏為漁山盜匪被擊奔逃現已擒獲多犯沉燬多船並將巢穴口門分別燬除填塞謹將先後籌辦情形恭摺奏."

¹²³ *Ibid.*

Daoguang Emperor,¹²⁴ and it deserves to be noted that, within this memorial, the British Navy's support in the chasing operation was briefly mentioned.¹²⁵ As it was a norm for Qing government officials to embroider their memorials to the Emperor and exaggerate their own contribution, the immediately following question for us is that, in reality, to what extent did the Chinese Navy contribute to the Yushan operation?

According to the account given by Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay, after the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, the serious depredations of trade caused by the furious pirates along the coast of China Proper alarmed the British Navy.¹²⁶ In addition, the Western missionaries started to arrive at treaty ports in China, for instance, Ningbo.¹²⁷

¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ There was a crime incident on July 20th 1847. Walter Macon Lowrie, a foreign

¹²⁴ Xv Jishe 閩浙總督劉韻珂同福建巡撫徐繼畲, "Zouwei Minsheng Shichuan Xianhou Nahuo Yushan Yidao Xianjiang Jiesheng Geqi Zhuyi Shenming Anli Fenbie Dingni Guian Gongzhe Jvzou 奏为閩省師船先後拿獲漁山逸盜現將解省各起逐一審明按例分別定擬彙案恭摺具奏," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏摺 04-01-01-0838-0012, October 12th 1849 道光二十九年八月二十六日).

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Hay, *The Suppression of Piracy in the China Sea 1849*, 4-5.

¹²⁷ In June 1844, Divie Bethune McCartee (麥嘉締) from American Presbyterian Order arrived in Ningbo. With the help of the British Consult, he settled in Ningbo. At the very beginning, local people tried to push him out, but he insisted on the right granted among the Treaty and stayed. Cited in Jidujiao Zhanglaohui 基督教長老會 [Presbyterian Christianity], "Jidujiao Zhanglaohui Zhesheng Ningshao Zhonghui Qishinian Lueshi 基督教長老會浙省寧紹中會七十年畧史," (Ningbo Archives (NA) 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-19, 1927), 2-3.

¹²⁸ During the transition time between the summer and fall in 1847, people linked the natural disaster with the arrival of the Western people. There were rumors circulation about the Western people putting poisons into wells. Later this kind of rumor disappeared. Cited in *ibid.*, 177.

¹²⁹ Ningbo Presbyterian branch was set up in the May of 1849. Cited in *ibid.*, 2-3.

Presbyterian missionary, was robbed and killed by local pirates off the coast of Ningbo. Allegedly the pirates deliberately threw the victim into the ocean, causing him to drown.¹³⁰ This incident probably also confirmed the determination of the British to terminate the off-coast piracy in order to protect the free transfer not only of cargo goods, but also of civilian populations.

In 1849, a series of anti-piracy operations was launched along the coastline of China Proper by the British Navy. Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay recorded their 1849 anti-piracy action which ranged from the eastern coast of Guangdong to the northern coast of Vietnam. Hay stated that,

“But the chief credit due to the British officers was the manner in which they conciliated and gained the assistance and support of the officers of the United States Navy, the approval of the French, Spanish, and the Portuguese authorities, and the concurrence and active support of the Chinese Government and the Cochin Chinese officials----a unanimity without which such ample success¹³¹ would have been impossible, and which was as rare as it was beneficial to the interests of commerce.”(Hay 1889)¹³²

¹³⁰ Ibid., 70-72.

¹³¹ It refers to the successful anti-pirate movement in 1849 led by the British Navy, from Guangdong province coast to Vietnam coast in 1849 (from longitude 115E. to 104E.).

¹³² Hay, *The Suppression of Piracy in the China Sea 1849*, 43-44.

The above evidence shows that, after the signing of the Nanjing Treaty, there was a gradual trade system transition in East and Southeast Asia, as it evolved from the old Tribute Trade System into a new Free Trade System. The new system emphasised the free transfer of stocks, capital, labour and intelligence. Since the piracy problem had become an impediment to this aim, the British Navy, cooperating with the relevant indigenous governments, such as the Qing government, launched a large-scale military operation aimed at eliminating the pirates proliferating along the coast of East and Southeast Asia. It is possible that the 1849 Yushan anti-piracy operation was a tiny part of the whole operation launched off the coast of China by the British Navy.

Combining the information mentioned above, in the first place, it can be seen that the Qing Navy's combat capability was inferior to that of the pirates. Secondly, the pirates were nevertheless defeated in the Yushan operation and the June memorial stated that the arrival of Fujian Navy made the operation successful. Next, the British Navy's admiral Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay praised the sound cooperation between Fujian provincial officials and the British Navy during the anti-piracy operation.¹³³ Finally, there was a large-scale anti-piracy operation launched by the British Navy in 1849. To sum up, it was reasonable to wonder whether the Qing Navy independently completed the Yushan operation. We might suspect that it was the British

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

Navy who successfully attacked pirates along the coast of China, and that the Qing Navy merely played an auxiliary role in the operation and became a free rider of the British Navy's anti-piracy operation in 1849.

2.4 The surrender of Guangdong pirates in 1851

Despite there being no strong evidence to prove the details of the 1849 Yushan anti-pirate operation *per se*, it is possible to infer that the operation's achievement was rather limited, and the operation probably had not annihilated the pirates off the coast of Ningbo. This conclusion is drawn from the account of the contemporary local gazette and the biography written by Duan Guangqing, a junior government official at that time.

134 135

Both local gazette and official biography record that, in October and November of 1851, Bu Xingyou, a Guangdong pirate leader and his followers had launched an attack against Shipu, a coastal town in the Xiangshan county of Ningbo. The Zhejiang provincial governor, Chang Dachun then ordered his junior, Luo Yong, the magistrate of Ningbo, to suppress the invading pirates at Xiangshan. However, as Luo arrived there,

¹³⁴ Dai Mei 戴枚 et al., *Yinxian Zhi 鄞縣志* (Ningbo 寧波: Ningboshi Gaojiaoyuanqu Tushuguan Gujibu 寧波市高教園區圖書館古籍部, 1877), Juan 卷 16 Da Shiji Xia 大事紀下 30.

¹³⁵ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu 鏡湖自撰年譜* (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company] 1960), 70.

the pirates subsequently retreated. Luo claimed the credit for their flight and petitioned the provincial authority for a reward.^{136 137}

The pirates, however, immediately returned and resumed their plundering. Chang was furious with Luo's deception, subsequently setting a deadline for Luo to annihilate the invading pirates. As Luo was afraid of directly fighting against these pirates, he decided to bribe Bu Xingyou instead by sending him and his men a generous offer. After consideration, Bu and over a thousand of his followers accepted it. The surrendering ceremony was held in the winter of 1851 in Ningbo where, Chang, the provincial governor, formally received Bu's surrender in person.^{138 139}

Later, Duan Guangqing, then a local junior official, commented on the surrender that, Zhejiang would never ever keep its peace again.¹⁴⁰ Duan, to some extent, had a point. By 1852, some of these surrendering pirates had been given the amount of money they expected and subsequently returned to Guangdong, while the remaining several hundred of them still had not received the promised payment and consequently these ex-pirates started to make trouble in the city of Ningbo.¹⁴¹ As civilians reported these

¹³⁶ Dai Mei 戴枚 et al., *Yinxian Zhi 鄞縣志*, Juan 卷 16 Da Shiji Xia 大事紀下 30.

¹³⁷ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu 鏡湖自撰年譜*, 70.

¹³⁸ Dai Mei 戴枚 et al., *Yinxian Zhi 鄞縣志*, Juan 卷 16 Da Shiji Xia 大事紀下 30.

¹³⁹ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu 鏡湖自撰年譜*, 70.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

crimes to Duan he convened a meeting with Bu aiming at settling these troubles. Duan recommended that Bu should go back to Guangdong to enrol members and vessels first and then contribute them to the court in order to arrest other pirates on the ocean. Bu accepted this suggestion and went back to Guangdong to start recruitment.¹⁴²

By May/June, 1853 Bu Xingyou had completed his mission and returned to Ningbo with the newly recruited crews and vessels. Thus, Duan applied for an official grant for Bu and his followers. However, Duan's senior admonished him and turned his application down. Without the official support, Duan was obliged to pay 800 silver dollars from his personal purse to Bu to temporarily ensure that Bu and his followers would sail off into the ocean to fight against other pirates.¹⁴³

Although the official navy received a grant, they were incompetent and had not properly functioned, so the Qing officials were obliged to adopt the tactic of divide and rule by offering bribes to some groups of pirates to pit them against others. However, the traditional bribery solution was confronted with the problem of the shortage of funding. This could be seen from the fact that, Duan even needed to use his own money to temporarily fill the payment gap. If the government continued to pay for pirates' surrendering, more pirates would come to surrender. As more and more Pirates

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 71-72.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 78-80.

surrendered, more and more money would be required by officials to make the payment. This logic pushed the government to extract more tax money from the local masses. The unconstrained tax extraction would inevitably lead to resentment and protest among the local masses.

2.5 Discriminative taxation institution and Ningbo's temporary pains in the 1850s

In the early 1850s, the population who lived in the eastern and southern suburbs of Ningbo rebelled several times against the unfair taxation arrangement, especially on land tax and salt monopoly. Duan Guangqing recorded in 1848 the 'illegal' private salt circulation in the locality. Duan stated that, since the beginning of the Qing dynasty, there had been competition between the official and the private salt circulation in Ningbo's Dongxiang area, in the vicinity of the lake of Dongqian, as the lake is linked, via the inner river transportation system, to the ocean and off coast islands where the cheap private salt could be produced. Thus, it was very convenient for Dongxiang people to access the 'illegal' private salt which was sold at a reasonable price compared with the official one.¹⁴⁴

Theoretically, since the early days of the Qing dynasty, Dongxiang people had been prohibited, by the official regulation, to purchase private salt from smugglers, but

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 196-97.

most of the residents there simply ignored this impractical prohibition. During the Qianlong Emperor's reign (from 1736 to 1796) the merchants with salt monopolist status contributed a significant amount of wealth to the emperor's official visits to the South. Later the central authority, as a reward to these merchants, further expanded the area under official control for the circulation of salt. Under these government regulations, the Dongxiang area was included, and technically people would be punished if they bought or consumed private salt.¹⁴⁵

In the winter of 1851/1852, as the provincial official was visiting Ningbo to receive the surrender of the Guangdong pirates, Bu Xingyou and his men, an influential private salt smuggler in Dongxiang, Zhang Chaoqing, was arrested.¹⁴⁶ This arrest irritated Dongxiang people and over ten thousand of them rushed into the city and burned down an official salt merchant's ancestor hall and living residence. As local officials could not bear this pressure from the masses, they were obliged to release Zhang Chaoqing to pacify the resentment of Dongxiang people.¹⁴⁷

Apart from this salt incident, another protest concerning unfair land tax collection occurred simultaneously. The discriminative norm was that the government

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁴⁷ Dai Mei 戴枚 et al., *Yinxian Zhi 鄞縣志*, Juan 卷 16 Da Shiji Xia 大事紀下 30-31.

in Ningbo used to have two parallel tax systems, the red seal and the white seal envelopes. When local residents paid their tax to the government, one of the envelopes was for the notables, and the other one for the ordinary people; however, the red one for notables required a lower tax rate compared with the white one set for the ordinary people.¹⁴⁸

At the beginning of 1852, local government in Ningbo increased the tax it collected from the local population. Feng Yi, the then magistrate of Yin county, announced that apart from official households, all taxpayers needed to follow the payment standard of the more expensive white seal envelope. Zhou Xiangqian, a local Fenghua person, protested against this decision and was subsequently arrested. On April 9th, 1852, Fenghua people, inspired by the case of Dongxiang people rescuing Zhang Chaoqing, also rushed into the city. This time, they burned down the government official post and successfully forced the government to release Zhou Xiangqian.¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰

It should be noted that the time of these two tax increase incidents occurred was just after the surrender of the Guangdong pirates. It was the exact time that the government had to squeeze local masses in order to pay for the surrender of the Guangdong pirates.

¹⁴⁸ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu* 鏡湖自撰年譜, 59-60.

¹⁴⁹ Dai Mei 戴枚 et al., *Yinxian Zhi* 鄞縣志, Juan 卷 16 Da Shiji Xia 大事紀下 31.

¹⁵⁰ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu* 鏡湖自撰年譜, 60.

It turns out that the government had pushed the local masses beyond what they were capable of bearing.

The 1852 a petty rebellion launched by Fenghua people was also recorded by Arthur Evans Moule, a CMS missionary worker. During the disturbances, Moule was not present in Ningbo so his account was based on accounts from his fellow missionary workers who were actually there at the time,

“In the spring of the year 1852, Ningbo and the surrounding country was seriously agitated by a petty rebellion. The people of the Lake and the Fung-hwa (Fenghua) districts, exasperated by official extortions, rose there several times destroying first the house of a salt monopolist, then sacking the yamun¹⁵¹ of the magistrate at Fung-hwa, and finally demolishing the residences of two of the principal magistrates in Ningbo, and burning the house of the chief collector of taxes.”¹⁵²

After these two rebellions, a provincial troop was sent to Ningbo to retaliate. However, on May 14th, 1852, the provincial army suffered a humiliating defeat by Dongxiang people. Roughly 20 military and civilian officials and 200 soldiers were killed. The

¹⁵¹ Public Office

¹⁵² Arthur Evans Moule, *The Story of the Cheh-Kiang Mission of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1891), 82.

Dongxiang people held a government official as hostage and required the government to release 13 arrested Dongxiang people, to grant the local privilege of salt selling, and abolish the unfair tax payment system concerning the white and red sealed envelopes.¹⁵³ There is a divergence concerning the casualty toll between Official Duan's and Dr. MacGowan's accounts. Dr. MacGowan was a medical missionary then working in Ningbo whereas Duan personally experienced this case, so his account might be considered to be more plausible as regards the precise number. However, Dr. MacGowan's account is also worthy of note as supplementary evidence of the conflict between government and local masses. Dr. MacGowan stated that,

*"about twenty (banished criminals recruited by mandarins) were killed a few years since, to the east of Ningpo, in an attack on the villagers who rose against the salt monopoly."*¹⁵⁴

Moule also commented on this confrontation. It seems that, unwilling to recognise their own military incompetence, the local magistrate tried to shift his own responsibility by charging a foreign female missionary worker with being a secret supporter and the underlying cause of this insurgency. As further evidence to prove the low quality and irresponsibility of the official military and civilian institution. Moule recorded that,

¹⁵³ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu* 鏡湖自撰年譜, 53-58.

¹⁵⁴ D. J. MacGowan, "On the Banishment of Criminals in China," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (December 1859 293-301) (Read before the Society, September 21st 1858): 298.

*“The defeat of the troops in the country by these insurgents was attributed by the magistrates, so the rumour went, to the help and influence of that philanthropic lady, Miss Aldersey, who happened to have gone into the country with Mr. Russell at this time for change of air. She was said, in fact, to have supplied the rebels with arms, or with strategic advice, or both.”*¹⁵⁵

These two rebellions ended up with a government compromise on taxation, but a severe punishment of the leaders of these protests. In May/June 1852 Zhou Xiangqian surrendered himself to the government and¹⁵⁶ by July/August 1852, Dongxiang’s Zhang Chaoqing had been arrested.¹⁵⁷ At the same time, Duan had discussed with gentry the abolition of the red/white seal envelope system and clarified the salt boundary.¹⁵⁸ As a response to these local disturbances, the discriminative taxation system was abolished. However, in both cases, the leaders of these protests were executed by the regime.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Moule, *The Story of the Cheh-Kiang Mission of the Church Missionary Society*, 82.

¹⁵⁶ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu* 鏡湖自撰年譜, 58.

¹⁵⁷ Dai Mei 戴枚 et al., *Yinxian Zhi* 鄞縣志, Juan 卷 16 Da Shiji Xia 大事紀下 32.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu* 鏡湖自撰年譜, 72.

2.6 Northern/Southern Guilds in Ningbo and Baoshun vessel

By the mid-19th century, the Northern and Southern Guilds in Ningbo were in charge of conducting maritime trading activities linking the city with the outside world. The Northern guild, also called the Shandong Guild, possessed 140 large junks, which transported those commodities produced in the North to Ningbo and then reloaded commodities in the South transporting them back to the North, two to four times annually.¹⁶⁰ The Southern Guild, the oldest and the chief among guilds in Ningbo, was in charge of transporting timber, tobacco, sugar, paper, indigo, longan and litchi in the South to Ningbo and then transporting Cotton, Shaoxing Alcohol, dried cuttlefishes and alums from Ningbo to the South.¹⁶¹ Below the Southern Guild, there were Fuzhou, Xinghua (nowadays, Putian), Quanzhou and Xiamen sub-guilds.¹⁶² As a Western missionary observed, apart from facilitating trade transactions, guilds also functioned to protect merchants from being harassed by the local governmental authorities.¹⁶³

The Southern Guild' Fujian merchants and sailors did not trust the surrendered Guangdong pirates and did not believe the latter could provide them with proper

¹⁶⁰ D. J. MacGowan, "Chinese Guilds of Chambers of Commerce and Trades Unions," *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, no. 3-4 (1886): 149.

¹⁶¹ Lin Yuliu 林雨流, "Zaoqi Ningbo Shangye Chuanbang Nanbeihao 早期宁波商业船帮南北号," in *Ningboshi Wenshi Ziliao Di 9 Ji Ningbo Gangshi Ziliao Zhuanji 宁波文史资料 第九辑 宁波港史资料专辑*, ed. Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Weiyuanhui 宁波市政协文史资料委员会 and Ningbo Gangwujv 宁波港务局 (1991), 70.

¹⁶² MacGowan, "Chinese Guilds of Chambers of Commerce and Trades Unions," 145-46.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 137-8.

protection. Violent confrontation sometimes occurred between the two sides. For instance, in September/October 1854, a group of Fujian merchants met with a couple of surrendered Guangdong pirates at Ningbo. These pirates had previously kidnapped them on the ocean. As mutual hatred existed between the Fujian sailors and the Guangdong surrendered pirates, they started to fight with each other in the city of Ningbo.¹⁶⁴

In 1855, as pirates had been prevailing on the ocean, the provincial authority required the official navy to sail out to accompany and protect merchant junks; however, the official navy was afraid of pirates and did not want to sail out and provide protection for merchants. Duan Guangqing criticised the official navy as merely receiving payment from government but not taking any responsibility in return . (Duan Guangqing 段光清 1960)¹⁶⁵ Due to the official navy being ill-functioning, and no trusts existing between the Guilds merchants and surrendered Guangdong pirates, the Northern and Southern Guilds decided to hire foreign armed vessels on their own behalf to protect their trade transactions.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu* 鏡湖自撰年譜, 97-99.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 97-99.

Following this, merchants in Ningbo purchased the first modern Western armed steamer via foreign merchants in Guangdong and named it *Baoshun*, which literally means treasure and smooth. Ningbo merchants spent 70,000 silver taels purchasing the Western ship to protect maritime trade transactions and fight against pirates. Within 3 to 4 months of being sent into operation *Baoshun* had destroyed 68 pirate ships and killed roughly 2,000 pirates. The performance of the Western armed ship *Baoshun* was impressive.¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ Similar comments on the performance of Western armed vessels in Ningbo was also recorded by Duan Guangqing, the junior official in the locality.¹⁶⁹

There was, however, some initial difficulty as if a vessel sailed to the North, an official certificate was required, but no Western vessels had previously been given such a certificate. Duan Guangqing was confronted with a dilemma. If no certificate was issued, merchants could not legally gain the protection from modern vessels for conducting their trade transaction in the North; however, if he did issue the certificate, the central court might blame him for giving certification to foreign vessels. Duan, after

¹⁶⁷ Dong Pei 董沛, "Shu Baoshunlun Shimo 書寶順輪船始末," in *Yinxian Tongzhi 鄞縣通志*, ed. Zhang Chuanbao 張傳寶, et al., Shihuozi 食貨志 217-18.

¹⁶⁸ The purchase case recorded by Duan Guangqing was slightly different. Duan recorded that Northern Guild spent 40,000 silver taels to purchase modern Western armed steamer for protecting Northern Guild's junks sailing towards to the North. Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu 鏡湖自撰年譜*, 101-02.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

due consideration, finally issued the certificate to the Western armed vessels which had been purchased by the Guilds.¹⁷⁰

On August 22nd, 1855, the central court received a report from Chong En, the provincial governor of Shandong, claiming that, three Western vessels hired by Ningbo and Shanghai merchants had been founded sailing along the coast of Shandong and were now heading towards Fengtian on August 14th, 1855. Crews of these vessels had showed government permission issued by officials in the south which allowed them to come to the North of China to help to annihilate pirates. Chong was alarmed that this might be just the start and later more and more foreign vessels might come to the North of China. He petitioned the Emperor to issue a decree to formally require these foreign vessels to sail back to the South and to conduct an investigation with regard to these official permissions.¹⁷¹

After reading Chong En's report, the Xianfeng Emperor sent his comments to all the other members of the grand council. The Emperor explicitly stated that Chinese civilian and merchants were prohibited to adopt foreign capability and that foreign vessels were only allowed to travel to the five opened treaty ports. Official navy and

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 101-02.

¹⁷¹ Zhonghua Shujv Bianjibu 中華書局編輯部, *Chouban Yiwu Shimo (Xianfengchao) 籌辦夷務始末 (咸豐朝)* (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 1979 (2014)), 第二冊 399-400.

Chinese militia would be in charge of dealing with pirates in the northern ocean and the support of foreign vessels was unnecessary.¹⁷² Both merchants and junior official had seen the efficiency of Western technology; however, the central bureaucratic system refused to adopt changes and set regulation to inhibit the potential trading capability of Chinese merchants.

A few months later, on September 14th, 1855, He Guiqing, the then Zhejiang provincial governor reported back that, Guangdong pirates had prevailed in 1854, with a significant number of them sailing to plunder in Zhejiang. Many merchant vessels in Ningbo had been plundered or their crews kidnapped. Merchants in Ningbo had previously hired foreign vessels for protection, but this option was expensive. Due to this, merchants in Ningbo decided to purchase foreign vessels as a long-term solution. According to the report of Duan Guangqing, the then magistrate of Ningbo, Shaoxing and Taizhou circuit, there was the difference between military armed vessels and merchant armed vessels, and it was the norm to use armed merchant vessels to protect trade transactions in Guangdong and the Southeast Asia area. Following this logic, Ningbo merchants merely wished to copy the case in Guangdong and Southeast Asia. Thus the trend of purchasing modern Western armed vessels was inevitable. In May/June of 1855, Ningbo merchants purchased a Western armed vessel from a

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, Di 2 Ce 第二册 400-01.

Guangdong merchant, which was crewed by Chinese and had sailed to the North to annihilate pirates and convey merchant vessels from Ningbo. Due to this kind of vessel being rare in the North, it was expected that this message would be forwarded to officials in the North so as to make them aware of it. The Xianfeng Emperor simply commented on this report, ‘noted’.¹⁷³

On October 9th, 1863, the central court received Zeng Guoquan’s report. Zeng reported that the Qing official navy, along the coastal provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong, cost millions of silver tael annually, but they could not properly ensure the safety of the maritime trade. The first opium war had already exposed the weakness of the Qing Navy. However, the defective system had still not been modified. During the Xianfeng era, merchants in Jiangsu and Zhejiang relied on hiring foreign vessels to provide protection to their trade. Zeng petitioned to decrease the funding assigned to the imperial navy and to use that money to purchase modern vessels.¹⁷⁴ This evidence shows that the central court started to formally discuss the possibility of accepting modern vessels to patrol the coast line and admit the ineffectiveness of the Qing Empire’s official navy system contrasted with the efficiency of Western armed steamers.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 405.

¹⁷⁴ Zhonghua Shujv Bianjibu 中華書局編輯部 and Li Shuyuan 李書源, *Chouban Yiwu Shimo (Tongzhichao) 籌辦夷務始末 (同治朝)* (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 2008), Di 2 Ce 第二冊 887-90.

As a short conclusion to this chapter, it was very likely that the 1849 anti-pirate operation, as an aftermath of the Treaty of Nanjing, launched by the British Navy at Guangdong had pushed native pirates to sail north and plunder off the coastline of Ningbo. The local officials decided to bribe the pirates but were subsequently confronted with a shortage of funds. They tried to shift the burden to local civil society by attempting to extract more tax money from the local masses but failed to achieve this. Residents' protests and retaliations immediately paralysed the government and made the latter climb down and search for a compromise. The merchants in Ningbo, realising the government could not be counted on, promptly took the initiative to hire and purchase advanced Western armed vessels to protect trade transactions. To sum up, based on the gradual and subtle changes of official's responses towards the piracy problem, this chapter suggests that the arrival of the West in the 1840s had triggered a series of chain effects in Ningbo, which subsequently led to the decrease of the Qing government's functions and the concomitant increase of the importance of the merchants in local society. In this light it can be seen that, in this very small case at least, John King Fairbank's Stimulus/Response model works.

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Zhonghua Shujv Bianjibu 中華書局編輯部, and Li Shuyuan 李書源. *Chouban Yiwu Shimo (Tongzhichao) 籌辦夷務始末 (同治朝)*. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 2008.

Chapter 3 進退維谷 The Dilemma

3.1 Abstract

Mary Wright argues that China's failure to achieve a fundamental social and economic changes in the post Taiping era was due to the inner stability requirement of Confucianism, which prevented China from launching a thorough reform which would have emulated the prototype of the West. Departing from and acting as an extension of Wright's statement, this chapter will attempt to show that, during the post Taiping reconstruction era, the newly appointed officials at Zhejiang had already conducted a series of limited reforms, especially regarding the economic sphere. These officials, however, were faced with a dilemma in the mid-1870s. A local trial then brought to light the fact that these officials had been confronting a joint attack from both their conservative colleagues in the central government and a series of newspaper reports representing a new appeal on reform from the local society. While the former pursued a policy of an utter termination of the limited reform, the latter, on the contrary, discussed the possibility of extending it further into the judicial sphere. This chapter will examine the background and developing course of the trial case, and the destiny of the limited reform ahead.

3.2 Introduction

The Taiping rebellion has been a fully researched scholarship topic. To name but a few of the scholars, Jonathan Spence tries to explore the question of how Hong

Xiuquan could exert such a profound impact on China for so many years. Spence believes that the impact from the Western Christianity, to some extent, functioned here and provided Hong with a new way of thinking about his former social and religious belief.¹⁷⁵ Tian Xiaofei translated Zhang Daye's account, *the World of a Tiny Insect* to record the author's traumatic childhood concerning the gruesome scenes of violence and death of the rebellion.¹⁷⁶

Stephen R. Platt regards the function of foreigners in the Taiping rebellion as crucial and indispensable to the final defeat of the rebellion.¹⁷⁷ Zheng Xiaowei studies the Taiping rebellion in east of Zhejiang and argues that the final defeat of Taiping here indicates the important shift from the cultural capital to the economic capital in the locality.¹⁷⁸ This change indicates that the traditional barriers to the social mobility in a stratified society had been lessened and diminished. Therefore, the old elements like education, family background, style of dress and so forth were no longer so important to the identification of elites in a stratified society as before, instead personal economic performance contributed more. Zheng also emphasises the significant role of the

¹⁷⁵ Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1996), xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁷⁶ Daye Zhang and Xiaofei Tian, *The World of a Tiny Insect : A Memoir of the Taiping Rebellion and Its Aftermath*, 3.

¹⁷⁷ Stephen R. Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom : China, the West, and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War*, 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), xxvi.

¹⁷⁸ Xiaowei Zheng, "Loyalty, Anxiety, and Opportunism: Local Elite Activism During the Taiping Rebellion in Eastern Zhejiang, 1851–1864," *Late Imperial China* 30, no. 2 (2009): 39.

cooperation between the local elites and the West in launching the campaign to regain control of the city of Ningbo from the Taiping rebels.¹⁷⁹

As the Taiping rebellion was approaching its end, the post Taiping reconstruction era accordingly started, and Mary Wright considers that the failure of this post-Taiping reconstruction effort was due to the stability requirement of Confucianism, which prevented the late Qing regime from completing fundamental political, economic and social changes. Apart from that, Western imperialism, Manchu rule, mandarin stupidity and the accidents of history were all insufficient answers as to why the reconstruction failed.¹⁸⁰ To put it briefly, the Qing regime had changed too little. This study will firstly examine the limited reform adopted by the newly appointed officials in Zhejiang, the underlying policy divergence of these officials with their predecessors, and the rapid trade expansion in the post Taiping era.

Then it will turn to a sensational trial case in the mid-1870s. The trial involved three main characters: Xiao Baicai (小白菜),¹⁸¹ Ge Pinlian (葛品連), and Yang Naiwu (楊乃武). The historical narrativity of the story goes that, Xiao Baicai and Ge

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 65-69.

¹⁸⁰ Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism; the T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874*, Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, (Stanford,: Stanford University Press, 1957), 9.

¹⁸¹ Xiao Baicai, literally means Little Cabbage. This is a nickname given to her by the masses. Allegedly she was very attractive, particularly when wearing green, and consequently the masses gave her the nickname, Xiao Baicai.

Pinlian were a couple who were relatively poor. Xiao was beautiful and young, while Ge was repulsively ugly. Ge and Xiao used to rent a living space from Yang Naiwu, an educated middle-aged man whose family was relatively well-off. Allegedly the Yang family treated Xiao very well. However, rumours gradually developed accusing Xiao and Yang of having an improper relationship. As a result, Ge and Xiao argued with each other about this, and later they moved out of the Yang family accommodation. Quite soon after the move Ge died, which was followed by a trial concerning the circumstances of his death. The local masses and the appointed officials assumed that Yang and Xiao had conspired together to murder Ge, whereas, the local elites in Zhejiang insisted that this was not the reality.

Since the trial occurred in the mid-1870s, it has gradually transformed from a historical event to a cultural myth, and the story has been repeatedly recomposed into a variety of performing genres. A significant proportion of them specifically place emphasis on criticism of the corruption and power abuses of the officialdom of the late Qing.¹⁸² This chapter aims at shifting the focus of the case from the above observation to the context of the case *per se* with relation to the limited economic reform during the post Taiping era in Zhejiang, and the dilemma confronted by the then appointed officials.

¹⁸² A recent example could be found in the 32 episode TV series, '*the Strange Trial Case of Xiao Baicai*', which was produced in 2012 and directed by Guo Baochang and Yu Dao.

There have been academic studies on this trial case from a legal perspective. For instance, William Alford examines the juridical system of the late Qing and explores the case from a legal perspective. He tries to defend the Qing legal system and argues that,

*“although the case graphically illustrates many serious practical imperfections...at least in this celebrated instance two seemingly incorrect capital sentences were reversed and officials who acted improperly were punished.”*¹⁸³

On the contrary, Zheng Ding and Yang Ang point out the intrigue defect of the Qing judicial system which put too much responsibility upon an administrative official who was unqualified in judicial affairs and procedure.¹⁸⁴ There have also been studies on the trial from a social perspective, Xu Zhongming and Du Jin stating that during the trial, it was the one who could manipulate more social, economic and cultural capital

¹⁸³ William P. Alford, "Of Arsenic and Old Laws: Looking Anew at Criminal Justice in Late Imperial China," *California Law Review* 72, no. 6 (1984): 1243.

¹⁸⁴ Zheng Ding 郑定 and Yang Ang 杨昂, "Bu Keneng De Renwu: Wanqing Yuanyu Zhi Yuanshu---Yi Yang Naiwu Xiao Baicai an Chushenguan Liu Xitong Wei Zhongxin De Fenxi 不可能的任务: 晚清冤狱之渊藪---以杨乃武小白菜案初审官刘锡彤为中心的分析[J]," *Faxuejia 法学家* 1, no. 2 (2005): 55.

who possessed the capability to influence its developing course. Xu and Du thought that these factors were important factors leading to the final result of the trial.¹⁸⁵

From a socio-cultural perspective, Madeleine Yue Dong states that the case itself was not primarily legally guided. She considers that there were a variety of social communities involved in the case, and these communities adopted distinct communicating channels or paths while dealing with it. These different communicating channels and paths expressed their own communities' interests, while simultaneously suppressing the interests of other communities.¹⁸⁶

By taking the above researches into consideration, this chapter will firstly show that, before the trial the appointed officials in Zhejiang had launched a series of pro-society economic reforms in the locality. However, by the mid-1870s, these officials, while dealing with the case, were confronted with a joint attack from both their conservative colleagues in the central government and a series of newspaper reports representing a new appeal on reform from the local society. From the local society side there was the discussion concerning the possibility of adopting a deeper reform by

¹⁸⁵ Xu Zhongming 徐忠明 and Du Jin 杜金, "Yang Naiwu Yuanan Pingfan De Beihou: Jingji Wenhua Shehuiziben De Fenxi 杨乃武冤案平反的背后:经济、文化、社会资本的分析[J]," *Fa Shang Yanjiu* 法商研究 3 (2006): 149-50.

¹⁸⁶ Madeleine Yue Dong, "Communities and Communication: A Study of the Case of Yang Naiwu, 1873-1877," *Late Imperial China* 16, no. 1 (1995): 82.

emulating the judicial system in the West. However, simultaneously, some sternly conservative officials in the central court still rigidly refused to accept a state world view of equal nations, and eagerly pursued a termination of the limited reform. It is hoped that, through an examination of the antecedents and the developing course of the trial, the precise historical context and the dilemma faced by the appointed officials may be better comprehended.

3.3 The limited reform in the post Taiping era

As the Second Opium War was approaching its end and following signing of the treaty of Beijing on October 24th, 1860, the Qing government's hostile foreign policy changed into a conciliatory one, and the conflict between the Qing court and the West accordingly lessened.¹⁸⁷ On June 3rd, 1861, a senior official in Ningbo reported to the central court that the establishment of a modern customs service in Ningbo was under preparation. The project would be established by emulating the example of Shanghai and receive support and guidance from the foreign professionals, Horatia Nelson Lay (李泰國) and Prosper Marie Giquel (日意格).¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The Tung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874* (California: Stanford University Press, 1957), 14-15.

¹⁸⁸ Zhonghua Shujv Bianjibu 中華書局編輯部, *Chouban Yiwu Shimo (Xianfengchao) 籌辦夷務始末 (咸豐朝)* (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 1979 (2014)), Di 8 Ce 第八冊 2877-78.

After the formal establishment of the modern customs service in Ningbo there was a significant increase in trade there. According to the account of the Hong Kong Gazette issued in March 1855, the imports and exports of Ningbo through British merchant vessels in 1855 amounted to a mere 629,946 American dollars.¹⁸⁹ However, after the formal establishment of the modern customs service in Ningbo, from 1863 to 1876 the export and import figure rose to and annually maintained the level of tens of millions of silver taels. Overall, in the post-Taiping era, the imports and exports from Ningbo port significantly increased.

Year	Annual import and export trade figure (taels of silver)	Year	Annual import and export trade figure (taels of silver)
1863	15,371,145	1872	17,909,297
1864	16,514,922	1873	15,653,032
1868	12,599,445	1874	14,546,310
1869	14,283,455	1875	12,846,315
1870	15,118,358	1876	12,404,421
1871	16,015,094		

Figures in this table cited from Zhejiang Custom Report¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan (Translation and Editing) 中华人民共和国杭州海关(译编), *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang Zhehaiguan Ouhaiguan Hangzhouguan Maoyi Baogao Jicheng* 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况 浙海关 甌海关 杭州关贸易报告集成 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 2002), 95.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 95 109 15 29 36 47 56 61 69.

The figures fluctuated during the period from 1863 to 1876, but nevertheless steadily remained at the level of tens of millions silver taels or above. After the modern customs service had been established in Ningbo in 1863, compared with the figure of 629,946 American dollars in 1855, there was a significant increase in the volume of the import and export trade. Zuo Zongtang, the then provincial governor of Zhejiang, also reported to the central court that tax from the Zhejiang Customs (the Customs service in Ningbo) should be used solely for the locality rather than being transmitted to the central court.¹⁹¹

Zuo launched another economic reform targeting the salt selling monopoly. Here a divergence emerged between Zuo, the newly appointed official in Zhejiang in the post Taiping era, and his predecessors. Before the arrival of the West and the Taiping Rebellion, in the 1820s, the appointed officials in Zhejiang were firmly aligned with the central government with regard to fighting against the private salt smugglers. For instance, in 1823, Shuai Chenying, the then Zhejiang provincial governor, sent a memorial to the Daoguang Emperor and reported about the conditions of the local salt smuggling at Daishan¹⁹², and the subsequent operations to arrest smugglers at Fenghua.

¹⁹¹ Zuo Zongtang 閩浙總督左宗棠, "Zoubao Jieliu Ningboguan Yanshui Yuanyou Shi 奏報截留寧波關洋稅緣由事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-35-0385-021, 1863/1864 同治二年).

¹⁹² Daishan Island is 22.5 kilometres off the northern coast of Zhoushan and approximately 53 kilometres from Ningbo. The geographical condition of Daishan provided it with a natural advantage for private salt production, both on the terms of transportation and production.

After receiving this encouraging news, the Emperor cheerfully commented with his vermilion pen on Shuai's memorial, "Well done. Noted."¹⁹³ It can be seen that, the senior provincial official in the 1820s, at least in this case, firmly aligned himself with the interest of the ultimate authority of the central court at the state level.

A simple fact to bear in mind was that the production of private salt was more efficient than the official one, so the price of the private salt was cheaper. Duan Guangqing, the junior official in Ningbo, recorded in his biography that official monopolist salt producers needed to use fire to boil the sea water whereas people in Daishan and Zhoushan could produce salt without the need of using fire. Instead, in the early morning of each day, the residents simply placed several wooden planks on the beaches in the sunshine, and then poured seawater over them. After that, the residents could simply leave these planks on the beaches and resume other work such as fishing or farming. After the planks had been left exposed to the sunshine, no further attention was required. By the afternoon, as the water evaporated, the salt was left on the surface of these wooden planks. Thus, the residents merely needed to collect them to be able to sell the salt.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Shuai Chengying 浙江巡撫帥承瀛, "Zouwei Xuhuo Jiangsheng Jvdao Zhang Kouer Annei Zaitao Yufan Jiesu Zhishen Banli Gongzhe Jvzou Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為續獲江省巨盜張扣二案內在逃餘犯解蘇質審辦理恭摺具奏仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-01-0654-035, May 9th 1823 道光三年三月二十九日).

¹⁹⁴ Duan Guangqing 段光清, *Jinghu Zizhuan Nianpu 鏡湖自撰年譜* (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company] 1960), 196-97; *ibid.*

By 1860s, the divergence between Zuo, the newly appointed post Taiping official, and his predecessors in the 1820s can be seen. In November 1864, Zuo Zongtang wrote a memorial to the grand council within which he stated that, technically, Zhejiang's official salt merchants were required to send 320,000 silver taels to the central court annually. However only 50% or 60% of this figure could be achieved under the Daoguang Emperor's reign (from 1821 to 1850). When the lower Yangtze area was raided by the Taiping rebels the official salt circulation system completely collapsed. This disturbance provided opportunities for the free circulation of the private salt, and the former private salt producers and smugglers took this opportunity to forge their own production and selling system.¹⁹⁵

In order to restore the central court's prestige over Zhejiang, Zuo started by modifying the old salt monopolist policy: the 'Gang Yin System (綱引)'¹⁹⁶ to the 'Piao Yin System (票引)'^{197 198}. The underlying nature of this reform was to try and loosen the official salt selling regulations and create an inclusive environment which would recognise former salt smugglers as legal merchants. In short, the new policy

¹⁹⁵ Zuo Zongtang 督辦軍務閩浙總督兼署浙江巡撫左宗棠, "Zouwei Liangzhe Yanshang Yiqing Shixing Piaoyun Yizi Zhengdun Er Yu Kexiang 奏為兩浙鹽商議請試行票運以資整頓而裕課餉," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-035-0522-011, November 1st 1864 同治三年十月初三日).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The Tung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874*, 171.

¹⁹⁸ William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), 105.

made it much easier for people to become a legal salt producer and merchant, thus significantly expanding and diversifying the sources of salt to the market.

At the very beginning Zuo was not confident about the salt reform he had initiated in Zhejiang. Nevertheless, he expected the central court would be patient and grant him some time to test the system in Zhejiang first before setting a firm tax quota requirement on the province in order to re-establish the central court's prestige over the area.¹⁹⁹ Comparing Zuo's salt policy with the one held by his predecessor in the 1820s, it can be observed that the former had slightly moved his position on the state/society spectrum from the state side towards the society side.

Apart from Zuo Zongtang's reform on salt policy in Zhejiang, he also advocated selecting capable officials and appointing them to important official posts in the province. Yang Changjun (楊昌濬) was one of these officials promoted by Zuo Zongtang from a junior to a senior post.²⁰⁰ Yang was 14 years younger than Zuo, and

¹⁹⁹ Zuo Zongtang 督辦軍務閩浙總督兼署浙江巡撫左宗棠, "Zouwei Liangzhe Yanshang Yiqing Shixing Piaoyun Yizi Zhengdun Er Yu Kexiang 奏為兩浙鹽商議請試行票運以資整頓而裕課餉."

²⁰⁰ Zuo Zongtang 閩浙總督左宗棠, "Zouqing Jiang Buyong Tongzhi Yang Changjun Kaique Yi Daoyuan Liuzhe Buyong Shi 奏請將補用同知楊昌濬開缺以道員留浙補用事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-13-0301-073, 1863/1864 同治二年).

he shared the same native place with him, both being Hunanese.²⁰¹ With Zuo's guidance and tutelage, Yang was gradually promoted into high-ranking provincial governing positions.²⁰² ²⁰³ By 1871, Yang had been promoted to the post of the provincial governor of Zhejiang where he inherited the economic reform initiated by Zuo with the effort to re-establish the balance between the central court and the local society.

Following the implementation of the 'Piao Yin System', the tax extracted by the government from the salt merchants increased steadily. However, by the early 1870s, there were newly uprising voices advocating changing the 'Piao Yin System' back into the former 'Gang Yin system'. Yang strongly disagreed with this proposal. On 8th February 1871, he sent a memorial to the central court and stated that more salt tax quotas could only lead to higher price of the official salt, which would, in turn, only

²⁰¹ Ma Xinyi 浙江巡撫馬新貽, "Cheng Tongzhi Liunian Zhejiangsheng Si Dao Fu Geguan Nianzhong Kaoyu Qingdan 呈同治六年浙江省司道府各官年終考語清單," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-12-0504-081, 1867/1868 同治六年).

²⁰² Zuo Zongtang 閩浙總督左宗棠, "Zouqing Liu Dian Shu Zhejiang Niesi Que Reng Bangban Fujian Junwu Bingyi Yang Changjun Jieshu Dengshi 奏請劉典署浙江臬司缺仍幫辦福建軍務並以楊昌濬接署等事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-13-0301-051, 1864/1865 同治三年).

²⁰³ "Zouwei Baojv Zhejiang Anchashi Yang Changjun Dubing Jiaofei Chuli Qingzhun Shangjia Buzhengshi Xian Bing Sandai Erbin Fengdian Shi 奏為保舉浙江按察使楊昌濬督兵剿匪出力請准賞加布政使銜并三代二品封典事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-12-0500-069, October 14th 1865 同治四年八月二十五日).

push ordinary people to buy cheap salt from private producers, and again lead to the prosperity of the smugglers.²⁰⁴

Apart from the salt reform, Yang Changjun's economic reform in Zhejiang also included the Nantian forbidden island, which was mentioned in the first chapter. Without a precisely known time of writing, but very likely in 1875, Yang Changjun bravely sent a memorial to the central court concerning the Nantian Islands. He petitioned the central court to abolish the closed policy and open these islands up for free settlement, allowing migrants to move and settle there freely in exchange for paying a reasonable tax.²⁰⁵

Finally, on November 13th, 1875, Yang's petition was granted by the central court.²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ As the case had first been raised in the 1820s, it had taken the central court roughly half a century to finally decide to permit the local migrants to move and settle

²⁰⁴ Yang Changjun 浙江巡撫監管鹽政楊昌濬, "Zou Liangzhe Yanwu Shuxiao Pizhi Nanyi Jiajia 奏兩浙鹽務疏銷疲滯難以加價," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-35-0523-027, February 8th 1871 同治九年十二月十九日).

²⁰⁵ Yang Changjun 楊昌濬, "Nantiandao Niqing Kaijin Tingmin Gengzuo You 南田島擬請開禁聽民耕作由," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 錄副奏折 03-6706-060, 1875?).

²⁰⁶ Guangxuchao Shangyu 光緒朝上諭, "Shangyu, November 13th 1875 光緒元年十月十六日上諭," in *Guangxuchao Shangyudang Guangxu Yuannian Di 1 Ce* 光緒朝上諭檔 光緒元年 第一冊, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社 [Guangxi Normal University Press]), 295.

²⁰⁷ Xiangshan Xianzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui 象山县志编纂委员会, *Xiangshan Xianzhi* 象山縣志 (Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 1988), 14.

freely on the Nantian Islands. During the Nantian case in 1820s, there was a divergence of opinion towards the migration case between the senior and the junior officials; however, at that time, senior officials preferred to reclose the area and inclined towards the position of the ultimate authority rather than that of the local population. By the mid-1870s, the changing attitude of the senior officials could be seen from Yang's memorial concerning both the salt monopoly and the discussion of Nantian, these senior officials now preferring to support the interests of local society, and simultaneously moving themselves away from the views of the central authority at the state level. However, Yang Changjun's efforts did not bring him immediate political and career successes, but, on the contrary, an unexpected trial in the mid-1870s exposed an awkward dilemma that he was confronted with.

3.4 The trial and the first reinvestigation

The trial occurred at Yuhang county, Hangzhou prefecture, 133 kilometres from Ningbo. When the trial took place, Xiao Baicai, the female main character of the case, was reportedly an outstandingly charming lady in her early 20s. Nevertheless, she had been forced into an arranged marriage with an allegedly repulsively ugly man named Ge Pinlian, an ordinary employee of a Tofu workshop.²⁰⁸ Since, Ge and Xiao were

²⁰⁸ Hu Ruilan 浙江學政胡瑞瀾, "Wei Chengsong Ge Bishi Gongzhao Qingce Shi Zhi Junjichu Zicheng (Fu Ge Bishi Dufu an Renzheng Gongzhao Qingce) , October 31st 1875 為呈送葛畢氏供招清冊事致軍機處咨呈 (附葛畢氏毒夫案人證供招清冊) 光緒元年十月初三 " in

impoverished and lacked a stable residence they had rented a living space from an educated middle-aged man named Yang Naiwu. Yang was approaching his 40s in the mid-1870s and had already passed the provincial examination and received the title of *Juren*. Reportedly, the Yang Family, including Yang, Yang's elder sister, and Yang's wife, treated Xiao Baicai reasonably well. However, rumours of an improper relationship between Xiao and Yang started to circulate in the neighbourhood, leading to a dispute between Xiao and her husband. Soon after the dispute, the couple moved out of the Yang Family accommodation and immediately after the move Ge died mysteriously. Hence, the masses tended to hold the view that Xiao Baicai and Yang Naiwu had conspired with each other to poison the husband, thus causing his death.

In January 1874, Yang Changjun, the then Zhejiang provincial governor, reported the case to the central court. His version of the case shared many similarities with a stimulating story in *The Water Margins*, a popular Ming dynasty novel, which was about a beautiful young lady who had been seduced by a wicked rich man with whom she had an affair. Later, they conspired to poison the lady's husband, leading to his death. Yang Changjun, the provincial governor, perceived that the case regarding Xiao Baicai paralleled the development of the story in *The Water Margins*. Official Yang wrote a memorial to Beijing to request permission to deprive Yang Naiwu of the

Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Qian Yudang 楊乃武與小白菜奇案御檔, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Hangzhou 杭州: Xiling Yinshe 西泠印社 [Xiling Seal Engraver's Society], 2003).

Juren title.²⁰⁹ Several days before the memorial had been written by official Yang, Shen Bao (申報), the newly established newspaper in Shanghai, also reported the case on January 6th,²¹⁰ 13th, 14th and 15th, 1874. The reporting stance of the Shen Bao concerning the case was the same as the one held by official Yang.

By late 1874, however, a set of events started to occur. These events all aimed at subverting the account of the case given by official Yang into another completely different version. Initially, it was the Shen Bao which completely changed its stance regarding this case. The newspaper constantly reported the case on December 7th, 8th and 10th 1874. Within these reports, the newspaper published a petition article written by the elder sister of the suspected criminal, Yang Naiwu, in which, she claimed that her brother was innocent.²¹¹ ²¹² Two days later, on December 10th, 1874, the Shen Bao published an editorial article concerning the case which also supported the new stance insisting on the innocence of Yang Naiwu.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Yang Changjun 浙江巡撫楊昌濬, "Tiqing Chige Yang Naiwu Juren Ben, January 24th 1874 題請斥革楊乃武舉人本 同治十二年十二月初七日," *ibid.* (2003).

²¹⁰ Shen Bao 申報, "Ji Yuhang Mousheng Yin Jiansha Mouming Shi Xiqing 記余杭某生因奸殺謀命事細情," *Shen Bao 申報* January 6th 1874 同治十二年冬月(十一月)十八日.

²¹¹ "Zhejiang Yuhang Yangshi Erci Kouhun Yuancheng Digao 浙江余杭楊氏二次扣闈原呈底稿," *Shen Bao 申報* December 7th 1874 同治十三年十月念九日(二十九日).

²¹² "Zhejiang Yuhang Yangshi Erci Kouhun Yuancheng Digao Jiexu 浙江余杭楊氏二次扣闈原呈底稿 接續," *Shen Bao 申報* December 8th 1874 同治十三年十月三十日.

²¹³ "Lun Yuhangxian an 論余杭縣案," *Shen Bao 申報* December 10th 1874 同治十三年十一月二日.

In the 1960s, when the daughter of Yang Naiwu was interviewed as to the trial, she stated that her mother and aunt went to Beijing twice in private to petition the central court concerning the case. Yang's daughter told the interviewer that, during the trial her family received enormous support from several classmates of Yang Naiwu. She specifically mentioned three of them: Wang Shuping, Xia Jinchuan and Wu Yitong. These classmates either had relatives holding important posts in Beijing or had opportunities to attend the local social parties held specifically for the local elites in Zhejiang. Both Wang and Xia had relatives serving as senior officials in Beijing. Wu was a distinguished consultant to the Hall of Yu Qing, a medicine business launched by Hu Xueyan (胡雪岩), one of the most successful businessmen in the 1870s China.²¹⁴ It should be noted that these social parties provided opportunities for the wealthy and the educated in Zhejiang to associate with each other, discuss common issues, and seek possible cooperation in tackling joint difficulties.

On May 28th, 1875, an official in Beijing actively took steps to have the case reinvestigated. This was Wang Shurui who was serving in the Court of Censors in Beijing at that time. He argued that, in the fourth lunar month of 1874 (roughly May to

²¹⁴ Yang Jun (Oral Narrative) 楊濬(口述) and Wang Zhenguo (Compiling) 汪振國(整理), "Wo Fu Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Yuanan Shimo 我父楊乃武與小白菜冤案始末," in *Yanghang Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Yuanan 余杭楊乃武與小白菜冤案*, ed. Yuhangxian Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Weiyuanhui 余杭縣政協文史資料委員會 and Zhejiangsheng Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Weiyuanhui 浙江省政協文史資料委員會 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 1992), 9-11.

June 1874), Yang Naiwu's elder sister had already sent servants to Beijing to petition the Court of Censors to reopen the case. Later in the ninth lunar month of 1874 (roughly October to November 1874), Yang Naiwu's wife sent servants to Beijing again,²¹⁵ this time to the military office in charge of the security of the capital, endeavouring to obtain a reinvestigation. Staff from both departments were willing to believe the innocence of Yang Naiwu. Censor Wang Shurui suspected that Yang Changjun, the provincial governor in Zhejiang, had concealed the faults committed by his subordinate, Liu Xitong, the magistrate of Yuhang County and Censor Wang petitioned the central court to appoint a high ranking official to conduct a reinvestigation of this case.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ Yang's daughter was interviewed in the 1960s, and she stated that her mother and aunt went to Beijing in private to petition this case; however, here a government working document, a primary source, claimed that the Yang family did not go to Beijing in private, but sent servants to do so. I assume that the latter one is closer to the reality. Yang's family might not have been fabulously rich, but well off enough to afford Yang's education and to send people to Beijing with a petition. It has to be noted that the interview in the 1960s occurred under a revolutionary regime, and the story of Yang Naiwu and Xiao Baicai would have been useful and attractive to a revolutionary government since it could be easily interpreted through a lens of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Due to this, the poorer the Yang family, the better for serving the purpose of political propaganda. I suggest taking the revolutionary regime background into consideration when reviewing the 1960s interview and tend to support the view that Yang's family sent servants to Beijing rather than going there by themselves.

²¹⁶ Wang Shurui 刑科掌印給事中王書瑞, "Zouwei Wenguan Fushen Zhongan Yicun Zhanxun Qing Pai Dayuan Chaban Zhe, May 28th 1875 奏為問官復審重案意存瞻循請派大員查辦摺 光緒元年四月二十四日," in *Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Qian Yudang 楊乃武與小白菜奇案御檔*, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Hangzhou 杭州: Xiling Yinshe 西泠印社 [Xiling Seal Engraver's Society], 2003).

Wang well understood that the prison conditions of the Empire were notoriously horrible. If a prisoner refused to bribe wardens and clerks, he was very likely to be confronted with serious problems. Sometimes, the suffering might lead to death caused by unhealthy living conditions, malnutrition, torture or wound infection. Wang sent another memorial to the central court trying to put pressure on official Yang Changjun to grant the safety of Yang Naiwu.²¹⁷

On the very same day, May 28th, 1875, when censor Wang Shurui questioned the result of the trial, the Grand Council in Beijing responded to Wang's petition by sending Hu Ruilan, the *Xuezheng* of Zhejiang, the censor of provincial education affairs, to reinvestigate the case.²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ One month later, Zhejiang provincial governor Yang Changjun received the order from the Grand Council on behalf of the paramount authority of the Empire. After reading through the imperial edict, Official Yang wrote back his reply on June 20th, 1875, in which he briefly reviewed the case and defended himself by sticking with his original conclusion of the case. Official Yang also promised to guarantee the safety of the jailed Yang Naiwu and stated that he would

²¹⁷ "Zouqing Chi Yan Changjun Deng Jiang Yangan Renzheng Tuwei Kanguan Houshen Pian, May 28th 1875 奏請飭楊昌濬等將楊案人證妥為看管候審片 光緒元年四月二十四日."

²¹⁸ Junjichu 軍機處, "Zhu Hu Ruilan Tiji Renzheng Binggong Yanxun Bing Zhu Yang Changjun Tuwei Kanguan Houshen Yuzhi, May 28th 1875 著胡瑞瀾提集人證秉公嚴訊並著楊昌濬妥為看管候審諭旨 光緒元年四月二十四日 1875年5月28日," *ibid*.

²¹⁹ "Zhu Hu Ruilan Tiji Renzheng Binggong Yanxun Wude Huihu Tongguan Hanhu Jiean Yuzhi, May 28th 1875 著胡瑞瀾提集人證秉公嚴訊毋得迴護同官含糊結案諭旨 光緒元年四月二十四日."

fully support the court's decision concerning sending the Zhejiang provincial *Xuezheng*, Hu Ruilan, to conduct a reinvestigation.²²⁰

As a political norm in the Qing dynasty, provincial governors were required to regularly report the performance of provincial officials, including *Xuezheng*, to the Emperor. One assessment memorial written by Yang Changjun concerning Hu Ruilan in the first year of Guanxu (1875 to 1876) was found in the National 1st Archives in Beijing, within which Yang gave a rather positive comment on Hu's service.²²¹ The assessment was either immediately before or just after Hu finished his reinvestigation report. Regardless of the circumstances, it would have been unreasonable for Hu to write many negative comments against Yang in the trial as the personal relationship between them seems to have been harmonious.

Hu Ruilan, after reinvestigating the case, wrote a thorough 69-page report back to the central court on October 31st, 1875, in which, he provided detailed confessions from almost everyone involved in this case. Frankly to say, this version of the case narrated by Hu was a 'perfect' story. All the accounts from the witnesses within his

²²⁰ Yang Changjun 浙江巡撫楊昌濬, "Zouwei Zunzhi Jiang Yaoan Yijiao Xuezheng Xunban Zhe, June 22nd 1875 奏為遵旨將要案移交學政訊辦摺 光緒元年五月十九日."

²²¹ "Zouwei Michen Zhejiang Xuezheng Hu Ruilan Kaoshi Qingxing Shi 奏為密陳浙江學政胡瑞瀾考試情形事," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-13-0331-018, 1875/1876 光緒元年).

report were exactly consistent. More importantly, Hu reaffirmed the original conclusion drawn by Yang Changjun, the provincial governor.²²²

3.5 The turning point and the second reinvestigation

On November 12th, 1875, after receiving Hu's thorough report, the Inner Chamber on behalf of His Majesty and Dowager Empress required the Ministry of Justice to discuss this case and provide feedback as soon as possible.²²³ Three days later, Bian Baoquan, a censor from the Ministry of Revenue, petitioned the Inner Chamber to support a second reinvestigation by the Ministry of Justice. Bian Baoquan, unlike Yang Changjun who had launched the economic reform in Zhejiang, did not consider that the Empire should change itself in order to accommodate with the external world. For example, in 1873, Bian advocated that foreign diplomats should complete the kowtow ritual before the Qing Emperor.²²⁴ The kowtow ritual implied the notion that the Qing Empire held a superior position over other countries in the world, and its relationship with the others was hierarchical rather than equal.

²²² Hu Ruilan 浙江學政胡瑞瀾, "Wei Chengsong Ge Bishi Gongzhao Qingce Shi Zhi Junjichu Zicheng (Fu Ge Bishi Dufu an Renzheng Gongzhao Qingce) , October 31st 1875 為呈送葛畢氏供招清冊事致軍機處咨呈 (附葛畢氏毒夫案人證供招清冊) 光緒元年十月初三 ".

²²³ Neige Feng Shangyu 內閣奉上諭, "Zhu Xingbu Jiang Hu Ruilan Shenni Ge Bishi an Zhepian Suyi Jvzou Yuzhi, November 12th 1875 著刑部將胡瑞瀾審擬葛畢氏案摺片速議具奏諭旨 光緒元年十月十五日 1875 年 11 月 12 日," *ibid.* (2003).

²²⁴ Zhonghua Shujv Bianjibu 中華書局編輯部 and Li Shuyuan 李書源, *Chouban Yiwu Shimo (Tongzhichao) 籌辦夷務始末 (同治朝)* (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 2008), Di 9 Ce 第九冊 3634-38.

In the case, Bian argued that, since the relations between Hu Ruilan and Yang Changjun were intimate, the validity of the first reinvestigation conducted by Hu was suspect. Furthermore, he claimed that Hu's reinvestigation in Zhejiang was actually supported by the subordinates of official Yang. It was reasonable for them to defend the conclusion of the original trial since their support of the conclusion simultaneously meant the safety of their boss and their own future. It was not difficult for these subordinates to subtly steer Hu towards drawing a conclusion preferred by official Yang.²²⁵

On the same day, the Inner Chamber replied coldly to Bian's petition. The reply stated that it would be impractical and unimaginable for all locally disputed trials to be sent to the Ministry of Justice in the capital for reinvestigation, and the Inner Chamber, on behalf of the ultimate power, was waiting for feedback from the Ministry of Justice on Hu's report. If the ministry agreed with Hu's report, this would be the end of the case, with no more argument on the verdict whatsoever!²²⁶ This evidence indicated that the paramount authority did not vigorously support a second reinvestigation and instead

²²⁵ Bian Baoquan 戶科給事中邊寶泉, "Zouwei Ge Bishi an Xunban Weixie Qing Tijiao Xingbu Shenban Zhe, November 15th 1875 奏為葛畢氏案訊辦未協請提交刑部申辦摺 光緒元年十月十八日 " in *Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Qian Yudang 楊乃武與小白菜奇案御檔*, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Hangzhou 杭州: Xiling Yinshe 西泠印社 [Xiling Seal Engraver's Society], 2003).

²²⁶ Neige Feng Shangyu 內閣奉上諭, "Zhu Wuyong Jiang Ge Bishi an Tijiao Xingbu Bing Zhu Gaibu Suxing Yizou Yuzhi, November 15th 1875 著毋庸將葛畢氏案提交刑部並著該部速行議奏諭旨 光緒元年十月十八日."

it merely handled this case passively. The central authority cared more about the normal running and the practice of bureaucratic administration than about the reality of the case.

However, the vital turning point of the whole case occurred here, and it was the Ministry of Justice that made this critical decision. However, their reason was quite simple, Yang and Hu's report were not coherent in details. The ministry compared official Yang's original report with Hu's reinvestigation report, and identified the fact that the two reports, despite sharing the same conclusion, included several inconsistent details. For instance, there were different accounts concerning the same date. Official Yang remarked in his report that Yang Naiwu and Xiao Baicai were caught in the act of adultery by the husband; on the same date, however, Hu recorded nothing in his reinvestigation report. In addition, both official Yang and Hu accused Yang Naiwu of procuring poison, although, they respectively provided two different dates for this action.²²⁷ Since both reports drew the same conclusion, these nuances in detailed descriptions implied that these reports might have been at least partially false accounts instead of accurately redrawing the reality of the case. After receiving these comments from the Ministry of Justice, the Inner Chamber sent the edict back to Hu Ruilan asking

²²⁷ Chong Shi and et al. 刑部尚書崇實等, "Zouwei Heyi Ge Bishi an Qiyi Shangduo Qing Zai Xiangxun Zhe, November 27th 1875 奏為核議葛畢氏案歧異尚多請再詳訊摺 光緒元年十月三十日," *ibid.*

him to explain the reason why there were different descriptions between his report and official Yang's.²²⁸

Following this questioning from the Ministry of Justice, all native Zhejiang officials who worked in Beijing launched a protest. They petitioned for this case to be reinvestigated in Beijing by the Ministry of Justice. They argued that if the only explanation required was the reply from Hu Ruilan, the reality would in all probability remain concealed and the original conclusion would be retained. These officials pointed out that if the case was sent back to Zhejiang again, it would be handled by all the subordinates of Yang Changjun's bureaucratic team and they would vigorously defend official Yang's conclusion.^{229 230}

The Shen Bao had been following throughout and reporting the trial of Yang Naiwu. It should be noted that a commentary in the Shen Bao in February 1876 shifted the focus of the case further and deeper into a discussion and comparison between the respective justice systems of China and the West. In the Shen Bao of February 9th, 1876,

²²⁸ Neige Feng Shangyu 內閣奉上諭, "Zhu Hu Ruilan Jiang Qingjie Qiyi Chu Yanxun Mingque Bing Jiang Gongci Shengxu Yuzhi, November 27th 1875 著胡瑞瀾將情節歧異處研訊明確并將供詞聲敘諭旨 光緒元年十月三十日."

²²⁹ Jing Lian and et al. 都察院左都御史景廉等, "Zouwei Tongji Jingguan Lianming Chengsu Yuqing Jiang Ge Bishi an Chibu Shenban Zhe, January 10th 1876 奏為同籍京官聯名呈訴吁請將葛畢氏案飭部審辦摺 光緒元年十二月十四日," *ibid.*

²³⁰ Wang Shuping and et al. 內閣中書汪樹屏等, "Qing Jiang Ge Bishi an Jiebu Shenxun Chengwen, January 10th 1876 請將葛畢氏案解部審訊呈文 光緒元年十二月十四日," *ibid.*

the commentary article commented on the Zhejiang elites' petition and set out the defaults of the Qing judicial system. This article also pointed out that if China wanted to compete with other countries in the world, it was important for it to emulate the Western judicial system.²³¹ On February 11th, another report introduced the Western judicial system to their readers. It mentioned that the Western judicial system consisted of jury, lawyer, newspaper report, and the observation from the masses. The author used the Western judicial system to question the efficiency of the Chinese judicial system and the unlimited power of the local county magistrates.²³²

It is impossible for us to measure the extent to which the Shen Bao represented the opinion of the elites in Zhejiang. However, these two newspaper articles indeed showed a new voice in China during the 1870s which was the discussion of the topic concerning the possibility of a judicial system reform. In addition, it was a newspaper, a newly emerging force in China, which advocated this reform in the interests of the individuals as opposed to the administrative government. The case of Yang Naiwu and Xiao Baicai, to some extent, represented an issue of common concern from society, and at least part of this concern was related to the possibility of a reform of the judicial system in China.

²³¹ Shen Bao 申報, "Zailun Zheshen Gongbing Shi 再論浙紳公稟事 " *Shen Bao* 申報 February 9th 1876 光緒二年正月十五日.

²³² Yuejin Cangsang Ren 閱盡滄桑人, "Shu Zhejiang Zhushen Gongcheng Hou 書浙江諸紳公呈後 " *ibid.* February 11th 1876 光緒二年正月十七日.

In January 1876, the Inner Chamber decided to recall the case from Zhejiang back to the capital and ordered the Ministry of Justice to investigate it.²³³ At this moment the side supporting the suspects had already won the most important battle towards their final victory of the case against the provincial governor Yang Changjun and his bureaucratic team.

After the suspects and relevant deponents arrived in Beijing²³⁴ the Ministry of Justice started its inquiry. This time, Xiao Baicai denied the accusation of poisoning

²³³ Neige Feng Shangyu 內閣奉上諭, "Zhu Yang Changjun Weiyuan Tijie Ge Bishi Anfan Zhengjuan Jiao Xingbu Binggong Shenxun Yuzhi, January 10th 1876 著楊昌濬委員提解葛畢氏案犯證案卷交刑部秉公審訊諭旨 光緒元年十二月十四日."

²³⁴ When the suspects and the relevant deponents were sent to the capital, the Punishment Department obtained a letter carried by one of the deponents, the dead Ge Pinlian's biological mother. The content of this letter was about seeking to make contact with an official of the Ministry of Justice and checking with him, whether one person named Liu Dianchen had arrived in Beijing or not. After obtaining this letter, the Ministry of Justice reported it back to the Inner Chamber, requesting permission from the central authority to arrest people who were involved with this letter. On the same day, the Inner Chamber sent an order to officials in Beijing and Zhejiang and asked them to conduct the arrest.

This letter incident can be interpreted as, in order to obtain more benefiting information related to the trial in the capital, official Yang and his subordinates were trying to make private contact with the officials whom they were familiar with in the Ministry of Justice. If this charge could be proved, official Yang and his followers' position before the reinvestigation would be even further deteriorated.

This letter incident can be found at Chong Shi and et al. 刑部尚書崇實等, "Zouwei Shen Yushi Shencang Zitie Qingchi Bujuntonglingyamen Deng Chana Suoshe Renyuan Zhe, April 26th 1876 奏為沈喻氏身藏字帖請飭步軍統領衙門等查拿所涉人員摺(附抄錄沈喻氏身藏字帖) 光緒二年四月初三日 "; Junjidachen 軍機大臣, "Zhu Bujuntonglingyamen Deng Chana Yu Shen Yushi Shencang Zitie Youguan Zhi Liu Dianchen Yuzhi, April 26th 1876 著步軍統領衙門等查拿與沈喻氏身藏字帖有關之劉殿臣諭旨 光緒二年四月初三日," *ibid.*; "Zhu Yang Changjun Yanmi Chana Yu Zitie Youguan Zhi Jiang Weilong Jiejiao Xingbu Guian Yuzhi, April

her husband to death. The Ministry of Justice, in order to obtain more details of this case, petitioned the Inner Chamber to allow another eight deponents in Zhejiang to be sent to the capital to assist in the second reinvestigation. The new list included clerks from the medical shop where the criminal Yang Naiwu allegedly purchased poison, and the coroner, who had carried out the autopsy on the corpse of Xiao Baicai's husband.²³⁵ This request immediately received the permission from the Grand Council and Zhejiang provincial governor, Yang Changjun was asked to summon these deponents and send them to the capital.²³⁶

In the second reinvestigation, the coroner who had conducted the autopsy on Xiao Baicai's husband stated that, according to '*the Washing Away of Wrongs*'²³⁷, using a silver needle to test cases of poisoning required scrubbing the needle with pods of the soap bean plant and water both before and after the testing.²³⁸ However, during the examination of the corpse, the subordinate of the Yuhang county magistrate Liu Xitong

26th 1876 著楊昌濬嚴密查拿與字帖有關之姜位隆解交刑部歸案諭旨 光緒二年四月初三日."

²³⁵ Chong Shi and et al. 刑部尚書崇實等, "Zouwei Ge Bishi an Shangyou Yingti Renzheng Qing Chi Jiebu Zhixun Zhe, June 1st 1876 奏為葛畢氏案尚有應提人證請飭解部質詢摺 光緒二年五月初十日."

²³⁶ Junjidachen 軍機大臣, "Zhu Yang Changjun Linpai Tuoyuan Tijie Ge Bishi an Renzheng Songbu Yuzhi, June 1st 1876 著楊昌濬遴派妥員提解葛畢氏案人證送部諭旨 光緒二年五月初十日."

²³⁷ It was a book written by Song Ci who was a Song dynasty coroner. This book provides guidance to Song dynasty officials examining dead body.

²³⁸ Tz'u Sung and Brian E. McKnight, *The Washing Away of Wrongs : Forensic Medicine in Thirteenth-Century China*, Science, Medicine, and Technology in East Asia (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1981), 136.

urged and induced the coroner to draw a quick conclusion. Due to this, the coroner, under the pressure of the subordinate of the Yuhang magistrate, did not strictly follow the testing procedure recorded in '*the Washing Away of Wrongs*'. After the examination, the coroner had not scrubbed the needle to double check whether the bluish-black colour persisted or faded away.²³⁹

After receiving this testimony, the Ministry of Justice further petitioned the Inner Chamber, asking for the deposition of magistrate Yuhang and sending for him and his followers to come to Beijing to attend the investigation. In addition, the Ministry of Justice also asked for the coffin and corpse to be sent from Zhejiang to Beijing.²⁴⁰ This petition was quickly approved by the Grand of Council, and again Zhejiang Provincial Governor Yang Changjun had to prepare everything and guarantee that all the evidence and people were safely sent to the capital.²⁴¹

²³⁹ No doubt, examining the true causes of a 1870s death incident with the guidance of '*the Washing Away of Wrongs*', written in the Song Dynasty, was not particularly reliable and scientific.

²⁴⁰ Chong Shi and et al. 刑部尚書崇實等, "Zouwei Xunchu Ge Bishi an Yuanyan Caoshuai Qing Chiti Shiguan Fuyan Zhe, November 2nd 1876 奏為訊出葛畢氏案原驗草率請飭提尸棺復驗摺 光緒二年九月十七日."

²⁴¹ Junjidachen 軍機大臣, "Zhu Yang Changjun Jiang Liu Xitong Bing Ge Pinlian Shiguan Deng Jiebu Fuyan Shenban Yuzhi, November 2nd 1876 著楊昌濬將劉錫彤并葛品連尸棺等解部復驗審辦諭旨 光緒二年九月十七日."

After the corpse had been sent to Beijing, the Ministry of Justice sent its experienced coroners to conduct the examination. They opened the coffin and conducted a new round of examinations based on the bones left in the coffin. After testing the colour of the bones of the dead person, with a reference to '*the Washing Away of Wrongs*'²⁴², they drew the conclusion that the death had not been caused by poisoning. After this the Ministry of Justice asked permission from the Inner Chamber to immediately commit the deposed Yuhang county magistrate, Liu Xitong for trial.²⁴³ After receiving the report on the same day, January 29th, 1877, the Inner Chamber gave its approval to this petition.²⁴⁴

On February 9th, 1877, Wang Xin, a court censor, sent a report to the Inner Chamber asking for permission to severely punish Yang Changjun, the Zhejiang provincial governor, and Hu Ruilan, the Zhejiang *Xuezheng* for concealing the truth and manipulating evidence. Wang also held a conservative view concerning the Empire's reform and disliked the fact that the Empire had launched changes and learned

²⁴² Sung and McKnight, *The Washing Away of Wrongs : Forensic Medicine in Thirteenth-Century China*, 95.

²⁴³ Zao Bao and et al. 刑部尚書皂保等, "Zouwei Fuyan Ge Pinlian Xi Wudu Bingsi Qing Jiang Xiangyan Bushi Zhi Zhixian Liu Xitong Gezhi Tixun Zhe, January 29th 1877 奏為復驗葛品連係無毒病死請將相驗不實之知縣劉錫彤革職提訊摺 光緒二年十二月十六日," in *Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Qian Yudang 楊乃武與小白菜奇案御檔*, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Hangzhou 杭州: Xiling Yinshe 西泠印社 [Xiling Seal Engraver's Society], 2003).

²⁴⁴ Neige Feng Shangyu 內閣奉上諭, "Zhu Jiang Xiangyan Bushi Zhi Liu Xitong Gezhi Bing Zhu Xingbu Tiji Anzheng Xunming Youwu Gukan Qingbi Yuzhi, January 29th 1877 著將相驗不實之劉錫彤革職并著刑部提集案證訊明有無故勘情弊諭旨 光緒二年十二月十六日."

from the West. As an illustration of this, in 1873, Wang, as his college Biao Baoquan, also advocated the ritual practice which required Western diplomats to kneel and kowtow before the Qing Emperor.²⁴⁵

Wang Xin also hoped that this trial could become an example for similar cases and a warning to other officials.²⁴⁶ On the same day, as a response to Wang's petition, the Inner Chamber on behalf of the paramount power stated that the case was in the process of thorough investigation under the Ministry of Justice. Yang, Hu and all officials involved in misbehaviour would be punished according to the conclusion of the case drawn by the Ministry of Justice.²⁴⁷

3.6 A victory on verdict but a failure on reform

On March 30th, 1877, the Ministry of Justice finally drew a conclusion to this case. The ministry announced that Xiao Baicai's husband death had not been caused by poisoning. In addition, Liu Xitong, the Yuhang magistrate, while interrogating the case,

²⁴⁵ Zhonghua Shujv Bianjibu 中華書局編輯部 and Li Shuyuan 李書源, *Chouban Yiwu Shimo (Tongzhichao) 籌辦夷務始末 (同治朝)*, Di 9 Ce 第九冊 3634-38.

²⁴⁶ Wang Xin 掌四川道監察御史王昕, "Zou Can Yang Changjun Deng Banan Zhanxun Qiwang Qingzhi Yancheng Zhe, February 9th 1877 奏參楊昌濬等辦案瞻循欺罔請旨嚴懲摺光緒二年十二月二十七日," in *Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Qian Yudang 楊乃武與小白菜奇案御檔*, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Hangzhou 杭州: Xiling Yinshe 西泠印社 [Xiling Seal Engraver's Society], 2003).

²⁴⁷ Neige Feng Shangyu 內閣奉上諭, "Zhu Xingbu Chedi Genjiu Ge Pinlian Shensi an Yinhe Shenban Bushi Yuzhi, February 9th 1877 著刑部徹底根究葛品連身死案因何審辦不實諭旨光緒二年十二月二十七日."

had used torture on Xiao Baicai and Yang Naiwu.²⁴⁸ As Nancy Park has remarked, although torture was a routine tactic adopted by officials of the Qing government, the application and assessment of torture in the late Imperial China were much more complicated than the term might suggest. A number of government officials of the Qing government held the view that torture, as one of many tactics of investigation, despite being undesirable should not be utterly abandoned.²⁴⁹

In the late Qing dynasty, the use of torture in a trial, under some circumstances, might be totally acceptable to the bureaucracy and the masses, whereas under other circumstances, the same case might be utterly unacceptable to those same people. The trial of Yang Naiwu and Xiao Baicai could probably be considered as belonging to both categories. If the local elites in Zhejiang had not been vigorously petitioning for a reinvestigation, and if the Shen Bao had not been persistently following the trial and constantly reporting to the masses since its beginning, the torture inflicted on Yang Naiwu and Xiao Baicai would probably have been neglected and viewed as normal as in hundreds of thousands of other similar cases dealt with by the bureaucratic institution of the Qing Empire.

²⁴⁸ Zao Bao and et al. 刑部尚書皂保等, "Zou Xunming Ge Pinlian an Xiangguan Geyuan Fenbie Dingni Zhe, March 30th 1877 奏訊明葛品連案相關各員分別定擬摺 光緒三年二月十六日."

²⁴⁹ Nancy Park, "Imperial Chinese Justice and the Law of Torture," *Late Imperial China* 29, no. 2 (2008): 59-61.

As a consequence of the above, Yang Changjun, the Zhejiang provincial governor, and most of his subordinates involved in this trial, were removed from office. Official Yang, after his removal, was sent to join his mentor, Zuo Zongtang, then serving in the northwest of the Empire. Subsequently, as the public anger concerning the trial ceased, official Yang was re-promoted to an important provincial governing post, so despite committing abuse of power, official Yang and his team were merely punished *de jure*, but not *de facto*.

However, the most severe punishment went to the lowest official involved, Liu Xitong, the magistrate of Yuhang. Since Liu directly took charge of this case he was subsequently banished to Heilongjiang, the remotest northern border province of the Empire.²⁵⁰ The Shen Bao also reported the final verdict of the trial to the public on April 11th, 1877.²⁵¹ By then, it seemed that the resentment from the public had ceased, and the case was approaching its end.

Two years later, in 1879, Liu Xitong was already 74 years old and was serving the second year of his banishment in Manchuria. In this year the general of Heilongjiang

²⁵⁰ Neige Feng Shangyu 內閣奉上諭, "Zhu Jiang Ge Pinlian an Shenban Bushi Geyuan Fenbie Gechu Yuzhi, March 30th 1877 著將葛品連案審辦不實各員分別革處諭旨 光緒三年二月十六日."

²⁵¹ Shen Bao 申報, "Gonglu Yuzhi 恭錄 諭旨," *Shen Bao* 申報 April 11th 1877 光緒三年二月念八日 (二十八日) .

petitioned the central court and proposed that, 'Considering the good performance of Liu in Heilongjiang, it can be seen that he has already learned from his previous improper behaviour, and taking his age into consideration, I beg the Emperor and the Dowager Empress to show mercy and allow him to return home.'²⁵² Without comments from the ultimate authority on this petition, it is rather hard to perceive what their response to it was. However, it seems that some of Liu's friends in the court were actively helping him to decrease the punishment afflicted upon him. The punishment itself seems more like a necessary response to the anger and resentment of the public. As long as the public was satisfied with the result and the resentment ceased the case could be closed.

Despite having all the documents mentioned above to assist us in piecing together a picture of what took place, the real and genuine story probably could never ever be 100% accurately redrawn. In a similar way to another thorough trial case reinvestigation in the 1821's *Terranova* Incident, no matter how convincing the inference, and how

²⁵² Feng Shen and et al. 黑龍江將軍豐紳等, "Zouwei Yige Zhixian Liu Xitong Zaishu Niangao Qing Youshi Yuanji Pian, July 25th 1879 奏為已革知縣劉錫彤在戌年高請宥釋原籍片 光緒五年六月初七日," in *Yang Naiwu Yu Xiao Baicai Qian Yudang* 楊乃武與小白菜奇案御檔, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Hangzhou 杭州: Xiling Yinshe 西泠印社 [Xiling Seal Engraver's Society], 2003).

careful the comparison between variedly controversial sources, discussion space should always be preserved for a potentially and possibly different interpretation.²⁵³

Although the reality of the case is hard to redraw, it is still possible for us to discuss the shifting trend of the policy adopted by senior officials. Before the trial, the provincial governor Yang Changjun together with his bureaucratic team implemented a series of economic reforms in Zhejiang. These reforms included loosening the rigid salt monopoly selling system and opening the prohibited region for free migration. Compared with the official reporting memorials in the 1820s, it could be seen here that senior official's position had shifted from strongly advocating a pro state view to slightly advocating a pro society one.

There is also evidence to demonstrate that while the trial was continuing, official Yang Changjun had been attacked by people holding completely different opinions towards the future of the Empire's reform. On the one hand, there were newspaper reports expressing the appeal from the society side, or at least those in the vanguard who had access to Western judicial practice via the newly opened treaty port cities. These newspaper reports demonstrated a comparison between Qing and Western judicial systems and raised the discussion of a possible judicial reform. However, on

²⁵³ Joseph Benjamin Askew, "Re-Visiting New Territory: The Terranova Incident Re-Examined," *Asian Studies Review* 28, no. 4 (2004).

the other hand, there were some sternly conservative government officials who disliked the idea of any reform of the Empire and insisted on retaining the unequal ritual practice of requiring foreign diplomats to kneel down and kowtow before the Qing Emperor.

One group wished to push the limited economic reform of Yang Changjun deeper into the judicial sphere. The other group, on the contrary, wished to turn the clock back by advocating that the Empire keep an unequal hierarchical position towards foreign countries. Paradoxically, these two distinct groups of people shared a similarity in their dissatisfaction with Yang Changjun who advocate a limited reform in Zhejiang. These two groups' joint attack finally led to the deposition of official Yang.

Unfortunately, official Yang and his bureaucratic institution did not cooperate with civil society to promote China's judicial reform, but, instead, the civil society side cooperated with the conservative officials at state level, deposing the advocates of a limited reform. Official Yang failed to step out of his bureaucratic institution to try and find more shared interests with those in civil society who advocated judicial reform. Historically speaking a chance was lost to form a coalition that might have defeated the conservative officials and promoted China's reform.

As a short conclusion to this chapter, after the defeat of the Taiping rebellion, the newly appointed Zhejiang provincial officials' economic reform in the locality, when compared with their predecessors in the 1820s, revealed a policy shift from a strong pro state stance to a slightly pro society one. However, a trial in the mid-1870s exposed a dilemma confronting these newly appointed officials. On the one hand, some intellectual vanguards in society tried to promote the reform more deeply and raised the discussion of a judicial reform. On the other hand, some sternly conservative officials at the central court disliked even the limited economic reforms of the time and still expected China to retain its hierarchical position over other countries in the world. Paradoxically, the trial in the mid-1870s drew the two distinct sides together and they jointly succeeded in dismissing the local officials who had carried out a limited reform there. However, whatever intentions the various actors may have had, this dismissal did not bring the political institutions in the locality on to the track of a deeper and more comprehensive reform.

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Chapter 4 漸入佳境 As Good as It Gets

4.1 Abstract

The deposition of the officials advocating limited reform presented the government with a situation where it seemed that tax increases could easily be introduced but there was, nevertheless, a local anti-taxation protest in 1878. After this, the later Sino-French and Sino-Japanese confrontation made it evident that the appointed officials did not trust the loyalty of the local population. In order to confront the external threats, these officials were obliged to make compromises with the local population, granting the latter the right to arm themselves and organise their own militias. Paradoxically, while the Qing central government's administration over Ningbo had been gradually lessening, the industrialisation in the locality had started and begun to develop. Modern machinery had been imported from abroad to Ningbo, and foreign engineers had been hired to provide technological guidance. Apart from that, successful Ningbo merchants at overseas or treaty port cities also actively contributed their wealth, expertise and knowledge towards the promotion of social and economic change in Ningbo and helped improve local access to and comprehension of the external world.

4.2 Introduction

Albert Feuerwerker in 1978 published his article, *A White Horse May or May Not Be a Horse, but Megahistory is Not Economic History*, to critique Victor D. Lippit's

work, *The Development of Underdevelopment in China*, in which Feuerwerker emphasised the significance of the West's influence, especially the spread of advanced technology, on the economic growth of China. Feuerwerker advocated that more research about the modern Chinese economy should be based on empirical data rather than mere grand theories.²⁵⁴

Feuerwerker also argues that, prior to the 20th century, the majority of China's economy was linked to the agricultural sector or quite intimately related to it²⁵⁵ and in addition, only very limited economic change took place in China in the latter half of the 19th Century. It was neither a radical reconstruction based on the Western style, nor a continuity of growth with the traditional lines. Feuerwerker considers that China needed to adopt advanced modern technology, otherwise it could not move beyond its economic developing bottleneck in the 19th century.²⁵⁶

One vital question of debate concerning the development of capitalism in the late Qing period is why China could not independently industrialise by itself. Marxist historians tends to answer this question by blaming imperialism and feudalism. They

²⁵⁴ Albert Feuerwerker, *A White Horse May or May Not Be a Horse, but Megahistory Is Not Economic History*, vol. 4 (1978), 85.

²⁵⁵ Albert Feuerwerker and University of Michigan. Center for Chinese Studies., *The Chinese Economy, 1870-1949*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1995), 15.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

assume that without the intervention of imperialism and feudalism, China would have successfully industrialised by itself. However, Albert Feuerwerker argues instead that the consistent improvement and application of technology, an innovation supporting political system, and a step by step gradual economic growth were vital and essential to China.²⁵⁷

Yen Ching-Hwang joins the debate concerning the reasons which may account for the failure of the Qing Empire's early economic modernisation effort. Yen focuses his study on the replacement of foreign capital by overseas Chinese capital, and the reason why this effort with overseas Chinese capital ultimately failed to help China realise economic modernisation in the late Qing.²⁵⁸ Yen argues for the dependent nature of overseas Chinese capital on the colonial government and the bureaucratic nature of Chinese economic organisation, *Guan Du Shang Ban* (official supervision and merchants' management). The deficiencies of the latter system have been thoroughly studied by Albert Feuerwerker.²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Albert Feuerwerker, "Presidential Address: Questions About China's Early Modern Economic History That I Wish I Could Answer," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 4 (1992): 768-69.

²⁵⁸ Ching-Hwang Yen, "The Overseas Chinese and Late Ch'ing Economic Modernization," *Modern Asian Studies* 16, no. 02 (1982): 217.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 227-32.

²⁶⁰ Albert Feuerwerker and Yu Heping (Translation) 虞和平 (译), *Zhongguo Zaoqi Gongyehua Shen Xuanhuai He Guandu Shangban Qiye* 中国早期工业化 盛宣怀 (1844-1916) 和官督商办企业 [China's Early Industrialisation Sheng Hsuan-Huai (1844-1916) and Mandarin Enterprise] (Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe 中国社会科学出版社, 1990 (1958)).

Yen also stated in 1984 that the climax of imperialism was reached at the end of 19th century, followed by the response of the rise of nationalism. Since imperialism mainly focused on economic expansion, investing on mine and railway construction, Nationalism, apart from expressing itself as reform or revolution, also had an impact in the economic sphere, for instance, competing to recover the right to construct railways. With the example of Chang Yu-Nan's involvement in the construction of Chaochow Railway, Yen concluded that the oversea Chinese capital achieved a limited success in Chinese modernisation and was a supplementary and alternative source to foreign capital.²⁶¹

After the Opening up and reform, a significant number of studies concerning the development of capitalism in mainland China have focused on the history of the Chamber of Commerce. Xu Dingxin is a ground-breaking scholar who, since 1983, has been studying the Chamber of Commerce in the late Qing and early Republic of China,²⁶² and later more specifically the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce. He argues that the development of the Chamber of Commerce in the late Qing and early Republican era signified the transition from the literati-merchant era to the modern

²⁶¹ Ching-Hwang Yen, "Chang Yu-Nan and the Chaochow Railway (1904–1908): A Case Study of Overseas Chinese Involvement in China's Modern Enterprise," *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 1 (1984): 119-34-35.

²⁶² Xu Dingxin 徐鼎新, "Liu Zhongguo Shanghui Suyuan 旧中国商会溯源," *Zhongguo Shehui Jingjishi Yanjiu 中国社会经济史研究*, no. 1 (1983).

entrepreneur era.²⁶³ To some extent, this is a process of transition from traditional economic organisation to a Western style modern one. In addition, the process can be seen as reflecting the shifting significance from traditional cultural capital to economic capital.

Luo Zhitian summarised this process and remarked that, under the profound influence of Western capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the leading and most influential social echelon of Chinese society had moved from the traditional educated Confucian scholars to modern professional soldiers, merchants, industrialists and the newly rising revolutionaries.²⁶⁴ No doubt, this transition was a great enlargement and diversification of social elites in China.

With regard to Ningbo, Xie Zhengsheng examines the beginning of the city's industrialisation in his article on Yan Xinhou and his Tong Jiu Yuan cotton-grinding factory.²⁶⁵ The successful story of the Ningbo group in Shanghai in the late 19th and

²⁶³ "Cong Shenshang Shidai Zouxiang Qiyejia Shidai Jindaihua Jincheng Zhong De Shanghai Zongshanghui 从绅商时代走向企业家时代 近代化进程中的上海总商会," *Jindaishi Yanjiu 近代史研究*, no. 4 (1991): 39.

²⁶⁴ Luo Zhitian 罗志田, *Quanshi Zhuanyi: Jindai Zhongguo De Sixiang Yu Shehui 权势转移: 近代中国的思想与社会* (Beijing Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 北京师范大学出版社 [Beijing Normal University Publishing Group], 2014), 9-10.

²⁶⁵ Xie Zhensheng 谢振声, "Ningbo Gongyehua De Qidian: Tongjiuyuan Yahua Chang 宁波工业化的起点:通久源轧花厂," *Ningbo Zhiye Jishu Xueyuan Xuebao 宁波职业技术学院学报* 13, no. 1 (2009): 44.

early 20th century has been studied by Huang Yiping.²⁶⁶ Sun Shangen examines the Ningbo group's contribution to Ningbo's economic and social development. Sun argues for the importance of civil society in the era when an effective government did not exist.²⁶⁷ Yao Yuming points out that it was Ningbo's adaptative capability which led to its success in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.²⁶⁸ Yao also mentions the negative impact of the West upon the development of Ningbo.²⁶⁹ One limitation of the above studies was that they, to various degrees, neglect or undermine the positive impact from the Western economic system on 'the Ningbo group'. The term 'Ningbo group' in this thesis will be defined as the group of Ningbo people overseas or at Western style treaty port cities who had successfully accumulated their wealth, gained expertise or learned scientific knowledge in Western economic or social institutions.

This study, on the one hand, will observe the further decline of the Qing central government's administrative capability over the locality, and on the other hand, it will examine the take-off of Ningbo's industrialisation, which opened a golden period for Ningbo's economic improvement. The positive impact which Ningbo had received

²⁶⁶ Huang Yiping 黄逸平, "Jindai Ningbobang Yu Shanghai Jingji 近代宁波帮与上海经济," *Xueshu Yuekan 学术月刊*, no. 5 (1994).

²⁶⁷ Sun Shangen 孙善根, "Ningbobang Yu Ningbo De Zaoqi Xiandaihua 宁波帮与宁波的早期现代化," *Ningbo Zhiye Jishu Xueyuan Xuebao 宁波职业技术学院学报*, 9, no. 6 (2005): 31.

²⁶⁸ Yao Yuming 姚玉明, "Jindai "Ningbobang" Wenhua Xindai Chutan 近代“宁波帮”文化心态初探," *Zhongguo Shehui Jingjishi Yanjiu 中国社会经济史研究*, no. 2 (1990): 101.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 72-76.

from the West and the early Westernised Japan will be highlighted. This chapter also supports Albert Feuerwerker's argument that feudalism and imperialism are not the essential reason for the failure of the economic modernisation effort of China. On the contrary, the communication and cooperation between the West and the local society was the underlying and vital engine for promoting the economic growth and social welfare improvement in local society during the late Qing and early Republican era.

4.3 The Qing central government's retreat from the locality

After the mid-1870s' deposition of Yang Changjun and his bureaucratic team in Zhejiang, Ningbo experienced an attempt to increase taxes in 1878; however this failed due to an anti-taxation protest launched by Fenghua people. Local officials were afraid of a chain of protests so put the tax rate back to the lower level arrangement of 1869. This shows the incapability of the appointed officials in the 1870s to enforce improper taxation on the area. Apart from that, historical evidence also indicates that the centrally appointed officials did not trust the local population. While the Qing Empire was in conflict with France and Japan respectively in 1885 and 1895 the challenge from these countries forced the local appointed officials to make a compromise by permitting the local population to arm themselves and by recognising self-initiated local militia institutions.

Firstly, it was the 1878 anti-taxation protest in Ningbo. A transit tax collected from the trade transaction between Ningbo and Fenghua had been established in 1869. According to this, goods transported from Fenghua to Ningbo were required to pay a transit duty, whereas goods transported from Ningbo to Fenghua would not be required to pay it. In the summer of 1878, a new tax collector arrived, and he ignored the 1869 tax collection arrangement. Instead, he required the trade transactions from Ningbo to Fenghua also be taxed. A case in point was the item of straw mats, which experienced a doubling of tax payable.²⁷⁰

This action irritated Fenghua people and in the early morning of August 24th, 1878, over 5,000 of them marched towards Ningbo city, all taking umbrellas and some hiding farm tools under their clothes to use as weapons. As the city gates had been closed, the Fenghua people burned down a transit tax collection spot situated outside the city. The then appointed officials in Ningbo agreed to put the tax rate back to the 1869 standard; however, the Fenghua people expected more and required the complete abolition of the transit tax.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ Du Dewei 浙海关税务司杜德维 Edward Bangs Drew, "Zhehaiguan Maoyi Baogao 1878, March 20th 1879 光绪四年浙海关贸易报告 1879 年 3 月 20 日," in *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况*, ed. Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan 中华人民共和国杭州海关 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 2002), 210-13.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

On August 26th, Merchants in Ningbo, being afraid of possible local chaos, also conducted a strike to exert pressure on the officials to force them to accept the Fenghua people's petition. On the same day, the official in charge of Ningbo, Shaoxing and Taizhou made a compromise by agreeing to utterly abolish Fenghua's transit duty collection. As this news circulated, people in Ninghai wanted to copy Fenghua's case so they marched to Ninghai county on 2nd September, causing disorder for two days. The masses even rushed into a local military base and stole 200 guns.²⁷²

As senior provincial officials were familiar with this type of case they considered that the compromise made to the Fenghua people by junior official was similar to the well-known story of the ant which made a tiny hole in a dam which eventually led to the complete destruction of the whole dam. Therefore, 500 well-armed Hunan militia were sent to Fenghua on September 16th. They divided into two groups, one in charge of cutting off Fenghua's connection with Ningbo; the other in charge of cutting off Fenghua's connection with Ninghai. The Fenghua people were forced to accept the tax collection rate set in 1869, but only did this in return for a promise from the government that the leaders of the August protest movement would not be punished. After some discussions the two sides reached an agreement on this.²⁷³

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

The provincial government also made further compromises on the basis of the 1869 tax rate. For instance, the tax money of vessels carrying construction materials and furniture decreased by fifty percent. The tax on hemp decreased from 19 cashes per item to 8 per item.²⁷⁴ The 1878 anti-taxation case was settled, and it indicates the further decline of appointed officials' ability to govern this area, specifically as regards the local tax rates which they could no longer arbitrarily increase. Apart from the taxation rates becoming clearer, the appointed officials also did not have the confidence in local society's loyalty towards the Qing Empire, especially when faced with challenges from foreign countries. a case in point being the Sino-French confrontation in the mid-1880s.

Even before the breakout of the confrontation between the Qing Empire and France, the tension between them could be perceived and observed in Ningbo. The local conditions then were recorded in the letter written to the Legation of the United States by Mr. John Russell Young, who was then the minister of the United States in China²⁷⁵. Young remarked in his corresponding letter that the attitudes toward foreigners were completely different as between the officials and the local residents living along the coast of Ningbo. Young recorded the condition of Ningbo in the early of 1884, as:

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ John C. Broderick, "John Russell Young: The Internationalist as Librarian," Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/about/about-the-librarian/previous-librarians-of-congress/john-russell-young/>.

“Mr. Stevens says that in Ningpo there is ‘a continuous preparation for war by those in authority.’ New forts have been built and old ones repaired. Mr. Stevens believes that the harbour of Ningpo will be a naval rendezvous for China in the event of a war. I note also that preparations to impede navigation at Ningpo are in embryo. Mr. Stevens estimates the number of soldiers as 16,000, but should necessity arise there might be 30,000. It is pleasant to note that the temper of the people towards foreigners is friendly and cordial.”²⁷⁶

The local officials in Ningbo were preparing for the port defence against a possible maritime attack launched by the French. The then prefecture official in charge of Ningbo, Shaoxing and Taizhou was Xue Fucheng. Xue’s responsibility included preparing for the Zhenhai port defence at Ningbo. When the Qing Empire had a peaceful relationship with other foreign countries there were two people in Zhenhai who made their living as river pilots, guiding foreign ships passing through the mouth of Yong River which links the city of Ningbo and the ocean outside. However, as the tension between Qing Empire and French increased, they were told by officials that this kind of service for French must be terminated. Xue was confident of confining the two pilots and preventing them from providing guidance for foreign vessels, whereas, he was deeply worried about fishermen living around the coast who might provide similar

²⁷⁶ John Russell Young, "Letter to Mr. Frelinghuysen, Legation of the United States at Beijing," (FRUS frus188485.i0013 p43-45, March 31, 1884).

services for foreigners which the government had very limited power to prevent. Xue stated that some of the coastline fishermen might be tempted by the money provided by the French.²⁷⁷ This clearly indicated that, off-coast fishermen's loyalty did not lie completely on the side of the Empire and its local officials.

In order to consolidate the defence of the river Xue considered blocking the river mouth totally. However, he also worried that this rigid decision might lead to an inner disturbance. Putting the concealment decision into practice would lead to the termination of trade which would bring difficulties to the subsistence of the local residents who made a living from maritime transactions. They would strongly protest against this rigid decision, which might then further develop into chaos in the area.²⁷⁸ Later, a historical commentary on a compilation work of personal letters received by Zhu Zhongyu, an influential member of the Zhenhai elite during the late Qing and early Republican era, shows that the *Baoshun* vessel, purchased in 1855 to pacify pirates from the West, had been used to block the river in the 1885 Sino-French War, but since then the *Baoshun* vessel had been scrapped.^{279 280}

²⁷⁷ Xue Fucheng 寧紹臺道薛福成, "Bing Fuyuan Liu Zunchi Anzu Haikou Yinshui Mixing Banli Qingxing You, July 24th 1884 稟撫院劉遵飭暗阻海口引水密行辦理情形由 光緒十年六月初三日," in *Zhedong Choufang Lu* 浙東籌防錄.

²⁷⁸ "Shang Liu Zhongcheng Shu, August 16th 1884 上劉中丞書 光緒十年六月二十六日."

²⁷⁹ Zhenhaiqu Danganjv(Guan) 镇海区档案局(馆), *Zhu Zhongyu Bainian Laihong Lu* 朱忠煜百年来鸿录 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2014), 54.

²⁸⁰ Since 1885, as a new vessel had been adopted into use, local people had used New *Baoshun* and Old *Baoshun* to distinguish the new one and the scrapped old one.

The impact of the Sino-Japanese War on Ningbo, by and large, resembled the Sino-French War a decade earlier. After the Meiji Restoration, Japan successfully united itself from various feudal kingdoms and started to walk on the path of modernisation. As Japan successfully modernised itself, it also started to copy the example from the West by actively spreading modernity to its neighbouring countries. This inevitably became a challenge to the Qing Empire and its suzerain state status over other countries in the East of Asia, especially Korea.

In 1894, the *Tonghak* Insurrection occurred in Korea. This insurrection fought against both the doctrine of official Confucianism and the spreading of Christianity in Korea.²⁸¹ Both the Qing Empire and Japan dispatched troops to Korea to help the Korean government suppress the insurrection. Japan, however, apart from suppressing the insurrection, also demanded that Korea should implement internal administrative reform. Li Hongzhang, the Qing Empire's governor general of Zhili, failed to achieve a compromise on peace with Japan. On July 25th, 1894, the British chartered steamer *Kowshing*, carrying reinforcement troops dispatched by the Qing Empire, was sunk by Japan and a few days later, on August 1st, the two sides declared war on each other.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Zong Zeya 宗泽亚, *Qingri Zhanzheng 1894-1895 清日战争 1894-1895* (Beijing 北京: Shijie Tushu Chubanshe 世界图书出版公司 [World Publishing Corporation], 2012), 5.

²⁸² Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, "Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866-1905," in *The Cambridge History of China 11*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and John King Fairbank (Cambridge Eng. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 105-07.

On July 2nd, 1894, Li Hongzhang, on behalf of the Emperor, warned all ports on the southern coast to prepare for a possible attack from Japan. After receiving this order, on July 12th, 1894, Liao Shoufeng, then Zhejiang provincial governor, reported back the detailed conditions of Zhenhai's defences. Liao, after receiving a brief from his subordinate, stated that the Zhenhai port artillery had been consolidated a decade earlier in preparation for the Sino-French War. Due to this, the port was still in good enough condition to defend against the possible attack from Japan.²⁸³

However, Liao also emphasised that the coastline of Zhejiang province was too long to be protected which provided the Japanese Navy with an enormous number of landing options. If the Japanese emulated their Ming dynasty ancestor's tactics, landing in Zhejiang first and then forming cooperation with local 'wicked' people, this would pose a serious threat to the official defence.²⁸⁴ These so called local 'wicked' people were very likely the part-time fishermen, private salt smugglers, and pirates.

Before a confrontation with other counties, the 'wicked' people in the locality were treated by the orthodox Confucian society as heterodox and opponents who had to be constrained. However, as the potential cooperation between the 'wicked' people

²⁸³ Liao Shoufeng 浙江巡撫廖壽豐, "Zouwei Zunzhi Choubai Haifang Gongzhe Michen Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為遵旨籌備海防恭摺密陳仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-03-0086-0008, July 12th 1894 光緒二十年六月初十日).

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

and Japan posed a serious threat to the government, the Qing, in order to defeat Japan, tried to attract these people to its own side and were now willing to make concessions to them. A typical example was the recognition of former illegal institutions formed by the 'wicked' people as now being legal. The Qing Empire, in order to defeat the Japanese Navy, was now willing to call a bunch of former vaguely defined pirates as a group of legal 'fishermen militia'.²⁸⁵

No doubt, the Qing government loathed the 'wicked' people and the institutions formed by them in the locality. Even though these institutions might be weak and tiny, they were still potential competitors with the central authority in various aspects, such as tax collection. As long as there were no other strong competitors, the Qing Empire would rather limit 'the wicked' people and label them as illegal criminals. However, as there were other strong competitors, such as Japan, who provided a much more attractive offer to these 'wicked' people than the one proposed by the Qing government; the latter, in order to defeat its competitor, Japan, was forced to lessen its constraints over them and recognise the legal status of their institutions.

²⁸⁵ Liao Shoufeng 浙江巡撫廖壽豐, "Zouwei Zhejiangsheng Yanhai Yutuan Cidi Jvban Gongzhe Fuchen Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為浙江省沿海漁團次第舉辦恭摺覆陳仰祈聖鑒事," (FHAC 中國第一曆史檔案館 04-01-24-0163-0156, June 10th 1895 光緒二十一年五月十八日).

Liao, in his July 1894 memorial, also argued that, if the Japanese obtained support from these 'wicked' people, it would be impossible for the Empire to hold the defence against Japan in Zhejiang. Liao proposed that the government could rely on local *Baojia* leaders, and allow them to arm themselves, and in so doing transform their *Baojia* units into militias. Adopting these actions might isolate the local 'wicked' people from the Japanese.²⁸⁶ The essential nature of Liao's proposal was to loosen the central authority's control over the locality. For instance, the central government would allow the local residents to possess weapons for self-defence and permit them to organise themselves into self-protection militias.

It should be noted that there was a spectrum between the Qing Empire, local society and the modernised France and Japan. The spectrum of local society could be further divided into the local population inclined to the Qing Empire, and the so called local 'wicked' people inclined to side with modernised France and Japan. When the influence from the West was not strong, the central court, guided by its Tribute System, set various limitations over local society, such as preventing local people from arming themselves. However, as the impact of the West further spilled out, local society, especially the 'wicked' people, preferred to ally themselves with France and Westernised Japan. Under this competition, the Qing Empire was forced to lessen its

²⁸⁶ "Zouwei Zunzhi Choubai Haifang Gongzhe Michen Yangqi Shengjian Shi 奏為遵旨籌備海防恭摺密陳仰祈聖鑒事."

constraints over the locality by allowing the local masses to arm themselves against the possible attack to the Empire from foreign countries.

4.4 The Qing central government's further retreat from the locality

Since 1900, the content of memorial communication between central court and senior provincial officials had dramatically changed from helping the central authority to govern the local area into loosening central authority's control and implementing reforms. As from 1900, the Qing government gradually withdrew from the responsibility of organising military defence in the provinces. Correspondingly, the provinces started to take this responsibility upon themselves. For instance, on September 11th, 1901 the Inner Chamber, on behalf of the Emperor, issued an edict to announce the termination of the old examination for selecting military officials. Instead, it was permitted to establish a new style military school in the capital cities of each province.²⁸⁷ In Zhejiang, in addition, the modern policing institution was also being actively implemented so as to keep social order locally. One memorial written in the

²⁸⁷ Guangxuchao Shangyu 光緒朝上諭, "Shangyu September 11th 1901 光緒二十七年七月二十九日上諭," in *Guangxuchao Shangyudang Di 27 Ce* 光緒朝上諭檔 第二十七冊 ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社 [Guangxi Normal University Press]).

April of 1909 indicated that preparations were under way for the setting up of a modern police training school in Zhejiang.²⁸⁸

As the responsibility of keeping social order gradually shifted from the central authority to each province, simultaneously more wealth could be kept for local development by the locality. For example, in March 1910, the Zhejiang provincial governor reported to the central court about the condition of taxation collection in Zhejiang. In his memorial he stated that Zhejiang province was required to provide the central government with 2 million silver taels as land and population tax. However, in reality only 0.4 million, one fifth of that required figure, was actually collected.²⁸⁹ Clearly this official failed to complete his mission of tax collection in Zhejiang, but in 1910, the central court simply quietly accepted this result, without expressing the slightest dissatisfaction. If the central government had still had strong control over local society, the provincial officials would not have dared to write such a memorial.

In the locality not only financial resources, but also talented individuals with professional expertise in various areas, could now be retained in the provinces.

²⁸⁸ Zeng Yun 浙江巡撫增韞, "Zouwei Zunzhang Yu Zhejiangsheng Gaishe Gaodeng Xunjing Xuetang Shi 奏為遵章與浙江省改設高等巡警學堂事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-38-0199-025, April 19th 1909 宣統元年閏二月二十九日).

²⁸⁹ "Zoubao Jindong Chunqiu Bokuan Coujie Xuantong Yuannian Diding Jingxiang Shi 奏報盡動春秋撥款湊解宣統元年地丁京餉事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-35-1089-042, March 19th 1910 宣統元年二月二十八日).

Travelling to Beijing and working for the central government had previously been the only option for the young and the talented Chinese. However, in the first decade of the 20th century, talented individuals were invited to stay and work for the provinces and the locality. A case in point was that of a distinguished modern law student by the name of Sun Zhimin who, after finishing his studies in Japan, was invited to stay and contribute his intelligence, acting as a teacher to guide the local autonomy in Zhejiang.²⁹⁰

The final years of the Qing also witnessed the Empire-owned resources being reallocated for the general welfare of local society according to the function of a free market. For instance, in 1910, it was planned to set up a provincial library in Zhejiang. The then Zhejiang provincial governor petitioned the central court to grant the construction of the library, using temple land owned by the royal family at the West Lake of Hangzhou.²⁹¹ Furthermore, in June 1911, in order to accumulate more funding for local autonomy, the provincial governor also petitioned to be allowed to sell land owned by the Empire in Zhejiang to private owners in the localities, such as, to the

²⁹⁰ "Zouwei Zaiji Hanlinyuan Bianxiu Sun Zhimin Fali Jingsui Qing Zanliu Yuanji Chongdang Zhejiangsheng Zizhi Yanjiusuo Jiaoyuan Shi 奏為在籍翰林院編修孫智敏法理精邃請暫留原籍充當浙江省自治研究所教員事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-12-0676-057, July 6th 1909 宣統元年五月十九日).

²⁹¹ "Zouwei Choujian Zhejiangsheng Tushuguan Yuanan Kenqing Shangji Xihu Shengyinsi Xinggong Nei Wenlange Pang Kongdi Shi 奏為籌建浙江省圖書館援案懇請賞給西湖聖因寺行宮內文瀾閣旁空地事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-38-0030-021, June 27th 1910 宣統二年五月二十一日).

notables, the merchants, or the peasants.²⁹² This action would commercialise those resources owned by the Empire, and shift them to private owners. These owners, in order to make more profits from their possession, would subsequently improve the land. Consequently, these actions, as a by-product of individual selfishness, simultaneously created wealth and general welfare for the local community. This paralleled what had been argued by Adam Smith in his '*the Wealth of Nations*'²⁹³.

Apart from the military and the economic aspects, political reforms had also been implemented in the localities. On January 18th, 1909, on behalf of the Emperor the Inner Chamber issued a decree in which the autonomy of local societies was finally officially permitted.²⁹⁴ In Zhejiang, the function of parliaments became more and more important, not only at provincial level, but also at municipal level. Mr. Shen Junru (沈鈞儒), a well-respected local Zhejiang native, was elected as the president of Zhejiang provincial parliament.²⁹⁵ In addition, modern courts and modern judicial

²⁹² "Zouwei Zhejiang Chengzhenxiang Difang Zizhi Jingfei Zhichu Qing Chibu Heyi Bochong Quansheng Guanhuang Shi 奏為浙江城鎮鄉地方自治經費支絀請飭部核議撥充全省官荒事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-22-0068-045, June 19th 1911 宣統三年五月二十三日).

²⁹³ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 18.

²⁹⁴ Guangxuchao Shangyu 光緒朝上諭, "Shangyu January 18th 1909 光緒三十四年十二月二十七日上諭," in *Guangxuchao Shangyudang Di 34 Ce 光緒朝上諭檔 第三十四冊*, ed. FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社 [Guangxi Normal University Press]).

²⁹⁵ Zeng Yun 浙江巡撫增韞, "Zouwei Ziyijv Jvxing Xuanjv Jiading Yizhang Shi 奏為諮議局舉行選舉假定議長事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-01-1095-065, October 11th 1909 宣統元年八月二十八日).

officer training schools were also established.²⁹⁶ Another memorial in 1910 also indicated that, in order to make preparation for the implementation of the constitutional monarchy institution, it was also planned to set up a private law and politics training school in Zhejiang.²⁹⁷

As the central authority lessened its control over Zhejiang, the local elites in Ningbo also actively assumed their responsibilities to promote local society's economic and social development, such as donating their wealth for the improvement of local education.²⁹⁸ This facilitated the social mobility and fluidity between different echelons in the area. A case in point, in November 1904, was that of Lu Hongchang (盧洪昶) and Chen Xunzheng (陳訓正), two local notables in Cixi county, who cooperated to establish a private school (私立育德農工小學堂) for the despised 'fallen people' (墮民) in the locality.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ "Zouwei Xuchen Zhesheng Chouban Shenpanting Qingxing Shi 奏為敘陳浙省籌辦審判廳情形事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-01-1117-052, March 31st 1910 宣統二年二月二十一日).

²⁹⁷ "Zouwei Biantong Buzhang Zhunyu Sili Xuetang Zhuanxi Fazheng Wei Lixian Yubei Shi 奏為變通部章准予私立學堂專習法政為立憲預備事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-38-0200-044, January 20th 1910 宣統元年十二月十日).

²⁹⁸ "Zouwei Zhenhaixian Zaiji Zhishen Fan Fen Juanzi Banxue Qingjiang Shi 奏為鎮海縣在籍職紳樊棻捐資辦學請獎事," (FHAC 中國第一歷史檔案館 04-01-38-0201-029, April 21st 1910 宣統二年三月二十一日).

²⁹⁹ Zhao Zhiqin 赵志勤 and Chen Xunci 陈训慈, "Ningbo Guangfu Qianhou De Chen Qihuai, October 1983 宁波光复前后的陈岷怀 1983 年 10 月," in *Xinhai Geming Ningbo Shiliao Xuanji* 辛亥革命 宁波史料选辑, ed. Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Weiyuanhui 宁波市政协文史委员会 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2011 年).

The 'fallen people' was a group of people whose profession had been constrained, and their social status despised by the rest of the local masses since the Yuan Dynasty.³⁰⁰ By 1904, however, this newly set up school was providing them with a relatively equal opportunity to receive education.³⁰¹ It should be noted here that, as the state level actor retreated from its governance over the locality, the discrepancy between despised people and local masses was gradually narrowing, and the mainstream local society was taking the initiative to absorb formerly despised populations into itself by granting them equal status and membership.

After the Boxer Rebellion, the Qing court went through a process of radical reform, during which it drastically reduced its governance over local societies. The retreat of the central government no doubt paved the way for the future Xinhai revolution, but it also provided space for the rapid economic and social development of local society. More precisely, it provided space for the establishment and development of local institutions, such as the private school for the 'fallen' people, through which, the despised ones could easily be merged into the mainstream of the local community.

³⁰⁰ Zhang Qian 张潜, "The Fallen People and Social Stratification," *Essay for Ningbo in World History Course (Spring 2011) in the University of Nottingham Ningbo China* (2011).

³⁰¹ Zhao Zhiqin 赵志勤 and Chen Xunci 陈训慈, "Ningbo Guangfu Qianhou De Chen Qihuai, October 1983 宁波光复前后的陈杞怀 1983年10月."

4.5 The vanguard of Ningbo

The vanguard of Ningbo had substantially contributed to the region's economic and social changes in the late Qing and early Republican era. Some, but not all, came from wealthy family backgrounds, but it should be noted that there was a significant similarity shared by them, which was that almost all had some degree of communication and connection with the West or the later Westernised Japan. Most had worked and accumulated their wealth under the Western style economic system, either overseas or in treaty port cities. One example, Yan Xinhou (嚴信厚), who was born at Cixi in 1828, went to work in Shanghai when he was 17. Later Yan made his fortune and became the president of the Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai. He actively invested on Ningbo's industrialisation and established the first modern cotton-grinding factory at Ningbo.³⁰²

Another case in point was Ye Chengzhong (葉澄衷) who was born at Zhenhai in 1840 and went to Shanghai at the age of 14. Three years later, he was sailing a sampan along the Huangpu River, selling goods to the customers on foreign vessels.³⁰³ At this time, Ye started to learn English. Allegedly he once picked up a wallet dropped by a Westerner and not only returned it untouched to the owner but also turned down the

³⁰² Jin Pusen 金普森 and Sun Shangen 孙善根, *Ningbobang Da Cidian* 宁波帮大辞典 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2001), 112.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 66.

reward. The owner really appreciated his honesty and subsequently invited Ye to work with him in the hardware business. This became Ye's steppingstone for reaching his later career success. He gradually became the King of the hardware industry in Shanghai before gradually shifting to investment in banking, real estate and maritime transportation. Ye also actively donated money to the welfare development of Ningbo, such as local irrigation work, public transportation, education, and hospitals.^{304 305}

Zhu Baosan (朱葆三) was another example of local success. Zhu was born at Dinghai in 1848 and went to Shanghai as an apprentice when he was 13. Later, he gradually became an important figure at Shanghai, involved in finance, commercial industry, and maritime transportation sectors. A circulating idiom in Shanghai was that, 'the seal of the prefect magistrate does not work as well as a letter from Zhu Baosan'.³⁰⁶

A more famous case was that of Yu Qiaqing (虞洽卿). Yu was born in 1867 at Zhenhai and went to Shanghai to work as an apprentice in the pigment industry at the age of 15. While staying at Shanghai he used his free time to learn English and

³⁰⁴ Yu Fuhai 俞福海, *Ningbo Shizhi* 宁波市志 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shujv 中华书局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 1995), 2956-57.

³⁰⁵ Zhou Keren 周克任, "Lvhu Zaoqi Gongshangyejia Ye Chengzhong 旅沪早期工商事业家叶澄衷," in *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 5 Ji* 宁波文史资料 第五辑, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会 (February 1987 1987年2月), 45-51.

³⁰⁶ Jin Pusen 金普森 and Sun Shangen 孙善根, *Ningbobang Da Cidian* 宁波帮大辞典, 105.

gradually was able to hold a conversation with foreigners. Later Yu worked as a comprador in the banking industry, a post he held for 38 years, and also invested in transportation by establishing a steam vessel company in 1909, ultimately becoming the president of the Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai.³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ Yu also built a short distance railway to link his hometown of Longshan and the port of Zhenhai in 1912.³¹⁰

³¹¹ Feng Xiaocai conducted thorough research concerning Yu Qiaqing from the focusing point of the relationship between businessmen and politicians in the early half of the 20th century. ³¹² Feng's research is thorough and inspiring, but his project, to some extent, has neglected Shanghai and the Western style treaty port city's significant role and function towards Yu's success.

A younger generation example was Qin Runqing (秦潤卿). Qin was born in 1877 at Cixi with a humble family background, and also went to Shanghai at the age of

³⁰⁷ Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集 (Zhejiang Daxue Chubanshe 浙江大学出版社, 2015), 291-92.

³⁰⁸ Yu Fuhai 俞福海, *Ningbo Shizhi* 宁波市志, 2960-61.

³⁰⁹ Huang Zhenshi 黄振世, "'Haishang Wenren" Yu Qiaqing "海上闻人"虞洽卿," in *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 5 Ji* 宁波文史资料 第五辑, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会 (February 1987 1987年2月), 52-70.

³¹⁰ Mao Yihu 毛翼虎, *Menghuan Chenying Lu* 梦幻尘影录, ed. Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Weiyuanhui 宁波市政协文史资料委员会, *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 18 Ji* 宁波文史资料 第十八辑 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 1997), 26.

³¹¹ Yu Fuhai 俞福海, *Ningbo Shizhi* 宁波市志, 2961.

³¹² Feng Xiaocai 冯筱才, *Zhengshang Zhongguo: Yu Qiaqing He Ta De Shidai* 政商中国: 虞洽卿与他的时代 (Beijing 北京: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe 社会科学文献出版社 [Social Sciences Academic Press], 2013), 8.

15 as an apprentice in his case in the baking industry. Qin gradually grew into an important figure in the financial industries of Shanghai and Ningbo.³¹³ He took the initiative to adopt the Western credit debit system to record accounts.³¹⁴ Later, he also actively donated his money to building hospitals and schools in his hometown,³¹⁵ for instance, the Bao Li Hospital at Cixi.^{316 317}

Wu Zuomo (吴作镬) was another successful person, in his case making his fortune and accumulated his wealth in Japan. Wu was born at Cixi in 1855 and arrived in Japan in 1885 as a small peddler from Ningbo. Initially he transported commodities between Japan and China and later began to invest in the cotton spinning and weaving industry as well as the match producing industry.³¹⁸ In 1905, Wu Zuomo returned to Cixi to visit his ancestor's tomb where he saw that his home village had suffered from the damage of heavy rain which had destroyed the rice and cotton plants. Villagers told

³¹³ Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集, 297.

³¹⁴ Yu Fuhai 俞福海, *Ningbo Shizhi* 宁波市志, 2970.

³¹⁵ Jin Pusen 金普森 and Sun Shangren 孙善根, *Ningbobang Da Cidian* 宁波帮大辞典, 205-06.

³¹⁶ Yu Fuhai 俞福海, *Ningbo Shizhi* 宁波市志, 2970.

³¹⁷ Fan Xuewen 范学文, "Jinrongye Jvzi Qin Runqing 金融业巨子秦润卿," in *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 5 Ji* 宁波文史资料 第五辑, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会 (February 1987 1987年2月), 71-81.

³¹⁸ Tetsuo Nakamura 中村哲夫, "'Wu Jintang Caifa" Yu Sun Zhongshan "吴锦堂财阀"与孙中山," in *Wu Jintang Yanjiu* 吴锦堂研究, ed. Ningboshi Zhenxie Wenshiwei 宁波市政协文史委 and Zhenxie Cixishi Weiyuanhui 政协慈溪市委员会 (Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe 中国文史出版社, 2005), 108-09.

him that this was due to the failure of local irrigation work.³¹⁹ This irrigation dispute had appeared in 1870,³²⁰ but the senior official's report had not helped to solve the problem. Later, Wu donated money and hired Japanese professional engineers to measure the exact size of the lakes using up to date scientific methods to overcome the problems emanating from former faulty measurements and related disputes.³²¹ Wu also donated money to support the establishment of new schools in his hometown.³²²

A significant number of smart, honest and diligent youths from Ningbo, some but, not all, from wealthy backgrounds, succeeded in making their fortune either in the Western style treaty port city of Shanghai or Westernised Japan. No doubt, personal characteristics are of importance to their success and achievement. However, special attention should also be paid to the stage they performed on. It should not be neglected that these youths from Ningbo found their opportunities, fulfilled their potential, and achieved their success overseas or in Shanghai, the Western style treaty port city. In short, while considering the successful stories of these young people in the Ningbo

³¹⁹ Ye Han 葉瀚 and Yang Zhenji 楊振驥, *Xuke Dubai Erhua Quanshu 續刻杜白兩湖全書*, 19.

³²⁰ Yang Changjun 楊昌濬, "Zoubao Cixi Dubai Erhu Zhengduan 奏報慈溪杜白二湖爭端," (FHAC MVC 中國第一歷史檔案館 朱批奏折 04-01-30-0342-036, 1870/1871 同治九年).

³²¹ Ye Han 葉瀚 and Yang Zhenji 楊振驥, *Xuke Dubai Erhua Quanshu 續刻杜白兩湖全書*, 27-28.

³²² *Ibid.*, 24.

vanguard and their contribution to the locality, the Western economic and social environment as a stage and background to their successes should be properly valued.

4.6 The industrialisation of Ningbo

As the Qing central government's governing over locality was gradually diminishing, Ningbo's industrialisation also took off at the end of 1880s and continued until the beginning of the 1930s. This period witnessed the establishment of modern factories in Ningbo, with modern machinery being imported from the West and Japan. In addition, an infrastructure was also built or planned in this period. Almost all of Ningbo's modern factories had been listed and their year of establishment can be seen from the table below. All of them had been established in the time period from the end of 1880s to the beginning of 1930s.

A brief introduction to factories in Yin county, Ningbo ³²³		
Name of the company	Year of establishment	Production
Tong Li Yuan oil grinding factory 通利源榨油廠	1906	Cotton oil Cotton cake
He Feng spinning factory (Ho Foony Cotton Mill) 和豐紗廠	1907	Yarn
Shun Ji machinery factory 順記機器廠	1908	Machinery Machinery fixing
Zheng Da match Co. 正大火柴廠	1912	Matches
Yong Yao electricity Co. 永耀電力公司	1914	Electricity Electrical Light
Mei Qiu knitting mill 美球針織廠	1915	Knitwear
Ru Sheng bamboo factory 如生筍廠	1921	Bamboo dishes Canned bamboo
Hou Feng dyeing and weaving factory 厚豐染織工廠	1923	Textiles
Shun Xing Tai Ji dyeing and weaving factory 順興泰記染織廠	1926	Textiles
Heng Feng dyeing and weaving factory 恆豐染織廠	1929	Textiles
Xie Ji glass factory 工業協記玻璃廠	1932	Glass Lampshades
Li Feng flour mill 立豐麵粉廠	1932	Flour

³²³ Zhang Chuanbao 張傳寶 et al., *Yinxian Tongzhi 鄞縣通志* (Ningbo 寧波: Ningboshi Gaojiaoyuanqu Tushuguan Gujibu 寧波市高教園區圖書館古籍部, 1951 (1937)), *Shihuo zhi Di 1 Ce 食貨志 第一冊* 53-54.

Ningbo's first modern factory was the Tong Jiu Yuan cotton-grinding factory (通久源軋花廠) built by Yan Xinhou who managed to accumulate the amount 50,000 silver taels needed to finance the project. Modern cotton-grinding machinery was imported from Japan and Japanese engineers were brought in to install it. The factory employed 300 to 400 workers to process raw materials from Yuyao and Cixi into a semi-manufactured state, a significant quantity of which was then exported to Japan.³²⁴

The increase achieved by the use of the machinery was striking. The cotton export figure in 1886 was 5259 piculs and after the introduction of modern machinery, this figure increased to 11628 piculs by 1887, the export figure doubling in merely one year's time.³²⁵ By the 1890s, the Tong Jiu Yuan cotton-grinding factory had expanded its production from the basic process of cotton grinding to include cotton spinning.³²⁶ In a further development the Tong Li Yuan oil extraction factory (通利源榨油廠) was established in 1906, and this new factory helped Tong Jiu Yuan cotton-grinding

³²⁴ Zhenxie Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 政协宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会, *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 6 Ji 宁波文史资料 第六辑* (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 1987), 46.

³²⁵ Mo Xianli 浙海关税务司墨贤理, "Zhehaiguan Shinian Baogao 1882-1891, December 31st 1891 浙海关十年报告 (1882-1891 年) 1891 年 12 月 31 日," in *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况*, ed. Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan 中华人民共和国杭州海关 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 2002), 15.

³²⁶ Zhenxie Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 政协宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会, *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 6 Ji 宁波文史资料 第六辑*, 47-48.

factory solved the waste problem of cotton seed.³²⁷ By 1910s, Tong Jiu Yuan's position in Ningbo was replaced by He Feng spinning and weaving factory.³²⁸

The Zheng Da match factory (正大火柴廠) was established in 1907. Xu Huisheng (徐蕙生), a follower of Wu Zuomo, the successful Ningbo merchant in Japan, took the factory over in 1913, initially buying the raw materials needed by the factory from Japan. This supply was interrupted by the 1919 Japanese goods boycott movement, after which the factory relied on raw materials produced in Sweden and Germany.³²⁹ At around the same time as the factory take over, in 1914, the Yong Yao electric company was established. At the very beginning its capacity was just 50 kilowatts but by 1935 the updated facility was capable of producing 8100 kilowatts.³³⁰ In this period of rapid development the Li Feng flour mill was established by Dai Ruiqing (戴瑞卿) and started its production in 1932, importing its raw materials from Australia, America, and Canada.³³¹

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 47-48.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30-32.

³³⁰ Zhou Xintao 周信涛, "Ningbo Dianye Jianshi 宁波电业简史," in *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 5 Ji 宁波文史资料 第五辑*, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会 (February 1987 1987年2月), 99-103.

³³¹ Zhenxie Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 政协宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会, *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 6 Ji 宁波文史资料 第六辑*, 22.

A telephone company was also established by Li Shuxiong (厲樹雄) in Ningbo in the early 1920s and this was connected with many other cities in China in the following years. Li was also successful in re-organising the Ningbo city power plant, and the He Feng spinning factory. Li mentioned that, as the spinning factory was along the river and had its own wharf and warehouse, it was very convenient for He Feng to unload raw materials and load finished products.³³² Li visited the United States in 1915 to observe public utilities there, such as electrical plant and telephone communication facilities. Later, he started to investigate and apply these public utilities in Jiangsu and Zhejiang, including Ningbo.³³³ The great grandfather of Li was a highly respected scholar, poet, and artist in the Qing dynasty and Li's grandfather had been viceroy of the province of Jiangsu. It was Li's father who noticed the importance of Western education, who learned to speak and write English and gave up attending traditional literary examinations.³³⁴

An imperial edict issued in 1905 granted the provincials the right of Railway construction in Jiangsu and Zhejiang. In 1906, the construction work was begun, but the progress was rather slow. In March 1908, the Qing government signed an agreement with the British and Chinese Corporation for a loan of 1,500,000 pounds to carry out

³³² James Hsioung Lee 厲樹雄, *A Half Century of Memories 半世紀的回憶錄* (45 Wong Chuk Hang Road, Aberdeen, Hongkong: South China Photo-Process Printing Co. Ltd.), 35.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 90-91.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

the work. However, opposition from provincials was immediate and renewed efforts were made to raise funding necessary for the construction work using local companies. Locals even resisted an English chief engineer who tried to walk over the route.³³⁵ A report in January 1909 also mentioned the slowness of the construction work, it stated that the survey of the line between Ningbo and Hangzhou had been conducted for a while, but the construction was still delayed.³³⁶

Despite these difficulties, on Sunday, December 22nd, 1912, a ceremony was held in Ningbo to celebrate the opening of rail traffic between Ningbo station and Hongtang station, which was part of the Shanghai-Hangzhou-Ningbo railway.³³⁷ Local officials, gentry and accompanying students attended this ceremony. The construction work included a mere 10 to 15 kilometres of railway and a simple station with a raised platform and a galvanized iron shelter. Although the finished project was still a short distance, it was recorded as “*a haste contrasting strangely with previous dilatoriness.*” In addition, the real beginning of this project is expected to “*replenish the funds which are still sadly lacking.*”³³⁸

³³⁵ "The Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway," *The Far-Eastern Review* XI, no. 2 (July 1914): 57.

³³⁶ "Railways and Railway Supplies, Hanchow-Ningpo Railway," *The Far-Eastern Review* 8 (January 1909): 285.

³³⁷ Ke Bida 浙海关税务司柯必达, "Ningbokou Huayang Maoyi Qingxing Lunlue 1912 民国元年宁波口华洋贸易情形论略" in *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况*, ed. Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan 中华人民共和国杭州海关 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 2002), 337.

³³⁸ "The Ningpo Railway," *The Far-Eastern Review* IX, no. 8 (January 1913): 377.

In 1913, the Ningbo part of the Shanghai-Hangzhou-Ningbo railway had reached Baiguan near Cao'e River in Shaoxing prefecture. A German company had taken the contract to build the bridge across the Cao'e River linking the railway between the two banks of the River.³³⁹ On March 1, 1914, the provincial Zhejiang Railway Company shareholders met at Hangzhou and agreed by 9,757 votes to 1,428 votes to sell their shares to the government who were holding negotiations with foreign financiers. The purchasing price was about 9.5 million dollars for the existing railway and the future cost for constructing the 112.65 kilometres of railway linking Ningbo and the Cao'e River. As the construction work was being handed over to the central government, it was believed that the whole railway project would be a valuable addition to the communication system of the country.³⁴⁰ However, due to the first World War, the Cao'e River bridge construction work was not finished.³⁴¹ By 1923, the railway linking between Ningbo and Hangzhou still ended up at the Cao'e River.³⁴²

³³⁹ Zhan Sen 浙海关税务司湛参, "Ningbokou Huayang Maoyi Qingxing Lunlue 1913 民国二年宁波口华洋贸易情形论略," in *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况*, ed. Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan 中华人民共和国杭州海关 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 2002), 339.

³⁴⁰ "The Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway," 64.

³⁴¹ Zhan Sen 浙海关税务司湛参, "Ningbokou Huayang Maoyi Qingxing Lunlue 1914 民国三年宁波口华洋贸易情形论略," 342.

³⁴² Gan Fulv 浙海关税务司甘福履, "Ningbokou Huayang Maoyi Qingxing Lunlue 1923 民国十二年宁波口华洋贸易情形论略," *ibid.*, 374.

Although the construction process was not smooth, the railway of Ningbo was still built and progress made at the end of late Qing and the early Republican era. The construction of the railway from Cao'e River to Ningbo started in 1910 and finished in 1914, the line then including 13 stations. It should be noted that the railway sleepers for this track were imported from Japan.³⁴³ Apart from the main railway linking the Cao'e River and Ningbo, there were another three short distance railways built in the Republican era. Firstly, there was the Kongpu railway, which was an extending branch of the Cao'e and Ningbo railway to Kongpu. It was built in 1919 and had 3.92 kilometres of track.³⁴⁴ Secondly, there was the Longshan railway mentioned earlier, which was built by Yu Qiaqing, the successful Ningbo merchant in Shanghai. Yu built this railway linking his hometown with the wharf of his maritime transportation company. This 4-kilometre railway was built in 1916 mainly for the transportation of cotton and soybean.³⁴⁵³⁴⁶ The third short one was the 3-kilometre Yuwang railway linking Baozhuang and Yingluo, the head of rivers, between which there is the Yuwang Buddhist temple. This railway construction was started in 1931 and finished in 1933.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ Ningboshi Jiaotongzhi Pianzuan Lingdao Xiaozu Bangongshi 宁波市交通志编纂领导小组办公室, *Ningbo Shizhi Jiaotong Yunshu* 宁波市志 交通运输 (NA 宁波市档案馆 T 3.1.12 12-2, September 1989 1989 年 9 月), 62.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Zhenhaixian Xinzhi Beigao* 镇海县新志备稿, (NA 宁波市档案馆), 63.

³⁴⁷ Ningboshi Jiaotongzhi Pianzuan Lingdao Xiaozu Bangongshi 宁波市交通志编纂领导小组办公室, *Ningbo Shizhi Jiaotong Yunshu* 宁波市志 交通运输, 宁波市交通志编纂领导小组办公室 66-67.

Ningbo was hit by a hurricane on August 6th, 1922, breaking up the old wooden floating bridge across the Fenghua River. As a result of this, the communications between the two banks of Fenghua River were difficult. Despite the existence of a cross-river ferry boat at that time, the safety of passengers could not be guaranteed in severe weather. In addition, the owner of ferry boat charged people exorbitantly and randomly. As a result of this Ningbo merchants decided to build a modern iron bridge across the Fenghua River, so as to allow passengers, cargo carts, and horses to pass across the modern bridge, whilst simultaneously allowing vessels to sail underneath it.³⁴⁸

Although, the actual bridge construction was started in May 1934 and completed in June 1936,³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ it should be noted that the building plan and preparation work had been initiated in 1922. For instance, calls for tender for the construction project had been held in Shanghai in July 1923;³⁵¹ the measurement of the bridge was

³⁴⁸ Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集, 《宁波灵桥史料选辑》 85-89 Chongjian Lingqiao Jiniance Gaijiansheng Zhong Zhi Di 1 Ci Choubei Qingxing 重建灵桥纪念册 改建声中之第一次筹备情形.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 《宁波灵桥史料选辑》 166; Shen Bao 申報, "Gaijian Laojiangqiao Kaigong 改建老江橋開工," *Shen Bao* 申報 May 5th 1934 1934年5月5日.

³⁵⁰ Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集, 《宁波灵桥史料选辑》 179; Shen Bao 申報, "Ningbo Yongjiang Lingqiao Kaimu Dianli 寧波甬江靈橋開幕典禮," *Shen Bao* 申報 June 29th 1936 1936年6月29日.

³⁵¹ Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集, 《宁波灵桥史料选辑》 147; Shen Bao 申報, "Yong Fuqiao Gongcheng Zaihu Kaibiao 甬浮橋工程在滬開標," *Shen Bao* 申報 July 25th 1923 1923年7月25日.

conducted in September 1926,³⁵² and the donation of the construction project had been initiated at Shanghai since October 1926.³⁵³ The working contract had been established on March 12th 1934 and it showed that the construction project had been granted to the Siemens China Company. The whole project was valued at 486,774 silver dollars.³⁵⁴

As a short conclusion to this chapter, it has shown the further and gradual retreat of the Qing central government's governance and administration over the local area. As the Qing central government's influence on the locality diminished, the function of the local society correspondingly increased. The latter subsequently promoted economic and social development in the locality. The period from the end of the 1880s to the beginning of the 1930s had witnessed the take-off and the development of Ningbo's industrialisation, which had been substantially contributed to by the Ningbo vanguard who had achieved their successes either in the Westernised treaty port city of Shanghai, or in Japan. It should be noted that, the functions and role of the Western economic and social environment, either at the treaty port city or abroad, in the successes of the

³⁵² Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集, 《宁波灵桥史料选辑》148; Shen Bao 申報, "Lao Fuqiao Jinri Celiang 老浮橋今日測量," *Shen Bao* 申報 September 18th 1926 1926年9月18日.

³⁵³ Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集, 《宁波灵桥史料选辑》149; Shen Bao 申報, "Zhishi Fuhu Mujuan 知事赴滬募捐," *Shen Bao* 申報 October 30th 1926 1926年10月30日.

³⁵⁴ Ningbo Archives (NA) 宁波市档案馆, *Ningbo Lingqiao Shiliao Xuanji* 宁波灵桥史料选集, 《宁波灵桥史料选辑》128-30 Hetong Quanwen March 12th 1934 合同全文 1934年3月12日.

Ningbo vanguard should be fairly and objectively considered as an essential prerequisite, rather than being subjectively neglected.

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Chapter 5 小城故事 The Story of a Small Town

5.1 Abstract

The late Qing and the early Republican era used to be viewed as a chaotic and disturbing era for China, whereas historical evidences in this chapter suggest that this period, at least for Ningbo, actually tended to be a golden time for the region's economic and social development. Apart from the emergence of successful Ningbo merchants in Shanghai and Japan, and the initiation of local industrialisation, this period also witnessed a steady increase in trade and economic dynamism amongst local residents, and a lower level of inflation. In the terms of social order, the civilian representatives of Ningbo, especially the merchants, the capitalists, and the industrialists had effectively managed to confine the local military crises of 1911, 1913, 1917 and 1924 to within a skirmish level. In addition, after the 1840s, a significant number of Western Christian missionaries took the initiative in introducing modern style institutions to Ningbo. The endeavours of missionaries also inspired the local people to emulate their examples in establishing similar modern institutions, such as schools and hospitals.

5.2 Introduction

Hu Sheng and Jin Chongjin contend that the essential nature of the Xinhai revolution is of anti-imperialism.³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ Zhang Kaiyuan disagrees with Hu and Jin, and regards the Xinhai revolution as an anti-Manchu nationalist revolution.³⁵⁷ With regard to the case of Ningbo, Yue Chengyao contends that the role of Ningbo was important to the spread of the Xinhai revolution in China.³⁵⁸ Yue also makes the criticism that revolutionaries in Ningbo lacked a precise anti-imperialist guiding principle, and argues that Ningbo people had spent a miserable life under the oppression of imperialism and feudalism.³⁵⁹

No doubt, Hu, Jin, and Yue's researches on the 1911 Xinhai revolution are of ground breaking. However, at least in the case of Ningbo, some historical evidence indicates that there was not an intimate relationship between Ningbo's experience in 1911 and the sense of anti-imperialism. On the contrary, local elites, instead of

³⁵⁵ Chongjin Jin, "Awakening of the Nation," in *The 1911 Revolution in China : Interpretive Essays*, ed. Shinkichi Etō and Harold Z. Schiffrin (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1984), 7.

³⁵⁶ Hu Sheng 胡绳, "The Issues of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Industrialization in the 1911 Revolution," *ibid.*, 23.

³⁵⁷ Zhang Kaiyuan 章开沅, "The Slogan "Expel the Manchus" and the Nationalist Movement in Modern Chinese History," *ibid.*, 45.

³⁵⁸ Yue Chengyao 乐承耀, "Ningbo Zai Xinhai Geming Zhong De Diwei Yu Zuoyong 宁波在辛亥革命中的地位与作用," *Zhonggong Ningbo Shiwei Dangxiao Xuebao 中共宁波市委党校学报* 33, no. 5 (2011): 21.

³⁵⁹ *Ningbo Jindai Shigang 1840-1919 宁波近代史纲 1840-1919* (Ningbo 宁波: Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 1999), 271-72.

responding to the sense of anti-imperialism, merely had a conservative response of preventing the locality from being ravaged by possible violent disturbances. By studying Ningbo's experience of the Xinhai revolution, this chapter will argue that local society paid more attention to how to maintain a stable social order rather than trying to carry out a radical social revolution.

Apart from Ningbo's experience in the 1911 Xinhai revolution. Ningbo was also confronted with the risk of potential social disturbance in 1913, 1917 and 1924. However, local elites, especially merchants in Ningbo successfully circumscribed these risks to within a controllable scale. The case of 1913 can be found in the account given by the then Yin county magistrate, Shen Diemin;³⁶⁰ the case of 1917 was recorded by Mao Yihu and the Zhejiang Customs Report of that year;^{361 362} and the case of 1924 has been studied by Sun Shangen. Sun's research on the 1924 Zhejiang/Jiangsu war also shows that, despite there being a revolutionary group actively pursuing a radical

³⁶⁰ Shen Diemin 沈颺民, "Ningbo Kuichou Duli Ji 宁波癸丑独立记," in *Zhejiang Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji Di 7 Ji 浙江文史资料选辑 第七辑*, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Zhejiangsheng Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议浙江省委员会文史资料研究委员会 (December 1963 1963年12月), 10.

³⁶¹ Mao Yihu 毛翼虎, "Beiyang Junfa Tongzhi Shiqi Ningbo De Liangci Duli 北洋军阀统治时期宁波两次独立," in *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 3 Ji 宁波文史资料 第三辑*, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会 (Ningbo 宁波: 1985), 5.

³⁶² Gan Fulv 甘福履, "Zhehaiguan Shinian Baogao 1912-1921 浙海关十年报告 (1912-1921年)," in *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况*, ed. Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan 中华人民共和国杭州海关 (Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 1921年12月31日), 72.

revolution in the area, the industrialists, the merchants, and the financiers of Ningbo effectively kept the social order under control.³⁶³

The topic of anti-imperialism directly links with China's communications with the West, among which the Christian missionary activity in China was a vital element. Paul A. Cohen contends in his early research that the foreign missionaries, partly by the mere fact of their presence in the Chinese interior and partly by the manner in which they made their presence felt, was a decisive factor in popularising and activating Chinese antforeignism in the 19th century.³⁶⁴ Missionary activity in Ningbo, however, shows quite a different picture. Yue Chengyao, despite holding the view that the function of missionaries in China partly contributed to the cause of Western cultural invasion, also maintains that historical scholarship should offer a fair and objective commentary towards missionaries' endeavours in Ningbo. Yue admitted that the West had introduced advanced modern technology and culture to Ningbo.³⁶⁵ Similarly, Zhang Yaping, despite suspecting Western missionaries' intentions in China, also

³⁶³ Sun Shangen 孙善根, "Zhanshi Zhuangtaixia De Shehui Jiuzhu Huodong---Yi 1924 Nian Jiangzhe Zhanzheng Qijian De Ningbo Wei Li 战时状态下的社会救助活动---以 1924 年江浙战争期间的宁波为例," *Junshi Lishi Yanjiu 军事历史研究*, no. 2 (2007): 85-86.

³⁶⁴ Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity; the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870*, Harvard East Asian Series, (Cambridge,: Harvard University Press, 1967), viii-ix.

³⁶⁵ Yue Chengyao 乐承耀, *Ningbo Jindai Shigang 1840-1919 宁波近代史纲 1840-1919*, 368-69.

considers that the missionaries' endeavours in Ningbo facilitated the modernisation of the region.³⁶⁶

This chapter agrees with the positive argument towards missionaries' work in Ningbo drawn by Yue and Zhang but disagrees with their negative statements on the same topic, and it will demonstrate that the function of Western missionaries was a very important factor in Ningbo gaining access to modern education and science. More importantly, the Western missionaries took the initiative to establish modern institutions such as schools and hospitals. These actions inspired the local population to work jointly with the West or emulate their examples to establish similar modern institutions locally. These local institutions became important hinge in linking the administrative central government at the state level and the individual families at the society level. Similar institutions had not widely existed nor enjoyed any significant popularity before the arrival of the West.

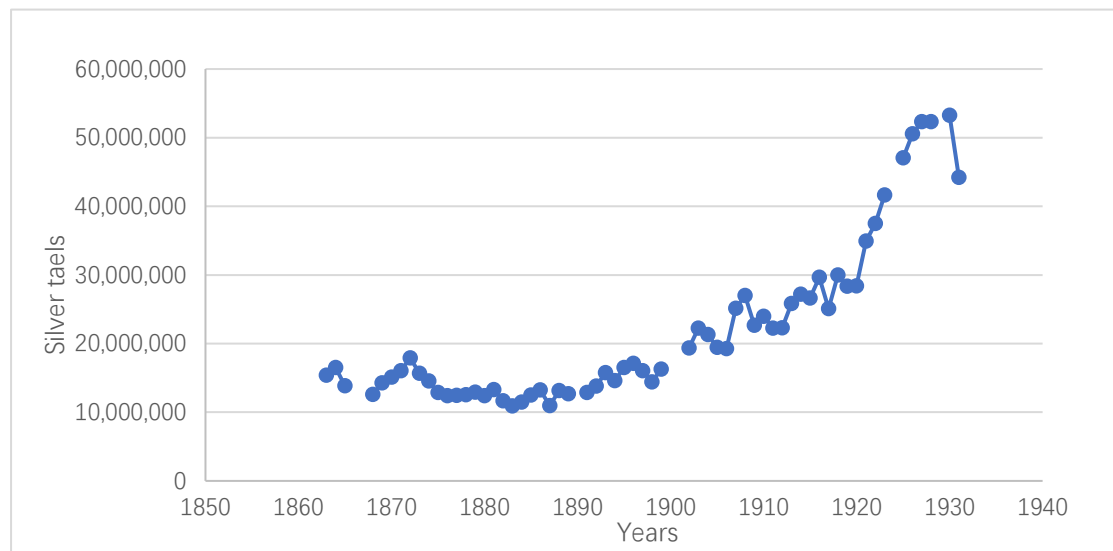
5.3 The economic growth in the golden age of Ningbo

From the end of the 1880s to the beginning of the 1930s, this slightly more than 40 years era had witnessed the gradual and substantial expansion of trade transactions

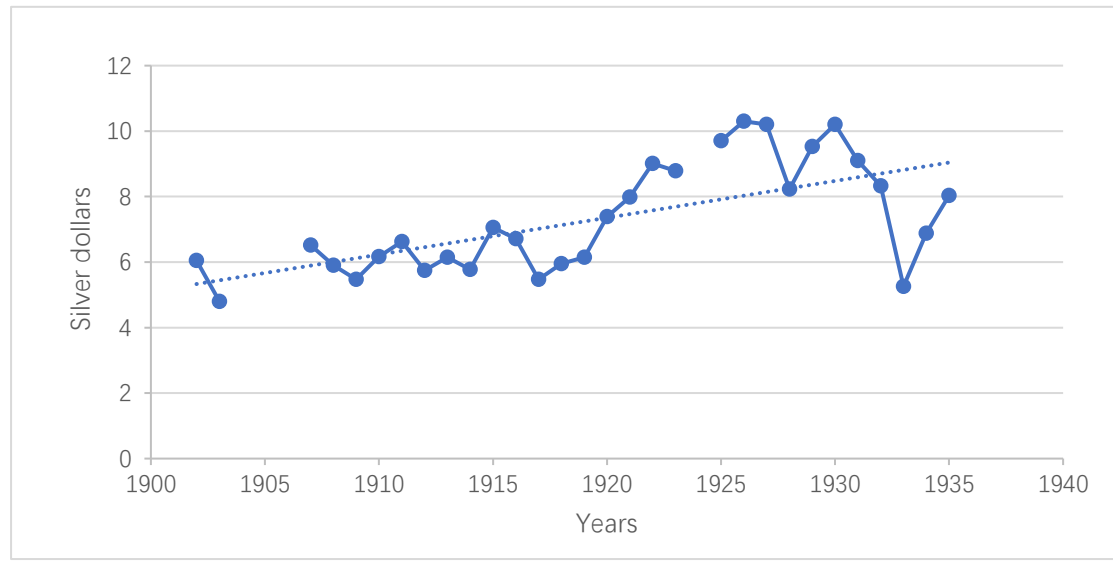
³⁶⁶ Zhang Yaping 张亚苹, "Chuanjiaoshi Dui Jindai Ningbo De Gongxian 传教士对近代宁波的贡献," *Ningbo Guangbo Dianshi Daxue Xuebao* 宁波广播电视大学学报 2, no. 1 (2004): 96.

in Ningbo, in terms of both import and export figures. This can be seen from Graph 1 below. The combination of import and export figures of Ningbo had steadily increased since the end of the 1880s till the beginning of the 1930s. Graph 2 indicates the fluctuation of the rice price in Yin county, Ningbo from 1900 to the 1930s. By observing the price changes of the most important staple food for local people's daily life, Graph 2 shows relatively stable price changes and indirectly a lower degree of inflation from 1900 until 1935, especially the first two decades from 1900 to the 1920s. By taking the issue of inflation into consideration, Graph 2 also helps to show the real meaning and the positive nature of Graph 1's trade expansion.

Graph 1 The import and export figures of Ningbo Customs from 1863 to 1931³⁶⁷



Graph 2 The changing dynamic of rice price in Yin county, Ningbo³⁶⁸

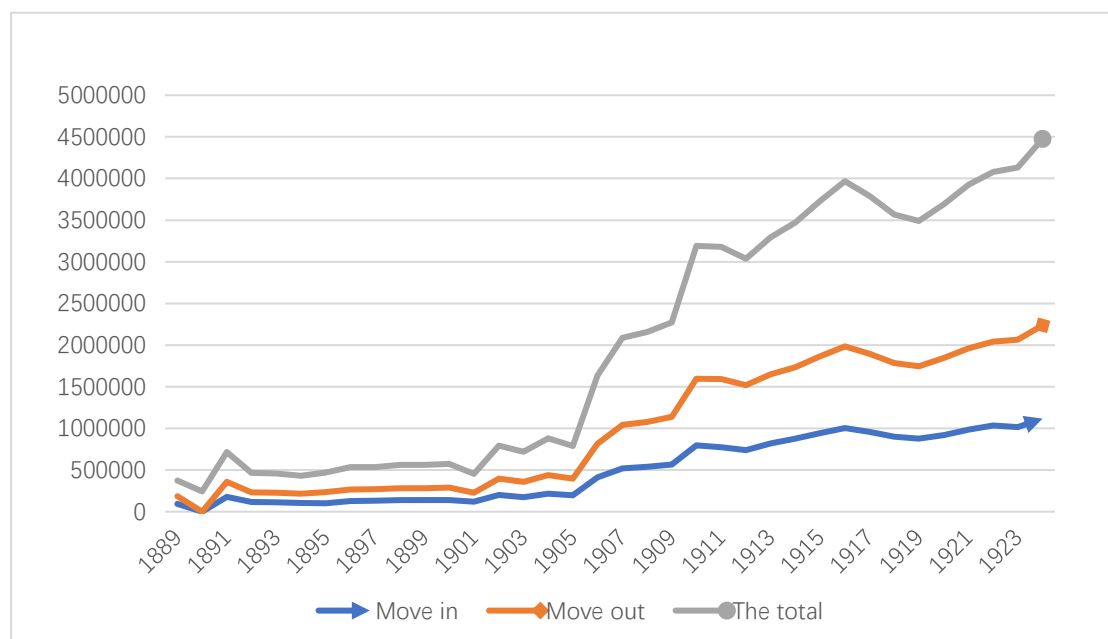


³⁶⁷ Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan (Translation and Editing) 中华人民共和国杭州海关(译编), *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang Zhehaiguan Ouhaiguan Hangzhouguan Maoyi Baogao Jicheng* 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况 浙海关 甌海关 杭州关贸易报告集成 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 2002), 95,100,09,15,29,36,47,56,61,69,74,93,216,25,37,45,48,55,58,61,64,67,78,82,86,89,99,302,12,14,19,22,24,27,29,33,35,37,40,43,45,48,51,60,65,72,82,86,89,95.

³⁶⁸ Zhang Chuanbao 張傳寶 et al., *Yinxian Tongzhi 鄞縣通志* (Ningbo 寧波: Ningboshi Gaojiaoyuanqu Tushuguan Gujibu 寧波市高教園區圖書館古籍部, 1951 (1937)), *Shihuozi Di 4 Ce* 食貨志 第四冊 303-15.

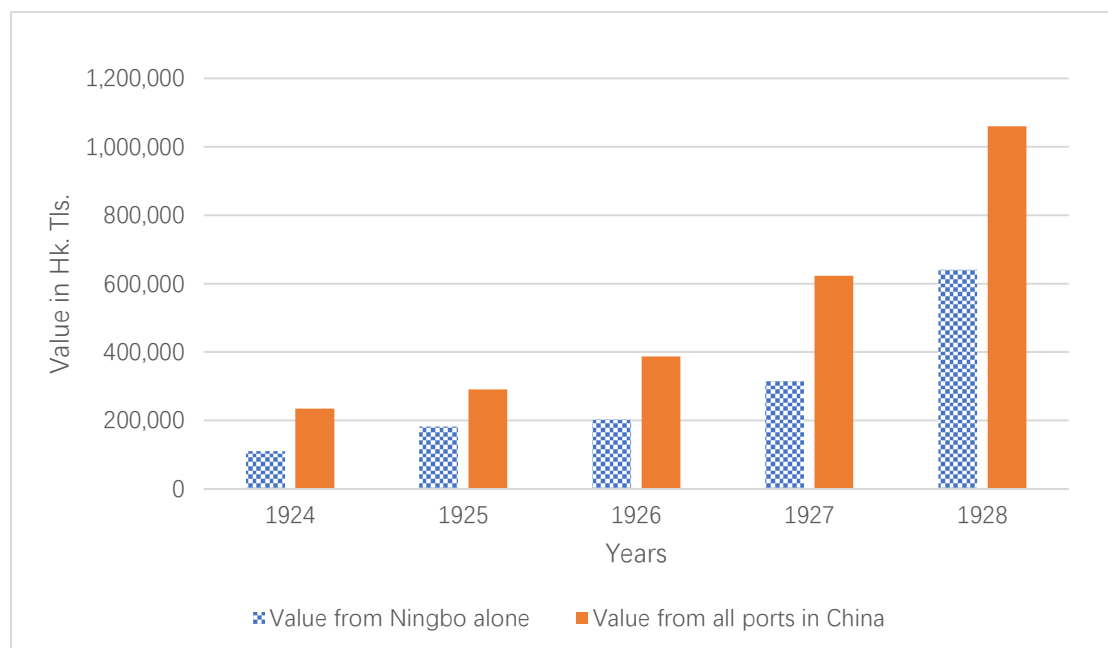
Apart from trade, the economic dynamism of the population in Ningbo also significantly increased from 1889 to 1924, as can be seen from Graph 3. This graph respectively shows three indicators: those moving in, those moving out and the total figure. In addition, during the Republican era, straw hat making had become an important export commodity of Ningbo. Graph 4 shows the value of straw hat exports during the period 1924 to 1928 from Ningbo alone and from China in total. It is easy to see that the value of straw hat exports from Ningbo alone accounted for more than half of the total export value of China in 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928.

Graph 3 The mobilisation of Ningbo population from 1889 to 1924³⁶⁹



³⁶⁹ Zhu Jyying 竺菊英, "Lun Jindai Ningbo Renkou Liudong Jiqi Shehui Yiyi 论近代宁波人口流动及其社会意义," *Jianghai Xuekan 江海学刊* (1994): 135.

Graph 4 The value of straw hat exportation in Ningbo and China from 1924 to 1928³⁷⁰



Apart from local straw produced for making cheap straw hats, Ningbo also imported raw materials from abroad to produce expensive product, such as ‘golden silk’ straw and ‘flax’ straw from Manila and ‘glass’ straw from Switzerland and Germany. Straw hat making was a household industry, women and girls taking part in order to help their family to earn extra income. The plaiting process was done purely by hand and an expert worker could produce one hat every five days. Apart from a limited number of products which would be consumed in the home market, the majority of straw hats produced in Ningbo would be exported abroad, especially to the European market.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Wang Yuanling 王元齡, "Straw Hat Making in Ninpo," *The China Critic* 3, no. 46 (November 13th 1930 1930年11月13日): 1092.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1092-93.

The prosperous straw hat industry and trade also brought social changes to the area. A case in point was the villages in Yuyao where, from 1927 to 1930, the female workers earned more money from the straw-hat production than their husband or father from agricultural production. As a result of this, younger females had more voice in deciding their personal issues, such as marriage, than before. This straw hat case in Ningbo shows the significant influence of economic prosperity on social changes.³⁷²

5.4 The Xinhai Revolution in Ningbo and a bloodless revolution

Timothy Brook noted in his research on Ningbo that the eminent lineages in Ningbo effectively maintained their leading social status in the locality from the beginning of the Ming dynasty until the end of the Qing dynasty.³⁷³ When the normal function of the government waned, these eminent lineages took the responsibility to maintain social stability locally. When the 1911 revolution approached, Ningbo experienced an almost bloodless revolution. The stabilising function played by these prominent lineages in Ningbo was important in keeping social order and simultaneously weakening a radical revolution.

³⁷² Mao Keren 茅可人, "Yuyao Nongcun De Xvmingtang---Caomaoye 餘姚農村的續命湯---草帽業," *Dongfang Zazhi 東方雜誌 [The Eastern Miscellany]* 32, no. 12 (1935).

³⁷³ Timothy Brook, "Family Continuity and Cultural Hegemony: The Gentry of Ningbo, 1368-1911," in *Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance*, ed. Joseph Esherick, Mary Backus Rankin, and Joint Committee on Chinese Studies (U.S.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 37.

After the Qing government was defeated by Japan in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, a significant number of young Chinese students travelled to Japan and studied there. They were eager to know why China had failed to modernise itself, while its neighbour, Japan, had successfully achieved it. While in Japan, these young students met Sun Yat-sen, the radical anti-Manchu revolutionary leader, shared with him the radical anti-Manchu nationalist thought, and became actively involved in Sun's revolutionary organisation. Among them were a significant number of Zhejiang students,³⁷⁴ and roughly one to two hundred of them came from Ningbo.³⁷⁵

Many of them came from eminent families in Ningbo. For instance, three Zhao brothers (趙氏三兄弟),³⁷⁶ Fan Xianfang (范賢方) and Zhang Shishao (張世杓). The Family books of Fan and Zhang containing the records of Fan Xianfang and

³⁷⁴ Marius Jansen, "Japan and the Chinese Revolution of 1911," in *The Cambridge History of China 11*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and John King Fairbank (Cambridge Eng. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 352.

³⁷⁵ Wei Bozhen 魏伯桢, "Xinhai Geming Ningbo Guangfu De Huiyi 1961 Nian 辛亥革命宁波光复的回忆 1961年," in *Xinhai Geming Ningbo Shiliao Xuanji 辛亥革命 宁波史料选辑*, ed. Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Weiyuanhui 宁波市政协文史委员会 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2011), 13.

³⁷⁶ The Three Zhaos are Zhao Jiafan (趙家蕃), Zhao Jiasun (趙家蓀), and Zhao Jiayi (趙家藝).

³⁷⁷ Wei Jiong(Wei Bozhen) 魏炯(魏伯桢), "Huiyi Ningbo De Guangfu June 1961 回忆宁波的光复 1961年6月" in *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 11 Ji Ningbo Guangfu Qianhou 宁波文史资料 第11辑 宁波光复前后*, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Ningboshi 中国人民政治协商会议宁波市 and Ge Xianshiqu Wenshi Ziliao Weiyuanhui 各县市区文史资料委员会 (Ningbo 宁波: September 1991 1991年9月), 37.

Zhang Shishao are now restored in Tianyige Library.^{378 379} To some extent, the eminent status of their lineages in the locality could be proved by their family books which recorded the large number of family members and the vast amount of real estate possessed by these families in the locality. In Brook's study two eminent Fan Families were mentioned, the Chengxi Fan and the Nanhu Fan.³⁸⁰ Fan Xianfang, the revolutionary activist, is very likely the one belonging to the Nanhu Fan family, due to his birthplace information.³⁸¹

Fan Xianfang had two friends, Wei Jiong (魏炯) and Zhang Xuxiao (章述洵). The latter two were also actively involved in the 1911 Revolution in Ningbo. There is no clear evidence to prove that the family of Wei and Zhang were eminent in the locality. However, Wei's father was a military official,³⁸² and Zhang came from a well-educated local family.³⁸³ Most of these figures mentioned above had the experience of study in Japan.³⁸⁴ When these young students finished their studies and

³⁷⁸ Fan Xianxiang 范賢祥, *Siming Fanshi Xuanyifang Zongpu* 四明范氏宣義房宗譜, 4 vols. (Ningbo 寧波: Tianyige 天一閣, 1933), Di 2 Ce 第二冊: 69.

³⁷⁹ Yongdong Zhangshi 甬東張氏, *Yongdong Zhangshi Pu* 甬東張氏譜, 24 vols. (Tianyige 天一閣, 1910), Di 1 Ce 第一冊: 67, Di 8 Ce 第八冊: 52.

³⁸⁰ Brook, "Family Continuity and Cultural Hegemony: The Gentry of Ningbo, 1368-1911," 35-36.

³⁸¹ Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Weiyuanhui 寧波市政協文史資料委員會 and Ge Xianshiqu Wenshi Ziliao Weiyuanhui 各縣市區文史資料委員會, *Ningboshi Wenshi Ziliao Di 11 Ji Ningbo Guangfu Qianhou* 寧波市文史資料 第十一輯 寧波光復前後 (1991), 106.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 109.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 116.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 106 09 16.

returned to Ningbo, with the good reputation and social connections of their families in the locality, it would not have been very difficult for them to find a job and provide service in the local political institutions.

Fan Xianfang and Wei Jiong started their careers by entering the local Academy of Law and Politics (法政學堂). Its predecessor was the Hall of Filial Piety and Incorruptibility (孝廉堂), which was an institution that acted as a bridge between the government and the local society, more specifically the local merchants whose business desperately needed a group of professional agents to coordinate the rigid central policies. Normally the merchants paid for the educated people who worked in the Hall of Filial Piety and Incorruptibility. The latter, on behalf of the merchants, negotiated with government officials over their policies and regulations.³⁸⁵

Fan and Wei's friend, Zhang Xuxiao obtained a post as a staff member in the Ningbo sub-prefect's personal office. Taking this as an opportunity, Zhang formed a close relationship with Jiang Shejing (江畬經), the then sub-prefecture official of Ningbo (寧波知府) who was a native of Fujian province. Superior and above official Jiang, there was Wen Pu (文溥), a Manchu official with the prefecture official post

³⁸⁵ Wei Jiong(Wei Bozhen) 魏炯 (魏伯楨), "Huiyi Ningbo De Guangfu June 1961 回忆宁波的光复 1961年6月" 35.

in charge of Ningbo, Taizhou and Shaoxing (寧紹臺道).³⁸⁶ From a Ningbo perspective, Jiang and Wen were not locals but outsiders.

After the signing of the *Xinchou* Treaty, the Qing government was forced to agree to a more sweeping reform plan. However Michael Gasster suggested that the Qing in its last decade may have been the most vigorous government and lively society that China had during the 150 or 200 years before 1949.³⁸⁷ From the military perspective of this reform, a modern new army was established. Simultaneously, the Green Standard of the old army was reorganised into the Reserve Forces (Xun Fang Ying, literally, patrol battalions). They acted as the policemen in peacetime to catch thieves and robbers; in war time they would be mobilised as auxiliary forces to the new army.³⁸⁸ Accompanying this military reform, the monopolist power of the Manchu regime on the use of force declined. Simultaneously, local people, especially merchant elites, whose interest was vitally related to the stability of the society, started to fill this vacuum by their own efforts. In Ningbo, a militia was established on July 6th, 1911 by the local merchants.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Wei Bozhen 魏伯桢, "Xinhai Geming Ningbo Guangfu De Huiyi 1961 Nian 辛亥革命宁波光复的回忆 1961 年."

³⁸⁷ Michael Gasster, "The Republican Revolutionary Movement," in *The Cambridge History of China 11*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and John King Fairbank (Cambridge Eng. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 506.

³⁸⁸ Chuzo Ichiko, "Political and Institutional Reform 1901-11," *ibid.* (Cambridge Eng. ; New York), 387.

³⁸⁹ Qin Qitang 秦企唐, "Ningbo Shangtuan Shimo Ji October 1962 宁波商团始末记 1962 年 10 月," in *Xinhai Geming Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji 辛亥革命 宁波市史料选辑*, ed.

After the uprising of Wuchang which occurred on October 10th, 1911, the residents in Ningbo, especially merchants, were deeply worried about a potential violent revolution. Nevertheless, a significant number of Ningbo's revolutionary activists were from the prominent local families mentioned above so if any local violence occurred, their families would become the victims. Even though not sharing sympathy with the destiny of the Manchu authority, these important local families also did not want to see violence and chaos happening in Ningbo.

On October 17th, 1911, these revolutionary activists in Ningbo called a meeting and invited a significant number of influential local people whose expertise was mainly in business and education. At this meeting, they discussed the condition of Ningbo with regard to the Wuchang uprising. In order to stabilise the social order in Ningbo, this meeting resolved to set up a local civilian militia of 500 members. At this meeting, the local elites agreed that there should be a reasonable and attractive payment set for the recruited members of this civilian militia. The payment for ordinary soldiers who served in the old army was 5 silver dollars per person per month. Now, the standard for newly recruited civilian militia should be 8 silver dollars.³⁹⁰ At the time this was a fair and proper payment for people providing local society with protection from violence. It was

Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Weiyuanhui 宁波市政协文史委员会 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2011).

³⁹⁰ Wei Bozhen 魏伯桢, "Xinhai Geming Ningbo Guangfu De Huiyi 1961 Nian 辛亥革命宁波光复的回忆 1961 年," 14-15.

also a positive move for local harmony, binding together the interest between the local elites and the ordinary soldiers who provided service for keeping social order in the locality.

As the 1911 revolution broke out, in various cities of the Qing Empire, there was a conflict between a slightly pro revolution new army and a slightly pro Manchu court old army.³⁹¹ Although in Ningbo neither side had a very strong ideological stance, these revolutionary activists from the eminent local families expressed their distrust for the leader of the new army who was not a local native but a Northerner.³⁹² Since he and his soldiers had very limited connections and social relations with Ningbo, if violent revolution broke out, they feared he might loosen his control over his soldiers and simply allow them to randomly plunder around the city. In order to prevent this situation from occurring, the local elites decided to adopt the tactic of forming civilian militia under their own control first, and then tried to use this civilian militia as a wedge sticking into the middle ground of the confrontation between the new and the old army in the locality. They planned to use the local militia as a buffer between the new and

³⁹¹ Ichiko, "Political and Institutional Reform 1901-11," 388.

³⁹² Zhao Zhiqin 赵志勤 and Chen Xunci 陈训慈, "Ningbo Guangfu Qianhou De Chen Qihuai, October 1911 宁波光复前后的陈岷怀 1911 年 10 月," in *Xinhai Geming Ningbo Shiliao Xuanji* 辛亥革命 宁波史料选辑, ed. Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Weiyuanhui 宁波市政协文史委员会 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2011 年), 60.

the old army, and this probably gave the local elites the upper hand in the stabilisation of the social order in the locality in 1911.

On October 28th, 1911, the local elites made another smart manoeuvre to consolidate the local situation instead of provoking a violent confrontation between the new and the old armies. Representatives from the newly set up local militia, on behalf of the local interests, came to visit the chief officer of the old army. They explained that they would like to borrow some guns and bullets from the old army which would then be used to arm the local militia and keep social order in the locality.³⁹³ This could be interpreted as being a probe to sound out the attitude of the commanding officer of the old army who, in all probability after rational reflection and assessment of the current situation, decided he did not want to fight against revolutionary elements on behalf of the decaying Qing dynasty. He cheerfully received his visitors and pleasantly agreed on renting out guns and bullets to the newly formed civilian militia. This was somewhat unexpected by the negotiators from the civilian militia, but it clearly indicated that the old army was willing to compromise with the local elites instead of fighting an unnecessary war with them in Ningbo.³⁹⁴

³⁹³ Wei Bozhen 魏伯桢, "Xinhai Geming Ningbo Guangfu De Huiyi 1961 Nian 辛亥革命宁波光复的回忆 1961 年," 18-19.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

The action of renting weapons to the local civilian militia adopted by the old army greatly shocked Wen Pu, the Manchurian official. This clearly indicated that even the old army aligned themselves with the anti-Manchu revolutionary activists. Wen proposed to arrest the people involved in the uprising but his subordinate, Jiang Shejing, the Fujianese official who served in Ningbo, persuaded him by saying that, ‘now the whole city is full of revolutionary party members, if you want to arrest them, which one should you start from? On the contrary, taking your own Manchu identity into consideration, it would be better to take care of your own safety first.’ If a radical anti-Manchu revolution broke out, being brutally executed would probably have been the only destiny for an official with a Manchu ethnic identity. After receiving the news that old army was renting their weapons out to civilian militia in the locality, Wen Pu recognised that the old army would not fight against the revolutionaries in Ningbo, and he fled to Shanghai that same night.³⁹⁵

After the flight of this Manchu official, on November 1st, the ‘Local Peace Keeping Committee’ was launched. Local elites with various social and professional backgrounds were invited to join this committee. The organisation included the Fujianese official, the local elites of business and education, and the chief officers of the new and the old armies. On November 5th, the first meeting of the ‘Local Peace

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

Keeping Committee' was convened. Among the revolutionary activists there were some with leanings towards a slightly radical movement which endorsed the policy of proclaiming the liberation of Ningbo immediately, and others who favoured the more conservative action of observing the situation further for a while, especially the developments in Shanghai, before making the next decision.

The discussion between the two sides reached an impasse. At this particular moment, Lu Chengzhang, whose father had invested in the school for the despised 'fallen people' in the locality, made a bold action. He rode on a white horse and called out roughly 100 students from the 'fallen people' school. This group of students with plain white cloth around their arms, carrying the banner bearing the characters of 'protecting business and keeping peace for ordinary people' (保商安民), marched through the city from west to east. During their march, they yelled out: 'the revolutionary army is coming!' Without a clear clue of what was happening, all the shops in the city just hung out a white flag to show their support for the approaching 'revolutionary army'.³⁹⁶ Thus Ningbo achieved its own liberation, through an almost bloodless revolution.³⁹⁷ After the liberation of Zhejiang, the provincial temporary

³⁹⁶ Zhao Zhiqin 赵志勤, "Ningbo Xinhai Guangfu Jishi 宁波辛亥光复纪实," *ibid.*

³⁹⁷ In 1911, five criminals were publicly shot to death in Ningbo. The civilian militia used this execution as an opportunity to frighten the wicked people in the locality who might have planned to create a local disturbance as the uprising in Wuchang was taking place. Among the five executed criminals, there was a female one who was charged of murdering her husband. The case somewhat resembled the trial of Yang Naiwu and Xiao Baicai. Wei Jiong(Wei Bozhen)

militia government was thus established. The government immediately decided to temporarily terminate the land and transit fee tax collection.³⁹⁸

5.5 Local institutions: Christian Missionary and modern schools in Ningbo

The Western missionaries, after their arrival in Ningbo, had taken the initiative to establish modern institutions in the area. Following this local people initially joined in and worked for these Western missionary institutions, and later emulated the missionaries' examples by building modern institutions themselves. Leaders from these newly set up local institutions included a significant number from the local elite. The following three subsections will respectively introduce three types of local institution initiated by Western missionaries: modern schools, modern hospitals and Christian religious organisations.

To take the development of female education as an example, after Ningbo was opened as a treaty port to the West in the 1840s Miss Mary Ann Aldersey, an independent missionary, arrived in Ningbo and established China's first girls' school in 1844. Miss Aldersey started the school by gathering a small group of students around

魏炯（魏伯楨），"Huiyi Ningbo De Guangfu June 1961 回忆宁波的光复 1961年6月" 42-44.

³⁹⁸ Zhao Zhiqin 赵志勤, "Ningbo Xinhai Guangfu Jishi 宁波辛亥光复纪实," 32.

her.³⁹⁹ She was assisted by two Malay-Chinese girls, Ruth Ati and Christinana A-Kit whom she had taught in Surabaya, Java. Both Ati and Kit escaped from their families and travelled with Miss Aldersey to China and worked as female schoolteachers for her in Ningbo. Miss Aldersey never became fluent in Chinese, but Ati⁴⁰⁰ and Kit quickly learned the local dialect and they also convinced local people that the strange white lady would not harm their children.⁴⁰¹ In 1845, The school had 15 students, 7 years later, the figure had increased to 40.⁴⁰² However, due to health reasons, in 1857, Miss Aldersey left China for Australia and died there.⁴⁰³

In 1846, the Presbyterians established another girls' school in Ningbo, Mrs. Cole taking charge of the work. Later this school merged with the one founded by Miss Aldersey and was operated by the Presbyterian order, later changing its name to the 'Chong De Girls Academy' (Tsong-Teh Girls Academy, 崇德女校). Simultaneously, Mrs. MacGowan, a Baptist church missionary, set up another female missionary school

³⁹⁹ Chu Jineng 褚季能, "Nvxue Xiansheng 女學先聲," *Dongfang Zazhi 東方雜誌 [The Eastern Miscellany]* 31, no. 7 (1934).

⁴⁰⁰ Ruti Ati later married a man named Zeng Laishun and later lived on Boone Road, Shanghai. Cited at D. MacGillivray, ed. *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)* (Shanghai: The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), 458.

⁴⁰¹ Pip Pointon, "Mary Ann Aldersey and the "First School for Girls" in China," <http://www.pipspatch.com/2012/12/29/mary-ann-aldersey-and-the-first-girls-school-in-china/>.

⁴⁰² Chu Jineng 褚季能, "Nvxue Xiansheng 女學先聲".

⁴⁰³ MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*, 458.

on the bank of the Yuyao River. It was firstly called the Baptist school and later renamed the 'Sheng Mo Girls Academy' (Sing-Mo Academy, 聖模女中) .⁴⁰⁴

In 1919, both the Presbyterian order's Chong De Girls Academy and the Baptist order's Sheng Mo Girls Academy decided to separate their schools into primary and middle sections.⁴⁰⁵ This could be interpreted as a sign that female education in Ningbo had become more formalised and professionalised. The female students in Ningbo could now ascend to higher levels of education as their study progressed. It might also imply that the whole society also had started to accept female education as a social norm. When reaching a particular age, girls should be sent to formal schools to receive a modern education. Girls, just like boys, also had the right to be educated.

Four years later, in 1923, as a new teaching building was established, with the Baptist's Sheng Mo and Presbyterian's Chong De girls' middle schools merging into one institution under the new name of the Riverside Girls Academy (甬江女中), which was under the joint management of the two missionary orders.⁴⁰⁶ In 1923, the American Baptist Church bought a piece of land for Riverside. This plot of land cost a

⁴⁰⁴ Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史 " in *Yinxian Sili Yongjiang Nvzi Zhongxue 25 Zhounian Jiniankan P20-21 鄞縣私立甬江女子中學二十五週年紀念刊 20-21 頁* (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-104, 1948).

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

total of 13,000 silver dollars, and the construction of the main building another 59,000 silver dollars.⁴⁰⁷ In the first year of operation of the Riverside Girls Academy there were 80 students enrolled, divided into 4 grades.⁴⁰⁸ One year later, in 1924, the Academy adopted a new grades-separating system in which the students were separated into junior and senior sections, each section including three grades.⁴⁰⁹ Riverside Girls Academy made progress gradually, attracting more female students and challenging the traditional norm on female education held by the local residents in Ningbo. Gradually sending daughters to schools to receive a modern education would become both a norm and a fashion in the locality. Chinese people also started to establish girls' schools to compete with Christian ones, evidence of which can be seen below.

In 1923, Miss Dora Zimmerman (徐美珍女士) from America was appointed as the headmistress of Riverside Girls Academy. She was a graduate of Columbia University and served in Riverside for 4 years from the spring of 1923 until the summer of 1927.⁴¹⁰

⁴¹¹ In 1920, she wrote a report concerning non-Christian girls' schools in Ningbo which

⁴⁰⁷ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Ningboshi Sili Yongjiang Nvzi Zhongxue Guanyu Jiaohui Xuexiao Qingkuang Baogao 寧波市私立甬江女子中學關於教會學校情況報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-50 p51-59, February 10th 1951 1951年2月10日), 52.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Yongjiang Nvzhong Jiben Xinxi Dengjibiao 甬江女中基本信息登記表," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-103 p14-15).

was published in *Educational Review*. Miss Zimmerman acknowledged the progress achieved by these schools and their contribution to female education in China. However, she also frankly pointed out her observation that,

*“The discipline is strict and repressive. The Normal school teacher took pride in the fact that their pupils are not allowed to talk at all in the dining room. Every child has a recess and the bow to the teacher at the beginning and end of the recitation, the marching out, and later, in again, in file, gives the impression of order and fine manners. But somehow it seems to lack naturalness and I wished for some signs of individuality and self-activity.”*⁴¹²

Miss Zimmerman’s colleague told her some commentaries made on missionary schools by a non-missionary teacher, as who said that,

“You in the church were the first to open schools and we have followed your lead. Already we offer better courses than you do in everything but English and music. Give us ten years more and we will equal or excel you in those also.”

As a response to the confident commentary given by the non-missionary teacher, Miss Zimmerman said that, Riverside must improve further and face up to this challenge to try to ensure that students would be willing to stay with missionary schools.⁴¹³

⁴¹² Dora Zimmerman, "Facilities for the Educaiton of Girls in Non-Christian Schools in Ningpo," *Educaitonal Review* 12, no. 4 (1920): 347.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

Apart from girls' schools, there were also boys' schools established by missionaries. Rev. Frederick Galpin was a missionary from the English Methodist Mission. Rev. Galpin arrived Ningbo in 1868 and worked there for the following 30 years. Rev. Frederick Galpin had a fine command of the local vernacular and was a principle reviser of the Ningbo local dialect version of the New Testament.⁴¹⁴ The Feidi (斐迪) middle school was established by the Methodist Mission. Feidi is the Chinese name of Rev. Frederick Galpin.⁴¹⁵

Chen Qianfu (陳謙夫) was an influential member of the local elite in Ningbo. Chen studied in Western missionary schools, established by the Methodist and the Presbyterian orders in Ningbo.⁴¹⁶ He later took the initiative to emulate the Western example and established a modern hospital and school in Ningbo. They respectively were Cixi's Baoli Hospital established in 1910,⁴¹⁷ and Xiaoshi Academy established in 1912.⁴¹⁸ Modern courses, such as, mathematics, physics, chemistry, Western history and geography were set for students. In addition, English textbooks were adopted for the teaching of these courses.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁴ MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*, 129-30.

⁴¹⁵ H.S. Redfern, "The English Methodist College, Ningpo," *Educational Review* 7, no. 1 (1915).

⁴¹⁶ Sun Shangen 孙善根, *Pingmin Jiaoyujia Chen Qianfu Pingzhuan 平民教育家陈谦夫评传* (Zhejiang Daxue Chubanshe 浙江大学出版社, 2015), 11.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 58-67; Chen Xunci 陈训慈, "Meihao De Huiyi---Jinian Muxiao Xiaoshi Qishiwu Zhounian Xiaoqing 美好的回忆---纪念母校劬实七十五周年校庆," in *Bainian Xiaoshi*

In 1876, the Church Missionary Society (CMS)'s Trinity College was founded in Ningbo by J. C. Hoare. The school aimed at training native agents to spread Christianity. Apart from a thorough training in scripture and theology the college also had a good reputation for teaching Chinese language and literature. Accepted students needed to receive a full course training of seven years. In 1907, the college had 60 pupils⁴²⁰ and had trained a large body of efficient pastors, catechists, and schoolmasters. One of its senior scholars, who served the Church for thirty years was also appointed as the first Chinese Archdeacon of the Church Mission Society.⁴²¹

5.6 Local institution: Christian Missionary and the Sino-American Hospital

Western missionaries established not only modern schools in Ningbo, but also hospitals for spreading modern science in medical treatment. A case in point was the Sino-American Hospital whose establishment can be traced back to the 1840s, the very early phase of the imposition of the treaty port system. In 1842, Ningbo was among the first five treaty ports opened to the West following the signature of the Treaty of Nanjing. One year later, in 1843, D. J. MacGowan M.D. (馬高濶博士), an American

Xiaoyou Jinian Wenxuan 百年效实校友纪念文选, ed. Ningbo Xiaoshi Zhongxue Bainian Xiaoqing Bianweihui 宁波效实中学百年校庆编委会 (2012).

⁴²⁰ MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*, 28.

⁴²¹ *The China Mission Year Book*, (Gale database, 1912), 204.

Baptist missionary, arrived in Ningbo and started to introduce Western medical treatments to the local residents.⁴²²

Doctor MacGowan was joined by his wife Mrs. Macgowan in April 1845 and Rev. E. C. Lord in June 1847.⁴²³ Taking the limited scale of the hospital then into consideration, the medical institution launched by Doctor MacGowan would merely be called as a clinic rather than a hospital. By 1875, S.P. Barchet, M.D. (白保羅博士) arrived in Ningbo. As a result of his outstanding knowledge and skill in modern medical treatments, he was revered by the local residents. In 1883, through his efforts, the American Baptist Mission Hospital (大美浸會醫院) was established, located on the outside of the Northern City wall, directly overlooking the Yuyao River. The entire funding of the hospital in the beginning years came from the donation of Western churches.⁴²⁴

After his arrival in Ningbo, Doctor Barchet gradually built up his friendship with the then prefecture official in charge of Ningbo, Shaoxing and Taizhou. It seems that this official had already realised the importance and the vitality of the Western scientific knowledge and he invited Doctor Barchet to act as a personal tutor to guide

⁴²² MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*, MacGillivray 336-37.

⁴²³ The Chinese Recorder, *The Chinese Recorder* 8, no. 2 (March-April, 1877): 129.

⁴²⁴ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huamei Yiyuan 1920 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院 1920 年工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-1, 1921).

his son with English. Taking this opportunity, Doctor Barchet made friends with his student's other Chinese teachers. Many of them were influential intellectuals from eminent lineages in the locality, such as Mr. Zhang Rangsan (張讓三先生)⁴²⁵. Mr. Zhang had accompanied Xu Fucheng (薛福成), the government official in charge of defending Zhenhai port during the Sino-French War, travelling abroad to the West. Mr. Zhang himself was also from eminent families in the locality and an influential figure in Ningbo's educational and cultural sphere.⁴²⁶

In 1891, Doctor Barchet was replaced by Doctor Grant (蘭雅谷先生). The latter started to act as the superintendent of the hospital and take charge of the daily routine. Doctor Grant successfully inherited and continued the friendship with local intellectuals, initiated by Doctor Barchet. In 1922, the medical staff in the Sino-American Hospital successfully saved the grandson of Mr. Zhang Rangsan from a severe illness.⁴²⁷ No doubt, similar interactions between the hospital and the local residents constantly consolidated their mutual trust and companionship.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Sun Biaoqing (Oral Narrative) 孙表卿 (口述) and Mao Yihu (Compiling) 毛翼虎 (整理), "Xinxue Huishe Ji Qita 新学会社及其他," in *Xinhai Geming Ningbo Shiliao Xuanji 辛亥革命 宁波史料选辑*, ed. Ningboshi Zhengxie Wenshi Weiyuanhui 宁波市政协文史委员会 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2011).

⁴²⁷ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huamei Yiyuan 1921 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院 1921 年工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-2, 1922).

Sound relationships and a good reputation also helped the hospital to obtain more support from the locality. When the hospital fell short of funding from the Western donations, the local notables in Ningbo actively donated their own money to support the hospital. The Western staff in the hospital really appreciated this support and were genuinely impressed by this generosity and kindness from the local residents.⁴²⁸ Consequently, under the leadership of Doctor Grant, the hospital was formally renamed from American Baptist Mission Hospital (大美浸會醫院) to Sino-American Hospital (華美醫院), with the aim of emphasising the friendly and trustful relationship between the American missionaries and the local Chinese residents.⁴²⁹

In this positive atmosphere, the number of patients frequenting the hospital steadily increased. From 1902 to 1915, besides acting as the superintendent of the hospital, Doctor Grant personally also provided medical treatment for members who worked in the Zhejiang Customs department. Doctor Grant donated all his income from this part-time post to the Sino-American Hospital.⁴³⁰ His dedication to medical service in Ningbo earned him the reverence of local people.

⁴²⁸ "Huamei Yiyuan 1920 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院 1920 年工作報告."

⁴²⁹ "Lan Yagu Xiansheng Jianli 蘭雅谷先生簡歷," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-6, April 3rd 1930 1930 年 4 月 3 日).

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

On June 21st, 1920, it was Doctor Grant's 60th birthday. The Sino-American Hospital threw a birthday party for him. Local intellectual, Mr. Zhang Rangsan, whose grandson had been saved by the Sino-American Hospital, was invited to act as the host for this birthday party. On this particular day, many important local officials, gentry and intellectuals in Ningbo attended this event. This birthday party itself could be viewed as a very good example to prove the positive relationship between the Western missionaries and the local elite in Ningbo at that time.

During the party, Doctor Grant also launched a call for public donations which aimed at purchasing what was then a very advanced X-Ray machine for the hospital. Not only local gentry and politicians actively made donations, but also a local warlord. In 1920, Lu Yongxiang (盧永祥), who was then an army general defending Zhejiang, personally sent a gift to Doctor Grant to celebrate his birthday.⁴³¹ Later, Lu also donated 1,000 silver dollars as his contribution to the hospital's new building construction project in 1920s.⁴³²

⁴³¹ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huamei Yiyuan 1920 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院 1920 年工作報告."

⁴³² Ren Xingeng 仁莘耕, "1930 Nian Huamei Yiyuan Gongzuo Baogao Xinyuan Jiancheng Jingguo Ji Juankuan Xiangxi 1930 年華美醫院工作報告 新院建成經過及捐款詳細," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-6, 1930).

The Sino-American Hospital did not follow the traditional Chinese method of hiring a manager who was then given almost absolute power over the institution he took charge of; instead it adopted the Western practice of holding of share-holder meetings. At this meeting, the Board of Directors was elected, and then a manager or superintendent appointed.⁴³³ In the 1920s, the Board of Directors of the hospital was formed by ten representatives. Three of them were appointed by the Medical Board of Zhejiang and Shanghai Baptist Convention; two of them were by the local district association of the Convention; two of them were by the East China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; and another three positions were given to the friends and patrons of the hospital, as approved by the above seven appointed members.⁴³⁴ This indicated that the hospital tried to absorb local influential figures into its decision-making body to facilitate the management of the hospital. The hospital superintendent would be appointed by this Board of Directors, who would then be responsible for routine work and management. A Hospital Council would also be formed aiming at routinely supporting the work of the superintendent.⁴³⁵

⁴³³ Wellington K. K. Chan, "Government, Merchants and Industry to 1911," in *The Cambridge History of China 11*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and John King Fairbank (Cambridge Eng. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 423.

⁴³⁴ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Medical Board Meeting, Constitution of Sino-American Hospital," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-3, May 26th 1928 1928年5月26日).

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

As superintendent in the 1920s, Doctor Grant, emphasised the importance of training local Chinese people to become professional medical workers, such as doctors and nurses. Ren Xingeng (任莘耕) and Ding Licheng (丁立成) were two Chinese students who received the training in Western medicine. It seems that both Ren and Ding were among the top ranking of Doctor Grant's students. In 1920, Ren, who was older than Ding, had become the main assistant of Doctor Grant, and acted as the vice superintendent of the Sino-American Hospital. Ding then served as a senior doctor in the hospital.⁴³⁶ When Ding was young, he had recovered from serious illness, and then he converted to Christianity.⁴³⁷ Probably, Ding made his decision due to the reason that he received proper medical treatment and spiritual encouragement from missionaries during his illness.

Missionary hospitals, via the modern and scientific knowledge in medical treatment, obtained the trust of local residents. Apart from this, they also actively took part in the moral reconstruction of local society and competed for the moral authority in the area, trying to convert Chinese people to Christianity. Except in cases requiring emergency treatment, after registration, patients were asked to listen to a sermon before meeting the doctor. A certain number of free registration tickets were handed out to

⁴³⁶ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huamei Yiyuan 1920 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院 1920 年工作報告."

⁴³⁷ Ding Lichen 丁立成, "Jiefang Hou Lvli Dengjibiao Geren Zizhuan 解放後履歷登記表個人自傳," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-3-1 p26).

encourage people to engage with Western medical science and Christianity. However, it seems that the result of religion spreading was not particularly successful. Based on statistics given by the hospital's annual report in 1920, only ten people finally converted to Christianity despite the constant efforts of the hospital staff.⁴³⁸ However, the efforts of the hospital on faith never ever terminated.

In 1922, the Sino-American Hospital received 23,000 silver dollars from a donation project undertaken in America. From then on Doctor Grant campaigned for his idea of building a new and larger scale hospital in Ningbo, aiming to improve the capability of the Sino-American Hospital. If this plan could be put into practice, the hospital would be able to provide medical treatment for more local residents. When the hospital purchased the land from Xiaoshi middle school (效實學會), Huang Qinglan, a junior official in the locality, rendered help and thus facilitated the final accomplishment of the deal. In addition, Doctor Grant and his hospital also received support and help from the members of the Ningbo societies all over the Nation, for example Yu Qiaqing and Jin Tingsun (金廷蓀)⁴³⁹ from the Shanghai Ningbo society.

⁴³⁸ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huamei Yiyuan 1920 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院 1920 年工作報告."

⁴³⁹ Jin himself is a vital person acting as a bridge linking Shanghai Green Gang and Ningbo local society cited at Mao Yihu (Compiling) 毛翼虎 (记录整理), "Liumang Touzi Jin Tingsun 流氓头子金廷蓀," in *Zhejiang Wenshi Ziliao Xuanji Di 6 Ji 浙江文史资料选集 第六辑*, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Zhejiangsheng Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议浙江省委员会文史资料研究委员会 (June 1963 1963 年 6 月), 170-82.

Both, originally from Ningbo, pursued their careers in Shanghai and each donated 500 silver dollars for the new hospital building construction program.

By the summer of 1927, there was in total 130,000 silver dollars accumulated for this construction program. This started in 1926 and was finished by 1928. The saddest point was that Doctor Grant passed away in 1927.⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ He contributed all his intelligence and energy to his religious faith and the mission appointed to him by helping Ningbo people to have access to the latest progress in modern medical science and treatment. Doctor Grant greatly contributed to the development of modern medical science and hospitals in Ningbo, but he himself could not receive the praise which he deserved more than anyone. Fortunately, these historical documents were well maintained and can still be consulted in the city municipal archives of Ningbo. Hopefully with the help of these documents, Doctor Grant, the respected Western missionary who selflessly dedicated himself to the general welfare and modernisation process of Ningbo, could be remembered by this city and her descendants.

⁴⁴⁰ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Letter to Dr. Ren," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-9, February 8th 1932 1932年2月8日).

⁴⁴¹ Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui 華美醫院董事會, "1939 Nian Dongshihui Niandu Baogao 1939年董事會年度報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-21, 1939).

5.7 Christian missionary's other efforts on pursuing social changes in Ningbo

Many Christian orders in the locality also actively took part in the cause of moral reconstruction in Ningbo. Some Christian orders launched attacks against particular social norms, such as the infanticide of baby girls, opium consumption, and polygamy. There were institutions set up by Western missionaries aiming at improving the welfare of infants and children. For instance, Gaoqiao Orphanage (高橋孤兒院) was planned in 1900, and finally set up in the February of 1910 by a Western missionary organisation.⁴⁴² Another case in point was an American missionary, Mrs. Nettie D. Nicholas (倪歌勝師母), who arrived China in 1910. When she went to Ningbo, she observed that the local residents were in the habit of drowning baby girls. In order to combat infanticide as a social norm, in 1911, she built up an institution aiming at dealing with this problem. Later, she bought land on the northern side of Yuyao River (江北岸草馬路) where she built Bethel (伯特利) Church in 1922.⁴⁴³

Ningbo Municipal Archives have restored the Chinese meeting minutes of the Presbyterian Order ranging from 1903 to 1935. From these it can be seen that the Presbyterian Order in Ningbo tried to impose the spirit of community among its

⁴⁴² Jidujiao Zhanglaohui 基督教長老會 [Presbyterian Christianity], "Jidujiao Zhanglaohui Zhesheng Ningshao Zhonghui Qishinian Lueshi 基督教長老會浙省寧紹中會七十年畧史," (Ningbo Archives (NA) 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-19, 1927), 5.

⁴⁴³ "Ningbo Boteli Wei Meiji Jiaoshi Ni Gesheng Si Zhi Zhisang Weiyuanhui Wenshu 寧波伯特利為美籍教士倪歌勝死之治喪委員會文書," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-37, November 1946 - October 1948 1946年11月-1948年10月).

members. People were required to undergo a serious examination before they were enrolled into the Church organisation, for example as regards consumption of opium.⁴⁴⁴ Due to the various refined entertainments in China, the culture of Opium consumption here had been popular,⁴⁴⁵ but Members of the Presbyterian Order were required to abstain from consuming it.⁴⁴⁶ In this matter, as in others, it seems that the Presbyterian Order and the Baptist Church had an intimate relation with each other, for example holding prayer meetings together on Easter Day in April 1920. With the aim of persuading the local masses to abstain from opium consumption, the Baptist Church's Sino-American Hospital also made efforts⁴⁴⁷ such as the paying program it launched to help people overcome their opium addiction. In the 1920s, various treatments were used according to the different levels of addiction which were separately charged at 80, 60, 40 and 20 silver dollars per month. The patients were required to pay for this treatment in advance. Therefore, if they terminated during the treatment and resumed opium consumption, the treatment fee would not be returned to them.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ Ningbo Zhanglaohui 寧波長老會 [Presbyterian Ningbo], "Ningbo Tanghui Jilu 寧波堂會記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-18, December 1920-October 1935 1920年12月-1935年10月), 99.

⁴⁴⁵ Yangwen Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴⁴⁶ Ningbo Zhanglaohui 寧波長老會 [Presbyterian Ningbo], "Ningbo Zhanglaohui Shouna Huiyuan Ji Huiyi Jilu 寧波長老會收納會員及會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-17, October 1903-October 1920 1903年10月-1920年10月), 15.

⁴⁴⁷ "Ningbo Tanghui Jilu 寧波堂會記錄," 199.

⁴⁴⁸ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huamei Yiyuan 1921 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院 1921年工作報告."

On the subject of marriage, the Presbyterian Church members were required to follow Seven Prohibitions, one of which concerned the taking of concubines, and marry within the Church community.⁴⁴⁹ If members disobeyed these regulations set by the Church, they could be subjected to punishment ranging from exclusion from the Eucharist to expulsion. Cultural clashes also arose, and there was competition between the moral authority of the Christian Churches and the traditional patriarchal Chinese families. The Church community claimed to hold the responsibility for its member's marriage, which implied that the marriage of members had to be restricted under the regulation set by the Church, and social activity, such as marriages, should no longer be decided by the patriarchal headman within a nuclear or extended family. A case in point was when a church in the locality planned to punish one of its members. The member was considering marrying her daughter to someone who had divorced his wife without a proper reason.⁴⁵⁰ Social norms such as this used to be perfectly acceptable to the local society. However, now the local Chinese people were confronted with the need to reinterpret these societal norms after modern ideas and Christianity had begun to spread in Ningbo. Traditional patriarchal moral authority was similarly challenged by the expansion of foreign religion.

⁴⁴⁹ Ningbo Zhanglaohui 寧波長老會 [Presbyterian Ningbo], "Ningbo Zhanglaohui Shouna Huiyuan Ji Huiyi Jilu 寧波長老會收納會員及會議記錄," 59 78.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

As a short conclusion to this chapter, the late Qing and early Republican era has been viewed as a chaotic and disturbing era for China, whereas a number of pieces of historical evidence with regard to Ningbo's experience actually give a stable and prosperous image at local society level in this period. It can be seen from this chapter that the gradual expansion of trade, the increase of population dynamism, and the development of local institutions were all initiated and inspired by either the Western style free trade economic practices or Western missionaries. Although the existing historical evidence is still limited, it would be reasonable to suggest that, at least, the evidence adopted in this chapter tends to indicate a positive picture of Ningbo's economic and social development during the late Qing and early Republican era, which to a large extent may be attributed to the fact that Ningbo had opened itself up and been actively interacting with the external world.

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Chapter 6 英雄遲暮 Sunset Boulevard

6.1 Abstract

Since 1919, the golden era for Ningbo's economic and social changes at the local society level had started to be affected by the rise and spread of nationalism in China at the state level. This chapter will use the reports of Zhejiang Customs and historical evidence from local institutions to observe the responses of certain social groups in the locality towards the increase of anti-West and anti-Japan nationalism in Ningbo. The focus will mainly be on the time period from the May Fourth movement in 1919 to the eve of the Sino-Japanese confrontation in 1937. This chapter will attempt to demonstrate that the normal operation of free commodities exchanges, the normal management of missionary established institutions and the operation of manufacturing at the local society level in Ningbo were affected by the rise of nationalist sentiment at the state level and the subsequent imposition of the Nationalist regime in Ningbo.

6.2 Introduction

Luo Zhitian notes that nationalism is an essential theme underlying the developing course of the Republic of China.⁴⁵¹ Vera Schwarcz also points out the difference between the May Fourth Movement of 1919 in China and the Enlightenment Movement in Europe. For the latter, it was about emancipating people from religious

⁴⁵¹ Luo Zhitian 罗志田, *Luanshi Qianliu: Minzu Zhuyi Yu Minguo Zhengzhi 乱世潜流: 民族主义与民国政治* (Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe 中国人民大学出版社, 2013), 1.

authority whereas for China the issue was not only the emancipation of people from traditional Confucian patriarchal authority, but also national salvation. The nationalist sentiment prevalent in 1919 gradually shifted the movement's aims from one of enlightenment, of guiding the masses 'to dare to know,' to a mass mobilisation movement filled with anti-foreign nationalist sentiment.⁴⁵²

Arthur Waldron argues that warlords' military conflicts in 1924 in China paved the way for the increase of nationalism. These military confrontations were also conducive to the 1925 May Thirteenth Movement, the 1927 Northern Expedition, and the future success of the Chinese Communist Party.⁴⁵³ This chapter will observe some local responses towards these state level social movements which happened after 1919. These included a boycott of foreign goods and student strikes in western missionary institutions. Although the scale was limited, these activities bore the characteristic of trade protectionism and antiforeignism.

The 1926 Northern expedition in China was launched under the cooperation between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party, but the two parties split in the spring of 1927. Mary Wright notices that there was an ideological transition which

⁴⁵² Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment : Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1-4.

⁴⁵³ Arthur Waldron, *From War to Nationalism : China's Turning Point, 1924-1925*, Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 9-10.

occurred in the Nationalist Party side in that year. She argues that in 1927 the Nationalist Party transformed itself from a revolutionary political institution to a restoration one. She also draws parallels between this transition of the Nationalists with her earlier study on the Tongzhi Restoration.⁴⁵⁴ As the Nationalists softened their radical revolutionary stance and pursued a compromise with local civil society a debate was started.⁴⁵⁵ This concerned the nature of the relationship between the authoritative central government and the local society, more precisely in this case, the relationship between the Nationalist regime and the civilian capitalists in Ningbo.

The Chinese Communist Party legitimised its revolution by criticising the Nationalists as working on behalf of the interest of the Western imperialists, compradors, and wealthy capitalists.⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ However, Lloyd E. Eastman contends that, despite the economic improvement and the decline of the political rivals of the Nationalist Party during the Nationalist decade 1927-1937, the regime was still predominantly a political and military entity without a stable social supporting base.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ Mary C. Wright, "From Revolution to Restoration: The Transformation of Kuomintang Ideology," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1955): 515.

⁴⁵⁵ Parks M. Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927-1937* / Parks M. Coble, Jr, 2nd ed. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University : distributed by Harvard University Press, 1986), xiv.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁵⁷ Wang Qisheng 王奇生, *Dangyuan, Dangquan Yu Dangzheng: 1924-1949 Nian Zhongguo Guomindang De Zuzhi Xingtai 党员、党权与党争: 1924-1949 年中国国民党的组织形态* (Huawen Chubanshe 华文出版社, 2010), 171.

⁴⁵⁸ Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction : Nationalist China in War and Revolution 1937-1949* / Lloyd E. Eastman (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford, Cal. : Stanford University Press, 1984), 2.

Wang Qisheng also argues that the Nationalist Party's autocratic power was rather limited. The party did not have either capitalists, peasants, or workers as a solid social foundation to support it as a base. In addition, the power of the Nationalist Party lay not in its political apparatus, but in its army and military power.⁴⁵⁹

In addition, Parks M. Coble argues that the Shanghai Capitalists, despite sharing with the Nationalists the common interest of being against the radical left wing labour movement, had also been suffering from the incessant economic demands and constant political coercion from the Nationalist regime.⁴⁶⁰ The interest of the Shanghai Capitalists was indeed damaged, rather than protected by the Nationalist.⁴⁶¹ The intimate alliance between the Nationalist and the Capitalists in China was a myth and illusion and not an historical fact.

Sidney D. Gamble's book shows the considerable amount of village autonomy in the North of China in the late Qing and the Republican era,⁴⁶² despite the Nationalist government promulgating a *Hsien* Organisation Act in 1929 to apply to the entire

⁴⁵⁹ Wang Qisheng 王奇生, *Dangyuan, Dangquan Yu Dangzheng: 1924-1949 Nian Zhongguo Guomindang De Zuzhi Xingtai* 党员、党权与党争: 1924-1949 年中国国民党的组织形态, 170-225.

⁴⁶⁰ Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927-1937* / Parks M. Coble, Jr, 12.

⁴⁶¹ "The Kuomintang Regime and the Shanghai Capitalists, 1927-29," *The China Quarterly*, no. 77 (1979): 1-3 24.

⁴⁶² Sidney D. Gamble, *North China Villages; Social, Political, and Economic Activities before 1933* (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1963), 8-9.

country. There here were indications of increasing government involvement in village affairs in 1933,⁴⁶³ tending to manifest that these nationalist policies had not been successful in promoting change at the village level in the North of China.⁴⁶⁴

Firstly, this chapter will demonstrate that, after 1919, the normal operation of civilian life at the society level had been affected by the mounting anti-foreign nationalism at the state level. To support this statement as regards Ningbo, historical evidence related to the anti-Japanese boycott and a student strike at the Sino-American Hospital will be examined. Secondly, the operation and management of two local Christian organisations, the Sino-American Hospital and the Riverside Girls Academy's under the Nationalist regime from 1927 to 1937 will be discussed. Thirdly, this chapter will support Park Coble's argument, based on the historical evidence of a local factory, that the Nationalist regime did not provide due protection for the interest of civilian capitalists. This study will argue that the normal functioning of certain local economic and social institutions in Ningbo at the society level was affected by the spread of nationalism and imposition of the Nationalist regime at the state level. This intervention, to some extent, limited local society's potential to learn more positive elements from the West and Japan which might have been used to undertake further economic and social improvement.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2, 4.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

6.3 The brave hero approaching old age

The history of Ningbo at the end of the second and the early part of the third decade of the 20th century seems like a brave warrior who is no longer young, strong and energetic. This beautiful period gradually faded away and the physical body began to decay. At this time the golden era for economic and social changes in Ningbo, similarly started to fade away. Even though the initial pace of change was quite modest it gradually accelerated, and evidence points to the fact that the rise of nationalism was the cause.

After World War I, in 1919, the Paris Conference decided to transfer the rights of Germany in Shandong to Japan. This decision irritated university students in Beijing who protested by marching towards the inner city, which subsequently led to the 1919 May Fourth Incident. Students were dissatisfied with the responses from the Beijing government towards this rights transfer and denounced the government as being ‘corrupt and incompetent’. Paradoxically, this so called ‘corrupt and incompetent’ government did not use violence against the protesting students. However, despite this, these angry students did adopt violence towards the government officials.

After 1919’s May Fourth Movement, the tolerant social environment in Ningbo of the first two decades of the 20th century started to fade away. Changes could be observed from the establishment of a local newspaper, Shishi Gongbao (時事公報),

first published on June 1st, 1920. In its first edition the newspaper announced that its publication aimed at encouraging local residents to think critically about international and national events. It would not merely raise problems and copy arguments from others, but instead it would try to create a stage for the local residents, on which they could thoroughly discuss the problems confronted by this country.⁴⁶⁵ Even though the editor of the newspaper wrote this ambitious foreword to express their impartial stance over the political and social events, the newspaper itself still inherited a strong nationalist sentiment from the 1919 May Fourth Movement. One obvious example was related to the newspaper's reports on the boycott on Japanese goods in Ningbo in 1920 which it supported.

The newspaper constantly criticised those merchants who still sold Japanese goods during the boycott. On July 19th, 1920, *Shishi Gongbao* reported the burning of Japanese goods in the locality. It stated that, even though the damage of burning Japanese goods was suffered by the local residents of Ningbo rather than the Japanese, this burning action greatly encouraged the national spirit of local residents, and its contribution for this would be inestimable.⁴⁶⁶ Another case in point was on August 17th, 1920 when students confronted merchants who secretly imported Japanese goods. It

⁴⁶⁵ *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報, "Fakanci 發刊詞," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 June 1st 1920 1920年6月1日.

⁴⁶⁶ "Fenhui Rihuo Zhi Ganyan 焚毀日貨之感言," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 July 19th 1920 1920年7月19日(四版).

was noted that Shishi Gongbao's report on this issue sided with the students and labelled the merchants importing Japanese goods as 'traitors'.⁴⁶⁷

Ningbo's anti-Japanese goods boycott during and after 1919 was also recorded in the reports of Zhejiang Customs in 1919 and 1921. The boycott activity was launched and led by students in 1919,⁴⁶⁸ and lasted for two years until 1921. It was in that year that students clashed with a textile store selling Japanese goods. A significant number of local merchants sided with the store and threatened a market strike and taxation boycott if the policemen failed to offer due protection for the normal operation of the market, after which the police intervened and protected relevant stores from being attacked by the protesting students. Following that the boycott on Japanese goods in Ningbo calmed down.⁴⁶⁹

Despite the ending of the boycott the nationalist sentiment continued to spread. Three years later, in 1924, the fighting between different militia factions in China smashed the hope for a modest and capable centrally administrative government to be

⁴⁶⁷ "Duidai Jianshang Yingyong Shenmo Shouduan 對待奸商應用什麼手段," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 August 17th 1920 1920年8月17日(四版).

⁴⁶⁸ Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Hangzhou Haiguan (Translation and Editing) 中华人民共和国杭州海关(译编), *Jindai Zhejiang Tongshang Kouan Jingji Shehui Gaikuang Zhehaiguan Ouhaiguan Hangzhouguan Maoyi Baogao Jicheng* 近代浙江通商口岸经济社会概况 浙海关 甌海关 杭州关贸易报告集成 (Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 2002), 356.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 365.

set up in the North of China. This was immediately followed by the 1925 May Thirtieth Movement, in which aggressive nationalist sentiment towards foreigners was expressed. Simultaneously, the 1925 May Thirtieth Movement provided an expanding opportunity for radical political parties, both the Nationalists and the Communists.⁴⁷⁰ After the May Thirtieth movement, a student strike as a local response towards the amount of nationalism in the state level took place at the Sino-American Hospital's affiliated nursing school.

This incident happened in the summer of 1925, immediately after the earlier May Thirtieth Movement. On August 2nd, 1925, some students from the nursing school of the Sino-American Hospital put an announcement in *Shishi Gongbao*. This announcement claimed that, for patriotic reasons, a group of nursing school students had decided to formally terminate their relationship with the Sino-American Hospital.⁴⁷¹ Interestingly, three days later, some striking students' parents put another announcement in *Shishi Gongbao* and stated that their children's action were actually not caused by a patriotic reason, as these students claimed to the public before. On the contrary, the root of this conflict between students and the school was trivial problems related to personal disputes, as a result of which some students were being used as

⁴⁷⁰ Waldron, *From War to Nationalism : China's Turning Point, 1924-1925*.

⁴⁷¹ *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報, "Ningbo Huamei Yiyuan Hushi Xuexiao Lixiao Nannv Xueshengtuan Qishi 寧波華美醫院護士學校離校男女學生團啟事," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 August 2nd 1925 1925年8月2日(一: 1) .

weapons by others. The parents of four striking students, on behalf of their children, apologised for this childish and naïve action and expressed their willingness to send their children back to school.⁴⁷² On August 11th, some pro striking students put another announcement in the newspaper to show their firm stance in this case and their determination to carry on the strike till its very end.⁴⁷³

Finally, on August 15th, 1925, the Sino-American Hospital made public its view by publishing its own official announcement concerning this case in an attempt to settle the dispute. The hospital denied the charge of suppressing the patriotic demonstration launched by the students and stated that some people had tried to deliberately cause trouble for the hospital. The gate of the school would be open to all the striking students who were willing to come back. At the same time, if anyone was firm on their decision and determined to leave, the school would also respect their individual decision and would not make any other effort to force him or her stay. Everyone was given the freedom to make his or her own decision.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² "Huamei Yiyuan Hushi Xuexiao Lixiao Xuesheng Jiazhang Qishi 華美醫院護士學校離校學生家長啟事," *Shishi Gongbao 時事公報* August 5th 1925 1925年8月5日(一: 1).

⁴⁷³ "Huamei Yiyuan Hushi Xuexiao Lixiao Weiyuanhui Qishi 華美醫院護士學校離校委員會啟事," *Shishi Gongbao 時事公報* August 11th 1925 1925年8月11日.

⁴⁷⁴ "Huamei Yiyuan Qishi Huamei Yiyuan Kanhu Xuexiao Lixiao Xuesheng Fanxiao Qishi 華美醫院啟事 華美醫院看護學校離校學生返校啟事," *Shishi Gongbao 時事公報* August 15th 1925 1925年8月15日.

By 1927, Chiang Kai-shek was the most important military general of the Nationalist Party and was taking charge in leading the northern expedition which aimed at reuniting China under a nationalist cause. Chiang's troops arrived at and occupied Ningbo in January 1927.⁴⁷⁵ By then, Chiang was confronted with a situation which required him to make a decision. He needed to decide whether to let the Nationalist Party continue to cooperate with the more left-wing radical Communists or to leave this alliance. By the end of 1926, Chiang, at his Nanchang headquarters, received financial support from the visiting head of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce.⁴⁷⁶ On April 12th, 1927, he took actions and gave orders to attack the leftist union in Shanghai.⁴⁷⁷ A little earlier, on April 10th, 1927, a similar movement against the leftist organisations had taken when a curfew was imposed in Ningbo.⁴⁷⁸

Although the Nationalists had split with the Communists in the spring of 1927, their arrival and occupation of Ningbo still fuelled the local radical nationalist sentiment, at least for a short while. On July 5th, 1927, during the summer vacation, the Riverside Girls Academy was invaded by an organisation who called themselves 'The Committee for the Quick Taking Back of the Education Rights' (收回教育權急進會). The

⁴⁷⁵ "Yongjv Chuding Zhi Mianmianguan 甬局初定之面面觀," *Shishi Gongbao 時事公報* January 16th 1927 1927年1月16日(二: 2).

⁴⁷⁶ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, Third Edition. ed., text, 319.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁴⁷⁸ *Shishi Gongbao 時事公報*, "Benfu Xuanbu Jieyan Hou Gefang Xiaoxi 本阜宣佈戒嚴後之各方消息," *Shishi Gongbao 時事公報* April 10th 1927 1927年4月10日(二: 2).

invaders occupied the first and second floors of the main building of the school and claimed to have the legal right over the Riverside. Some students responded bravely and firmly to the surprised 'invaders' and firmly held the third and fourth floors of the school building.^{479 480}

Ms. Shen Yixiang (沈貽薌, Esther Y. Sing) who subsequently became the principal of Riverside, recorded more details about the development of this incident in the Riverside principal's report of 1927/28 to the Board of Directors. She claimed in her report that the invaders of 'The Committee for the quick taking back of Educational Rights' were mostly teachers from various middle schools in Ningbo. Ms. Shen suspected that their action was encouraged by the local city government which had just fallen into the hands of revolutionary Army led by Chiang Kai-shek.⁴⁸¹ Ms. Shen herself was in Hangzhou during the invasion. Both sides claimed that they had the legal right over the school and competed by managing their own summer school camps. Later

⁴⁷⁹ Jennifer Bond, "Missionary Education for Girls in Republican Era Zhejiang Province, China, 1844-1949," *Dissertation for M.Phil. Degree in Modern Chinese Studies at Oxford University* (April 2013): 40.

⁴⁸⁰ Yang Yinsui 楊音綏, "Benxiao Bei "Shouhui Jiaoyuquan Jijinhui" Zhanjushi De Huiyi Kanzai Yu 1948 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong 25 Zhounian Jiniance Xiaoyou Wenyi 本校被“收回教育權急進會”占據時的回憶 刊載於 1948 年的甬江女中二十五週年紀念冊校友文藝 P35-36," in *Yongjiang Nvzhong 25 Zhounian Jiniance Xiaoyou Wenyi 甬江女中二十五週年紀念冊校友文藝* (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-104, 1948).

⁴⁸¹ Shen Yixiang 沈貽薌, "1927 Zhi 1928 Xuenian Xiaozhang Baogao 1927 至 1928 學年校長報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p11-13, May 9th 1928 1928 年 5 月 9 日).

the invaders sued the Riverside in the local court⁴⁸² and as a result the school was temporarily sealed.

One important compromise made by the Riverside school to the surge of Chinese nationalism was that, in the fall of 1927, Baptist and Presbyterian Churches decided to return the education rights to Chinese people. A meeting of the Board of Directors was convened, and all members supported Ms. Shen to act as the principal of the Riverside.⁴⁸³ Shen's great advantage was that, due to her own educational background in the missionary school, she shared both the Christian faith and Chinese national identity. On August 24th, 1927, *Shishi Gongbao*, the local newspaper, also reported this rights transfer.⁴⁸⁴

Ms. Shen admitted in her principal's report one year later in 1928 that, in order to solve this problem, Riverside had received help from an important figure in the Nanking government, but she did not specifically mention who the person was. Here, the split

⁴⁸² Yang Yinsui 楊音綏, "Benxiao Bei "Shouhui Jiaoyuquan Jijinhui" Zhanjushi De Huiyi Kanzai Yu 1948 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong 25 Zhounian Jiniance Xiaoyou Wenyi 本校被“收回教育權急進會”占據時的回憶 刊載於 1948 年的甬江女中二十五週年紀念冊校友文藝 P35-36."

⁴⁸³ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Ningboshi Sili Yongjiang Nvzi Zhongxue Guanyu Jiaohui Xuexiao Qingkuang Baogao 寧波市私立甬江女子中學關於教會學校情況報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-50 p51-59, February 10th 1951 1951 年 2 月 10 日), 52.

⁴⁸⁴ *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報, "Yongjiang Nvzhong Shuqing Xvban 甬江女中書請續辦," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 August 24th 1927 1927 年 8 月 24 日 (二: 3) .

between the Nationalist and the more radical Communists apparently functioned, leading to the former modifying its policies from being radical to conservative, and simultaneously loosening its restrictions on missionary educational institutions. No doubt, this change worked in the Riverside Girls Academy's favour. On December 15th, 1927, Ms. Shen, her colleagues and students received the formal announcement from the provincial government granting the unsealing of Riverside for their use. Ms. Shen recorded in her report,

*'When the teachers and girls got the news, for a minute or two they could not control themselves, and they were no longer calm Chinese! On Dec. 29th the seals were formally removed. At the same time our basketball team won the championship. So on New Year's Day, we celebrated all this great news with firecrackers.'*⁴⁸⁵

The settling of the case of the Riverside Girls Academy shows that a compromise was gradually achieved between the newly implemented Nationalist regime and local missionary institutions. After the first phase of military victory and the split with the Communists, the Nationalist Party turned out to be less revolutionary and more willing to make compromises with Western institutions. Although the crisis of the Riverside seemed to have passed, there was still anti-Western missionary

⁴⁸⁵ Shen Yixiang 沈貽薌, "1927 Zhi 1928 Xuenian Xiaozhang Baogao 1927 至 1928 學年校長報告."

education sentiment spread in local society as could be seen from an editorial published in a local newspaper written by Yan Shan (嚴山), a local editorial writer.

Yan wrote an editorial in *Shishi Gongbao* in August 1928, in which he accused the missionary school of being a source of cultural invasion and warned the young students that, if they graduated from missionary education institutions, they would not be allowed to enrol in senior middle school.⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷The condition of student enrolment to Riverside was obviously influenced by this rise of nationalism. For instance, the student numbers of the Riverside in 1927 were quite low, and when the building was sealed, it had merely 56 students.⁴⁸⁸ This limited number of students subsequently caused a funding problem to Riverside in the academic year of 1927/28.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Yan Shan 嚴山 and *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報, "Gao Jiaohui Xuexiao Xuesheng Jiaohui Xuexiao Bude Kao Gaozhong 告教會學校學生 教會學校不得考高中," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 August 5th 1927 1927 年 8 月 5 日 (二: 2) .

⁴⁸⁷ It still deserves to be noted that despite *Shishi Gongbao* itself being a product of the May Fourth Movement, before the Nationalist Party occupied Ningbo, different voices in local newspapers still could compete with each other. This could be observed through the 1925 student strike incident which occurred at the nursing school connected to the Sino-American Hospital. Both the students and the hospital could give their own voice to the public via the newspaper. The readers in the locality, by receiving information from both sides, could rationally and critically analyse them. In contrast, severe damage to this institution was that, after the Nationalists took control of Ningbo in January 1927, debates in local newspaper started to disappear. The reports gradually presented a single strident voice, such as the above editorial written by Yan Shan.

⁴⁸⁸ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕪, "1927 Zhi 1928 Xuenian Xiaozhang Baogao 1927 至 1928 學年校長報告."

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

As the occupation incident of the Riverside Girls Academy had been settled, there were similar processes of a relaxation of the tension occurring at other religious institutions at Ningbo. For example, in July 1925, Anglican branches in the western part of Yin County sensed the pressure from the 1925 May Thirtieth anti-imperialism movement. Staff recorded in their church working meeting report that, there was a series of anti-Christianity and anti-church rumours circulating in the villages. In order to eradicate the mistrust among followers, the meeting resolved to assign a priest to explain the recent incidents to the members of the church.⁴⁹⁰

Two years later, in July 1927, this church in the west of Yin County recorded in its meeting minutes that the Nationalist Party, after establishing its regime in Ningbo, was forcing churches in Ningbo to close. Three out of four churches in Cixi were required to close and the members of the church worried that the funds of their religious institution might soon be confiscated by the government. As a response to this possible financial loss the members of the church decided to separate their deposits into different accounts.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ Shenggonghui 聖公會, "Shenggonghui Yinxi Muqu 1925 Nian Di 1 Ci Muqu Yihui 聖公會鄞西牧區 1925 年第一次牧區議會," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-2 p48, July 9th 1925 1925 年 7 月 9 日).

⁴⁹¹ "Shenggonghui Yinxi Muqu 1927 Nian Di 1 Ci Muqu Huiyi 聖公會鄞西牧區 1927 年第一次牧區會議," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-2 p62, June 28th 1927 1927 年 6 月 28 日).

After the Nationalists had split with the Communists, this concern had lessened by the end of 1927. The minutes of the church indicated that, due to the defeat of the Communist Party, church members felt somewhat more secure about their church funds, which for safety reasons had already been transferred into several different accounts. Church members decided to further observe the developing course of the current political situation, and for the time being continued to keep the deposits in separate accounts.⁴⁹²

6.4 The Sino-American Hospital in Ningbo under the Nationalist regime

As from 1927 when the Nationalist regime established its government in Ningbo, its exerted relatively little influence on the missionary hospitals in comparison with the situation of missionary educational institutions. The Nationalists had evolved themselves from the May Fourth Movement, in which, 'Mr. Sai', the name used by Chinese students for science, was vigorously advocated. Thus, the party respected modern medical science and treatment, and allowed the Sino-American Hospital to spread modern science concerning medical treatment. In 1928, the Sino-American Hospital completed the project of constructing a new building. The old hospital administrative team of Dr. Grant and Dr. Ren, the former having passed away and the latter approaching retirement, was replaced by Dr. Ding Lichen from China and Dr.

⁴⁹² "Shenggonghui Yinxi Muqu 1927 Nian Di 2 Ci Muqu Yihui 聖公會鄞西牧區 1927 年第二次牧區議會," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-2 p66, December 29th 1927 1927 年 12 月 29 日).

Harold Thomas from America. The new leading team had gradually taken over the responsibility of running the hospital, and Dr. Ren, the old hospital administrator, was thus elected honorary hospital superintendent and subsequently became a member of the Board of Directors.^{493 494}

Under the Nationalist regime, the Sino-American Hospital steadily developed from 1928 to 1937, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, and this development facilitated the access to modern medical treatment by the local residents. The achievement of the hospital can be seen from the superintendent's reports and the annual Board of Directors' minutes. For instance, the 1932 minutes indicated that the patient reception capability of the hospital had steadily increased in the previous years.⁴⁹⁵

The development of the hospital could also be viewed from other perspectives. For example, in 1932, the nursing school achieved a sound result in the national nurse qualification examination. All the graduates of the hospital passed the examination,

⁴⁹³ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Letter to Dr. Ren," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-9, February 8th 1932 1932年2月8日).

⁴⁹⁴ Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui 華美醫院董事會, "1939 Nian Dongshihui Niandu Baogao 1939年董事會年度報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-21, 1939).

⁴⁹⁵ "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院董事會年度會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-9 p6, February 20th 1932 1932年2月20日).

becoming qualified nurses. One of the hospital's students was even honoured to receive a national title as a reward for outstanding performance.⁴⁹⁶ The construction project of the new ward building for which many people in China and the West donated, was completed in 1933.⁴⁹⁷ In 1934, the hospital set X-Ray examination as a routine content of nurse training exams;⁴⁹⁸ by 1935, the condition of the hospital staff residence had improved;⁴⁹⁹ by 1936, the hospital was able to provide services for seven children and student institutions in the area, such as schools and orphanages.⁵⁰⁰ In addition, the 1934, 1935 and 1936 hospital working reports indicated that the efforts of the institution to spread the Christian religion had also achieved some degree of success.

⁴⁹⁶ "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Baogaoshu 華美醫院董事會年度會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-10 p11, February 16th 1933 1933年2月16日).

⁴⁹⁷ "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Baogaoshu 華美醫院董事會年度會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-11 p1-2, January 24th 1934 1934年1月24日).

⁴⁹⁸ "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院董事會年度會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-13 p3, March 21st 1935 1935年3月21日).

⁴⁹⁹ "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院董事會年度會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-15, January 29th 1936 1936年1月29日).

⁵⁰⁰ "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院董事會年度會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-17 p6-7, January 29th 1937 1937年1月29日).

6.5 The Riverside Girls Academy in Ningbo under the Nationalist regime

Unlike the Sino-American Hospital, Riverside Girls Academy, under the Nationalist regime, faced more difficulties. Since the campus occupation incident had been successfully solved at the end of 1927, Riverside, from 1927 till 1931, had proceeded through a short period of stable development; however it was obliged to rearrange its management to cope with the external political requirements. Since 1927, the Riverside Girls Academy had partly lost control over the issues of how to develop and improve the school.

The academic year of 1928/29 was relatively smooth, and it seemed that everything was developing well there.⁵⁰¹ Ms. Shen Yixiang, the principal of Riverside at that time, tried to create a balance between the former missionary education and the nationalist education task newly required by the Nationalist Party. During the academic year of 1929/30, Ms. Shen found a suitable teacher who could teach students Nationalist Party principles. This teacher came from Ningbo Middle School. He was a party member and a graduate from the Central Political Works Institution. Since he did not charge Riverside a teaching fee and the academy only provided him with rickshaw fares as transportation subsidy, Ms. Shen showed her gratitude towards his kindness for

⁵⁰¹ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "Zai Dongshihui Shang De Xiaozhang Baogao 在董事會上的校長報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p17-18, May 25th 1929 1929 年 5 月 25 日).

providing support.⁵⁰² This shows that Ms. Shen thought nationalism and religious faith could coexist without a problem.

During the stable development period from 1927 to 1931, Riverside Girls Academy also improved itself on various aspects. For instance, during the academic year of 1929/30, a field trip was arranged aiming at improving the relationship among teaching staff.⁵⁰³ Students also launched a series of social service activities and established their own Literature Club. Religion spreading activities also developed quite well.⁵⁰⁴ Riverside also emphasised female sports education and in 1930, a gymnasium was established at the school,⁵⁰⁵ specifically to develop sports education among female students. During the academic year of 1932/33, the students in Riverside expressed their interest in various kinds of sports, such as basketball and volleyball.⁵⁰⁶ In 1934, the basketball team of Riverside defeated the Middle School of Hangzhou who had previously been the first ranking team in Zhejiang.⁵⁰⁷ In short, Riverside provided

⁵⁰² "1930 Nian 6 Yue De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao 1930 年 6 月的甬江女中校長報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p25-27, June 7th 1930 1930 年 6 月 7 日).

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史 " in *Yinxian Sili Yongjiang Nvzi Zhongxue 25 Zhounian Jiniankan P20-21 鄞縣私立甬江女子中學二十五週年紀念刊 20-21 頁* (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-104, 1948).

⁵⁰⁶ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕪, "1933 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao (1932/1933) 1933 年的甬江女中校長報告(1932/1933)," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p71-78, 1933).

⁵⁰⁷ "1934 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao (1933/1934) 1934 年的甬江女中校長報告 (1933/1934) ," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p86-89, 1934).

a variety of opportunities for the female students to fulfil their potential and develop themselves.

In the fall of 1930, Chiang Kai-shek was accompanied by his wife Song Meiling (宋美齡) to visit his hometown, Fenghua, where Ms. Shen had an opportunity to visit the Chiang couple. Ms. Shen shared the same birthplace with the general, both coming from Fenghua, and she also shared the religious faith of Christianity with Madam Chiang. After this meeting the Chiangs donated 1,000 dollars to Riverside as their contribution to the construction of a domestic science laboratory.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁹ Ms. Shen, in her working report of 1930/31, expressed her satisfaction with the progress which had been made at Riverside in the past year, recording that,

*'Riverside is happy to report another year in which the school has developed normally with the largest enrolment it has yet had, and the best group of teachers it can ever expect to have.'*⁵¹⁰

Even though Riverside achieved much progress from 1927 until the early 1930s, the Nationalist education had started to have an impact on the normal operation of

⁵⁰⁸ "1931 Nian 5 Yue De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu 1931 年 5 月的甬江女中校長報告書," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p37-39, May 9th 1931 1931 年 5 月 9 日).

⁵⁰⁹ Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史".

⁵¹⁰ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "1931 Nian 5 Yue De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu 1931 年 5 月的甬江女中校長報告書."

Riverside and students. As conflicts between China and Japan broke out in Manchuria and Shanghai in 1931 and 1932 respectively, the students of Riverside actively responded to these events, and enrolled themselves in a nationalist movement against Japan.⁵¹¹ Ms. Shen recorded in her working report written in April 1932 that many schools were influenced by the fighting between China and Japan which started at Shanghai on January 28th, 1932 and a large number postponed the start of the coming new semester. However, Riverside, on February 11th, 1932, as originally planned, began its spring semester. There were 134 students in total, and 13 among them were new students who had come from the battle zone.

On the campus, Riverside students raised a donation activity in support of the anti-Japanese patriotic movement. It was organised under the precondition that normal study and Christian activities should not be disturbed.⁵¹² Students were inspired by the reports of the brave fighting conducted by the northern soldiers. Riverside accumulated 400 dollars through campus donations, although they hesitated on how to use this amount of money. Meanwhile, a staff member from the National YMCA went around asking for help in making underwear for soldiers who were fighting in the north. As a

⁵¹¹ Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史".

⁵¹² Shen Yixiang 沈貽薌, "1932 Nian 4 Yue De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu 1932 年 4 月的甬江女中校長報告書," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p52-64, April 16th 1932 1932 年 4 月 16 日).

result, the Riverside students contributed their donation to this mission.⁵¹³ In the principal's report 1932/33, Ms. Shen wrote that China was now confronted with a dangerous situation. She recorded that,

*'We have to save China through education. Young people are the hope for China. As teachers, since we bear the responsibility in educating them, we also bear responsibility in saving China.'*⁵¹⁴

It is fairly clear that a nationalist sentiment was now circulating within the campus of Riverside.

The Nationalist Party enhanced its effort on educating young people through emphasising nationalism and their national citizen's identity. A Party discipline course was opened for students. Missionary schools, such as Riverside Academy, had to follow national education requirements, one consequence of which was that Riverside could no longer freely arrange their religious courses. As Ms. Shen mentioned in her report in 1933:

'Bible study for Junior High School is not allowed in class time, so we have to arrange it after normal school teaching hours. Clearly this causes the decrease of student attendance in religious classes. The percentage of students taking

⁵¹³ "1933 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao (1932/1933) 1933 年的甬江女中校長報告 (1932/1933) ."

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*

*bible study among whole school dropped to about 61%. On the other hand, this is compensated for by the greater number of students joining in religious activities.*⁵¹⁵

Nevertheless, these changes did not stop the flow of donations from Church organisations to Riverside. In this year, the school still received 1,000 dollars in donations from the Northern Presbyterian Order.⁵¹⁶

In 1933, Riverside Girls Academy published its own school magazine. All articles in this magazine, which was called ‘Yong Chiang Echo’ (甬江聲), were written by school students.⁵¹⁷ On the front pages, calligraphies were written by Chiang Kai-shek and Chen Bulei (陳佈雷)⁵¹⁸ to express their support for the national education program. Mr. Chiang wrote that ‘the world belongs to the public (天下為公)’. Mr. Chen wrote that ‘the main aim of female education is to cultivate the mothers of national citizens (女子教育應以養成國民之母為主要目的)’. The

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Bond, "Missionary Education for Girls in Republican Era Zhejiang Province, China, 1844-1949."

⁵¹⁸ Chen Bulei was the chief staff of Chiang Jieshi's personal bureaucracy and probably the most important secretariat to Chiang. He was also a Ningbo local person and came from Guanqiao, Cixi (慈溪官橋). His Family was very respectable and locally influential. When the Nationalist Party lost the civil war to Communist in the very end of 1940s, confronted with his failing mission, Chen Bulei himself committed suicide in December 1948.

content from the calligraphy of both Chiang and Chen indicated a very strong political and nationalist expectation towards female students.

From those articles written by then Riverside female students in 1933 'Yong Chiang Echo', there were mainly two sentiments. The first one is a nationalist sentiment. In their articles students openly expressed their anger towards the occupation of Manchuria by Japan. Secondly, students showed their contradictory feeling towards the female role as between tradition and modernity. The slogan about female liberation and freedom was very attractive to them. However, they still had to confront the harsh reality, such as the traditional marriage system, under which they had to obey and follow any decision given to them by the senior headman of their family.⁵¹⁹

Riverside also was influenced by the standardising of the provincial examinations. This change forced Riverside to modify its original arrangements regarding the curriculum they had chosen in response to student interest, being obliged to incorporate government approved topics. This change quietly moved the missionary education towards the nationalist expectations of young students. Ms. Shen, in her

⁵¹⁹ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], *Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaokan "Yongjiangsheng"* 甬江女中校刊《甬江聲》 (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-227, 1933).

principal's report of 1933/34, having frankly admitted that Riverside was not achieving sound results in senior department recruitment.⁵²⁰

Her analysis was that the unsatisfactory recruitment was due to the fact that Riverside exam results were disappointing in the first standardised provincial examination in 1933. She further pointed out that Riverside students who failed in this examination did not fail at Chinese or English courses; instead they failed on courses, such as, history, geography, arithmetic, and science. These courses were optional for Riverside students, but compulsory for other schools. In addition, Riverside also had not adopted the official government textbooks and as provincial examinations were mainly based on those official textbooks, this clearly caused further difficulties for Riverside.⁵²¹

Ms. Shen argued that Riverside had put strong emphasis on studying knowledge and content particularly suitable for the characteristics and daily living of female students, quite different from the official government textbook which probably did not take the characteristics of female students into serious consideration. Therefore, Riverside, in order to achieve sound examination results and compete with other

⁵²⁰ Shen Yixiang 沈貽薌, "1934 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao (1933/1934) 1934 年的甬江女中校長報告 (1933/1934) ."

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

schools for student recruitment in the future, had decided to adopt the official government textbook for the coming academic year.⁵²²

Riverside, at this stage, had already been influenced by the official policies of the national education. The school had originally set up educational programs considered to be suitable for female students, but now they would have to compromise with the responsibility of producing a national citizen or a mother of a national citizen.⁵²³ As the constraints imposed by the government on female education strengthened, now the expectations of young female students themselves were no longer important. On the contrary, it was the expectations of the Nationalist Party on them which were paramount.

From 1933 to 1934, religious education in Riverside was constantly under pressure as regards the newly set up national education policy. For instance, Riverside had to respond to the New Life Movement launched by Chiang Kai-shek and tried to coordinate the management of Riverside with the requirements asked for by this movement.⁵²⁴ In 1934, a scout activity was established, probably required by this

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], *Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaokan "Yongjiangsheng" 甬江女中校刊《甬江聲》*.

⁵²⁴ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "1934 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao (1933/1934) 1934 年的甬江女中校長報告". (1934/1933)

Movement and the Nationalist Party,⁵²⁵ while Riverside also tried its best to conduct religious education among students⁵²⁶ and struggled to find a balance between the national and the religious education.

Ms. Shen, in her principal's report on 1933/34, wrote that,

*'Though the failure of last year's provincial examination was a severe blow to our pride and our enrolment and therefore our budget, we are not disheartened. Two of those who were not passed by the government are doing acceptable work as freshmen in the University of Shanghai and five others of the class are teaching in Christian elementary or junior middle schools, several very successfully. Still another has been here this last week working long hours helping to make copies of charts, reports, etc. in preparation for this meeting with never a thought of compensation. The demand for the girls in this year's graduating class is as great as ever. We therefore face the future with courage, feeling that under God's guidance we are fitting our students for useful living.'*⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史".

⁵²⁶ Shen Yixiang 沈貽薌, "1934 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao (1933/1934) 1934 年的甬江女中校長報告 (1933/1934)".

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

This implicitly indicated the determination of Ms. Shen who was confident of finding a balance between the national and the missionary education and was willing to make a significant effort to try to achieve this.

Only one year later, the efforts of students and staff in Riverside had paid off. In the principal's report of 1934/35, Ms. Shen cheerfully wrote that,

'The seniors last year ranked second in the provincial examination counting the average school grades and the grades of the provincial exams, excluding the school grades which are somewhat behind other schools because we have only five girls, each of whom failed in one subject. The junior high school girls similarly ranked second in the province. Counting the average of the grades of the provincial examinations and the school grades, counting the grades of the provincial examination alone they ranked the 13th among 77 schools. Among the Christian schools, our junior high school girls ranked 1st.^{528 529}

⁵²⁸ Shen Yixiang 沈貽薌, "1935 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao 1935 年的甬江女中校長報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p100-102, May 9th 1935 1935 年 5 月 9 日).

⁵²⁹ This is an extract from a document found in the municipal archives of Ningbo and an exact copy from Ms. Shen's manuscript in English. Ms. Shen was a student of female Christian education. Her English is good, but she is not a native speaker, and English is not her mother tongue. She might have been in a rush while writing this report down and did not have proofreading from a native speaker available to her afterwards. The direct quotation here is a proofread version by Mr. Peter Waters based on the original manuscript of Ms. Shen.

In 1934 to 1935, the pressure upon religious education was still being felt. Ms. Shen recorded in her report,

*'After registration, government limited religious courses into optional course. We could only teach religious courses in the free time. 40% of students take religious courses in this year. 84% students are attending morning services. The YWCA is still functioning, headed by Christian students. The students are carrying on as usual the Christian work such as: Sunday Schools for street children, Sunday afternoon meetings for servants. In addition, the student self-governed association has started an institution teaching characters to servants and the neighbouring children. They are enthusiastically serving people in the neighbourhood.'*⁵³⁰

At the conclusion of Ms. Shen's 1934/35 report, she wrote of the pressure that she and her school suffered from the official policy and other official schools, and the difficult financial situation of Riverside.

'By generalizing the preceding, you can see that we have tried our best to further the progress of the school, but we realise the difficulty of meeting different conditions through the deficit in finance. The lack of funds is due to the limited number of students and the cut in appropriations seeing this

⁵³⁰ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "1935 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao 1935 年的甬江女中校長報告."

*hindrance to school efficiency. The government has warned that such conditions cannot be continued. The government orders that unless the board members plan to increase the salary of teachers, the school must close the senior high school. Therefore, the prospects do not look promising under present conditions to compete with government schools unless solutions can be found.*⁵³¹

Ms. Shen eagerly asked for help from the Riverside Board of Directors in supporting her. At the same time the Nationalist education program gradually increased its regulations on Riverside, trying to push it out of the competition over the right to educate Chinese female students.

Possibly as a result of the pressure of national education requirements mentioned above, in the fall of 1935, the girls' school department of the Methodists chose to merge with Riverside and form one girls' school. Thereafter Riverside was under the management of three church orders, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist.⁵³² This is very likely to be a result of the pressure on missionary schools from the nationalist government such that small missionary schools had to join with the larger ones in order to survive.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史".

In the early half of 1935, Ms. Shen got an opportunity to pursue a masters-degree in America. If she took this opportunity, she would also be able to observe how middle schools in America were organised.⁵³³ Finally, she decided to take this opportunity up and went to study in America for one or two years. During Ms. Shen's absence from Riverside, Ms. Zhang Lianying (Ida L.Y. Chang, 張蓮英) replaced her and held the post of acting principal during the academic year of 1935/36, with Ms. Bi Haoying (Marian H.Y. Bih, 畢鎬英) taking over for the academic year of 1936/37.

Ms. Zhang recorded in her principal's report of 1935/36 that the academic year of 1935/36 was a peaceful one. She reported that the results achieved by the students of Riverside in the provincial examination were: 'Senior Middle School: In the last year, there were nine girls from senior grade three. Six of them successfully passed all courses in the provincial examination with the remaining three failing in one or two courses. Among the nine students, four girls are now studying in colleges, one of them is currently in the Margaret Williamson Hospital, taking the nursing course; some of them are teaching in primary schools, and one of them has been married and now stays at home.'⁵³⁴ Junior Middle School: there were fifteen girls from junior grade three and thirteen of them passed the provincial examination. Thirteen of them are studying with

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Zhang Lianying 張蓮英, "1936 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogao 1936 年的甬江女中校長報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p115-119, March 27 1936 1936 年 3 月 27 日).

us now in the senior department of Riverside.⁵³⁵ Both the examination results achieved by the senior and the junior students of Riverside ranked second in the province⁵³⁶ so Riverside clearly achieved pretty sound results at the provincial examinations in the academic year of 1935/36.

Riverside, while achieving these sound examination results, nevertheless further compromised itself in relation to the educational curriculum required by the Nationalist government. From Ms. Zhang's report, it can be seen that during the year of 1935/36, Riverside put a great effort into modifying itself to accommodate the National education curriculum required by the Nationalist Party, for instance by making the New Life Movement compulsory for students.⁵³⁷ No doubt the religious courses, which were arranged by Riverside freely before the Nationalist arrived, were under further limitation now. However, teachers and students insisted on doing their best in conducting religious activities.⁵³⁸

The financial situation of Riverside in 1935/36 was still not very optimistic. Limited funding had to be used carefully and some expenditure proposals needed to be given up. 'The executive committee of the Board held its meeting on November 19th,

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

1935. The committee voted to use \$250 from the No.4 Fund, the Special Collections by Pupils and Teachers. This amount of money will be used on purchasing scientific apparatus, books, and so forth which are needed for the coming new semester.⁵³⁹

In America, Ms. Shen had started her course of study and was pursuing her master's degree. In her spare time, she also visited a variety of educational institutions in the United States. From these institutions she collected many booklets and pamphlets. In all probability she had a great interest in them and wished to learn from them so that, on her return to China, she might be able to put into practice in Riverside what she had learned in America.⁵⁴⁰ It seems that relatives and friends of Ms. Shen also missed her very much. When the Christmas festival approached, she received many letters from her family members, colleagues, and students.⁵⁴¹ Despite the many problems that Riverside was confronted with under the Nationalist regime, such as the limitation from government policies and financial difficulties, the staff and students of Riverside believed that, through their efforts, Riverside was certain to have a bright future.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "Shen Yixiang Xiaozhang Zai Meiguo Qijian Shouji De Xiaocezi 沈貽蕓校長在美國期間收集的小冊子," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-329).

⁵⁴¹ "Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Shen Yixiang Xinhan Cailiao 甬江女中校長沈貽蕓信函材料," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-325).

6.6 The economic situation in Ningbo under the Nationalist regime

Before the Nationalists established their government in Ningbo, the local income tax collection in 1912 was 131,457 silver dollars, and the fiscal expenditure in this year was 133,591 so the fiscal income and expenditure were roughly balanced.⁵⁴² However, after the Nationalists established their government in Ningbo, 1,010,000 silver dollars were collected between July 1927 and January 1932.⁵⁴³ On average, 224,000 silver dollars were collected as tax money annually which, when compared with 131,457 the figure in 1912, was a significant increase of 70%. So, the first feature of the newly implemented Nationalist regime in the locality was to increase tax. The low taxation burden during the first 15 years of the Republic of China, from 1912 to 1927, can be distinguished from the higher burden ones from 1927, as was noted by the editors of the Yin county gazetteer compiled in the Republican era.⁵⁴⁴

The Communists, after defeating the Nationalists and ‘liberating’ Ningbo in 1949, held a thorough investigation of the condition of the economy and industry of Ningbo under the Nationalist regime. Registration documents, with the file code number of 268, have been well restored by the Municipal Archives of Ningbo. The

⁵⁴² Zhang Chuanbao 張傳寶 et al., *Yinxian Tongzhi 鄞縣通志* (Ningbo 寧波: Ningboshi Gaojiaoyuanqu Tushuguan Gujibu 寧波市高教園區圖書館古籍部, 1951 (1937)), Zhengjiaozhi 政教志 364-67.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, Zhengjiaozhi 政教志 393.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Zhengjiaozhi 政教志 393-97.

content of these registration documents ranges from small craftsmen, such as barbers or shoemakers, to vital industry in the locality, such as the financial sector. Under the Communists these craftsmen and industry owners were required to register by providing their property-owning status during the Nationalist era. Required questions included whether their business was owned by a private person, a group of people, the public, or the state; almost all of them registered that their business was 'owned by a private person'. This shows that privately owned business, especially small business, still accounted for a significant proportion of the local economy under the Nationalist regime.

According to an account given by Ningbo's financial industry union, after the 1932 Sino-Japanese confrontation in Shanghai, a remarkable number of residents in the lower Yangtze delta, especially the foreigners living in Shanghai, held the view that the confrontation had ruined the expectations for a peaceful and prosperous development of the region. Some of them started to sell off their real estate in the area and then departed which in turn led to the decline of real estate prices in Shanghai. Since a significant number of bank loans were mortgaged on real estate, banks suffered from this drop in property values, and consequentially their capital flow halted. Because the

financial markets of Shanghai and Ningbo were closely linked with each other, the crisis of Shanghai immediately spilled out and started to have an impact on Ningbo.⁵⁴⁵

By the winter of 1934, the small businesses in Ningbo became the first set of victims to sense this crisis. The fact was that all industry was in some way linked to the financial institutions who manipulated the capital. These financial institutions were positioned at the core of the local economic activities. When the capital no longer flowed smoothly between these core financial institutions, the crisis quickly spread and began to impact those industries positioned at the periphery. Those small-scale businesses became the first set of victims in this crisis, and as the winter started a significant number of them went bankrupt.⁵⁴⁶

Yu Zuochen, a local banker and industrialist, recalled that, from July to September 1935, 30 banks in Ningbo went bankrupt which accounted for 40% of the local banks in the city.⁵⁴⁷ The gazetteer of Yin county in the Republican era also recorded that the number of attempted suicide cases in Ningbo in 1934 was 30 but in

⁵⁴⁵ Jinrongye Tongye Gonghui 金融業同業公會, "Jinrongye Tongye Gonghui Dangan 金融業同業公會檔案," (NA 寧波市檔案館 268-4-42 p6).

⁵⁴⁶ Guoyao Shangye Tongye Gonghui 國藥商業同業公會, "Guoyao Hangye Zonghe Diaocha Baogao 國藥行業綜合調查報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 268-7-56 p5-10, 1949---1955).

⁵⁴⁷ Yu Zuochen 俞佐宸, "Wo De Jiushi Gongshangye Shengya 我的旧时工商业生涯," in *Ningbo Wenshi Ziliao Di 3 Ji 宁波文史资料 第三辑*, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Ningboshi Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议宁波市委员会文史资料研究委员会 (Ningbo 宁波: 1985), 72.

1935 the figure had substantially increased to 69, with month of July being particularly affected.⁵⁴⁸ The sudden increase of suicide figures may not be unrelated to the local financial crisis in the summer of 1935.

Paradoxically, the financial crisis created opportunities for some. The Tai Feng electrically powered flour mill of Ningbo (寧波太豐麵粉廠) was established in the March of 1935, during which time the city was suffering under the 1934/1935 financial crisis. Tai Feng brought its property from a bankrupt factory named Li Feng.⁵⁴⁹ The Li Feng flour mill, as mentioned in Chapter 4, was established in 1932. Presumably, it suffered unbearably in the financial crisis of the 1934 winter and was obliged to sell itself to a group of new owners. The newly set up Board of Directors of Tai Feng included several famous Shanghai mafia leaders, including Du Yuesheng and Jin Tingsun with Jin even becoming the chairman of the Board of Directors.⁵⁵⁰

The nationalist conflict had triggered a chain effect, from the military confrontation in Shanghai, to the regional spreading financial crisis, and finally to the

⁵⁴⁸ Zhang Chuanbao 張傳寶 et al., *Yinxian Tongzhi 鄞縣通志*, Zhengjiaozhi 政教志 1707-18.

⁵⁴⁹ Zhengfu Zhuce Huashang Dahua Paimai Gongsi 政府註冊華商大華拍賣公司, "Ningbo Lifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Quanbu Dongchan Ji Budongchan Gujia Baogaoshu 寧波立豐機制麵粉股份有限公司全部動產及不動產估價報告書," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-10, December 1934 1934 年 12 月).

⁵⁵⁰ "Ningboshi Siying Taifeng Mianfenchang Yange Gaikuang 寧波市私營太豐麵粉廠沿革概況," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-5, April 1st 1953 1953 年 4 月 1 日).

property transfer of a factory in Ningbo. It can be seen that the wealth and property of the civilian industrialists at local society level was quietly transferring to the newly emerging interest groups at state level, in this case, the Green Gang leaders who were the friends of the Nationalist Party, used to help Chiang Kai-shek to violently suppress the leftist movement in Shanghai, and thus supporting him to consolidate his grip over the city in the April of 1927. The historical evidence concerning the Tai Feng mill in Ningbo also support Parks M. Coble's argument, that the interests of Shanghai capitalists had not been protected but damaged by the action of the Nationalist Party.⁵⁵¹

Apart from these Green Gang leaders, the Board of Directors of Tai Feng also included other members of the local elite in Ningbo, for instance, Jin Zhenxiang, the Manager of the local newspaper *Shishi Gongbao*.⁵⁵² Clearly, some of the local elite were trying to make friends or forge a cooperation with these newly appeared state level interest groups. Jin's newspaper, as mentioned in the early part of this chapter, also gradually sided itself with the rise of the nationalist sentiment. This kind of newly formed alliance between the state level interest groups and members of local elites in the society level recalls the early observations in the late Qing era.

⁵⁵¹ Coble, "The Kuomintang Regime and the Shanghai Capitalists, 1927-29," 1-3, 24.

⁵⁵² "Ningboshi Siying Taifeng Mianfenchang Yange Gaikuang 寧波市私營太豐麵粉廠沿革概況."

The establishment of the Tai Feng factory is a strong piece of evidence to prove the return to China's traditional pattern of civilian merchants being subjected to political authority, such as the one in which monopolist salt merchants were subjected to Qing government officials. This pattern disappeared in the final decades of the Qing and the early decades of the Republic, but it reappeared in the mid-1930s under the Nationalist regime at the expense of the civilian businessmen, bankers, and industrialists who failed to develop an intimate connection with the Nationalist Party. Those civilian businessmen, bankers, and industrialists could survive under a fair judicial system and freely competing market, but an authoritative governing institution would be too harsh for them to survive and prosper.⁵⁵³

Turning to a slightly brighter side of this change, it can be inferred that including Shanghai Green Gang leaders in the Board of Directors might bring some convenience to the company. As Hong Chensheng (洪宸笙), the founder and manager of the flour mill recalled that, in 1949, he used to be solicited to donate money by the Communist Party out of 'a patriotic purpose'.⁵⁵⁴ Under the Nationalist regime, as some mafia leaders were present on the Board of Directors and shared interests with the factory, Hong, as the manager, may well have been less anxious about the risk of being

⁵⁵³ Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China During the Nanking Decade, 1927-1937," in *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927-1949*, ed. Lloyd E. Eastman (Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 45.

⁵⁵⁴ Hong Chensheng 洪宸笙, "Tanbai 坦白," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-5).

blackmailed by local petty criminals which his company might otherwise have been confronted with at any time.

A vital influence on the production of the factory was the condition of the transportation. If the sea transportation could be guaranteed, the production of Tai Feng could be kept busy throughout the year.⁵⁵⁵ In 1935, Tai Feng signed a sales contract with the Union of Flour retailers, which included 12 sub-retailers. Each contract with an individual sub-retailer would last for one year.⁵⁵⁶ The manager was optimistic at the very beginning of the contract signing as even though the price of raw materials, the wheat, gradually increased, the selling price of flour rose simultaneously. Tai Feng had stored enough raw materials for 1935, so the raw material price rise in this year did not have a significant impact on them.⁵⁵⁷

However, price rises in 1936 created greater difficulties for Tai Feng. In that year the price of wheat increased faster than the price of the flour and financial

⁵⁵⁵ "Ningboshi Siying Taifeng Mianfenchang Yange Gaikuang 寧波市私營太豐麵粉廠沿革概況."

⁵⁵⁶ Ningbo Dafeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsì Tong Ningbo Mianfen Tongye Gonghui 寧波大豐機制麵粉股份有限公司同寧波麵粉同業公會, "Xiaoshou Hetong 銷售合同," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-1, June 26th 1935 1935年6月26日).

⁵⁵⁷ Ningbo Dafeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsì 寧波大豐機制麵粉股份有限公司, "Zhonghua Minguo 24 Nian (1935) Di 1 Jie Ningbo Dafeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsì Juesuanbiao 中華民國二十四年(1935)第一屆寧波大豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算表," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-11, 1936).

institutions also raised the rate of interest for credit. Companies, such as Tai Feng, became short of capital.⁵⁵⁸ In addition, as the cost of transportation was cheap, and the goods could be transported almost freely from 1935 to the eve of 1937 Sino-Japanese war, the flour produced by other factories in other cities could also be freely transported to Ningbo for sale in competition with Tai Feng.⁵⁵⁹ It was clear that this competition in the flour market was fierce, and Tai Feng did not make a great amount of profit in the mid-1930s.

As a short conclusion to this chapter, after 1919, the mounting of anti-foreign nationalism at the state level had started to exert an influence locally at the society level. The cases of the anti-Japanese goods boycott in 1919 and the nursing student strike in 1925 at local missionary hospital have been reviewed. After 1927, as the Nationalist regime established itself the normal operation of missionary schools was also affected. From the historical materials of a local flour mill it can be seen that the interests of the civilian capitalists had been negatively affected by the newly imposed Nationalist regime, and they were obliged to invite friends of the central authority at the state level to share their wealth in order to stay in business. To sum up, a number of historical

⁵⁵⁸ Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi 寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司, "Zhonghua Minguo 25 Nian (1936) Di 1 Jie Ningbo Dafeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuanbiao 中華民國二十五年(1936)第一屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算表," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-11).

⁵⁵⁹ "Ningboshi Siying Taifeng Mianfenchang Yange Gaikuang 寧波市私營太豐麵粉廠沿革概況."

sources concerning local institutions' experience in the 1920s and 1930s have shown that the spread of the nationalist sentiment and the subsequent implementation of the Nationalist Party upon local society, negatively affected local institutions' normal operation, management and function.

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Chapter 7 一葉孤舟 A Lonely Floating Boat

7.1 Abstract

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 put Ningbo's social and economic development back to the level of a decade earlier.⁵⁶⁰ The local civil society was obliged to become involved in a fierce state level confrontation which severely damaged the transportation infrastructure, and impeded the steady improvement of hospital, educational and sanitary institutions in the locality. Even after the end of the warfare in 1945, local difficulties abided, such as the shortage of necessary commodities. During and after the warfare, local residents had managed to survive and prevent their beloved ones from being hurt, and local civilian institutions, with the help from their Western counterparts, were active in restoring social order and resuming local economic and social development. Unfortunately, these efforts from local civilian society were finally smashed into ruins by the confrontation between the Nationalist and Communist Parties at the state level.

7.2 Introduction

Lloyd Eastman states that the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945 caused China devastating losses, both in terms of human casualties and property damage. At the end

⁵⁶⁰ The Correspondent of Shanghai Times, "How Ningpo Has Fared During Past Year: Still an Atmosphere of Uncertainty as to What Is Round the Corner; How Interior Roads Have Been Destroyed and Now Grow Rice," *Shanghai Times* 11th December 1938 Gale Document Number: GALE DTGHIT664453625

of the war the Nationalist troops were devastated and demoralised, which directly contributed to Communist Party's victory in 1949.⁵⁶¹ Hans J. van de Ven accepts the tremendous efforts of the Nationalist Party in fighting the war against the invading Japanese troops.⁵⁶² Timothy Brook studies the topic of collaboration in wartime China between Japanese civilian agents and members of local elite in the lower Yangtze region. Brook points out the ambiguity and complication of the practice of collaboration rather than active resistance.⁵⁶³ From the perspective of civilian society, this chapter will illustrate how a variety of local institutions in Ningbo responded to the state level confrontation.

Deng Ye studies the military balance between the Nationalists and the Communists during the period of 1944 to 1946. Deng considers that, as the power of the Communist Party had been gradually increasing and the power of the Nationalist Party gradually decreasing, The period from 1944 to 1946 witnessed a temporary military balance between the two parties, thus this period manifests that an opportunity

⁵⁶¹ Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945," in *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927-1949*, ed. Lloyd E. Eastman (Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 115.

⁵⁶² Hans J. Van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China 1925-1945* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 249-51.

⁵⁶³ Timothy Brook, *Collaboration : Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 248.

of forming a multi-party coalition government in China existed.⁵⁶⁴ However, as this opportunity passed so quickly, Deng still states that a military showdown became the only option for the Nationalists and the Communists to solve their political divergence.⁵⁶⁵

There were also scholars interested in the question of why America lost its influence on China after providing the Nationalists with such a substantial amount of economic and military aid. What is the underlying reason for this loss? Lloyd Eastman argues that it was due to the intrinsic weakness and instability of the Nationalist Party. The Party was merely a military and political institution without a solid social foundation to support it.⁵⁶⁶ Two chapters from *the general history of Ningbo* relate to Ningbo's history during the period from 1937 to 1949. Both focus their attention on state level confrontation in the locality, firstly between China and Japan, and secondly between the Nationalists and the Communists. Given this focus, these two chapters pay little attention to the experience and feelings of ordinary people and local institutions

⁵⁶⁴ Deng Ye 邓野, *Lianhe Zhengfu Yu Yidang Xunzheng: 1944-1946 Nianjian Guogong Zhenzheng 联合政府与一党训政: 1944-1946 年间国共政争* (Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe 社会科学文献出版社 [Social Sciences Academic Press], 2011), 5-7 50-51.

⁵⁶⁵ "1944-1946 Nianjian Guogong Liliang De "Pingheng" Yu Zhengzhen 1944-1946 年间国共力量的“平衡”与政争," *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue 中国社会科学* (1993).

⁵⁶⁶ Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction : Nationalist China in War and Revolution 1937-1949 / Lloyd E. Eastman* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford, Cal. : Stanford University Press, 1984), 2.

in these disturbed eras.⁵⁶⁷ Due to this, this chapter will try to explain how local civilians and institutions in Ningbo responded to the local difficulties during the state level confrontations, and from where the local civilian population received help and support.

7.3 Ningbo in the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-40

The Sino-American Hospital, on the eve of the confrontation of July 1937, had conducted thorough preparations for the possible bombardments upon the city. Thus, a great amount of coal and rice had been purchased; medicines had been removed underground for storage; a remarkable number of aluminium buckets and sacks of sand had been randomly placed in the rooms of the hospital to act as temporary sheltering spots for staff and patients during possible Japanese air-raids; the hospital, in order to avoid becoming a bombing target during the night, prohibited the use of fire and lights after 6 p.m.⁵⁶⁸

Psychological pressure from the possible bombardment upon nursing students in the hospital was also clear. The hospital required the students of the nursing school to live on the premises so as to be able to continue their studies. However, it gradually

⁵⁶⁷ Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, ed. *Ningbo Tongshi Minguo Juan* 宁波通史 民国卷 (Ningbo Chubanshe 宁波出版社 [Ningbo Publishing House], 2009), 150-245.

⁵⁶⁸ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Yuanwu Huiyi Gei Ding Yuanzhang De Baogao 院務會議給丁院長的報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-16 p4, August 14th 1937 1937年8月14日).

realised that, due to the dreadful fear of some of the students of the potential approaching confrontations, the hospital was unable to forcefully keep the students stay. Henceforth, the students were allowed to return home according to their own will.⁵⁶⁹

On November 12th, 1937, four months after the outbreak of the fighting, Yin County railway station was bombarded and destroyed. The Japanese army probably aimed at preventing the Chinese army from transporting fighting troops by train from its peripheral provinces to the frontline. However, a side effect of this destruction was that it prevented ill patients from taking a train to seek help from the Sino-American Hospital.⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ According to a report given by Shanghai Times, a more severe air raid upon Ningbo had occurred in February 1938 which led a large proportion of the population to flee to the countryside. For several weeks, as businesses and shops closed and schools removed to the countryside, the city was deserted.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁹ "Yuanwu Huiyi 院務會議," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-16 p5, September 2nd 1937 1937年9月2日).

⁵⁷⁰ Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui 華美醫院董事會, "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院董事會年度會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-18 p10-14, May 14th 1938 1938年5月14日).

⁵⁷¹ By 1938, the Cao'er, Ningbo, Kongpu railway had been dismantled so as to prevent it from being used for a Japanese invasion. Another two short distance railways, Longshan and Yuwang had been destroyed by Japanese after their occupation of Ningbo in 1941. Ningboshi Jiaotongzhi Pianzuan Lingdao Xiaozu Bangongshi 宁波市交通志编纂领导小组办公室, *Ningbo Shizhi Jiaotong Yunshu 宁波市志 交通运输* (NA 宁波市档案馆 T 3.1.12 12-2, September 1989 1989年9月), 62 66-67.

⁵⁷² Times, "How Ningpo Has Fared During Past Year: Still an Atmosphere of Uncertainty as to What Is Round the Corner; How Interior Roads Have Been Destroyed and Now Grow Rice."

Ms. Shen Yixiang, the principal of Riverside Girls Academy, recorded more details about her and Riverside's experience in the early phase of the Sino-Japanese War. In one of her corresponding letters she wrote that, in the summer of 1937, she boarded a Canadian Boat (皇后號) returning to China. Upon arrival at Honolulu, she received the news that the war between China and Japan had already broken out. After arriving at Shanghai, due to the warfare, she could not immediately return to Ningbo so stayed in Shanghai, providing services for wounded soldiers in a hospital on the road of Xiafei (霞飛路) until September 8th.⁵⁷³

At this time, she received the terrible news that in an incident not directly connected with the warfare a fire had occurred in a building adjacent to Riverside, burning down four of its main buildings and consequently having a serious impact on the Academy with only the stadium surviving unscathed. On the following day, September 9th, after receiving this news, Ms. Shen immediately returned to Ningbo from Shanghai by boat (新北京號). However, due to the warfare, only a few students actually turned up at the school when the new semester started and for this limited number of students, Riverside temporarily borrowed the house of another of its neighbours and started this unusual new academic year 1937/38.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "Shen Yixiang De Xin 沈貽蕓的信," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-312 p4).

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

In 1938, Ms. Shen wrote in her corresponding letter to the magistrate of Fenghua County that, on November 12th, 1937, Ningbo suffered from the first round of Japanese bombardments. This account corroborates the one given by the Sino-American Hospital, Ms Shen also stating that, the main target was the railway station of Yin County and the transportation system.^{575 576} As mentioned earlier, the Japanese were probably trying to paralyse the Chinese transportation system so as prevent the sending of troops to the frontline by rail, a typical tactic of modern warfare.

After this round of air raids, on November 29th, 1937, Riverside moved to the countryside, in Tingxia village of Fenghua County (奉化亭下), which was also Ms. Shen's native place.^{577 578} Due to the bombardment on 12th November, the number of students who turned up at the Academy further declined.⁵⁷⁹ As only a very limited number of students moved along with the school to the countryside, Riverside could be managed like a family rather than a school. Oddly enough, instead of suffering from

⁵⁷⁵ Shen Yixiang 沈貽薌, "1938 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu (1937/1938) 1938 年的甬江女中校長報告書 (1937/1938)," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-312 p23-30, April 25th 1938 1938 年 4 月 25 日), 23.

⁵⁷⁶ "Shen Yixiang Xiegei Fenghuaxian Xianzhengfu Xianzhang De Xin 沈貽薌寫給奉化縣縣政府縣長的信," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-312 p15-16, June 18th 1938 1938 年 6 月 18 日).

⁵⁷⁷ "1938 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu (1937/1938) 1938 年的甬江女中校長報告書 (1937/1938)," 23.

⁵⁷⁸ "Shen Yixiang Xiegei Fenghuaxian Xianzhengfu Xianzhang De Xin 沈貽薌寫給奉化縣縣政府縣長的信."

⁵⁷⁹ "1938 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu (1937/1938) 1938 年的甬江女中校長報告書 (1937/1938)," 23.

troubles and inconvenience caused by the warfare, students took this as a precious opportunity to have an intimate contact with the beauty of the nature. Taking advantage of staying in the countryside, two hiking trips were also arranged.⁵⁸⁰ In addition, the students held a variety of patriotic activities in Tingxia, such as teaching local village children to sing patriotic songs.⁵⁸¹

Harold Thomas, who was then serving at the Sino-American Hospital, recorded that, after the war broke out in 1937, as long as people had a way they would leave Ningbo and flee to Shanghai.⁵⁸² At the first stage of the warfare, the most serious damage caused by the confrontation on the city was on the transportation system. Warfare directly caused the interruption or semi-interruption of the normal functioning of the port, which led to the difficulty of importing food, fuel and medicine to the city from the outside area. The price of rice and fuel increased enormously, sometimes even reaching a ridiculous figure. This caused problems for the Sino-American Hospital in getting commodities which were desperately needed by the hospital to fulfil its responsibility to help others.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁸² Harold Thomas, "華美醫院 1938 年工作報告," (寧波市檔案館 306-1-21 p9-12).

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*

The damage caused by the warfare on Ningbo transportation could also be seen from the working reports of the Tai Feng flour mill. Before the Sino-Japanese confrontation, the Tai Feng mainly imported wheat as its raw materials for production from places in the lower Yangtze River valley, such as Wuhu, Zhenjiang, Gaoyou, Yangzhou, Qintong and Jiangyan⁵⁸⁴ using maritime transportation. With the war breaking out in Shanghai in August 1937, it became impossible for the factory to import wheat by sea from Anhui and Jiangsu provinces to Ningbo. The Tai Feng was forced to buy wheat from places in the vicinity of Ningbo, such as Xiaoshan, Shaoxing or Shengzhou⁵⁸⁵ using the inner canal system or overland transportation.

This chaotic situation provided an unexpected opportunity for the Tai Feng. The deteriorated condition of transportation led to hardly any of the flour produced in other places being transported to Zhejiang, which thus caused the local price of flour to rise. In addition, Tai Feng enjoyed not only the lack of competitors but also the ample supply of raw material. Since the wheat produced in Zhejiang could only be transported out of the province with great difficulty, the wheat producer had no alternative buyers other than the Tai Feng. As a result, the factory benefited from the effects of all these changes

⁵⁸⁴ 蕪湖、鎮江、高郵、揚州、溱潼、薑堰

⁵⁸⁵ 蕭山、紹興、嵊州

in transportation,⁵⁸⁶ but obviously the ordinary consumers were severely hurt by the damage caused by the war on transportation.

The Tai Feng, after running out of the wheat it had stored, also started to suffer from the deteriorating conditions of transportation and was confronted with the problem of the scarcity of raw materials. Specifically, the factory could not purchase enough wheat to sustain the maximum of its production capability. During the confrontation, many wheat production areas were closed, and any export action was regarded as illegal and prohibited. The amount of wheat produced in the vicinity of Ningbo could not reach the figure achieved through the maritime transportation in peace time, therefore, as long as the transportation was unable to return to normality, the potential production capability of Tai Feng could never be fulfilled.

It is not very hard to deduce that, due to the warfare, the normal functioning of the port was terminated, and commodities could not be transported as freely as before. The volume of products and consumer goods in the market decreased enormously, thus the price of them sharply increased. This damaged the routine daily life of ordinary residents and, in comparison with the pre-war situation, the living standard of ordinary

⁵⁸⁶ Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi 寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司, "Zhonghua Minguo 26 Nian (1937) Di 3 Jie Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuanbiao 中華民國二十六年(1937)第三屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算表," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-12).

people declined. The reason for this, at the early stage of the Sino-Japanese confrontation, was mainly due to the damage to transportation caused by the warfare. As the correspondent of the Shanghai Times commented on Ningbo's situation in December 1938, '*As regards means of communication, we are where we were ten years ago.*'⁵⁸⁷ Local society had gradually been enjoying the convenience led by the improvement of transportation, but the fighting at the state level turned the clock back.

By the June of 1938, according to correspondence of Ms. Shen Yixiang, the fighting between China and Japan had lessened, and the situation in the locality also stabilised somewhat. The staff in Riverside discussed the possibility of moving the school back to the city of Ningbo and starting the 1938 fall semester there.⁵⁸⁸ Tingxia, the hometown of Ms. Shen, was a relatively safe place, but the transportation was not convenient for students, which resulted in very few of them being able to arrive. Due to this, in the fall of 1938, Riverside moved back to Ningbo and started its new semester in the city, with Tingxia campus being maintained as a backup plan. Riverside peacefully went through the greater part of the academic year of 1938/39 in the city of

⁵⁸⁷ Times, "How Ningpo Has Fared During Past Year: Still an Atmosphere of Uncertainty as to What Is Round the Corner; How Interior Roads Have Been Destroyed and Now Grow Rice."

⁵⁸⁸ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "Shen Yixiang Xiegei Fenghuaxian Xianzhengfu Xianzhang De Xin 沈貽蕓寫給奉化縣縣政府縣長的信."

Ningbo.⁵⁸⁹ In May 1939, Ningbo suffered another round of air raids, so Riverside was forced to move to the countryside again. Even though the school experienced its second move, the student numbers of the academy, compared with the figure of 1937/38, increased in the academic years of 1938/39 and 1939/40.⁵⁹⁰

As the fighting lessened in the latter half of 1938 and the early half of 1939, Tai Feng flour mill was also actively responding to the damage caused to its production and sales system by the warfare. In 1938, Tai Feng figured out a way to deal with the wasted wheat husks which appeared as a by-product of the flour production. Before the outbreak of the war, the factory could directly sell the waste wheat husk to Shanghai. However, as the maritime transportation terminated, this wheat husk from the flour production became a problem for Tai Feng. Quite soon, the factory found that local farmers in the province could use these husks to raise their domestic animals. Gradually, the husk of wheat became very popular among local farmers.⁵⁹¹ As long as they were

⁵⁸⁹ "1939 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu (1938/1939) 1939 年的甬江女中校長報告 (1938/1939)," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-308 p44-51, April 26th 1939 1939 年 4 月 26 日).

⁵⁹⁰ "1940 Nian Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu (1939/1940) 1940 年甬江女中校長報告書 (1939/1940)," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-308 p80-89, 1940), 88.

⁵⁹¹ Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi 寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司, "Zhonghua Minguo 27 Nian (1938) Di 4 Jie Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuanbiao 中華民國二十七年 (1938) 第四屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算表," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-12).

given enough time, the companies in local society have always had a rational solution to their difficulties.

After Japan occupied Shanghai and Hangzhou, they also severed the trade links between these occupied areas with other parts of China which were under the administration of the Nationalists. Oddly enough, as Shanghai was occupied by Japan, Ningbo became an important trading port exporting and importing goods for those parts of China which had not been occupied by Japan. A significant number of merchants from Hunan and Jiangxi came to Ningbo instead of Shanghai to conduct commodity transactions,⁵⁹² which provided Ningbo with an unexpectedly prosperous situation from 1937 to 1941.

Approaching 1939, the scarcity of raw materials was still a problem for the Tai Feng.⁵⁹³ Until the new wheat was harvested and had entered the market the supply from the inner province was not enough to match up with the production capability of the factory so the Tai Feng was forced to search for an underground path to import wheat from Shanghai. It is quite plausible to speculate that the factory tried to get around the

⁵⁹² Ningbo Jiaotong Yunshuye 寧波交通運輸業, "Ningbo Jiaotong Yunshuye Zonghe Diaocha Baogao 寧波交通運輸業綜合調查報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 268-7-74 p1-13, 1951).

⁵⁹³ Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi 寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司, "Zhonghua Minguo 28 Nian (1939) Di 5 Jie Ningboshi Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuanbiao 中華民國二十八年(1939)第五屆寧波市太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算表," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-12).

prohibition set by the Nationalist government and conducted transactions with the occupied zone. It seems that, for merchants and industrialist, there is no such a thing as a boundary or border. After the new wheat harvest season, the staff of the factory also tried their best to purchase wheat from Yuyao, Shaoxing, Xiaoshan and Jiangxi provinces.⁵⁹⁴

In the spring of 1939, the situation in Ningbo deteriorated again. In April and May, Japanese airplanes launched another raid on Ningbo and its neighbouring cities, killing hundreds of people, and leaving thousands injured. Since other hospitals in Ningbo had already withdrawn from the city, Sino-American was the only hospital there which was still open and providing medical support for the local residents. In June of 1939, Dr. Thomas returned to the US, with one important task for his journey being to obtain desperately needed materials and to collect donations from the hospital's friends in America. The situation was slightly eased by the tax free policy of Dr. Kong Xiangxi (孔祥熙), much appreciated by the hospital, which significantly helped it to obtain medicines.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵ Ding Lichen 丁立成, "1939 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1939 年工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-21), 19-20.

Riverside Girls Academy also wrote about the bombardment inflicted on Ningbo in the spring of 1939, recording that out of safety considerations, on May 4th, 1939, Riverside moved back to Tingxia.⁵⁹⁶ For the second time a student recalled their withdrawing experience with happy and cheerful memories several years later, *'Ms. Shen's family ancestor hall was used as our class room. Food is not bad, in Tingxia there were bamboo, potato and egg. Riverside teachers and staff took care of us.'* It seems that this student just viewed this moving as a field trip and felt quite happy about escaping from the city and intimately embracing the nature in the countryside.⁵⁹⁷ However, in the winter of 1939, there were local bandits who roamed around Fenghua and Sheng County. Tingxia was in Fenghua and near Sheng County. There were rumours around about a potential plundering action targeting Tingxia, and everyone was quite nervous. Later the counter-bandit troop of the Nationalist moved there, and the situation stabilised somewhat. Despite that, Riverside decided to end the spring semester in advance, the most important thing being that all students were safe, and no one got hurt.

⁵⁹⁶ Dai Xuemei 戴雪梅, "Yi Tingxia Kanzai Yu 1948 Nian De Yinxian Sili Yongjiang Nvzi Zhongxue 25 Zhounian Jiniankan Xiaoyou Wenyi P35-36 憶亭下 刊載於 1948 年的鄞縣私立甬江女子中學二十五週年紀念刊 校友文藝 P35-36 " (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-104, 1948).

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

Japanese troops occupied Xiaoshan (蕭山) in the spring of 1940, and suddenly the east of Zhejiang turned into a dangerous place. Nevertheless, Riverside took a risk and began its 1940 spring semester, Ms. Shen claiming in her working report of 1940 that, because of the brave fight conducted by the Nationalist troops, the Japanese invasion in the east of Zhejiang was terminated. Ms. Shen expressed a positive expectation and her confidence in smoothly finishing the spring semester of 1940.⁵⁹⁸ In the spring of that year transportation conditions improved a little; however, according to the Sino-American Hospital working report on the night of July 15th, 1940, the staff of the hospital received news from the radio which reported that as a navy operation had started, the coastline along Zhejiang and Fujian would be completely blocked. From then on, Ningbo lost its connections with the outside world completely. The city became an isolated island.⁵⁹⁹

With regard to sanitation, during the Republican era, Ningbo constantly suffered from various epidemics, such as cholera and malaria, especially in the humid and hot summer. According to the local newspaper Shishi Gongbao, almost every summer in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s news about preventing epidemics was given to readers, together with a series of relevant reports. The warfare simply worsened the epidemic

⁵⁹⁸ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "1940 Nian Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu (1939/1940) 1940 年甬江女中校長報告書 (1939/1940)," 81.

⁵⁹⁹ Ding Lichen 丁立成, "1940 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1940 年工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-21), 30.

situation in Ningbo. In the summer of 1938, Cholera broke out in Ningbo in response to which the Sino-American Hospital opened an emergency hospital in a nearby temple. The hospital worked night and day, treating 1,640 Cholera cases there.⁶⁰⁰ In 1939, the cholera problem was under control, but the malaria situation was serious. Many people lost their lives due to the lack of quinine as medicine.⁶⁰¹ This, to some extent, was related to the damage caused to the transportation by the warfare.

In the fall of 1940, a case of Bubonic Plague was also discovered in Ningbo. In order to prevent it from spreading, quarantine was adopted. The house of the patient was burned down, in an attempt to eradicate the source of the disease. One worker in the hospital also died during his quarantine.⁶⁰² Now this outbreak of plague in Ningbo in the fall of 1940 is widely regarded as having been a Japanese germ warfare plot, the most important evidence used for this accusation being Rong Qirong's *Investigation report on the plague at Zhejiang* written in 1941.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰⁰ "1935-1937 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1935-1937 年工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-21).

⁶⁰¹ "1939 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1939 年工作報告."

⁶⁰² "1940 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1940 年工作報告," 31.

⁶⁰³ Rong Qirong 容启荣, "Zhejiang Shuyi Diaocha Baogaoshu 1941 浙江鼠疫调查报告书 1941," in *Ningbo Shuyi Shishi Qinhuo Rijun Xijunzhan Zuizhen 宁波鼠疫史实 侵华日军细菌战罪证*, ed. Huang Ketai 黄可泰, Qiu Huashi 邱华士, and Xia Suqin 夏素琴 (Zhongguo Wenlian Chubanshe 中国文联出版公司, 1999), 94-98.

However, Rong, the then director of the anti-plague agency of the Nationalist government, merely suspected that there was a link between the outbreak of plague in the locality and the operation of the Japanese airplanes. He stated in his 1941 investigation report that it seemed that the outbreak of the plague was related to the things thrown out of Japanese airplanes, wheat in the case of Yin country on October 27th, 1940.⁶⁰⁴ However, Rong did not provide robust evidence to prove the relationship between the outbreak of plague and the Japanese military operation. In addition, when the disease broke out, according to the 1940 hospital working report, the Sino-American Hospital did not link the disease directly with the bombardment launched by the Japanese. This accusation deserves further thorough research and more reliable historical evidence is needed before firmer conclusions can be reached.

7.4 Ningbo in the Sino-Japanese War, 1941-45

The Japanese occupied Ningbo on April 19th, 1941. Before the occupation, the situation in the city had become chaotic as the fighting approached. The staff of a local orphanage near the Sino-American Hospital had fled, leaving the orphans behind, following which it was the staff of the Sino-American Hospital who had taken the responsibility to provide shelter and accommodation for these abandoned children.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

After the fighting and the occupation, the hospital also buried the corpses of the soldiers and the civilians,⁶⁰⁵ most probably in an attempt to prevent further cases of the disease.

The post-fighting situation of the city was recorded by the executive committee of the Board of Directors of the hospital on August 28th, 1941 as:

*'The Hospital has had no difficulties through the changed conditions in Ningbo. The authorities have been most interested in infectious diseases, and have constantly asked for information on this topic, but apart from (this) little inconvenience has been experienced.'*⁶⁰⁶

In the original document, the typed word of 'no' had been scratched out and replaced with a handwritten word of 'little'. This probably expressed a sense of contradictory feeling towards the Japanese occupation by the original writer. From the perspective of a patriotic Chinese citizen, this was clearly a national military defeat. However, from the perspective of a civilian, the scale of the violence in the locality was limited. This probably was the most fortunate part of all the misfortunes of the warfare suffered in Ningbo. According to the comments given by the Sino-American Hospital

⁶⁰⁵ Ding Lichen 丁立成 and Harold Thomas, "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Zhixing Weiyuanhui Feizhengshi Huiyi Huiyi Jilu Yuanzhang Gongzuo Baogao 華美醫院董事會執行委員會非正式會議會議記錄 院長工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-24, August 28th 1941 1941 年 8 月 28 日), 2.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

regarding the post-fighting situation, it seems that the confrontation ceased quickly, and the social order of the city was rapidly restored.

When Ningbo was occupied by Japan, Dr. Thomas had already returned to China from America. At the same time, Dr. Ren Xingeng, the former superintendent of the hospital, was seriously ill and was approaching his final moment. On August 25th, 1941, Dr. Ren formally gave his will to the hospital. In this he donated his corpse to the hospital for dissection and scientific research, and before the dissection, he hoped another doctor could remove his gold teeth to be recast into a ring. According to his will, this ring, as a memorial, would be given to his wife.⁶⁰⁷ This was just a slight moment of the life of an ordinary person who was approaching the destination of his life's journey. However, with a ruthless national confrontation as a background, these simple and kind words from the will did transfer expectations, love and a firm faith in a bright future to all those people whom he loved.

During the Second World War, the Japanese regime regarded itself as the liberator of Asia, with the mission of leading the other Asian countries to defend the Eastern culture and fight against Western imperialism. Thus, the Japanese troops had prohibited the Christian institutions in Ningbo from engaging in charitable activities

⁶⁰⁷ Ren Xingeng 任莘耕, "Ren Yisheng Yizhu 任醫生遺囑," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-25, August 25th 1941 1941年8月25日), 7.

towards the ordinary local people, some of whom, immediately after the occupation, were desperately in need of help. On the contrary, the Japanese troops actively sought to legitimise their rule by obtaining support from shared Eastern cultural traditions, such as Confucianism and Buddhism. After the occupation, the Japanese local administration publicly revered Confucianism by launching a celebration of the birthday of Confucius in the city,⁶⁰⁸ and actively cooperating with the Buddhist temples in the locality in the conduct of charities which the local Western Christian churches had been prohibited to operate.⁶⁰⁹

After the occupation on April 19th, 1941, some Buddhist institutions in Ningbo decided to cooperate with Japan. In January 1943, the Buddhist Churches Organisation of Ningbo (寧波佛教會) decided to launch a Japanese language school so as to enhance the communication between the Chinese and the Japanese Buddhist institutions.⁶¹⁰ The organisation also helped the Japanese government to carry out their policies, for instance the organisation for the prevention of the outbreak of epidemic disease helped the government to ensure that all staff of the Buddhist temples received

⁶⁰⁸ *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報, "Zhongri Renshi Tonglai Qingji Dacheng Zhisheng Kongzi Xianshi Danchen 中日人士同來慶祭 大成至聖孔子先師誕辰," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 August 27th 1941 1941年8月27日(三版).

⁶⁰⁹ "Fojiao Tongrenhui Shizhouchu Kaishi Fafang Baomifen 佛教同仁會施粥處 開始發放苞米粉," *Shishi Gongbao* 時事公報 April 16th 1942 1942年4月16日(二版).

⁶¹⁰ Ningbo Fojiaohui 寧波佛教會, "Ningbo Fojiaohui Yin Zhenxiuan Huyi Qifeng Cheng Tewu Jiguan Wen 寧波佛教會因真修庵忽已啟封呈特務機關文," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-86 p87-88, After January 10th 1943 1943年1月10日後).

an injection.⁶¹¹ Furthermore, in 1943, the organisation supported Japanese efforts to conduct metal collection,^{612 613} although the final achievement of the collection was rather limited. When the organisation was unable to complete the collecting quotas required by the government, it suggested compensating instead by using some of its own saving deposits.⁶¹⁴

After the occupation of Ningbo by Japanese troops, Mr. Lee Kwang-yeh replaced Mr. Hope in the Ningbo Customs, taking the role of Assistant-in-Charge. This appointment was made by Mr. H. Kishimoto. Lee wrote a letter to Mr. Kishimoto on 31st January 1942 expressing his gratitude for this appointment and stating that *'the remaining staff here, both foreign and Chinese, are all overjoyed with profound relief and gratitude when informed that they are to be given continued employment.'* Lee also mentioned that Mr. Arita had brought with him 50, 000 dollars for issue as staff payment. All customs staff were joyful and grateful for this issue of payment, particularly given the rapidly approaching Chinese New Year, as they had not been paid

⁶¹¹ "Ningbo Fojaohui Zhi Ge Sian 寧波佛教會致各寺菴," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-86 p97, After January 10th 1943 1943 年 1 月 10 日後).

⁶¹² Meng Lao 夢老, "Ningbo Fojaohui Gongwengao Dibu Meng Lao Zhi Xianzhengfu Di 4 Ke 寧波佛教會公文稿底簿 夢老致縣政府第四科," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-88 p120, After January 10th 1943 1943 年 1 月 10 日後).

⁶¹³ Iron was not included in the metal collecting list.

⁶¹⁴ Ningbo Fojaohui 寧波佛教會, "Ningbo Fojaohui Gongwengao Dibu Zhi Xianzhengfu Di 4 Ke 寧波佛教會公文稿底簿 致縣政府第四科," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-88 p127, After October 1st 1943 1943 年 10 月 1 日後).

since the end of November 1941.⁶¹⁵ It can be seen here that the most urgent and important task then for the local civilians was managing to overcome the difficulties caused by the warfare and trying their best to prevent their family life from being disturbed by the state level confrontation.

By the end of 1941, the Pacific War broke out. The relationship between America and Japan had reached freezing point and all Western institutions in the Japanese occupied zones were suffering from supervision and limitation. In March 1943, the Sino-American Hospital decided to rename itself to the Sino-Sino Hospital.⁶¹⁶ Presumably, this decision was aimed at preventing the hospital from being confiscated by the Japanese regime as Western property. The Constitution of the Board of Directors of the hospital was thus modified. With reference to the new item 4 concerning the property and the new item 5 concerning the organisation, the hospital had effectively weakened its ties with the Western churches, but simultaneously emphasised that the property of the hospital should never ever be transferred to the Japanese regime.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁵ Kwang-yeh Lee, "Letter to H. Kishimoto on 31st January 1942," *Correspondence between I.G.Chungking and D.I.G. Shanghai. 1945. MS Parts Six and Seven: The Sino-Japanese War and its Aftermath, 1931-1949: Planning for Peace and Resuming Functions in Post-War China* Classmark: 679(1); Call number:31733. *The Second Historical Archives of China. China from Empire to Republic* Gale database: Gale Document Number: Gale YTASOD638406064.

⁶¹⁶ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huiyi Jilu 會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-9), 1.

⁶¹⁷ Huahua Yiyuan 華華醫院, "Sili Ningbo Huahua Yinyuan Dongshihui Zhangcheng Zhonghua Minguo 32 Nian (1943) Xiuding 私立寧波華華醫院董事會章程 中華民國三十二年 (1943) 修訂," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-27, October 1943 1943年10月), 6.

Because the regular meeting of the Board of Directors had been terminated since 1942,⁶¹⁸ little historical evidence concerning the hospital in the Japanese occupation era was recorded.

Since the transportation conditions had not been significantly improved, the Japanese occupation failed to alleviate the local food shortages. On August 18th 1940, before the occupation, the staff of the Sino-American Hospital, according to one of the hospital's meeting minutes, had discussed an accommodation policy of 'two meals of porridge and one meal of rice per day'.⁶¹⁹ On January 4th 1942, after the occupation, another accommodation policy of 'three meals of porridge per day (except Sunday)' had been accepted by the staff of the hospital.⁶²⁰ Presumably, the general living standard of the local residents in Ningbo could be inferred from the tough conditions in the hospital during the Sino-Japanese War. The city suffered from the destructive impacts of the war on the transportation, and the consequent shortage of the necessary commodities.

⁶¹⁸ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Yuanzhang Baogao 華美醫院董事會年度會議 院長報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-33, March 13th 1947 1947 年 3 月 13 日).

⁶¹⁹ "Yuanwu Huiyi Jilu 院務會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-22, October 18th 1940 1940 年 10 月 18 日), 2.

⁶²⁰ "Yuanwu Huiyi Jilu 院務會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-26, January 4th 1942 1942 年 1 月 4 日), 2.

The Riverside, after the Japanese occupation of Ningbo on April 19th, 1941 maintained its operation for a while in Ningbo city and the countryside, at Tingxia. However, by the spring of 1942, the Board of Directors of Riverside decided to terminate the operation of the school. In April 1942, the administrative institution in Ningbo which cooperated with Japanese started to take missionary schools under its supervision. The campus of the Riverside in the city was forced to close and was then used by Zhejiang Provincial Normal School (省師範學校), a school supervised by the Japanese regime and the cooperating Wang Jingwei (汪精衛) government.⁶²¹

In mid-April 1942, the Nationalist troops, positioned at Tingxia, withdrew further south. Ten days later, bandits were roaming around the countryside. In order to prevent female students from being hurt by these bandits, the Riverside was forced to terminate its operation in Tingxia.⁶²² Some students received help from a missionary school in Shanghai and went to study there while others, led by Ms. Shen, moved to Ninghai (寧海) where the withdrawing Nationalist government resided.⁶²³ At Ninghai, the Riverside merged with the Yin County Temporary United Middle

⁶²¹ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Yongjiang Nvzhong Fawen Liudi 甬江女中發文留底," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-313, September 1945-September 1947 1945 年 9 月-1947 年 9 月), 11.

⁶²² Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "Yongjiang Nvzhong 1945 Nian Xiaowu Baogaoshu 甬江女中 1945 年校務報告書," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-308 p95-100, 1945), 96.

⁶²³ Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史 " in *Yinxian Sili Yongjiang Nvzi Zhongxue 25 Zhounian Jiniankan P20-21 鄞縣私立甬江女子中學二十五週年紀念刊 20-21 頁* (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-104, 1948).

School (鄞縣縣立臨時聯合中學) which was registered under the Nationalist Party led by the generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek.⁶²⁴

The damage upon local society caused by the state level confrontation could be seen from the various documents mentioned above related to the local hospital, Ningbo Customs, school, and factory. Transportation had been destroyed by the warfare and the production of necessary commodities had been impeded. The normal operation of schools and hospital had been hindered. Civilian life at society level had been disturbed by the state level confrontation. As a result civilians were obliged to make sacrifices on their living standards to live through this hard time. Although the war abruptly ended in 1945, the local difficulties did not quickly disappear, but lingered on.

7.5 The effort on 'Resuming Riverside'

On 15th August 1945, Japan announced its surrender. Nine days later, on August 24th, the Riverside Girls Academy launched its first meeting over the issues of re-opening the school. The meeting started at 9 o'clock in the morning and all attending members unanimously decided to resume classes at the Riverside. All of them advocated that Ms. Shen Yixiang should continue her service as the principal of

⁶²⁴ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "Yongjiang Nvzhong 1945 Nian Xiaowu Baogaoshu 甬江女中 1945 年校務報告書," 96.

Riverside and assume the mission of re-opening the school.⁶²⁵ After the war government orders regarding education were issued and, most probably due to the allied relationship between the Americans and the Nationalists during the anti-Japanese fight, these orders indicated a rather optimistic expectation towards the future Sino-American relationship. For instance, in December 1945, the Zhejiang Provincial Educational Department required its subordinate educational institutions to enhance the quantity and the quality of their English teaching courses. All the schools in the province, according to the order, were required to set the English courses for students as compulsory and assure 6-hours of teaching per week.⁶²⁶ Since the English teaching had always been one of the advantages of Riverside, it was reasonable for Ms. Shen to hold an optimistic expectation towards the development of the school in the post-war period.

Although Riverside had been confronted with a variety of problems since the end of the anti-Japanese war, all its members were confident of overcoming the temporary difficulties and optimistic about the future of the school. Ms. Shen, in July 1947, proposed a thorough plan concerning the future development of the school to the Board of Directors. Her plan consisted of specific items concerning with providing

⁶²⁵ Yongjiang Nvzhong Fuxiao Faqiren 甬江女中複校發起人, "Yongjiang Nvzhong Fuxiao Faqiren Di 1 Ci Huiyi Jilu 甬江女中複校發起人第一次會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-309 p5-6, 9:00a.m.-12:00p.m. August 24th 1945 1945 年 8 月 24 日 上午 9: 00-12: 00).

⁶²⁶ Zhejiangsheng Jiaoyuting 浙江省教育廳, "Zhejiangsheng Jiaoyuting Xunling 浙江省教育廳訓令," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-319 p57, December 8th 1945 1945 年 12 月 8 日).

welfare for the Riverside staff. One of these items indicated that if the children of the school staff were enrolled in the Riverside, they would correspondingly enjoy a waiver of their tuition fees.⁶²⁷ The implementation of the policy probably aimed at slightly reducing the burden on the Riverside staff regarding their children's education so as to allow them to focus more on their service to the school. This is an example of how a local institution provided protection and support to its own members and their families. In addition, a side-effect of this policy was of advertisement. If Riverside staff were willing to send their own children to receive education at their own school, it indirectly showed its high-quality and reliability.

Since the teaching buildings of the Riverside had been burned down in the 1937 fire incident at the end of 1945, the most imminent challenge for Ms. Shen and the Riverside school was the contradiction between the rapidly increasing student numbers and the limited teaching space. Ms. Shen urgently needed funding support concerning the reconstruction project from the three Missionary Churches to which Riverside was affiliated.⁶²⁸ It can be seen from the working report of Ms. Shen that the funding support from the Western churches towards Riverside was of importance, and there was a relationship of trust between Riverside and the Christian Organisations. Both sides

⁶²⁷ Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "1947 Nian De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaowu Baogao (1946/1947) 1947 年的甬江女中校務報告 (1946/1947)," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-308 p107-115, July 1947 1947 年 7 月).

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*

had been actively contributing to the restoration of the school and enthusiastically generating educational opportunities for the teenage females in the locality.

By 1948, as Riverside had 500 students and 30 members of staff, Ms. Shen initiated the project to consider reconstruction of the teaching building.⁶²⁹ The Riverside school registered in 1948 that 68% of its students came from families conducting business activities.⁶³⁰ 16 years previously in Ms. Shen's 1932 working report, she had also mentioned that 70% of its students had a family background in business activities.⁶³¹ ⁶³² Most of these were from Yin County in the locality.⁶³³ This, to some extent, indicated that the development of Riverside had been closely linked with the rapid economic growth in the area. The revival of Riverside required a sound local economic development as a prerequisite; however, Ningbo was going through a period of serious inflation.

⁶²⁹ Zhu Zhicheng 朱至誠, "Xiaoshi 校史".

⁶³⁰ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Benqi Xuesheng Tongjibiao Kanzai Yu Yongjiang Nvzhong 25 Zhounian Jiniankan 本期學生統計表 刊載於甬江女中二十五週年紀念刊," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-104 p29-31, 1948), 29.

⁶³¹ Jennifer Bond, "Missionary Education for Girls in Republican Era Zhejiang Province, China, 1844-1949," *Dissertation for M.Phil. Degree in Modern Chinese Studies at Oxford University* (April 2013): 30-31.

⁶³² Shen Yixiang 沈貽蕓, "1932 Nian 4 Yue De Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaozhang Baogaoshu 1932 年 4 月的甬江女中校長報告書," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-307 p52-64, April 16th 1932 1932 年 4 月 16 日).

⁶³³ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Benqi Xuesheng Tongjibiao Kanzai Yu Yongjiang Nvzhong 25 Zhounian Jiniankan 本期學生統計表 刊載於甬江女中二十五週年紀念刊," 31.

7.6 The inflation in Ningbo

Since the surrender of the Japanese was rather unexpected it did not bring order but chaos to some areas of China. Like many other cities in China, such as Shanghai,⁶³⁴ Ningbo also was confronted with a severe problem: the inflation. Dr. Ding Lichen, the superintendent of the Sino-American Hospital, stated in his 1947 working report that, despite the end of the anti-Japanese war, compared with the war time, the economic conditions had not substantially improved locally. The hospital was obliged to constantly increase its medical fees so as to cope with the rampant inflation.⁶³⁵

The Sino-American Hospital, just paralleling the Riverside Girls Academy, had also been constantly pursuing support from the Western church institutions. During the inflationary period the support from America became vital for the hospital which, with the help from its American friends, was able to deposit 16,000 gold dollars at an American bank, by which the real value of the saving could be kept from the damaging impacts of the domestic inflation in China.⁶³⁶ Apart from this, the American Baptist Church and the other International Organisations also constantly rendered funding and

⁶³⁴ Suzanne Pepper, "The Kmt-Ccp Conflict 1945-1949," in *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927-1949*, ed. Lloyd E. Eastman (Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 309-11.

⁶³⁵ Ding Lichen 丁立成, "1947 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1947 年工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-32), 2.

⁶³⁶ Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Zhixing Weiyuanhui 華美醫院董事會執行委員會, "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Zhixing Weiyuanhui Huiyi Jilu 華美醫院董事會執行委員會會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-33, March 25th 1947 1947 年 3 月 25 日), 7.

equipment support for the normal operation of the hospital^{637 638}. Dr. Ding expressed his sincere gratitude to these contributors in his 1948 working report. He precisely remarked that it was the support and help received from the American Churches which maintained the normal operation of the hospital.⁶³⁹

Surprisingly the inflation generated opportunities for the development of the Tai Feng flour mill. After the withdrawal of the Japanese and until the ‘liberation’ of Ningbo by the Communists on May 24th, 1949, the Tai Feng enjoyed an era of golden development. Since there was simultaneously ferocious inflation in Shanghai, it was forbidden to transport locally produced flour out of that city. In these circumstances, the merchants from Fuzhou, Xiamen, Quanzhou and Shantou contacted Tai Feng as an alternative source of the flour which they wished to purchase.⁶⁴⁰

By the end of 1945, the Tai Feng was able to produce 1,200 packs of flour per year,⁶⁴¹ and in the following years the production figure continued to rise rapidly. By

⁶³⁷ Ding Lichen 丁立成, "1948 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1948 年工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-34), 1-9.

⁶³⁸ "1947 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1947 年工作報告," 7.

⁶³⁹ "1948 Nian Gongzuo Baogao 1948 年工作報告."

⁶⁴⁰ "Ningboshi Siying Taifeng Mianfenchang Yange Gaikuang 寧波市私營太豐麵粉廠沿革概況," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-5, April 1st 1953 1953 年 4 月 1 日).

⁶⁴¹ Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi 寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司, "Zhonghua Minguo 34 Nian (1945) Di 11 Jie Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuance 中華民國三十四年 (1945) 第十一屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算冊," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-15).

1946, the figure had increased to 239,138 packs per year.⁶⁴² In 1947, the figure was 386,238 packs.⁶⁴³ Finally by 1948, it reached its peak: 427,571 packs.⁶⁴⁴ The rapid production increase shows that flour as a subsistence product was in great demand. For Tai Feng, the civil war era was an easy money-making time. At the beginning of the production increase, the price of flour must have been high, indirectly indicating that ordinary consumers had to spend a large chunk of their wealth on purchasing subsistence commodities, in this case, food. The expenditure for food a family spent on in normal economic condition would not be as high as the one during the civil war era.

Zhuang Yumei, a local intellectual and writer, made a comparison between the economic situation in 1948 and 1927/28. Zhuang stated that the economic situation for ordinary people was sound in the period 1927/1928, as ordinary people could afford to buy books for consumption and entertainment. However, by 1948, ordinary people

⁶⁴² "Zhonghua Minguo 35 Nian (1946) Di 12 Jie Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuance 中華民國三十五年（1946）第十二屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算冊," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-15).

⁶⁴³ "Zhonghua Minguo 36 Nian (1947) Di 13 Jie Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuance 中華民國三十六年（1947）第十三屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算冊 " (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-15).

⁶⁴⁴ "Zhonghua Minguo 37 Nian (1948) Di 17 Jie Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuance 中華民國三十七年（1948）第十四屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算冊 " (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-16).

were impoverished, and could no longer do this.⁶⁴⁵ This piece of evidence shows the contrast in purchasing power as between the early and late Republican eras.

On June 14th, 1948, rice riots occurred at Ningbo,⁶⁴⁶ and several rice shops were looted by hungry local masses. One of the rice shops was the Hengfeng rice shop (衡豐米行) where the Riverside stored some rice. Consequently, after the rice riot, Mr. Liu Zhang, a local lawyer (柳璋律師), sent a letter to Riverside to inform the school concerning the relevant repayment issues.⁶⁴⁷ This has to be viewed under the context of persistent inflation and the fact that the local population had no faith in the banknotes issued by the Nationalists, instead relying on bartering rice for daily exchanges of goods.⁶⁴⁸ The refusal of local residents to accept the official currency demonstrates that their trust of the Nationalist government had been withdrawn and, in their minds, the legitimacy of the Nationalists had already disappeared.

⁶⁴⁵ Zhuang Yumei 庄禹梅, "Guanyu "Zhongshan Geming Yanyi" Yuanzai "Shishi Gongbao" June 5th 1948 Zuoze Biming Ping Qing 关于《中山革命演义》原载《时事公报》1948年6月5日 作者笔名 平青," in *Zhuang Yumei Jinian Wenji 庄禹梅纪念文集*, ed. Zhuang Yumei Jinian Wenji Bianweihui 庄禹梅纪念文集编委会 (2010), 158.

⁶⁴⁶ Ningbo Jidujiao Qingnianhui 宁波基督教青年會, "Ningbo Jidujiao Qingnianhui Dashiji 宁波基督教青年會大事记," (NA 宁波市档案馆 舊 30-1-34 (二), June 14th 1948 1948年6月14日).

⁶⁴⁷ Liu Zhang 柳璋律師, "Liu Zhang Lvshi Dai Hengfeng Mihang Zhi Yongjiang Nvzhong Han 柳璋律師代衡豐米行至甬江女中函," (NA 宁波市档案馆 舊 10-1-322 p87-88, June 16th 1948 1948年6月16日).

⁶⁴⁸ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Ningboshi Sili Yongjiang Nvzi Zhongxue Guanyu Jiaohui Xuexiao Qingkuang Baogao 宁波市私立甬江女子中學關於教會學校情況報告," (NA 宁波市档案馆 舊 10-1-50 p51-59, February 10th 1951 1951年2月10日), 52-53.

7.7 The effort conducted by the local civil society faced with the post-war crisis

After the Japanese surrendered, the civil society in the locality was confronted with various problems. As the Nationalist government could not provide an effective and in-time response to the post-war crisis in the locality, the local civil society took on the task of dealing with these difficulties. The leaders from a variety of local institutions in Ningbo formed the Ningbo International Charity Committee, which included the Christian institutions, the political officials, the businessmen, the customs institutions, the local newspapers, and Buddhist charity organisations in the locality. Each member of the committee would contribute its own advantages, such as labour, capital, knowledge and expertise to improve the general welfare of the local society.⁶⁴⁹ The formation of the committee suggested that the elites in Ningbo were actively cooperating with each other to lessen social problems in the difficult times.

February 23rd, 1947 was the 42nd anniversary of the establishment of the International Rotary Club of which there was a branch in Ningbo. It provided a forum for the local elites to socialise and share information with each other. Many local notables, such as, Dr. Ding Lichen and Dr. Thomas from the Sino-American Hospital; Mr. Jin Zhenxiang (金臻庠), the manager of the local newspaper Shishi Gongbao,

⁶⁴⁹ Ningbo Guoji Jiuji Weiyuanhui 寧波國際救濟委員會, "Ningbo Guoji Jiuji Weiyuanhui Di 1 Ci Linshi Quanti Weiyuanhui 寧波國際救濟委員會第一次臨時全體委員會," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-96 p9-13, February 13th 1946 1946 年 2 月 13 日).

were members of the Ningbo Rotary Club.⁶⁵⁰ Members of the Club met regularly once every two weeks. Each time, a member of the club would act as the host and invite other club members to visit his workplace. The host would give a speech and introduce his own profession to other members of the club. A case in point was on July 10th, 1947, when the duty host was Mr. Jin Zhenxiang, the manager of the local newspaper Shishi Gongbao. On that day, Mr. Jin invited all the other members of the club to his workplace, thus sharing with them his original motivation, personal principles and experience of managing a local newspaper.⁶⁵¹

The Rotary Club provided a great opportunity for local notables to associate with each other and simultaneously removed obstacles for cooperation, decreasing the number of ‘Amoral Familists’ in the locality. The term of ‘Amoral Familist’ is used by Edward Christie Banfield to refer to people who merely ‘maximise the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family; assuming that all others will do likewise.’⁶⁵² The existence of a large number of ‘Amoral Familists’ would accordingly decrease the trust among strangers and the frequency of cooperation in a society; thus, hindering the

⁶⁵⁰ Ningbo Fulunshe 寧波扶輪社 [Rotary Club Ningbo], "Ningbo Fulunshe Di 17 Ci Shihui Jilu 寧波扶輪社第十七次時會記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-3 p25, April 24th 1947 1947年4月24日).

⁶⁵¹ "Ningbo Fulunshe Di 22 Ci Changhui 寧波扶輪社第二十二次常會," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 30-1-3 p34-36, July 10th 1947 1947年7月10日).

⁶⁵² Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Ill., Chicago: Free Press; Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, 1958).

transformation into a modern society. On the contrary, the establishment of Rotary Club in Ningbo, by preventing the ‘Amoral Familist’ from becoming a social norm, created a platform on which strangers could associate and socialise with each other, thus building their trust and facilitating future cooperation.

7.8 Times were changing

Although the local elites in Ningbo were still actively creating a forum to pave the way for cooperation, by the end of April 1949, the Communist troops were rapidly marching towards Shanghai. The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society’s EAST CHINA MISSION in Shanghai, after taking the current political situation into consideration, decided to temporarily leave China. Miss Mildred Proctor, the secretary of EAST CHINA MISSION, sent a letter to Dr. Ding Lichen which included the official announcement concerning the transfer of the property rights of the Sino-American Hospital. Before this official rights transfer the hospital had been owned by the Mission, part of it by a Chinese body, and part jointly by the Mission and the Chinese body.⁶⁵³

In this announcement, it stated that,

‘In accordance with the General Agreement for Cooperation between the East China Mission and the Chekiang Shanghai Baptist Convention, made in 1929,

⁶⁵³ Mildred Proctor, "East China Mission Mission Secretary, Miss Mildred Proctor 至華美醫院院長丁立成先生的信," (寧波市檔案館 306-1-38, 1949年4月30日).

Hwa-Mei Hospital has complete control of the properties including land, buildings, and equipment, for the use of medical service to the people of Ningbo, and the training of nurses.

*You may use this letter as an official document and for reference regarding the ownership and use of the properties of Hwa-Mei Hospital.*⁶⁵⁴

On May 24th, 1949, the Communists took Ningbo under their control⁶⁵⁵ and one month later, on June 23rd, the party borrowed teaching residences from three local schools, the Riverside, the Trinity and the Business school, to use as the party cadre training school.⁶⁵⁶ The staff of Riverside were also worried about a possible residence tax collection from the school by the newly implemented government which would, no doubt, further increase the school's expenditure.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi 寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司, "1949 Nian Di 15 Jie Ningbo Taifeng Jizhi Mianfen Gufen Youxian Gongsi Juesuance 一九四九年第十五屆寧波太豐機制麵粉股份有限公司決算冊," (NA 寧波市檔案館 381-1-16, 1949).

⁶⁵⁶ Zhongguo Renmin Jiefangjun Huadong Junqu 中國人民解放軍華東軍區 and Ningboshi Junshi Guazhi Weiyuanhui Wenjiaobu 寧波市軍事管制委員會文教部, "Jieyong Sanxiao Xiaoshe De Tongzhi 借用三校校舍的通知," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-323 p1, June 23rd 1949 1949年6月23日).

⁶⁵⁷ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Fuxiaohou Di 5 Ci Xiaodonghui Huiyi Jilu 複校後第五次校董會會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-309 p29-31, August 30th 1949 1949年8月30日).

After the Communists had occupied Ningbo, the Nationalists withdrew to the off-shore Zhoushan islands. In September and October of 1949, the Nationalist airplanes took off from Zhoushan's Dinghai to carry out air raids on the city of Ningbo. On September 17th, 1949, Riverside was bombarded, destroying one third of the newly constructed teaching building. In this incident Riverside lost one half of its funding for the reconstruction project. The human casualties were two building workers who were killed, and a few people who were slightly injured. In addition to that there was a five-year-old child killed by machine gun fire from one of the attacking airplanes.⁶⁵⁸ Today, unfortunately, there remains only a beautiful picture showing the design of the new school building stored in the Ningbo Archives.⁶⁵⁹

On the following afternoon, 4:30 o'clock, October 18th, 1949, the Sino-American Hospital also suffered an airplane bombardment launched by the Nationalists.⁶⁶⁰ The hospital had preserved most of its properties during the Japanese occupation, and the only loss was a rather new Ford car, which was 'borrowed' by the Japanese Army and, despite promises, never returned.⁶⁶¹ In contrast, during the 1949

⁶⁵⁸ "Guanyu 1949 Nian 9 Yue 17 Ri Shangwu Beizha Qingxing De Jishu 關於 1949 年 9 月 17 日上午被炸情形的記述," (NA 寧波市檔案館 10-1-323 p16).

⁶⁵⁹ "Yongjiang Nvzhong Xiaoshe Jianzhu Tuzhi 甬江女中校舍建築圖紙," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-310, 1948).

⁶⁶⁰ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "1949 Niandu Gongzuo Baogao 1949 年度工作報告," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-1-38), 15.

⁶⁶¹ "Huamei Yiyuan Dongshihui Niandu Huiyi Yuanzhang Baogao 華美醫院董事會年度會議院長報告," 13-15.

air raids, 6 bombs hit the hospital, which caused a great fire in the hospital building. It estimated that its loss was approximately 150,000 US dollars.⁶⁶² The hospital, with the help of the Presbyterians, the CMS, local civilians, students, schools, Fire Brigades and the Communist Liberation Army, suppressed the fire and many of its possessions were saved.⁶⁶³ However, the saddest point was that it was a Civil War fighting between Chinese people which caused the most severe damage to the hospital.

Although severe damage was inflicted on the hospital, no one there had died or been injured in the bombing. In the 1949 annual working report, this was regarded by the staff of the hospital as a miracle to be interpreted as a blessing from God.⁶⁶⁴ After the blitz, the hospital did lose business and doctors; nevertheless they did not lose their faith in the bright side of human beings and their determination to contribute their intelligence and diligence to the general good. The rest of the hospital staff, continuing the tradition of the hospital: 'Business as Usual', continued to provide medical treatment for the local residents.⁶⁶⁵ These staff hoped that, under the new authority, they could continue to run their hospital as before. However, the development of the hospital, utterly out of their expectation, radically changed after 1949. In October 1951, the hospital 'voluntarily' handed its property rights over to the newly set up Communist

⁶⁶² "1949 Niandu Gongzuo Baogao 1949 年度工作報告," 16.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

government. In a work document of the hospital, it stated that, ‘...from then on, the hospital which had been plundered by the American imperialists for over one hundred years, was now re-embraced by the people, and become a hospital which belonged to the people themselves.’⁶⁶⁶

A similar fate befell the Riverside Girls Academy. On December 12th, 1949, Ms. Shen wrote in her report that the political power transfer had caused confusion to the school staff. She stated that, ‘Nowadays, the most powerful organisation in Riverside is not the headmaster, even not the Board of Directors, but the faculty committee (校務委員會)’.⁶⁶⁷ The latter committee was imposed on Riverside by the Communists. Based on Ms. Shen’s report to the Board of Directors in March, 1950⁶⁶⁸ and May 1950⁶⁶⁹ respectively, it can be seen that, Ms. Shen refused to yield under the new authority for making further compromise and constantly showed her bottom line and faith in Christianity.

⁶⁶⁶ Huamei Yiyuan 華美醫院 [Sino-American Hospital], "Ningboshi Huamei Yiyuan Gaikuang 寧波市華美醫院概況," (NA 寧波市檔案館 306-3-4), 1.

⁶⁶⁷ Yongjiang Nvzhong 甬江女中 [Riverside Girls Academy], "Fuxiaohou Di 6 Ci Xiaodonghui 複校後第六次校董會," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-309 p32-33, December 12th 1949 1949 年 12 月 12 日), 32.

⁶⁶⁸ "Fuxiaohou Di 8 Ci Xiaodonghui Huiyi Jilu 複校後第八次校董會 會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-309 p34-35, March 23rd 1950 1950 年 3 月 23 日), 34.

⁶⁶⁹ "Fuxiaohou Di 9 Ci Xiaodonghui Huiyi Jilu 複校後第九次校董會 會議記錄," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-309 p35-39, May 25th 1950 1950 年 5 月 25 日).

On May 22nd, 1951, in a meeting of the Contemporary Executive Committee of Riverside (臨時執委會), a resolution was made in which Ms. Shen was arrested in the name of counter-revolution. She was blamed for conducting counter-revolutionary activities under the cover of religion. Other charges included statements such as that ‘Shen exerted a poisonous influence upon young people and impeded the progress of Riverside school. Our committee felt really sorry and upset, we would seriously self-recheck after Shen’s case and hope the government could severely punish the criminal, Shen Yixiang.’⁶⁷⁰ Now, Ms. Shen, the former respectable principal, had become the counter-revolutionary; and those foreign friends who had been dedicating their intelligence, expertise, and hard work for the prosperity and development of the locality had become the imperialists. Formerly right became wrong, formerly wrong became right.

As a short conclusion to this chapter, the state level confrontations, both the Sino-Japanese War and the following civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists, caused a significant amount of damage and difficulties to local civilian society. Several local civilian institutions, with the support from their Western counterparts, pursued a policy of cooperation with each other so as to lessen local

⁶⁷⁰ Yongjiang Nvzhong Linshi Zhiweihui 甬江女中臨時執委會, "Linshi Zhiweihui Yijue Shixiang 临时执委会 議決事項," (NA 寧波市檔案館 舊 10-1-309 p45-46, May 22nd 1951 1951年5月22日).

difficulties and relieve the suffering of ordinary people. However, as the state level confrontation finally settled down and a new authoritative central government gradually became established, all these efforts conducted by local civilian institutions at the society level were categorised as, if not completely in vain, but relatively insignificant. All the efforts conducted by the civilian society in the past were now waiting to be revalued according to the preference of a newly imposed central regime. Times were changing, and a revolutionary era subsequently emerged.

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Epilogue

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis did not aim at writing a comprehensive history of Ningbo from 1820s to 1949, but instead attempted to make a comparison of the distinct influence of the central regimes at the state level and a few local institutions at the society level respectively over the dynamic of the political, economic and social development in Ningbo during the period covered by the research. In the first half of the thesis, the core historical evidence used was the memorial communications over local issues between the Emperors and their senior provincial officials. The evidence tends to indicate the inhibitive impact of the Qing central government's response on the economic and social development in the area discussed. In the second half of the thesis, the core historical evidence used was a variety of annual meeting minutes related to a number of local institutions, demonstrating how a few local institutions, at the society level, learned and adopted modern science, technology, and efficient economic and social management practice from the West and the early Westernised Japan, and enthusiastically developed themselves so as to generate more economic and social welfare for the local residents.

Normally the late Qing and the early Republican era has been regarded as a disturbing and chaotic era for China; however the historical evidence concerning Ningbo's experience in this thesis did not share with this general observation, and in fact demonstrated a slightly different picture. The historical evidence from the local

institutions indicates that the local social development went through a period of prosperity in the late Qing and the early Republican era. In addition, evidence from Customs Reports and local gazetteer also tends to manifest a robust economic condition and the take-off of the industrialisation in the locality from the end of the 1880s until the beginning of the 1930s.

In the late Qing and the early Republican era, we have seen a significant number of intelligent and diligent Ningbonese, such as Mr. Ye Chengzhong, Mr. Wu Zuomo, and Mr. Yu Qiaqing in the forefront of innovation. They achieved their successes in the then newly opened treaty port cities, or overseas in places where a Western modern economic system was imposed. A large number of these in the vanguard, after accumulating their wealth in these modern economic system, actively invested or donated their money to establish modern institutions such as factories, schools, or hospitals in their native places, thus improving the economic and social conditions in the locality. Simultaneously, these newly established institutions became media agencies in spreading the advanced technology, expertise, and management skills from the West or the early Westernised Japan to Ningbo. The establishment of these institutions in the area also diversified the formation and scale of local elites. These member of local Ningbo professional elites joined with those in the vanguard of progress, becoming the media agents in introducing the external world to the indigenous

society, and accordingly increased the magnitude and the importance of the civil society in the locality.

As the mainland of China utterly closed its connections with the external world in 1949, a new generation of Ningbo innovators was successful in emulating the examples of their predecessors and achieving impressive economic successes in Hong Kong, the cosmopolitan city in the East then opened to the West. This new generation of Ningbo innovators who achieved their success in Hong Kong included, to name but a few, Mr. Shao Yifu, Mr. Wang Kuancheng, Mr. Li Huili, Mr. Bao Yugang, Mr. Zhao Anzhong; and the partners Li Dasan and Ye Yaozhen. As China rebuilt its connections with the World after 1978's opening up and reform, this new generation of Ningbo innovators, like their predecessors, again took the initiative to invest and donate their wealth to not only Ningbo, but also other cities in China. Their efforts especially have focused on promoting the enterprise of education and modern medical treatment. Again the new generation of Ningbo innovators have become the bridge and media agents in re-forging the links and connections between Ningbo, China and the World.

Apart from these Ningbonese in the vanguard of development, the parallels between the development of local institutions in the late Qing and the early Republican era, such as the Sino-American Hospital, Riverside Girls Academy, and Tai Feng flour mill can also be seen from a large number of local institutions established in Ningbo

after China's opening up and reform in 1978. Examples are included of Romon Group (1978), Youngor Group (1979), Aux Group (1986), Shanshan Corporation (1989), Wanli Group (1993), Lisi Group (1993), Beyond Group (1995), Peacebird Group (1995), Deli Group (1997), and Fubang Group (2002). Internally, these institutions formed a buffer zone and a negotiation platform between the central authority at the state level above and the individual families at the society level below. Externally, these institutions absorbed investment and adopted advanced production and management skills from foreign countries so as to sell their productions or services to the World.

Simultaneously, these institutions recreated opportunities for a new generation of foreigners arriving, settling down and working at Ningbo, who subsequently could contribute their expertise, dedication, and commitment towards the enterprise of enhancing the communication between Ningbo, China and the World. Inevitably, this developing course just recalled us back the recent past memory concerning those venturing predecessors of the new generation, such as Riverside Girls Academy's Miss Mary Ann Aldersey, Sino-American Hospital's Doctor Grant and so forth.

In this thesis, it is hoped that both the past interactions between the central regimes and the local institutions in Ningbo and the experience of an older generation of Ningbo innovators, foreign missionary workers and experts in the late Qing and the

Republican era could shed some light on the region's current economic and social development and help to forge a better communication and interaction model between the local society in Ningbo, the central government in China, and also the vast external world. To achieve this aim, it is our hope that this thesis concerning the experience of Ningbo in the late Qing and the Republican era could offer a slight contribution to understanding the country's recent history.