

The Opium Wars ushered in an era of intensive Western imperialism in China at a time when the Ch'ing dynasty was already in decline, forcing a small number of Chinese officials to come to the realization that China must protect itself by adopting the same military technology that had brought it national humiliation.

Shen Pao-chen was one such official. Abandoning the comfort of his successful career, Shen devoted his life to building China's first modern naval dockyard and academy. His successes and failures shed new light on the story of China's efforts at modernization – a story that has not yet come to a conclusion. Today, as China engages in a new phase of economic and industrial modernization in the post-Mao era, many of the issues in this study acquire new meaning and significance.



Other books in the series

Glen Dudbridge The Hsi-yu Chi: A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel

Stephen Fitzgerald China and the Overseas Chinese: A Study of Peking's Changing Policy, 1949-70

Christopher Howe Wage Patterns and Wage Policy in Modern China, 1919–1972

Ray Huang Taxation and Government Finance in Sixteenth-Century
Ming China

Diana Lary Region and Nation: The Kwangsi Clique in Chinese Politics, 1925-37

Chi-yun Chen Hsün Yüeh (A.D. 148–209): The Life and Reflection of an Early Medieval Confucian

David R. Knechtges The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18)

J. Y. Wong Yeh Ming-ch'en: Viceroy of Liang Kuang (1852-8)
Li-li Ch'en Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance
(Tung hsi-hsiang chu-kung-tiao): A Chinese Chantefable

Donald Holzman Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi (A.D. 210-63)

C. A. Curwen Taiping Rebel: The Deposition of Li Hsiu-ch'eng

Patricia Buckley Ebrey The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China:
A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family

Hilary J. Beattie Land and Lineage in China: A Study of Tung-ch'eng County, Anhwei, in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties

William T. Graham, Jr. 'The Lament for the South': Yü Hsin's

Ai Chiang-nan fu

Hans Bielenstein The Bureaucracy of Han Times

Michael J. Godley The Mandarin-Capitalists from Nanyang: Overseas Chinese Enterprise in the Modernisation of China, 1893–1911

Charles Backus The Nan-chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier

A. R. Davis T'ao Yüan-ming (A.D. 365-427): His Works and Their Meaning Victor H. Mair Tun-huang Popular Narratives

Ira E. Kasoff The Thought of Chang Tsai (1020-1077)

Ronald C. Egan The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072) Stanley Weinstein Buddhism Under the T'ang

Robert P. Hymes Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung

David McMullen State and Scholars in T'ang China
Arthur Waldron The Great Wall of China

Hugh R. Clark Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century

Denis Twitchett The Writing of Offical History Under the T'ang

J. D. Schmidt Stone Lake: The Poetry of Fan Chenda (1126–1193)

Brian E. McKnight Law and Order in Sung China

Jo-shui Chen Liu Tsung-yuan and Intellectual Change in T'ang China, 773-819
Tim Wright Coal Mining in China's Economy and Society, 1895-1937



Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions

General Editor Denis Twitchett

SHEN PAO-CHEN AND CHINA'S MODERNIZATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 0521531268 - Shen Pao-chen and China's Modernization in the Nineteenth Century David Pong Frontmatter More information





Shen Pao-chen and China's Modernization in the Nineteenth Century

David Pong University of Delaware





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 1994

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1994 First paperback edition 2002

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data Pong, David, 1939-

Shen Pao-chen and China's modernization in the nineteenth century / David Pong.

p. cm. - (Cambridge studies in Chinese history, literature, and institutions)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 44163 3 hardback

1. Shen, Pao-chen, 1820–1879. 2. China – History – Self-strengthening movement, 1861–1895. 3. Statesmen – China – Biography.

I. Title. II. Series. DS763.63.S53P66 1993 951'.03 - dc20 92-36630 CIP

ISBN 0 521 44163 3 hardback ISBN 0 521 53126 8 paperback



For Amanda, Cynthia, and Myra



Contents

	List of maps, tables, and sigure	page x
	Acknowledgements	xi
	A note on spelling	xv
	Abbreviations used in the notes	xvi
	Introduction	1
	The Ch'ing Restoration	2
	The potential for change	11
	The subject at hand	17
	A question of terms	21
1	Early years	24
	Family background and childhood	25
	Marriage and family life	30
	Official of the central government, 1847-55	32
	Conclusions	44
2	Local official in Kiangsi, 1856-1859	47
	Tseng Kuo-fan's assistant, January to May 1856	47
	The defence of Kuang-hsin: an act of supreme loyalty	49
	Circuit intendant with two masters	53
	Conclusions	55
3	Governor of Kiangsi, 1862-1865	57
	The governor's powers and responsibilities	60
	Civil administration	62
	Military affairs and the dispute with Tseng Kuo-fan over	
	military funds	73
4	First encounters with foreigners	87
	The Nanchang antimissionary incident	87
	Foreign affairs and the Confucian polity	98

vii



Contents

	The end of the first phase of Shen's career: looking forwards and backwards	103
5	Director-general of the Foochow Navy Yard	107
	Origins of the Foochow Navy Yard	109
	Characteristics of the Foochow Navy Yard	112
	Shen as first director-general	124
	Implications for Shen's political career	129
6	The Foochow Navy Yard: early developments,	
	1866-1867	134
	Tso's legacy: a 'five-year plan' begun with a skeleton staff	135
	Shen's assumption of office at Ma-wei	140
	Chinese opposition	144
	Local British and French reactions	153
	Conclusions	158
7	The Foochow Navy Yard: administration and	
	personnel	161
	Shen and his Chinese staff	162
	Discord between the French directors and consular	
	interference	176
	Chinese and Europeans: harmony at all costs	190
	Conclusions	198
8	The Foochow Navy Yard: building and training	
	programmes	203
	Construction of the Navy Yard	205
	Building a Chinese flotilla	217
	Training new naval personnel	225
	Conclusions	240
9	The Foochow Navy Yard: financial crises	245
	Initial financial arrangements	246
	Steamship maintenance and financial crisis	249
	Sung Chin and the debate on closing the Navy Yard	254
	Continuing financial problems, 1873-5	260
	Conclusions	266
0	The next steps in defence modernization: Ma-wei	
	and beyond	272
	The command of the Ma-wei vessels	273
	Fuel for Ma-wei and China's first modern coal mine	284
	Promoting the study of science among China's elite	280

viii



Contents

	Modernizing China's defence capabilities and erecting	the
	first telegraph line	291
	Conclusions	295
11	Towards a plan for self-strengthening	299
	The way of self-strengthening	301
	Towards a stronger and richer China	304
	Conclusion	315
	Glossary of Chinese characters	338
	Bibliography	342
	Index	361



Maps, tables, and figure

Maps

	-	
1	South-East China	page xviii
2	Plan of the Foochow Navy Yard	204
	Tables	
1	An attempted reconstruction of the revenue of Kiangsi	
	province, 1860-4	77
2	Military expenditure of Kiangsi province, 1860-4	79
3	Steamship construction schedule at the Foochow Navy Yard	,
	1868-77	219
4	Steamships built at the Foochow Navy Yard during Shen	
	Pao-chen's time	220
5	Cost of steamships produced at the Foochow Navy Yard	261
	Figure	
1	Comparison of the income and maintenance costs for steamships retained by the Foochow Navy Yard	250
	, ,	



Acknowledgements

Over the years, I have incurred debts to many. I owe G. William Beasley, Denis C. Twitchett, Wang Erh-min, and Kwang-ching Liu much of what I know about modern Chinese history. The last, in addition, was indefatigable in his constructive criticism of two versions of my manuscript. John K. Fairbank, Ian Nish, Kuo T'ing-i, and a host of his colleagues at the Academia Sinica, too, have been my mentors, and all, at one point or another, helped as only the best of friends would. As one who has spent his entire teaching career in a university without a graduate program in East Asian studies, I have grown to rely on and, yes, exploit the good nature of many of my peers. Jack Gerson, Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, and Hao Yen-p'ing were among the first to read my Ph.D. dissertation and give valuable comments. Successive revisions of the manuscript, necessitated partly by the periodic availability of new, significant archival and other source materials, benefited from the critical contributions of Jane Leonard, Willard J. Peterson, and Tim Wright, who all read substantial portions of the manuscript. They will no doubt recognize traces of their extensive comments in this book. Chapters that were presented as papers during my three years at the Australian National University benefited from the lively seminars there, whose regular participants included Wang Gungwu, Lo Hui-min, Joe Moore, John Fincher, Antonia Finnane, and the late Jennifer Cushman.

Given that my study required working with difficult sources, I would like to mention Wang Erh-min once more, for he has taught me so much about Ch'ing institutions and how to read Ch'ing documents. Similarly, D. C. Lau, at one time a colleague at the School of Oriental and African Studies (S.O.A.S.), showed me the way to better translation. For their invaluable assistance at the French archives and with the rendering of numerous difficult passages into English, I am indebted to Caroline



Acknowledgements

Phillips Mustill, Frances Bazela Katsuura, and F. de Burgh Whyte. For the much-improved prose of this study, credit goes to the copy editor, Mary Racine. It goes without saying, however, that the flaws in style and content are entirely mine.

Studying the varied career of Shen Pao-chen required the use of a broad range of primary sources scattered around the world. Locating these materials alone was a daunting task. In this, however, I had the good fortune of friends and colleagues who not only drew my attention to these valuable materials but in some cases selflessly supplied me with copies. Thus, from Marianne Bastid-Bruguière I obtained a copy of Giquel's diary; from Shen Tsu-hsing of Taipei, Shen's unpublished memorials and the 'Chia-p'u' of his family; from Lin Qingyuan of Foochow, some of Shen's unpublished letters; from F. E. Elliott of Saltash, Cornwall, the private papers of James Carroll; and from Lai Chi-kong, a copy of Li Hung-chang's letters to Ting Jih-ch'ang, newly published.

The helpfulness, good humour, and patience of archivists, curators, and librarians everywhere I went should not go unmentioned. I extend my thanks especially to John Lust of S.O.A.S.; M. Audouy, conservateur en chef des Archives de Ministère de la Marine at Château de Vincennes; Y. S. Chan and Sydney Wang, respectively, of the Australian National University Library and the Australian National Library; Lai Shu-tim of the University of Hong Kong; Eugene Wu of the Harvard-Yenching Library; and Margaret Wang and Vivian Chou of the University of Delaware Library. In addition, I benefited from the assistance of countless women and men who staffed the numerous research collections I had the good fortune to visit. Other than the institutions already mentioned, these include the Public Record Office, the University of London Library, the British Museum (now the British Library), the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, the Cambridge University Library, the Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, the Fu Ssu-nien Library, the Institute of Modern History Archives at the Academia Sinica, the National Palace Museum of Taipei, the Taiwan Provincial Museum, the Taiwan Provincial Library, the Tainan Provincial Museum, the Toyo Bunko, the Fujian Provincial Library, the U.S. National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the libraries at Columbia, Princeton, and Hawaii universities.

Parts of this study are drawn from works previously published. Though they appear here revised and updated, I am nonetheless grateful to the following for permission to use these materials: Modern Asian Studies, the Journal of Asian Studies, the Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and Papers on Far Eastern History.



Acknowledgements

The long years that I have taken to complete this book have required great personal sacrifice by those around me. Yet they have been patient, forbearing, and loving. My wife, Barbara, has been supportive throughout. And our children have been a source of spiritual uplift when I was down. I wish I could write enough books to dedicate one to each of them!



A note on spelling

This book uses the Wade-Giles system for transliterating Chinese names and terms. For the spelling of place names, the *Chinese Postal Atlas* has been used as a guide. However, where the latter is inadequate in distinguishing a town or a region from an administrative unit of the same name, the administrative units have been rendered according to the Wade-Giles system. For example:

Chinese Postal Atlas	Wade-Giles system
Taiwan (island)	T'ai-wan (prefecture or circuit,
	depending on the suffix or
	context)
Kiukiang (town, treaty port)	Chiu-chiang (prefecture)

This convention enables the reader to identify, for instance, the Chiuchiang component in the Kuang-Jao-Chiu-Nan circuit in Kiangsi province.



CHTC

Cambridge University Press
0521531268 - Shen Pao-chen and China's Modernization in the Nineteenth Century
David Pong
Frontmatter
More information

Abbreviations used in the notes

Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih (Gazetteer of Kiangsi province)

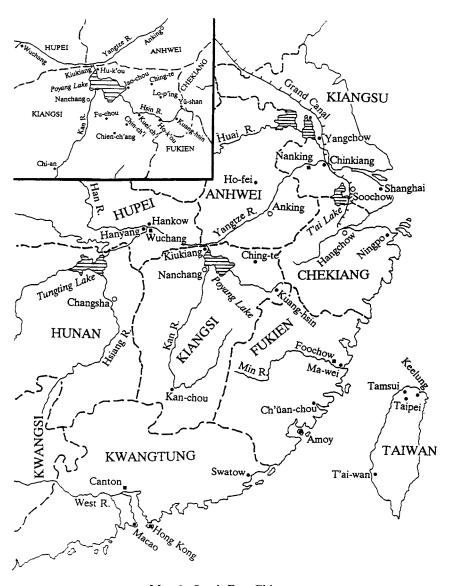
CTSM	T'ung-chih chia-hsü Jih-ping ch'in-T'ai shih-mo (The complete
	account of the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1874)
FCTC	Fu-chien t'ung-chih (Gazetteer of Fukien province)
FCTC: LCH	Fu-chien t'ung-chih lieh-chuan hsüan (Selections from the bio-
	graphical section of Fu-chien t'ung-chih)
FO	Great Britain, Foreign Office Archives
HFT	Hai-fang tang (Facsimile of the maritime defence file)
<i>IWSM</i>	Ch'ou-pan i-wu shih-mo (The complete account of our man-
	agement of barbarian affairs)
LKI	Liu K'un-i, Liu K'un-i i-chi (Collected works of Liu K'un-i)
LWCK	Li Hung-chang, Li Wen-chung kung ch'üan-chi (The complete
	works of Li Hung-chang)
MAE	France, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères
MHHC	Min-Hou hsien-chih (Gazetteer of Min and Hou-kuan
	districts)
MM	France, Ministère de la Marine
NCH	North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette
SCTI	Tao Hsien T'ung Kuang ssu-ch'ao tsou-i (Memorials from
	the Tao-kuang, Hsien-feng, T'ung-chih, and Kuang-hsü
	reigns)
Shih-lu	Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu (Veritable records for the successive
	reigns of the Ch'ing dynasty)
SWSK	Shen Pao-chen, Shen Wen-su kung cheng-shu (The political
	works of Shen Pao-chen)
TWCK	Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üanchi (The
	complete works of Tseng Kuo-fan)
TWHK	Tso Tsung-t'ang, Tso Wen-hsiang kung ch'üan-chi (The com-
	plete works of Tso Tsung-t'ang)
	•



Abbreviations used in the notes

TWTC	T'ai-wan t'ung-chih (Gazetteer of T'ai-wan)
TY:CHCW	China, Tsungli Yamen Archives: Chiang-hsi chiao-wu
	(Missionary affairs in Kiangsi)
TY:'O'	China, Tsungli Yamen Archives: 'O' (Russian file)
YCT	China, National Palace Museum Archives: Yüeh-che tang
	(Monthly compilation of memorials for the State History
	Office in the Ch'ing dynasty)
YWYT	Yang-wu yün-tung (the yang-wu movement)





Map 1. South-East China

xviii