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THE MANDARINS

THE CIRCULATION OF
ELITES IN CHINA, 1600-1900

BY ROBERT M. MARSH



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D_{EDICATED TO} THE REVIVAL OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF HISTORY

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FOREWORD

The Most striking feature of this important work by Dr. Marsh is, I think, that it is a contribution to two fields of scholarship, sinology and sociology. And because it is at once a contribution to two fields, it is a better contribution to each. The historico-empirical data provide an excellent comparative case for a number of areas of specialized sociological interest, notably the interests in the family, formal organization, occupations and professions, and social stratification and mobility. On the other hand, both the explicit theoretical perspectives provided by these sociological fields, and the systematic empirical and statistical requirements of contemporary sociology perhaps deepen the sinologist's understanding of the Ch'ing period in Chinese history and of other related periods as well.

As a sociologist, I cannot, obviously, appraise the precise degree of Dr. Marsh's contribution to sinology. I have been more than assured, however, by specialists in that field with whom I worked conjointly in the supervision of an earlier version of this work that the contribution is considerable. As a sociologist, I can say, however, that Dr. Marsh's book will

viii Foreword

be of widespread interest and great value in our field. I have already said that it is important as a comparative case for the fields of the family, formal organization, occupations and professions, and social stratification and mobility. I want to add that its comparative relevance should bring it to the eager attention of nearly all sociologists, since for them historical and other comparative works are functional alternatives to controlled experimentation as a means of testing and refining sociological theory. Regardless of their particular substantive content, all comparative works of scholarship have a certain generalized interest for sociologists who seek to enlarge the scope of systematic theory in their field, and thus increase its essential scientific character.

Dr. Marsh's book, then, is a very readable, substantively engaging, and theoretically creative addition to sinological and sociological knowledge. I enthusiastically commend it to a wide circle of readers.

BERNARD BARBER

Barnard College Columbia University

PREFACE

myth, whereby the poor but talented boy from a humble family could succeed, by a combination of "pluck and luck," in reaching high social position. As in American society, Chinese values stated that "government ministers and generals are not born in office"; "sons shall not necessarily remain in the same social stratum as their fathers; it is legitimate for anyone to seek to better his station in life." My purpose in this book is to determine the extent to which these "open-class" values were operative in the recruitment and advancement of government officials in traditional China. I shall also attempt to explain the career patterns of these officials—the exalted mandarins—by the use of sociological theory and methods, and with the help of an understanding of Chinese history.

I wish to gratefully acknowledge the contributions which several individuals and institutions have made to my work. My greatest intellectual debts are to my teachers in the Graduate Faculty at Columbia University: William J.

Goode, whose theoretical insights and abiding interest in Chinese social structure have always been a spur to my effort; C. Martin Wilbur, whose analysis of Chinese history is, at so many points, sociologically exciting; and Bernard Barber, whose excellent systematization of the theory and the comparative data in the field of social stratification helped to define some of the central points in the argument of this study.

My obligation to Robert K. Merton is perhaps less apparent in this study than I should like it to be, but it is nonetheless real and pervasive. I am grateful to Robert S. Lynd for his encouragement throughout my graduate study, especially when difficulties confronted me. I should also like to thank Professor L. C. Goodrich for essential bibliographical and other guidance. The staffs of the following Chinese libraries gave generously of their time and have greatly assisted me in my research: Columbia, Harvard, the University of California at Berkeley, the Library of Congress, Tokyo University and the Toyo Bunko, Japan, and the Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

To the Ford Foundation I must express my deep gratitude for financial and other assistance which enabled me to carry out research both in this country and in Taiwan and Japan between 1956 and 1958. The views expressed here are my own, of course, and not necessarily those of the Ford Foundation.

My wife, Susan Han Marsh, has helped me in innumerable ways and deserves much of the credit for the completion of this study.

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ROBERT MORTIMER MARSH

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	vii
PREFACE	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xv
1. Introduction	1
2. The Determinants of the Amount of Elite Mobility	13
3. Chinese Social Stratification, 1600-1900	33
4. Earlier Research on Chinese Elite Mobility	71
5. Methodology	84
6. Bureaucratic vs. Extra-Bureaucratic Determinants of Official Advancement (1)	114
7. Bureaucratic vs. Extra-Bureaucratic Determinants of	
Official Advancement (2)	154
8. Summary, Conclusions, and Future Research	186
xiii	

xiv	Contents

APPENDIX I. 572 Officials in Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Classified by Manchu, Chinese	
Official, or Chinese Commoner Family Background	195
APPENDIX II. Supplement to Family Background Data for the Chinese Sample	201
APPENDIX III. The Formal Hierarchy of the Ch'ing	
Bureaucracy	206
NOTES	237
GLOSSARY	243
BIBLIOGRAPHY	259
INDEX	291

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Relation of Crop Area of Farm to Fertility of Married Women in China, 45 Years Old or Over, 1929-31	17
2.	Hierarchy of Degrees (Military and Civil) in Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties	55
3.	Legal Salary Range for Civil and Military Officials	63
4.	Relation between Family Background and Level of "Gentry" Entered, 1796-1908	80
5.	Relation between Family Background and Degree-Attainment, Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties	82
6.	Biographical Emphasis in Ming and Ch'ing Dynastic Histories	87
7.	Frequency Distribution of Length of Career of 572 Ch'ing Officials	98
8.	Biographical Categories of 572 Officials in Seven Major Ming and Ch'ing Dynasty Collections	101
9.	Biographical Categories of 572 Officials in the Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period	102
١٥.	Highest Bureaucratic Rank Reached During Careers, 572 Ch'ing Officials	104

11.	Relation between Highest Bureaucratic Rank Reached and Reason for Biographical Distinction of 572 Officials	105
12.	Stratum Position of Family of Orientation for 572 Ch'ing Officials: Marginal Totals	111
13.	Relation between Banner Membership and Official Advancement (by Highest Rank Attained Career)	120
14.	Relation between Banner Membership and Official Advancement (by Length of Incumbency)	121
15.	Stratum Position of Family of Orientation of 572 Officials	123
16.	Relation between Family Stratum Position and Chin-Shih Degree Attainment	125
17.	Relation between Family Stratum Position and Age at the Chin-Shih Degree	127
18.	Relation between Intellectual Family Background and Age of Chin-Shih for Commoners	128
19.	Combined Influence of Official and Intellectual Family Background upon Age at Attainment of Chin-Shih	129
20.	Family Stratum Position of Officials Advancing by "Regular" and "Irregular" Mobility Paths	132
21.	Relation between Family Stratum Position and Official Advancement	133
22.	Relation between Family Stratum Position and Rate of Promotion	135
23.	Validity of the Official vs. Commoner Differentiation According to Highest Rank Attained	136
24.	Relation between Family Stratum Position and Length of Incumbency	138
25.	Relation between Rank Attained and Recruitment Path Taken	139
26.	Relation between Length of Incumbency and Recruitment Path Taken	140
27.	Role of the Examination System in Official Advancement	143

List	of Tables	xvii
28.	Advancement of Manchu and of Chinese Commoner Regular Path Officials	144
29.	Relation between Recruitment Path Taken and Highest Rank Attained When Family Position Is Held Constant (1)	145
30.	Relation between Recruitment Path Taken and Later Advancement When Family Position Is Held Constant (2)	147
31.	Official Tradition in Family of 454 Non-Manchu Officials	155
32.	Relation between Strength of Official Family Tradition and Advancement (by Highest Rank Attained)	156
33.	Relation between Strength of Official Family Tradition and Advancement (by Length of Incumbency)	157
34.	Number of Successive Generations in Office	159
35.	Total Number of Generations in Office	160
36.	Amount of Chinese Elite Mobility, by 30-Year Periods, 1500-1900 (Relation between Status of Father and of Official-Son)	161
37.	Relation between the Dynastic Cycle and the Amount of Mobility, 1590-1900 (According to Relation between Status of Father and Official-Son)	163
38.	Relation between Family Stratum Position and Seniority Accumulated	165
39.	Relation between Seniority and Advancement in Office (Highest Rank Attained and Number of Officials by Total Years in Office)	166
40.	Relation between Seniority and Advancement in Office (Median Length of Incumbency and Number of Officials by Total Years in Office)	167
41.	Relation between Seniority and Advancement, When Family Position Is Held Constant	168
42.	Relation between Family Position and Advancement When Seniority Is Held Constant	169
43.	Rate of Promotion among "Regular" and "Irregular" Path Chinese Commoners' Sons	172

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

N CONTEMPORARY American society there is no one occupation or career which, far more than all others, assures one of the greatest rewards the society has to offer. Prestige, influence, wealth, and other rewards are somewhat dispersed among several of the professions, government service, business leadership, and politics. In China during the Ch'ing period (seventeenth through nineteenth centuries), on the other hand, the highest worldly rewards of the society were all integrated into one ideal career pattern-office in the imperial governmental bureaucracy. "The world cheats those who hold no office," wrote the T'ang dynasty poetofficial, Po Chü-i. The supreme status of officials was based upon several factors: they were closely associated with the Emperor, the "Son of Heaven," as administrators of his Realm; their prestige and authority were second only to his and to that of a small group of nobility; official appointment and advancement presupposed, at least for many of them, the most extensive preparatory education of any career in the society, an education consisting wholly of the highly