

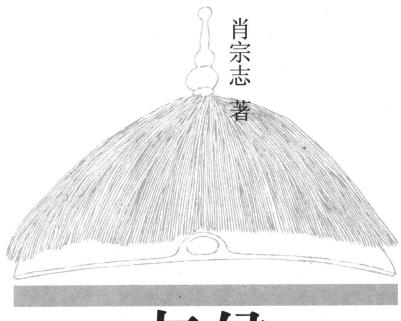
## 与晚清政治保

四川出版集团

己蜀

吉

ŝį.



# 与晚清政治体

四川出版集团 己あるい

本书得到南华大学学术著作出版基金的资助

### 图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

候补文官群体与晚清政治/肖宗志著. 一成都: 巴蜀书社, 2007.6

ISBN 978-7-80659-999-0

I. 候... Ⅱ. 肖... ①文官制度-研究-中国-清后期②政治制度-研究-中国-清后期 Ⅳ. D691

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2007) 第 079903 号

### 候补文官群体与晚清政治

肖宗志 著

封面设计 任兆祥 出 版 四川出版集团巴蜀书社 成都市槐树街 2 号 邮编 610031 总编室电话: (028) 86259397 网 址 www. bsbook. com 发 行 巴蜀书社 发行科电话: (028) 86259422 86259423

经 销 新华书店

责任编辑 谭晓红

印 刷 成都蜀通印务有限责任公司

版 次 2007年6月第1版

印 次 2007年6月第1次印刷

成品尺寸 210mm×148mm

印 张 13.625

字 数 320 千字

书 号 ISBN 978-7-80659-999-0

定 价 28.00元

本书如有印装质量问题,请与工厂调换 电话:028-84122206

## 作者简介

肖宗志 1964年生,湖南常德人,南华大学人文社会科学学院副教授,硕士生导师。先后毕业于四川大学、同济大学和华中师范大学,分别获得史学学士、法学硕士和史学博士学位。已在《清史研究》《史学集刊》等刊物上发表学术论文三十余篇,主持省级课题三项。

## 序

### 严昌洪

这是一部研究社会群体的学术专著。

社会群体的涵盖面比较宽,划分社会群体的标准比较灵活,一般说来,只要是有某种相互关系的一群人,如职业相同,或信仰相同,或社会地位、经济利益相同等等,都可以成为划分群体的主要依据,所以说"一个社会群体在最一般的意义上可以理解为现在是、曾经是或可望是有某种相互关系的一群人"(《简明不列颠百科全书》语)。

社会群体作为社会构成之一种,有大群体和小群体,有假设群体和实际群体等等分别,研究历史上社会群体的目的在于使我们对历史的认知避免阶级归类的简单化弊病,使研究方法更加符合历史客观存在的多层次性。

在近代社会转型过程中,一些原来的群体在形式与内容、角色与功能以及相互关系上都发生了变化,有些群体甚至在社会上消失,而一些新兴的社会群体随着社会的变迁应运而生,并引起社会其他方面的变动。研究这些群体与社会转型的关系,不仅可以加深我们对中国近代化进程的认识,而且具有史学研究范式转换的意

义,即从社会史范式的角度帮助我们了解近代中国社会结构错综复杂的变动轨迹。

当代中国仍处于社会转型时期,不仅原有的社会群体发生了巨大变化,而且出现了一些新的社会群体,如,"民营企业家"、"个体户"、"出租车司机"、"民工"、"股民"、"彩民"等等,还有一些所谓"弱势群体"、"边缘群体"种种归类,这些群体的出现还连带产生了一些新的社会文化现象甚至社会问题。考察历史上各种社会群体产生的背景,他们的生活实态、群体意识,他们的社会角色、社会功能,他们与其他社会群体的关系以及对社会正面或负面的影响等等,可以为我们当前处理好各个社会群体之间的相互关系和利益分配,引导不同社会群体正确发挥其社会功能,解决一些特殊群体的特殊问题,建立一个和谐社会,提供历史的借鉴。

章开沅教授在《中国近代史上的官绅商学》一书的导言中,曾追寻近代社会群体研究的轨迹,从理论层面到实践层研究前景义、研究理论、研究方法、研究动态、研究前景的概括,对我们进行近代社会群体研究具有一定义。他本人从20世纪80年代后期开始考察洋务运动中的几个不可。他本人从20世纪80年代后期开始考察洋务运动中的几个不割煮、海桂芬、薛福成、马建忠等思想先驱群体,徐寿、沿岸等人。在他的影响,盛宣怀、郑观应、徐润史中究,盛宣怀、郑观应、徐润史明究,《李经营管理者群体。在他的影响。曾在华中师范大学对导新先生被等经营管理者群体。在他的影响。中国近代史研究,如马敏、朱英对青末中,级和绅商的研究,虞和平对商人和商会的研究,桑兵对清末上海人社会心态的研究,刘伟对明与学生的研究,赵军对日本大陆浪人群体的研究,王奇生对民国县以下官

吏群体的研究以及王建辉对晚清以来出版家群体的研究等等,都取得令人瞩目的成就。在上个世纪 90 年代,该所同人推出了作为国家社会科学"九五"规划重点项目的最终成果《中国近代史上的官绅商学》。该著作不仅对晚清督抚、民国县长、近代绅商和知识分子等群体进行了更为深入的研究,而且重点对官、绅、商、学各群体的社会角色、功能与相互关系给予了比较全面、系统、深入的陈述与论析。

学术界对近代社会群体的研究成果更多,涉及各种各样的社会群体。这些关于社会群体的研究所取得的重要成果,不仅使各有关领域、有关群体的研究有所深化,而且在理论和实践上对一些重要的学术问题,如,关于国家和社会的关系、社会群体与社会转型的关系、社会流动与社会分层的关系、社会群体之间的互动关系以及知识分子的群体意识与社会角色、绅士的划分标准等等,提出了许多新颖的见解,积累了许多经验,对于社会群体的探讨具有相当的启发性。

目前华中师范大学中国近代史研究所已将近代社会群体的研究作为重点研究方向之一。比方说,正在集中力量对近代各个自由职业者群体进行研究;鉴于以往我所对下层社会群体关注不够的缺失,正加强对城市下层社会职业群体的研究,近代农民工、码头工人、人力车夫、学徒群体的研究开始走进我们的视野。然而,以往对上层社会群体研究较多,不等于就没有了拓展的空间。所以当本书作者肖宗志向我提出想以晚清候补文官群体研究作为博士学位论文选题的时候,我满心高兴并满怀希望地予以支持。

为什么满心高兴?因为我认为清代候补官员群体值得研究。在 晚清历史上,经常可以看到候补官员忙碌的身影,不是得了差委忙 于各种公务,就是不得差委忙于奔走钻营。这一群人是官员又没有 实缺,没有实缺又做了大量实际工作,非常特殊。这个群体是怎样 形成的?在如龚自珍所言"新官忙碌石磙子,旧官快活石狮子"的情况下,候补官员存在的必要性又在哪里?既然存在了,他们不了些什么?他们参与各种事务,特别是参与晚清才出现的洋务活动,对近代社会发展产生了哪些积极的影响?他们的奔走钻营与晚清吏治腐败又有何关系?他们所带来的政治问题与社会问题是否可以克服,如何克服······这些问题过去常常萦绕心头而不得其解,因为坊间虽有一些论述清代政治制度史的著作有时涉及候补官员制度,但往往语焉不详,对候补官员群体更是缺乏系统考察。现在终于有人要研究了,虽然说不上填补学术空白,但起码可以开个好头,我心里怎能不高兴呢!

为什么满怀希望?这有两层意思:一是希望作者把这一选题做好,对以上那些问题有所回答,给人以启发。二是寄希望于他,以他平时刻苦学习、深入钻研的治学态度,相信他能把这篇论文写好。

果不其然,当他把洋洋洒洒 30 多万字的论文初稿交我审阅时,我一下被那完整的结构、丰满的内容、翔实的史料和精彩的叙述所吸引,读完后认定它是一篇迄今为止系统探讨晚清候补文官群体的力作。我大致同意作者的自评:"本文弥补了清代候补文官及其群体研究的缺失,拓展了社会群体的研究领域,进而探索了社会转型的特点和规律,刻画候补文官群体的多面相,并给予他们一个公正的评价;考察了候补官员人事制度和候补文官群体,总结了晚清官绅改革候补冗官问题的思想、观点的合理性成分,分析了晚清任官、行政体制、吏治改革等方面的得失和利弊,对社会转型时期中国的改革和发展,有着重要的历史借鉴作用。"希望读者能够喜欢这部著作。

## 内容提要

候补文官属于官僚阶层中的一部分,也是清代社会群体之一。 在晚清,特别是咸丰军兴以后,由于政治变迁和社会转型,候补文 官群体发生了重大的变化。他们分布于中央和地方各省,直接参与 行政和社会事务,与晚清政治之间有直接、持久和深刻的互动影响。本书以晚清候补文官群体为研究对象,借助社会学、政治学和 心理学的理论为分析工具,以候补文官与晚清政治的互动关系为基 本框架和主线,概括候补文官群体的基本特征和在晚清的基本状态,分析他们的职务活动,甚至非职务活动对晚清政治的影响。同 时探讨候补官员群体在从事政治事务时,他们自身所发生的变化, 并对此作出合理的解释。从候补现象严重化以及候补冗官问题难以 克服的角度,管窥中国专制政治和思想文化的特征。本书研究的时 间跨度为 1851—1911 年。

本书主体部分为六章,每章基本内容提要如下:

第一章: 从制度文本规定出发,对候补文官狭义和广义的内涵 进行了解释,同时考虑制度运行的实际情况,界定了候补文官的概 念。阐明了候补文官职事的性质和主要形式,并就官员候补现象, 与中国专制社会的其他朝代作了纵向比较,认为文官待缺候补,并 从事事务是清朝独有的现象。从时间、空间和行业三个维度,描述 了晚清候补文官的分布状况及其变动,分析了造成这种分布的基本 因素。从清代行政体制的结构性特点、人才的历练、官僚队伍的储 备需要和官员及时自效等四个方面,说明了清代候补文官有限存在 的必要性和合理性。解读清代的典章制度文本,勾勒出候补官员适 用的分发、试用、差委和考核制度,并对这些制度作了简要评价。

第二章:候补文官群体也是一个十分复杂的群体,本书按照不同的标准,对候补文官群体的构成作了不同的分类,并分析了候补文官群体纵向构成的基本特点。从多个角度,概括了候补文官群体的特征。探讨了候补文官群体的社会流动,认为候补文官群体主要有体制内部、体制之间和跨体制"两栖"三种社会流动形式。本书对候补文官的俸禄制度进行了研究,认为清朝对候补文官的俸禄有特别的规定。不同的出身、选补状态、署缺、差使的有无,都对候补官员的俸禄、收入有直接影响。不同的收入又直接决定候补官员的物质生活状态。从总的情况看,候补文官群体的物质生活比较窘迫,人不敷出、贫困是候补文官群体生活的普遍现象。候补文官群体的心态比较复杂和多样,但也有许多相同和相似的方面。

第三章:论述了晚清时期传统事务出现的一些新变化,认为新变化主要体现为常规事务大大增加和突发事务大量兴起两个方面。由于清代行政体制结构性的特点,从事行政事务时,候补官员成为实任官员的补充,其职能角色就是起拾遗补缺的作用。他们从事的事务涉及刑名、钱谷等各个领域和方面,并在晚清传统事务中起到了积极作用,是不可或缺的官僚群体。反过来,他们在从事传统事务过程中,候补官员也获得了基本的经济来源,提高了行政能力,实现了自我价值。从制度分析的角度,概括了主要适用于候补官员的差委制的特点,即补充性和弹性。从制度设计的角度,对候补文

官大量从事差使性事务的现象作了客观的阐释。

第四章:晚清时期,社会变动的一个突出表现就是大量的新事务涌现。新旧杂糅作为社会转型期的共同特点,无疑也体现在新旧事务的同时并存上。候补文官参与近代实业的经营管理,投身于外交、国外考察和宪政事务,从事近代性的军事、警察和教育事务。本书从大吏、候补文官本身、观念和制度因素等几个方面,分析了候补官员大量集中于差使性事务,直接从事新式事务的主要原因。论证了候补官员对晚清新式事务所起的不可缺少的作用,同时,新式事务的大量介入,加速了候补官员群体的职业分化和社会流动。相当部分候补文官成为中国最早的一批政治、法律等方面的专业人才。

第五章:重点对候补文官群体与晚清吏治败坏的关系作了探讨。认为候补文官对晚清吏治较突出的消极影响主要集中在以下四个方面。一是大量法外事实制度的产生对法定任用制度形成了冲击;二是候补文官素质低下、行政低能的现象比较普遍和突出;三是在差委任用中,贿赂、关系网、奔竞和滥用大行其道,严重破坏官场风气;四是在执事时期,候补文官利用难得的机会,巧取豪夺。并从候补文官的个人素质与从政的动机、候补官员的数量规模与缺差的矛盾、个人价值目标的曲折表达、晚清制度方面存在的严重问题等四个方面,分析了候补文官谋取私利特别集中、普遍,败坏吏治特别突出的基本原因。

第六章:候补文官大量积存超过了社会的客观需要,对晚清政治、社会造成广泛深刻的影响,成为一个难以克服的政治和社会问题,是晚清各种政治矛盾和问题的一个汇结点。有鉴于此,晚清官绅提出了解决候补冗官问题的各种建议,本书对这些思想和观点作了陈述和评价。晚清中央和地方政府也作了一定的努力,从各个方

面作了调整,但效果非常有限。特别是清季,朝廷进行了大刀阔斧的所谓"新政"改革,但结果是旧问题未解决,新问题又涌现。候补冗官问题难以解决,表面上看,是"恶性循环政治"的产物。但是,本书认为,候补冗官不能克服,根源在于专制政治本身和落后的思想文化观念。

有清一代,候补文官作为现任文官的补充角色,已经存在。他们多以署缺和差使的形式,参与中央和地方事务,是官僚阶层中一个不能忽视的社会群体,本书弥补了清代候补文官及其群体研究的缺失,拓展了社会群体的研究领域,进而探索了社会转型的特点和规律,刻画候补文官群体的多面相,并给予了他们一个公正的评价;考察了候补官员人事制度和候补文官群体,总结了晚清官绅改革候补冗官问题思想、观点的合理性成分,分析了晚清任官、行政体制、吏治改革等方面的得失和利弊,对社会转型时期中国的改革和发展,有着重要的历史借鉴作用。

## **Abstract**

The reserved-officials belonged to the bureaucratic stratum. As a group, the reserved-officials also belonged to one of the social groups of Qing Dynasty. In late Qing Dynasty, particularly after the peasants revolted during Emperor Xianfeng, the group of the reserved-officials changed greatly because of political and social changes. They were sent to the central departments and local provinces, directly took part in administrative and social affairs, and had mutual influence on politics of late Qing Dynasty. The paper summarizes the basic characteristics and state of condition of the reserved-officials' group in late Qing Dynasty, analyses the influences of their professional and non-professional actions on the politics of the late Qing Dynasty by regarding the reserved-officials' group in Qing Dynasty as the researching target, with the help of the theories of sociology, politics and psychology, considering the mutual relationships of the reserved-officials and politics of late Qing Dynasty as the frame and the main line of thoughts. The paper probes into the changes of the reserved-officials' group engaging in political, economical and social affairs during the social transformation and gives a reasonable explanation of their influence and changes happened to themselves. We can see the characteristics of Chinese autocracy politics, thoughts and traditional culture from the angles of the seriousness of the reserved-officials phenomenon and unconquered problems of overstaffed reserved-officials. The time duration of the paper's research is from the year1851 to the year 1911.

The main body of the paper is sub-divided into six parts, and the basic content of each chapter is briefly introduced as follows.

Chapter 1 explains reserved-officials' concept from both the narrow sense and the broad sense in the light of the stipulation of a system. It also defines reserved-officials' concept considering the time of the actually political state of system in practice. The paper expounds the nature and form of affairs which reserved-officials deal with, and believes it is a unique phenomenon which reservedofficials are engaged in affairs waiting for being appointed to a formal position by comparing vertically with that of any other dynasties in Chinese history. The paper not only analyzes reserved-officials' changeable state of arrangement from the angle of time, space and profession, and the basic causes of arrangement of reserved-officials in late Qing Dynasty, but also illustrates that limited existence of reserved-officials was essential and reasonable in four aspects, including structural traits of the administrative system in Qing dynasty, officials practice of political affairs, reservation requirement of bureaucratic ranks and officials' participating in

affairs in time. The paper draws an outline of the distributing, dispatching and assessing system by the way of institutions in Qing Dynasty and appraises the system concisely.

Chapter 2 classifies reserved-officials' group into different types according to various standards even though reserved-officials' group is a complicated one, analyzing the basic features of constitutes of reserved-officials' group vertically, and summarizes the traits of reserved-officials' group from many angles. The paper holds that there are three ways of social mobility, including mobility of the internal system, mobility between the systems, mobility of amphibian internality and externality by probing into social mobility of the reserved-officials' group. This paper studies the salary system of the reserved officials; believing the Qing Dynasty has special regulations on their salary. Different family backgrounds, reserved state having a chance of deputy and dispatching or not, all cast direct influence on reserved -officials' salaries. Different incomes decide their material life directly. On the whole, the reserved officials led a poor life, not be able to make ends meet. Impoverishment was common among them. Reserved officials had various states of mind, but there also lied many similarities.

Chapter 3 illustrates some changes in traditional affairs in late Qing Dynasty, which lied in the increase of conventional affairs and the spring up of abrupt affairs. Due to the peculiarities of the administrative system of Qing Dynasty, when practicing administrative affairs, the reserved officials become the complement of incumbent officials. Their political role is addendum. Their jobs concern

economic and legal affairs and so on, which played a positive role in the traditional affairs of late Qing Dynasty and was an indispensable bureaucratic group. On the other hand, in the process of conducting traditional affairs, the reserved – officials also gained some fundamental economic income, improved their management ability and realized their own value. In the light of the analysis of systems, this paper summarizes the main traits of the dispatching systems which suited to the reserved – officials. The traits mainly presented as supplement and flexibility. From the angle of system designing, the paper explains the phenomenon objectively which the reserved-officials took great part in dispatching affairs.

Chapter 4 demonstrates another obvious phenomenon of social changes, and that is the emerge of a great number of new affairs. The old and new exist at the same time —— the common traits of social transformation, undoubtedly lies in the co-existence of old and new affairs. The reserved officials participated in the management of modern times' industries, devoted in diplomacy, overseas investigations, political affairs, military affairs, police and educational affairs. This paper analyzes the chief reasons why the reserved officials were so concentrated on dispatching affairs, and took part in newly-aroused affairs directly from the aspects of the reserved officials themselves, the concept and the systems. It proves the reserved officials played an indispensable role in newly-aroused affairs of the Qing Dynasty. Meanwhile, the emerge of great amount of newly-aroused affairs accelerated the professional disintegration and social mobility, resulted in a certain amount of

reserved officials became the first professional talents in politics and laws.

Chapter 5 lays emphasis on the relationship between the reserved - officials group and the deterioration of the officials and gentries of late Qing Dynasty. It is believed the negative influence the reserved - officials cast on late Qing Dynasty's administration of officials can primarily be seen on the following four aspects. Firstly, large quantities of illegal system in practice produced impact on the formation of legal appointing system; secondly, the phenomenon of low quality of the reserved officials and administrative imbecility are common and obvious; thirdly, in arranging and dispatching the reserved officials, bribery, relationship net, fawn on and abusing power were common which had a harmful influence on officialdom atmosphere; fourthly, during the process of going for their affairs, the reserved officials took advantage of rare opportunities securing belongings by force and trickery. This paper also analyzes the essential reasons of the phenomenon that the reserved officials commonly focused on obtaining their selfish interest and had harmful influence on administration of affairs from the following aspects. They are the personal qualities and political motive of the reserved officials, the conflict between the number and scale of the reserved officials and formal and dispatching positions, the winding convey of personal value objective and the serious problem of late Qing Dynasty's systems.

Chapter 6 discusses the overstaff of the reserved officials, and their number exceeds the demand of society which had fundamental