



# 杜氏述训探究

## The Precepts of the Du Clan: An Investigation

刘 一 / Lewis Mayo  
梁 杰 / Miriam Lang 著  
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《杜氏述训》是中国近代一部有关家庭教育的经典文献。著者杜堉(1764—1858),咸丰帝师杜受田之父、嘉庆六年(1801)进士,曾任翰林院编修、顺天及浙江学政、内阁学士兼礼部侍郎等职。咸丰八年(1858),杜堉病逝,咸丰皇帝亲往祭奠,并赠大学士、太傅、礼部尚书衔。<sup>①</sup>逝后,杜堉谥文端,并入祀贤良祠。<sup>②</sup>

《杜氏述训》阐述了作者就如何维系家庭和睦、如何培育子女等议题发出的哲学思考。如书名所示,该书含括了一系列治家述训;而尤应关注之处,是该书讲述了培养子女行为操守的方法,并论述了为何子女素质直接关乎家庭伦理的维系。该书同时也阐述了名门望族的持家之道。

一百多年前,杜氏家族名流辈出、社会声望数代不衰;而成就这些殊荣的《杜氏述训》,如今也已引起了人们较广泛的关注,且也为一些地区的青少年及成人教育课程所用。本

① 《杜文端公自订年谱》,载关增岭编:《杜堉诗选注》第136页—第186页,北京:中国文史出版社,2006,第182页。

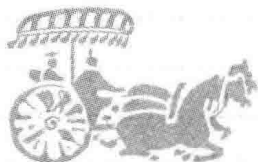
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书不仅对《杜氏述训》进行了现代汉语及英文对译,同时也对其深刻的思想及文化内涵进行了力所能及的诠释。

我们希望,粗通汉语的外国人士,通过阅读本书,能够借助英文的介绍、分析,进一步提高其汉语水平,同时亦加深其对中国近代家庭伦理及家庭教育思想的了解。对于广大英语爱好者来说,本书不仅为其提供了一个深化英语学习的机会,亦为其了解《杜氏述训》以及海外学者对这一家庭教育经典文献的观察视角,提供一个简捷的途径。但能否实现这一初衷,还有待于广大中外读者的论定。

编著者





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## An Introduction to Du E and his Precepts

On the morning of the 30th of November 2014, the city of Binzhou (滨州) in Shandong witnessed what was said to be the first ceremony of ancestral sacrifice conducted according to the ‘ancient rites’ to be performed in the area since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949. ① The sacrifice was held to mark the completion of an ancestral hall for those members of the Du clan who trace their family line to Binzhou, more than 100 of whom were in attendance at the ceremony. The hall is located in one part of the heritage site established by the Binzhou government in the former residence of the Binzhou Du family, a site which the local government chose to name after the most illustrious member of the Binzhou Du clan, ② Du Shoutian (杜受田, 1787—1852), ③ the tutor of the Xianfeng Emperor (1831—1861, r. 1851—1861) ④. According to newspaper accounts of the ancestral sacrifice, the ceremony was carried out with great solemnity. Participants were dressed in formal ritual attire taken from prototypes dating to the

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① See Ma Yan (马燕) and Li Cheng (李诚), *Bai yu wei Dushi zongqin Du Shoutian guju “guli jizu”* (《百余位杜氏宗亲杜受田故居“古礼祭祖”》) (Over 100 Du clan members hold “ancient rite” Ancestral Sacrifice at the former residence of Du Shoutian), *Binzhou ribao* (滨州日报), Monday, 1st December 2014, p. 3.

② For details on the site, see pp. 75-97 of Hou Yujie (侯玉杰), Mao Xueqin (毛雪琴), Yang Xinbin (杨新彬), Du Tongzhu (杜同柱) and Han Shoubin (韩守斌), *Yidai dishi Du Shoutian: Dushi jiaoyu tanxi* (《一代帝师杜受田: 杜氏教育探析》) (The dynasty’s tutor Du Shoutian: an exploration of Du clan education), Beijing: Jiaoyu kexue chubanshe, 2010. Details on the naming of the site can be found on p. 77.

③ For an English biography, see Fang Chao-ying (Fang Zhaoying), “Tu Shou-t’ien” (Du Shoutian), in Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (1644—1912), Washington D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 779-780.

④ For details on Xianfeng’s reign see Fang Chao-ying, “I-chu” in Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, pp. 378-380. For an overview of this period, see chapter 7 of William T. Rowe, *China’s Last Empire: The Great Qing*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2009.





Sui dynasty (581—618), the time—according to one participant—in which the rites of ancestral sacrifice that became orthodox in the Song (960—1279) and the Ming (1368—1644) periods were first formulated.

This performance of an old ritual to honour clan forebears, along with the building of ancestral halls, is part of a broader revival of lineage-focused activities that has taken place in many parts of China in the last decade or so, often with encouragement from local governments. Someone viewing this ceremony from the viewpoint of the long struggle of the late-imperial Confucian elites and the imperial state to make family rituals adhere to the models set out by classicists might well feel that the determination of these Du clan members to honour their ancestors using what they consider to be orthodox forms deriving from Sui-era models demonstrates that the project of ritual rectification that was so dear to the hearts of so many Confucian scholars has indeed borne fruit.<sup>⑤</sup> However, someone aware of the ferocity of the battle against so-called ‘feudal customs’ (*fengjian xisu* 封建习俗) and the traditional family structures which upheld them in the revolutionary decades after the imperial system came to an end in 1911 will perhaps observe that the revival of these ceremonies in recent times has been possible because the ideological and social complex that sustained them has been destroyed.<sup>⑥</sup> Where the revolutionaries of the 20th century felt that the old family rituals were part and parcel of a structure that held the Chinese nation in bondage, Chinese citizens and their government in the 21st century tend to see clan ceremonies as benign manifestations of pride in one’s traditions and cultural distinctiveness.

The traditional elite families that were both the target of so much revolutionary energy in 20th-century China and the source of so much cultural pride in 21st-century China were defined, above all, by their involvement with the civil service examinations and by the tradition of Confucian learning with which these examinations were associated. In the millennium-long period that historians refer to

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⑤ A key scholar writing on this topic in English is Patricia Ebrey; see her *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

⑥ See the chapter “Contradictions of the Nation-State: The Backwardness of Lineages”, pp. 325-347 of David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

as Late Imperial China (the period from the Song until the decline of the Qing dynasty, that is from the 10th to the 19th centuries), the examinations were both the primary mechanism for recruiting people into government service and a core element in membership of the upper stratum of Chinese society and participation in its culture. One of the most common terms by which this elite class and its individual members was known in imperial-era China is *shi* (士). This term has been variously translated by preceding writers as “literati”, “scholar-gentry” and “nobility”. (In this book we have largely elected to leave the word untranslated and call them “*shi*” as a class and to use the term “scholar-gentleman” for individuals.)

The Binzhou Du family, who were the original occupants of the building that is now the Du Shoutian former residence in which the 2014 ancestral sacrifice ceremony was held, were distinguished between the 16th and 19th centuries for producing successful examination graduates—including graduates at the highest level, that of Palace Graduate (*jìnshì* 进士).<sup>⑦</sup> Both the present-day authorities responsible for the conservation and restoration of the Du Shoutian former residence as a cultural heritage site and those who trace their ancestry to the Binzhou Du clan express admiration for this distinguished scholarly lineage. We can argue that respect for those who sustain examination success over several generations is common in China, particularly in the wake of the restoration of the system of competitive examination for entrance to university in 1978. Equally, as curiosity about the culture of the imperial era has grown, both through popular interest and active promotion by the government, old elite families tend to be seen less as a ‘feudal’ ruling class and more as transmitters of a Chinese cultural inheritance. A recent series of books on twenty-eight of Shandong’s distinguished families (*mingmen*

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⑦ This is the translation used in the work of Benjamin Elman, the most influential scholar currently writing in English on the Chinese imperial examination system (see Benjamin A. Elman, *Civil Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013). In his dictionary of imperial-era Chinese official titles, Charles O. Hucker translates *jìnshì* as “Metropolitan Graduate”. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985, entry no. 1148, p. 167. While we have used Hucker’s translations for other imperial-era titles, we have used Elman’s translations for those relating to the examination system.



wangzu 名门望族), *Shandong wenhua shijia yanjiu shuxi* (山东文化世家研究书系), for example, refers to them as “culture lineages” (*wenhua shijia* 文化世家).<sup>⑧</sup> The Binzhou Du clan was not one of the twenty-eight Shandong “culture lineages” examined in the book series. Only one family from Binzhou was included; other areas in Shandong had much more extensive coverage, which perhaps suggests that their lineages were, to the historians’ minds, more distinguished, significant or successful than the Du family.

The question of how families of this kind were able to reproduce formal educational success over the generations—and indeed the wider question of how a distinguished family rises, sustains its distinction and then declines—is a topic in which there is great interest in present-day China. The ancestral halls which the Confucian scholars of the late imperial era encouraged clans to build as part of a project of cultural improvement and, historians believe, as a mechanism for establishing the power of the state in local society, and which 20th-century revolutionaries demolished or closed down (for essentially the same reasons) are being rebuilt in the present to demonstrate pride in the past standing of the family and as a way of publicly displaying the achievements of culturally and educationally distinguished ancestors.<sup>⑨</sup> The curiosity about ancestry and about the lost worlds of the old upper classes that is found in so many societies in the present (shown in the popularity of ancestry-tracing television programmes such as the BBC’s *Who Do You Think You Are?* and of televised representations of the life of the elites of the past such as *Downton Abbey*), here combines with a concrete interest in what the strategies for the successful reproduction of family distinction in the pre-modern era might be able to teach people in the present. Contemporary interest in the text that is the subject of this book, *The Precepts of the Du Clan* (*Dushi shuxun* 杜氏述训) arguably proceeds from this mixture of motives.

In 1827, Du Shoutian’s father Du E (杜堦, 1764—1858) set down the *Precepts of the Du Clan*, a series of principles on how to govern the family and, in

<sup>⑧</sup> See *Shandong wenhua shijia yanjiu shuxi* (山东文化世家研究书系), published by Zhonghua shuju in Beijing in 2013.

<sup>⑨</sup> It is easy to find such activity documented on the internet on websites for surname groups.



particular, how to raise and educate sons to ensure that the family retained its position of social and cultural distinction.<sup>⑩</sup> Du Shoutian was at that time 40 years old; he was a recent Palace Graduate and inductee into the Hanlin Academy (*Hanlin yuan* 翰林院, the most prestigious organisation for scholars in late imperial China).<sup>⑪</sup> Du E, himself a Palace Graduate and a former Hanlin Academician, was in his early 60s when he wrote his *Precepts*. He had been raised in the building complex in Binzhou that is now referred to as the former residence of Du Shoutian (who also lived there as a child); the residence had been passed down in the main male line of the Du family after being founded by the first member of the Du clan to achieve Palace Graduate status, Du Shi (杜诗) (who died in 1642, having become a Palace Graduate in 1598; the date of his birth is unclear).<sup>⑫</sup>

In the years between 1801, when Du E became a Palace Graduate, and 1827 when he wrote the *Precepts*, he had a distinguished official career. This was to continue in later years.<sup>⑬</sup> Having served first as a Hanlin academician, he rose to the posts of Vice Minister of the Left in the Ministry of Personnel (*Libu zuo shilang* 吏部左侍郎) and Vice Minister of the Left in the Ministry of Rites (*Libu zuo shilang* 礼部左侍郎) before retiring from government service in 1836 when he was in his early 70s. He had twice served as a Provincial Education Commissioner (*xuezheng* 学政), a crucially important role performed by officials seconded from

<sup>⑩</sup> See the entry for the year when Du E was 64 sui in *Du Wenduan gong ziding nianpu* (杜文端公自订年谱) (The chronological autobiography of Squire Du Wenduan), a modern edition of which appears in Guan Zengling (关增岭) (ed.), *Du E shi xuanzhu* (杜垌诗选注) (The Poetry of Du E, selected and annotated), Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2006, pp. 136-181. The entry on the writing of the precepts is on p. 157.

<sup>⑪</sup> On the Hanlin academy in the Qing dynasty, see Adam Yuen-chung Lui, *The Hanlin Academy: Training Ground for the Ambitious*, Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1981. For a recent discussion of the Hanlin Academy within the larger intellectual and political environment of the Qing, see Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, pp. 158-163.

<sup>⑫</sup> For biographical information about Du Shi see pp. 35-41 of Hou Yujie (侯玉杰), Feng Meirong (冯美荣) and Du Tongzhu (杜同柱), *Binzhou Ming-Qing wangzu zhi Bincheng Dushi* (滨州明清望族之滨城杜氏) (The Du family: A leading clan in Ming-Qing Binzhou), Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2011.

<sup>⑬</sup> Details of Du E's life can be found in his chronological autobiography *Du Wenduan gong ziding nianpu*, transcribed in Guan Zengling (ed.), *Du E shi xuanzhu*, pp. 136-181. A short modern account of Du E's life can be found on pp. 49-54 of Hou Yujie et al., *Binzhou Ming-Qing wangzu zhi Bincheng Dushi*.



capital posts to oversee educational affairs in the provinces. Most significantly, they scrutinised both the processes and the personnel involved in the examination process at provincial level, the layer of the examination system that was immediately below the Metropolitan/Palace exams at capital level. Significantly, the two regions where Du E had served as Provincial Education Commissioner were extremely important in the overall examination order: Shuntian fu (顺天府), which was the area of the capital, and the province of Zhejiang. Given that Du E was a native of Shandong, which had been a major source of examination graduates early in the Qing (including Du E's own great-great grandfather Du Shuang (杜爽), who received his Palace Graduate degree in 1647, making him the first person from Binzhou to become a Palace Graduate in the Qing dynasty),<sup>14</sup> we can argue that he represented the absolute heart of the elite structures of the mid-Qing period. His selection to supervise educational affairs in two critical areas of the Qing empire, which gave him direct contact both with the elites of the capital and with one of its most educationally and culturally influential areas, is a concrete demonstration both of the Qing state's confidence in his loyalty and of the utter orthodoxy of his thinking.

Members of the Du family who read Du E's *Precepts* and also other people who came into contact with them at the time could be confident that these writings represented both the experience of a person who had reached the apex of the Qing educational, political and social order and the knowledge of someone whose concepts of the proper conduct of familial and educational life had been formed by extensive direct contact with members of the empire's elites. The exceptional educational success of Du E himself, together with that of his forefathers, his son, his grandchildren<sup>15</sup> and, eventually, his great-grandchild could be seen as a vindication of his family's strategies; three of his forebears, he himself, his son, two of his grandsons and his great-grandson all secured Palace Graduate degrees. Significantly, Du E presents the *Precepts* as a condensation of the wisdom of his

<sup>14</sup> On Du Shuang's life see pp. 41-44 of Hou Yujie et al., *Binzhou Ming-Qing wangzu zhi Bincheng Dushi*.

<sup>15</sup> For information on these grandchildren, see Hou Yujie et al., *Binzhou Ming-Qing wangzu zhi Bincheng Dushi*, pp. 60-65.

father, Du Tongguang (杜彤光),<sup>①⑥</sup> who had chosen not to pursue an official career after his father Du Zi (杜鼐) (Du E's grandfather) had died in 1755 while serving as an official in the southern border province of Guangxi. (Du Zi had attained his Palace Graduate degree in 1737; the date of his birth is unclear.<sup>①⑦</sup>) For anyone living in a system where educational and cultural distinction, elite status and access to public office are awarded—or at least tested—by competitive examination rather than simply inherited from one's parents, the question of how to reproduce family standing from generation to generation is an acute one.

Du E achieved his first academic successes in 1789. (Having failed to qualify to take the Provincial examination, he was awarded the equivalent of the status of a Provincial Graduate (*juren* 举人) through a special examination that was administered when the Qianlong emperor visited Shandong in that year.) Social histories of the examination system and of the Qing empire tend to see the late 18th and early to mid 19th-century period as one in which chances of success in the examinations relative to the number of candidates were lessening and chances for upward mobility were declining.<sup>①⑧</sup> The spectre of downward mobility for established families was thus a real one, and indeed we argue in this book that preventing the family from declining is the overarching theme that dominates the *Precepts*. When Du E wrote his *Precepts*, he had recently returned from the post of Provincial Education Commissioner in Zhejiang, and we can presume that he would have had an acute sense of the rising number of qualified candidates relative to the examination quotas—which were allocated by province—and was thus deeply aware of both the competitive pressures and the challenges that elite families faced in

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①⑥ The details of the life of Du Tongguang (? —1795) are briefly recorded in a modern account in Hou Yujie et al., *Binzhou Ming-Qing wangzu zhi Bincheng Dushi*, pp.47-49. The main information about his life comes from the preface to the *Precepts* that accompanied their original 1827 compilation, reproduced in Du Lihui (杜立晖) and Liu Xueyan (刘雪燕), *Jiazhu · wenhua · shehui: Ming-Qing Huanghe sanjiaozhou Dushi jiazhu wenhua yanjiu* (家族 · 文化 · 社会: 明清黄河三角洲杜氏家族文化研究) (Clan, culture and society: the culture of the Du clan in the Yellow River delta in the Ming and Qing dynasties), Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2013, p. 157-158.

①⑦ For details of Du Zi's life, see Hou Yujie et al., *Binzhou Ming-Qing wangzu zhi Bincheng Dushi*, pp. 44-47.

①⑧ See Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, Chapter 11 and Rowe, *China's Last Empire*, Chapter 6.



maintaining their positions. As the following pages will argue, Du E's reaffirmation of established positions on family governance, Confucian moral discipline, and commitment to the orthodox educational values of the late imperial elites unfolds against a backdrop not only of social, political and economic transition within the Qing empire, but against a wider set of conjunctures—social, economic, cultural and political—in the world system.

## Du E and World History

Du E lived a long life of 94 years, stretching from 1764 to 1858. If we follow S. A. M. Adshead's periodization of world history—a partial reworking of the dominant periodization of European history—it was a life that spanned the divide between the Enlightenment and the Modern World.<sup>19</sup> Du E was 5 years old when Napoleon was born, and died 10 years after Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published the *Communist Manifesto*, which in turn was one year before Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. Du E was 11 when the American Revolutionary War broke out in 1775; in 1789, the year when he was 25 and received special Provincial Graduate status personally from the Qianlong emperor, the Bastille was stormed, leading to the eventual overthrow of the French monarchy. When Du E died in 1858, the American Civil War was brewing and monarchical empire had been restored in France.

At the time of Du E's birth, the established large-scale empires founded during Ming times, those of the Ottomans and of Spain, were still strong (even though they were facing difficulties); when he died, the Spanish empire had been largely lost, replaced by creole republics in the Americas, and that of the Ottomans was in the midst of the crises that would eventually bring about its collapse. Du E was born into a world in which the indigenous populations of Australia and New Zealand were in exclusive possession of their own lands, and died in one in which the majority populations of both places were British settlers. In Southeast Asia, major transitions were underway at the time of Du E's boyhood. The Konbaung dynasty defeated Qianlong's forces in Burma, and the series of events that would lead to the

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<sup>19</sup> S. A. M. Adshead, *China in World History*, Third Edition, Houndmills: St Martin's Press, 2000, pp. 243-379.





establishment of Bangkok as the capital of the country we now call Thailand was in train. At the time of Du E's death the reforming King Mongkut (Rama IV) was on the throne in Bangkok, helping to build a state that would subsequently be lauded for resisting European colonization as none of its neighbours were able to do. Another critical change in Southeast Asia was Singapore's founding as a British entrepôt in 1819. There were similar contrasts in East Asia during Du E's lifetime. In the 1760s the Tokugawa shogunate was strongly enforcing the Sakoku policy of strictly limiting foreign trade, but by the time Du E was in his late 80s, the USA had forced the opening of Japan to foreign trade. Joseon Korea remained a closed state for almost all of Du E's lifetime, but became a flashpoint of contention between the Qing dynasty and the industrial imperialists (particularly Japan) in the half century after his death, as would also be the case with China Taiwan and Vietnam. In the dozen years preceding Du E's birth, the Qing had completed their conquest of Inner Asia, a process that many historians regard as marking the end of nomadic power in Eurasia and in world history more broadly. In the dozen years after he died, the Qing would devote great quantities of resources to defeating Islamic revolt in these conquered territories, using techniques that had become significant and personnel who had risen to power defeating the great challenge that confronted the empire in the final part of Du E's life, the Taiping uprising (often characterised as the largest and bloodiest civil war in human history). The fallout from the Taiping uprising would see the Du family lose its position as a close ally and advisor to the Qing court. Du E's grandson Du Han (杜翰, 1806—1866), who was one of eight ministers appointed to act as regents for the Xianfeng emperor's successor, the future Tongzhi emperor, was pushed out of political life in an 1861 coup d'état engineered by the empress dowager Cixi and by Prince Gong (the brother of the Xianfeng emperor), initiating the period that would be known as the Tongzhi restoration. ②

Culturally, Du E was born a decade after the birth of Mozart and six years

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② The classic study on the Tongzhi Restoration is Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862—1874*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957. For a brief biography of the Tongzhi emperor, see Fang Chao-ying "Tsai-ch'ün" in Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, pp.729-731. See also Rowe, *China's Last Empire*, Chapter 8, "Restoration".





before the birth of Beethoven, and died in the lifetime of Wagner. The writers Jane Austen, William Wordsworth and the Bronte sisters all were born and died during Du E's lifetime, and likewise the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. In terms of Chinese culture, Du E's birth occurred just after the death of Cao Xueqin (曹雪芹, 1715—1763) who wrote *The Story of the Stone* (*Honglou meng* 红楼梦) and a decade after that of Wu Jingzi (吴敬梓, 1701—1754) who wrote *The Scholars* (*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史). In the 20th century, these two novels won great favour with Chinese cultural radicals and foreign readers of Chinese literature alike for their realistic and ironic depictions of the two structures of Qing society that Du E's *Precepts*, by contrast, struggled to preserve, the cultured upper-class Chinese corporate family and the examination-oriented Confucian elite of scholar gentlemen. Jia Baoyu (贾宝玉), the hero of *The Story of the Stone*, and Wu Jingzi, the author of *The Scholars*, can be imagined as archetypes of the dissolute and reckless junior member of an established, well-to-do family who dissipates the resources he has inherited by pursuing his own aesthetic interests and pleasures rather than devoting himself to the serious study of the Classics—precisely the kind of person that Du E inveighs against throughout his *Precepts of the Du Clan*. Indeed we might argue that during the long period of revolutionary attack on the structures of the old corporate family, the examination system and the patriarchal values of Confucianism in the 20th century, these novels seemed to most people to be far more worthy of sympathy than were the austere injunctions to moral improvement, study of the classics and submission to personal and familial discipline of someone like Du E. But we can also observe that the sobriety of Du E's vision (and that of many thinkers similar to him) contains not only elements that resonate with the puritan moral values of revolutionary culture (with its harsh critique of the decadence of the old elites) but also traces of the romantic idealism that would motivate so much of the political and social change that unfolded in 20th century China.

Du E's lifetime overlapped with European Romantics and Revolutionaries of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. However, if we think of him as contemporary with Protestant revivalists such as John Wesley in England and the proponents of the second Great Awakening in North America, with those seeking to restore the moral