

### CHAPTER 3

## **Ethnicity and the Degree-Holding Elite in Qing-Era Taiwan: The 1803 Restoration of the Prefectural Confucian Temple**

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It is well known that late imperial China's literati or degree-holders (紳士) occupied a strategic position both within Chinese society and within its polity. The Chinese bureaucracy that manned the central government and the field administration was largely drawn from among degree-holders who had obtained the *jinsshi* (進士) and the *juren* (舉人) degrees. But these degree-holders comprised the upper levels of a much larger degree-holding class, one where the most important social distinction was as between degree-holders and commoners, with rank differences among degree-holders smoothed over by a basic social equality. While degree-holders formed a social class and were separated from commoners, they were also members of local communities, be these rural settlements or urban neighborhoods, and in this context were on socially intimate terms with the large majority of fellow members who were lacking degrees. Because degree-holders were equals within a social class, government officials—usually posted to the county seat or above—were able to easily interact with degree-holding local elites and in fact depended upon this interaction and cooperation in carrying out local administration. Likewise, the degree-holders, also on socially close terms with the

people of their communities, were able under ordinary circumstances to insure community compliance with the directives of the imperial state, such as with respect to taxation, at the same time that they might represent local grievances to the posted county magistrate.

The mutually supportive connections between degree-holders and officials on the one hand, and degree-holders and the commoner members of their communities on the other, has long been recognized as the basic framework for the functioning of imperial rule. But such a neat arrangement involving state and society takes the local communities comprising the latter to be nothing more than a series of identical settlement units distributed across the terrain. How these settlements may have related to each other is not considered a major factor affecting the relationships upholding imperial rule. However, evidence from different parts of China under the Qing confirms that hostilities among local communities could indeed disturb the balance the state wished to maintain. Taiwan is a case in point. During the period in which Taiwan was under Qing rule, local violence was widespread, associated in many cases with ongoing hostility between communities differentiated along lines that today would be considered ethnic. A major distinction was as between speakers of Hakka (*Kejia* 客家), who were mainly immigrants or their descendants from northern Guangdong Province, and those speaking Hokkien (Minnan 閩南), the language of Fujian Province's southeastern districts.

### **Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Tablets in the Confucian Temple**

One important bone of contention, as between the Hakka and the Hokkien, was access to the imperial examination system, with the Hakka from Guangdong finally given a degree quota of their own. Taiwan-based degree-holders, of both Hakka and Fujian origin, had what is now Tainan City as their administrative center. As with all administrative seats—be these county, prefectural, or provincial—there was an array of structures representing the imperial administration, including the yamen (衙門) as well as the civil or Confucian temple (*Wenmiao* 文廟), and temples for the military (*Wumiao* 武廟) and the city god (*Chenghuangmiao* 城隍廟). With its text available online,<sup>1</sup> an 1803 stele (碑文) commemorating the “Inscribed

Record of Contributions by Registered Guangdong Natives to the Renovation of the Prefectural Academy's Civil Temple" (重修府學文廟粵籍題捐碑記) provides interesting information concerning the ties in Taiwan between local society and the Qing imperial state. The civil temple (Confucian Temple) of concern here was located at the Taiwan (now Tainan) Prefectural Seat. At the same time, another stele of the same title and year was made, but with the important difference that it referred to the contributions of "Fujian Natives" (重修府學文廟閩籍題捐碑記);<sup>2</sup> a third stele introduced the project without naming contributors. As an appendix to this paper, I provide the full text of all three tablets. The contents of the Fujian inscribed tablet will not be the subject of sustained analysis here; I refer to it only as a comparison to highlight the particular characteristics of the Guangdong tablet and to emphasize that these rare examples of separation on the basis of province of origin, while related to issues concerning the examination system, in fact reflected what was an ethnic divide between Hakka from Guangdong and Hokkien who were originally from mainland Fujian. In official discourse, administrative divisions loomed far larger than local or ethnic differences when considering place of origin. In 1803, Taiwan itself was a prefecture or *fu* (府) of Fujian Province, yet most of its inhabitants were themselves, or had as ancestors, immigrants from mainland China.

### **Ancestors in the Hakka Contribution List**

The inscriptions on the Guangdong and Fujian tablets are made up of the contributors to the renovation and the amount given, a format quite common in Chinese stelae. Here, I want to discuss contributions recorded on the Guangdong tablet. The listing is headed "Names of Contributors who are Guangdong Natives" (粵籍題捐姓氏), followed by "Contributions out of Public Funds, 103 Silver Dollars" (公費題捐共銀一百零三元), although it is not clear where these funds in fact come from. This information in turn is followed by the list of contributors, arranged in order of the amount contributed.

The Guangdong tablet list of contributions sheds light on several interrelated issues involving interconnections between what we might essentialize as state and as society in Taiwan during the Qing

dynasty. From the list as recorded on the stela, in the absence of additional information, it is not at all apparent that the contributions involved large-scale solicitation throughout the Hakka settlement zone, especially in South Taiwan. However, a focus on the actual names listed as contributors shows that far more was involved than simply private donations made by individuals. This is revealed by the fact that many of the contributors were hardly present at that time: rather, they were the ancestors of major surname groups—even though this fact cannot be ascertained simply from what the stele inscription tells us, it can be confirmed on the basis of genealogical data and by records kept by ancestral associations. My analysis shows that out of a total listing of 108 names (105 contributors and three contribution solicitors), the status of 19 have yet to be determined; as to the rest, 59 at the time were alive, while 30 were ancestral figures. These latter are listed as follows, with the name as inscribed in the tablet given in bold.

敕封文林郎林敏盛, Lin Meisheng, Gentleman-Litterateur by Imperial Appointment.

Born in 1384, he is the Lin Founding Ancestor of Nanshanxia, Jinsha Township, Zhenping County, Guangdong (廣東省鎮平縣金沙鄉南山下開基祖). He is taken as the mainland ancestor, especially among Lin surname descent groups in present-day Wanluan Township in Pingdong County, Taiwan (Huang 2004).

敕贈文林郎黃日新Huang Rixin, Gentleman-Litterateur Bestowed by Imperial Orders.

Jiayingzhou (嘉應洲) founding ancestor for the Huang surname. In the account book of the Estate of the Huang Second Generation Ancestor (黃二世祖嘗),<sup>3</sup> the earliest of the large mainland-oriented Huang associations, his important genealogical position is described:

The Shiku (石窟) [Zhenping County, later named Jiaoling] Founding Ancestor (kaiji shizu, 開基始祖) of our entire descent group was the honorable Tingzheng (庭政); in the second generation [i.e., Tingzheng's son] there was the honorable Rixin (日新), and in the same line (*tongpai*, 同派) the honorable Risheng (日昇) [i.e., Rixin's brother]. The descendants of the

honorable Risheng moved to the region of Jieyang and Xinhui [predominately Cantonese-speaking counties], but the descendants of our ancestor have only spread throughout Chengxiang [now Meixian], Pingyuan, and Zhenping [now Jiaoling] counties) [i.e., throughout most of the all-Hakka Jiaying Prefecture of Guangdong Province]. Huang Rixin lived during the reign of the Shundi emperor (1333-1341)

曾琛 Zeng Chen. Worshipped as a China mainland founding ancestor in the Datie Village 打鐵庄 area in Pingdong County, southern Taiwan.<sup>4</sup>

張萬三 Zhang Wansan. Zhang surname Guangdong Founding Ancestor (廣東開基祖). Lived during the Ming dynasty (Li 2011).

劉宗遠 Liu Zongyuan. Grandson of Liu Kaiqi 劉開七, South China apical ancestor for the Liu surname (Liu 1962: C115).

劉永通 Liu Yongtong Founding ancestor of the Guangdong Lingbei line (廣東鳳嶺開基祖) (Liu 2012:159).

曾逸川 Zeng surname mainland China ancestor.

吳千 Wu Qian. Wu surname mainland China ancestor.

宋新恩 Song Xin'en, Song surname founding ancestor for Guangdong Province.

張仲謹 Zhang Zhongjin, a Song dynasty figure, presumably the focus of a Zhang ancestral association.

章伍齋 Zhang Wuzhai. Zhang surname founding ancestor for Zhenping (now Jiaoling) County (鎮平縣, 蕉嶺縣) in Guangdong.<sup>5</sup>

邱耀廷 Qiu Yueting. Qiu surname China mainland ancestor.

賴顏祖 Lai Yanzu. Lai surname China mainland founding ancestor (Huang 2004:70).

鍾伯義 Zhong Boyi. Zhong surname Guangdong, Jiayingzhou Prefecture (廣東省嘉應州開基祖) founding ancestor (Huang 2006: 669).

奉直大夫鍾七郎 Zhong Qilang, Grand Master for Forthright Service. Major Guangdong descent line founding ancestor.

貢生林標楨 Gongsheng Degree-holder Lin Biaozhen. Lin surname Ming dynasty mainland China ancestor, founding ancestor of the large Lanfang lineage in Meixian 藍芳開基祖.

贈文林郎鍾秀文 Zhong Xiuwen, Gentleman-Litterateur by Bestowal. Mainland China Guangdong Province, Zhenping County founding ancestor for the Zhong surname.

陳君霖 Chen Junlin. Chen surname mainland China ancestor (Huang 2006: 319).

邱雅淡 Qiu Yadan. Qiu surname mainland China ancestor.

邱西湖 Qiu Xihu. Qiu surname mainland China ancestor.

黃廷政 Huang Tingzheng. Major Guangdong Province Ming dynasty Huang surname Zhenping founding ancestor. 鎮平嵩背開基祖 see above, under Huang Rixin (Huang 2006:399).

傅覲 Fu Di. Fu surname, mainland Guangdong regional founding ancestor.

李孜文 Li Ziwen. Li surname ancestor.

傅雙溪 (傅雙七) Fu Shuangqi. Fu surname Guangdong ancestor.

曾存省 Zeng Cunsheng. Zeng surname ancestor.

曾存靜 Zeng Cunjing. Zeng surname ancestor.

曾德光 Zeng Deguang. Zeng surname ancestor (You 1967: 系40).

鍾廷秀 Zhong Tingxiu. Zhong surname ancestor (Huang 2006:606).

陳六一 Chen Liuyi. Chen surname ancestor. Southern Song founding ancestor.<sup>6</sup>

鍾冰振 Zhong Bingzhen. Zhong surname Guangdong ancestor.

### **Contributions from Ancestral Corporations**

The large number of contributions made in the name of ancestors reveals that those contributing were not individuals, but rather groups claiming descent from these ancestral figures. These groups, known as *chang* 嘗 among the South Taiwan Hakka, were land-owning, largely share-based, corporations focusing on ancestor worship; other corporate groups focusing on gods were called *hui* 會, and while these latter groups were also quite important locally, none were listed as contributors, for the gods that constituted their objects of worship could hardly fit into an assemblage testifying to the powers of the human heroes of state Confucianism. The *chang* and *hui* were key corporate actors in South Taiwan Hakka society; they contributed to numerous undertakings such as temple construction or restoration, bridge maintenance, and much more. For example, in the 1894 list of contributors to the reconstruction of the Zhongyiting 忠義亭, the Hakka alliance headquarters in what is now Pingdong County, there are listed as contributors 25 ancestral associations, six non-ancestral religious associations, four firms, and 23 individual contributors. Note that, among the ancestral associations, one is dedicated to Lin Meisheng and another to Zhang Wansan, both of whom also appear above as contributors to the Confucian temple restoration. However, in the list below, they are clearly identified as ancestral association foci (their names are set out in bold type):

徐敬修、曾在中二人再助銀共二十四員

邱隆利號題銀十大員

林長汀嘗題銀八大員。

吳文灝題重銀四大員

林敏盛、廣公二嘗共題銀十二員

鍾德重嘗、邱均政嘗、張萬三嘗、陳伯三嘗、李作尚嘗五座共  
題銀二十員

八月初十忠勇公會題銀五員

林通昌、張作材、林任坤三人共題銀十二員

曾光祖嘗題銀四大員

□□莊義渡會銀題六員

聖母會題銀二員

長興莊文聖會、關聖會共題銀四員

老潭頭天神會題銀二員

邱元程、智山、榮賓三嘗共題銀六員

林日敏題銀三大員

邱雅飾嘗、黃成恭嘗、林迪亨嘗、徐文禮嘗、馮法遊嘗五座共  
題銀十員

林寬公新老嘗題銀二員

劉奇川、積善二嘗共題銀四員

上徑仔福德會題銀二員

林合利、曾福榮、林順和三號共題銀六員

□仁堂、李德宏、鍾□添三人共題銀□□員

廖雲鵬題銀□員

黃順記、李才德、鍾宇宙、邱卓麟、陳桂六、陳桂八六人共題  
銀□□員

傅殿邦題銀二員

曾□琳嘗題銀二員

頭崙、南勢忠勇公〔題〕銀二員

黃連興題銀三員。

李德林題銀二員

邱國楨題銀四員

麻坑黃篤誼、素雅(二)嘗題銀四員

鄭煥文二員

李傳春一員<sup>7</sup>

I could give many more examples of contribution lists which highlight the important role in local society of the *chang* and *hui*. But as far as the Tainan Confucian temple is concerned, the ancestral associations making contributions were operating at a level quite



beyond that of their local communities: they were taking part in activities directly related to the affairs of the Qing state.

### **Hakka Ancestral Associations**

The ancestral associations fall into two large categories according to whether they worshipped mainland or Taiwan ancestral figures, it being understood that categorization of associations says nothing about membership per se, since people could and did own shares in several associations. Among associations with mainland ancestral figures, some focused on national surname founders such as Chen Hu 陳胡 of the ancient Zhou period, or the Han dynasty high official Xiao He 蕭何; others focused on later eminent figures such as Zhu Xi 朱熹, the venerable neo-Confucian scholar, or Liao Guangjing 廖光景, another Song scholar-official. It is notable that no such national-level figures are to be found on the tablet's contribution list. Such a listing might be taken as a usurpation of the state's elevation of such figures to be national rather than ancestral icons, with tablets for each one so designated placed in the nation's Confucian temples, including the one in Tainan.

Most of the mainland China figures selected as objects of worship by ancestral associations are regional founding ancestors, and these are the ones found in the tablet inscription we are dealing with. Some associations, including the largest, focus on ancestors held to be founders with respect to the entire Fujian/Guangdong Hakka heartland. Such major regional founding ancestors were (and still are) quite well known in both the Taiwan and mainland Hakka regions, and the names of these founding ancestors are commonly inscribed on tablets centrally placed in domestic ancestral halls, together with those of closer ancestors. People see the names of these ancestors every time they enter the halls for ancestor worship at particular times, but far more frequently simply as a consequence of everyday activities. Many lower-level regional ancestors are also represented, including founding ancestors for Mei and Zhenping counties (梅縣, 鎮平縣), as well some founders of sub-county regions (*xiang* 鄉 or *bao* 保), or large lineages.

An appeal to relatively remote mainland China ancestors could bring together many persons recently arrived in Taiwan from different

villages in China, as was the case during the earlier years of the Han Chinese settlement on the island. Because each ancestral association was a land-owning corporation, with association members being shareholders, the membership could include ordinary farmers as well as degree-holders or other members of the local elite. It was common for association shareholders to belong to more than one, and association shares could be bought and sold. Associations commonly contributed funds to various local undertakings, together with individual contributions. Hence, the contributions to the *wenmiao* restoration project might seem to fall into a broader pattern. This is true, but there are some important differences linked to the fact that the *wenmiao* was a state institution. First, the *wenmiao* inscriptions do not distinguish ancestors from living contributors. In other words, the associations making the contributions are given no corporate recognition. Except for prior genealogical familiarity, there is no way to determine which contributor is an ancestor and which is a living person. The contrast here is with contributions to local temples and other causes where the corporations are often identified—in the Hakka regions, as *chang* or *hui*—as can be seen in the example given above. One of the reasons might be an intent to honor the ancestors by linking them precisely to the institution geared to the veneration of China's scholarly elite. The linkage with the state cult of Confucius and Confucian scholarship can be seen as a means of providing state legitimization of the ancestral figure who plays such an important role in local society. This connection is similar to the imperial process of the canonization of local gods so as to place them in the state pantheon, via the *sidian* 祀典. But here the process is reversed, in that it is the local social forces, guided largely by degree-holders to be sure, that push in the direction of the imperial institutions. That the ancestral associations contributing to the Confucian temple restoration had large memberships—including far more commoners than elite, no matter how the latter might be defined—made ordinary people in the South Taiwan Hakka regions conscious players in the politics and affairs of the imperial state, both expressing and reinforcing the explicit Qing loyalism displayed also by Hakka militia who several times came to the aid of government forces in putting down anti-Qing rebellions.

### **Hakka-Hokkien Conflict**

The push towards imperial legitimation was also conditioned during this period by the ongoing tension in Taiwan between Hakka and Hokkien. With Hakka and Hokkien each having a separate contribution tablet, their conflicts received expression within the institutions of the imperial state. But at this state level, the hostility was muted, for the Hakka were not identified as such on their tablet, but as from Guangdong Province, with the contributors on the other tablet identified as being from Fujian. Hence, the difference was expressed in terms of provincial origins, thus linking in approved ideological fashion whatever differences there might be between Hakka and Hokkien as relating to their positions on the administrative map of China. In other words, from the imperial point of view, differences in language, local customs and so forth did not or should not set people against each other, but rather represented the special characteristics of a region within the much larger area that was the China, or China proper, of the Han Chinese. From the perspective of imperial rule, local characteristics placed a region and its inhabitants within the administrative map of China, but provided them with no special identity apart from this.

But Qing officials were hardly blind to the fact that, on Taiwan, such differences went beyond local variations. They knew very well that the Guangdong people, *yue-min* 粵民, were Hakka (客子) living in Hakka villages (客莊), and that Hakka and Hokkien were often at loggerheads or worse.<sup>8</sup> In other words, Qing officials on Taiwan were dealing with conflicts and social solidarities involving the emergence of ethnicity as based upon local identifications derived from mainland China. From the point of view of Qing officials, the acceptance of two contribution tablets on the basis of mainland province of origin, Fujian and Guangdong (Min and Yue; 閩, 粵), was an accommodation to the divisions and tensions present in Taiwan society and an effort to neutralize these factors by categorizing those involved through the standards of the Chinese imperial map. But the Hakka-Hokkien ethnic power struggle then gripping Taiwan was also manifested in these very same tablets; the Hakka tablet included ancestors shared by an otherwise heterogeneous population of recent immigrants so as to emphasize that their loyalty to the Qing state and its institutions

went beyond the Hakka elite and reached into the basic fabric of the embattled Hakka society. In demonstrating loyalty to the state, the Hakka had to reshape ethnicity into imperial citizenship, and the state, in turn, both desired and needed this loyalty, and so accommodated its expression by letting the Hakka have their own tablet.

### **The Hakka and Hokkien Tablets Compared**

The Fujian tablet was very different from the one with Guangdong contributions. As far as I have been able to ascertain, there were no ancestral figures included in the Fujian contribution list, which only included individuals or, in a few cases, commercial firms. The Fujian contributors, and the amount they contributed, far exceeded what was shown on the Guangdong tablet. For my present purposes, to illustrate the contrasts, I offer below the first ten contributors from each list, with the Fujian contributors as follows:<sup>9</sup>

欽加按察使銜臺灣兵備道兼提督學政遇昌捐銀三十元。Yu Chang; high-ranking Manchu official; served as prefect of the Taiwan Prefecture.

簡調臺灣府正堂慶保捐銀一百元。Qing Bao; another high Manchu official; prefect of the Quanzhou Prefecture and then the Taiwan Prefecture.

前任臺灣府正堂吳逢聖捐銀一百元。Wu Fengsheng; Han Chinese high official, native of Anhui; also served as Taiwan Prefect.

臺防分府延青雲捐銀三十元。Yan Qingyun, native of Shanxi, Han Chinese official; Taiwan Subprefectural Magistrate for Coastal Defense and Taiwan Southern Circuit Subprefect for management of Taiwan frontier native peoples.

鹿港海防理番分府葉寶書捐銀三十元。Ye Baoshu, Han Chinese native of Zhejiang. In charge of Lugang coastal defense and took over in 1802 as Southern Circuit Subprefect from Yan Qingyun above.

州同知林文濬捐銀一千元。Lin Wenjun; from wealthy Taiwan,

Lugang merchant family; here given title of Zhoutongzhi, Department Assistant Magistrate. Known for his many contributions to temples in Taiwan.

中書科中書林朝英捐銀五百元。Lin Chaoying; Taiwan-born Han Chinese from wealthy Tainan merchant family. Title given as Central Drafting Office Secretary, a central government (Beijing) position. Famous in Taiwan also as an artist and calligrapher.

武生何元英捐銀四百元。He Yuanying; wealthy land developer who moved from mainland China Fujian to what is now the Jiayi region in Taiwan. Title given as Military Shengyuan degree-holder.

候補訓導吳世同捐銀三百二十元。Wu Shitong, wealthy land owner and developer for central Taiwan. Here given title of Expectant Appointee as Assistant Instructor, at county level or higher.

候補通判吳春貴捐銀三百元。Wu Chungui, Taiwan-born from Tainan; came to wealth as a manager of the Qing Salt Gabelle for Jiayi and Taiwan counties. Here given title of Expectant Appointee as Assistant Prefect.

Note that the first five contributors listed on the Fujian tablet are very high-ranking officials posted to Taiwan; the first two on the list are Manchus, the other three Han Chinese; the first three served at one time or another as prefects, the highest-ranking officials posted to the Taiwan Prefecture; the three top Han Chinese officials all hail from mainland China, as would be expected given the importance of their positions and, more generally, the rule of avoidance whereby posted officials could not serve in their native province; this restriction certainly applied at their level of appointment. The remaining five contributors were all from very wealthy Taiwan families; each is listed as having a government position of considerably lower rank than the first five, positions below the level of county magistrate and therefore not affected by the rule of avoidance, and these may very well have been assigned as rewards for generous donations to government causes, such as the Confucian temple.

Turning to the Guangdong tablet, below are the first ten contributors:

敕封文林郎林敏盛, Lin Meisheng. Gentleman-Litterateur by Imperial Appointment. Ancestor, see above.

陳宗器, Chen Zongqi. A military *juren* 武舉人; active in suppressing the Lin Shuangwen 林爽文 uprising in Qianlong 53 (1788).<sup>10</sup>

職員林楫芳, Lin Jifang; here identified as an “official,” *zhiyuan*. Served as Director of the Right Brigade in the South Taiwan Hakka Six Brigade militia. Son of the first settler in the Meinong 美濃 (then known as Minong 瀾濃) region.

敕贈文林郎黃日新, Huang Rixin; Gentleman-Litterateur Bestowed by Imperial Orders. Ancestor, see above.

何滄梅, He Cangmei. Early Minong settler, came from mainland and grew wealthy on Taiwan. At some point purchased the *jiansheng* degree.

葉孫奎, Ye Sunkui. Most likely a wealthy commoner; also contributed to other temples.

曾琛, Zeng Chen. Ancestor, see above.

林蕙芳, Lin Huifang. Ancestor, very recent.<sup>11</sup>

張萬三, Zhang Wansan. Ancestor, see above.

劉宗遠, Liu Zongyuan. Ancestor, see above.

Other than the obvious difference in that, unlike the Fujian tablet, the Guangdong list includes six ancestors among the first ten contributors, a close comparison of the two lists also reveals that the Guangdong tablet contributors are woefully outclassed by those from Fujian. Among the latter are both those with Fujian registration and

those from other parts of imperial China, both Han Chinese and Manchus, serving in Taiwan as posted officials—including those with the very highest positions in the Taiwan prefectural government. In the Guangdong tablet, the highest ranking contributor among the first ten is a military *juren*, but there is also a civil *juren* lower in the list who ranks higher, yet there is no one matching the top-ranking Fujian contributors. It is no wonder, then, that those ancestors on the Guangdong tablet who were awarded imperial titles of a high rank are listed with their titles given. Even though the titles were awarded by past emperors of past dynasties, they at least provide some counterweight to the impressive credentials of those on the Fujian tablet.

## Conclusion

The South Taiwan Hakka, in relying upon the ancestral associations or *chang* 嘗 for contributions to the Confucian temple restoration, followed a practice associated with temple construction or renovation and many other public projects. But there were some differences. First, as noted, was the absence among the contributors of non-kin associations or *hui*. Again, the ancestors were identified by name only, so that on the tablet there is no indication that the contribution was coming from an ancestral association, unlike most other contribution lists. Finally, as we have seen, those ancestors with high-ranking imperial titles were so identified, a practice not to be found in other contribution lists. What made the Guangdong tablet so different was the fact that it represented social mobilization at the state level, whereas the usual run of contribution stele concern undertakings within the local community for local benefits. The Guangdong tablet expressed Hakka competition with those of southern Fujian ancestry. The competition could not be monetary, for the contributions on the Fujian tablet were far in excess of those the one for Guangdong showed: these latter totaled 896 dollars, and this was exceeded by just the one highest contribution on the Fujian tablet, of 1,000 dollars. In fact, at the state level, the Hakka were simply outgunned by the Fujianese in almost every way—and so, in attempting to counter this threat, they mobilized whatever resources they had, including their ancestors.



## Appendix

### Inscribed Record of the Renovation of the Prefectural Academy's Civil Temple (1)

#### 重修府學文廟碑記

自古學校興而人才出。我國家文德覃敷，聲教廣被，山陬海澨，靡不悅禮樂而敦詩書已。臺陽孤懸海外，自入版圖以來，涵濡聖澤，百有餘年，士習文風，蒸蒸日上。茲郡學宮歲久傾圯，無以肅宮牆萬仞之觀。孝廉郭紹芳等倡率捐修，經始於嘉慶辛酉孟冬，迄癸亥仲春告竣。宏整美麗，視昔有加，學校氣象，煥然一新。洵足仰副聖天子作人雅化；而益以見諸紳士之敬謹襄事，其來有自也。是為記。

欽加按察使銜臺澎兵備道、兼提督學政、加五級、紀錄十次遇昌，簡調臺灣府正堂、加五級、紀錄十次慶保同恭紀。

嘉慶八年歲次癸亥瓜月吉旦泐石。<sup>12</sup>

### Inscribed Record of Contributions by Registered Guangdong Natives to the Renovation of the Prefectural Academy's Civil Temple (2)

#### 重修府學文廟粵籍題捐碑記

粵籍題捐姓氏：

公費題捐共銀一百零三元。

敕封文林郎林敏盛、陳宗器，各捐銀三十元。職員林楫芳捐銀二十元。敕贈文林郎黃日新、何滄梅、葉孫奎、曾琛、林蕙芳、張萬三，各捐銀十六元。劉宗遠捐銀十四元。監生鍾子珍、職員古光純、劉永通、曾逸川、吳千、宋新恩、張仲謹、章伍齋、邱耀廷、賴顏祖、鍾伯義、吳克俊、李西安，各捐銀十二元。奉直大夫鍾七郎、貢生林標楨、贈文林郎鍾秀文、監生李榜華、生員李建猷、張廣學、陳君霖、黃成恭、謝蘭芳，各捐銀十元。劉順宗、邱雅淡、邱西湖、劉英輝、林廷禮，各捐銀八元。鎮標守備黃清泰、舉人賴熊飛、廩生李培元、監生劉達峯、監生馮家簡、生員黃粵光、職員吳萬光、黃廷政、劉訓運、傅覲、李孜文、李就林、鍾淳篤、傅雙溪、陳百三、曾存省、曾存靜、賴聯峰、章榮喜、戴玉麟、陳時儉，各捐銀六元。生員吳占侯、徐洪、徐學政，各捐銀五元。廩生林筠、監生溫橋、監生李瑞光、鍾璣江、曾德光、鍾廷秀、楊泮材、生



員劉應銓、職員黃纘寶、職員李纘芳、李昌元、職員鍾瑞川、曾進文、朱捷新、謝榮周、涂德超、馮玉林、羅朝科、范連昌、葉亨東、林春崇、陳六一、鍾冰振、李友慎、鍾開華、傅維敏、徐再峰、徐經友、彭興鳳、徐毓顯、徐飛龍、徐飲、謝惕創、謝榮一、謝宗瑞、謝尚旺、賴用散、賴永章、賴達經、梁其清、李獻禮、黃壁泰、劉觀熊、黃兆信，各捐銀四元。

勸捐：廩生劉繩武、生員李麟虎、張直。

嘉慶癸亥葭月吉旦<sup>13</sup>

### Inscribed Record of Contributions by Registered Fujian Natives to the Renovation of the Prefectural Academy's Civil Temple (3)

#### 重修府學文廟閩籍題捐碑記

欽加按察使銜臺灣兵備道兼提督學政遇昌捐銀三十元。簡調臺灣府正堂慶保捐銀一百元。前任臺灣府正堂吳逢聖捐銀一百元。臺防分府延青雲捐銀三十元。鹿港海防理番分府葉寶書捐銀三十元。

州同知林文濬捐銀一千元。中書科中書林朝英捐銀五百元。武生何元英捐銀四百元。候補訓導吳世同捐銀三百二十元。候補通判吳春貴捐銀三百元。黃合興捐銀二百五十元。監生陳啟善捐銀二百四十元。廩生黃化鯉捐銀二百二十五元。武舉蔡耀仁捐銀二百二十元。

內閣中書陳作霄捐銀二百元。武舉林廷玉捐銀二百元。監生李義達捐銀二百元。監生方德顯捐銀一百陸十元。閩縣學訓導韓高翔捐銀一百五十元。歲貢生張振東捐銀一百三十元。貢生沈清澤捐銀一百二十元。奉政大夫蘇俊臣、衛千總楊振藩、清流學訓導郭邦獻、廩生張維新、廩生韓高瑞、廩生林維垣、監生陳啟良、生員紀邦傑、生員林瓊、武生張朝瑜，各捐銀一百元。

刑部主事韓高揚、貢生蔡邦光、生員林紹華、武生陳德馨、程文元，各捐銀八十元。廩生徐朝選、生員張正位，各捐銀柒十元。歲貢生楊肇基、監生楊肇第，各捐銀陸十元。候補浙江縣洪禧、生員劉其南、武生吳綿青、賴應熊、張興隆、莊德合，各捐銀陸十元。貢生陳青江、監生郭雲淵、監生杜天奎、生員歐陽晉、武生陳仁和、武生高騰飛、武生吳元仁、郭有德，各捐銀五十元。

舉人林毓奇、生員施邦俊、生員鄭德純、生員謝克明、生

員黃廷輝、鄉賓張文資、林會川、楊海瑞，各捐銀四十元。興化府學訓導郭青雲、歲貢生曾王青、監生楊肇捷、監生許向陽、監生劉日純、監生賴宗英、生員郭廷樑、生員曾煥章、生員林奎章、生員郭高楷、生員王仕榮、生員蘇瓊捷、生員陳對楊、生員黃本淵、生員李為邦、生員鄭朝清、武生陳景來、武生曾廷琬、武生蕭兆龍、武生鄭捷輝，各捐銀三十元。武舉曾國材、歲貢生杜朝錦、廩生吳清時、廩生蔡攀桂、監生郭廷國、監生鄭則芳、生員蔡其哲、生員楊有瑛、生員吳聯芳、生員陳允中、生員黃游京、生員張振文、生員陳世桂、生員陳廷桂、生員蔡佳瑞、生員杜登雲、生員杜步蟾、生員施廷鏞、生員簡志仁、生員張如玉、生員陳蘊輝、生員鄭朝修、生員鄭朝吉、武生陳嘉猷、武生周聯標、武生郭榮五、鄉賓葉旁招、陳增輝、王天性、郭景榮、楊合順、陳兆漣、陳廷謨、陳克良、楊經謀、何亞崑、何國宗，各捐銀二十元。廩生楊登梯、生員楊廷輔、生員楊安泰、生員楊丕謨，各捐銀十柒元。監生王紹和、武生楊介謙、武生楊捷陞，各捐銀十陸元。歲貢生張廷欽、貢生黃昌盛、貢生黃昌選、監生陳可寄、生員鄭廷元、生員王瑤、生員王瑞、施嘉瑞，各捐銀十五元。監生周廷開、廩生甘作霖、生員顏清、武生倪大成、許陣，各捐銀十二元。舉人郭紹芳、武舉吳朝宗、貢生游化、貢生章甫、生員郭青峰、生員郭綏猷、生員林秉睿、生員盧時光，生員謝道南、生員郭廷材、武生陳大斌、武生張簡中、武生張簡輝、武生張簡新、林陟光、王琳，各捐銀十元。

拔貢生黃纘、生員郭廷爵，各捐銀八元。生員陳振元、生員黃日桂、職員嚴士杰、陳國英、鄭澄觀、賴文衡，各捐銀陸元。生員林大經、生員陳振曜、蔡應宜，各捐銀四元。

董事：舉人郭紹芳、武舉吳朝宗、歲貢生郭學周、歲貢生章甫、生員郭青峰。監收銀兩、候補詹事府主簿吳世繩。

嘉慶八年癸亥葭月吉旦立石。<sup>14</sup>

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## Notes

1. <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z> [2013-05-31] /臺灣文獻叢刊/二一八 臺灣南部碑文集成/丙其他(上)/重修府學文廟粵籍題捐碑記 [accessed 2014-11-05]
2. /臺灣文獻叢刊/二一八 臺灣南部碑文集成/丙、其他(上)/重修府學文廟閩籍題捐碑記 <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z> [accessed 2014-11-05]
3. Citation is from photocopy of account book, in my possession.
4. Noted in the Japanese-period cadastral survey for Datie.
5. See <http://www.rjpxsdu.com/a/wangshangdubo/20131013/106.html> [accessed 2015-10-02] 2017-01-08]
6. <http://www.nanchens.com/xqxx/xqxx09/xqxx09005.htm> [accessed 2015-10-02]
7. 瀚典:/二一八臺灣南部碑文集成/丙、其他(下)/重修忠義亭碑(乙),重修忠義亭碑(乙)(光緒二十年) <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z> [accessed 2015-10-03]
8. For example, “廣東饒平、程鄉、大埔、平遠等縣之人赴臺傭雇佃田者,謂之客子。每村落聚居千人或數百人,謂之客莊” (<http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z>).
9. “其村落,閩曰閩社,粵曰粵莊。閩呼粵人為「客」,分氣類積不相能,動輒聚眾持械鬥”/臺灣文獻叢刊/一七 治臺必告錄/卷二/內自訟齋文集/記臺灣張丙之亂 <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z> [accessed 2015-10-02] Bios from Chinese Wikipedia [zh.wikipedia.org] Accessed 2015-09-03.
10. 台灣通史林爽文列傳 [http://www.dyps.tc.edu.tw/web\\_dali/06\\_extend\\_04.htm](http://www.dyps.tc.edu.tw/web_dali/06_extend_04.htm) Accessed 2014-11-06.
11. According to the Lanfang Ji'nan Linshi Zupu, Meixian (藍坊濟南林氏族譜), 1925, Vol. 1 p.24, Lin Huifang was born in 1721, so he would have been 82 when

the tablet was made. Most probably, the contribution was made by the ancestral estate (*chang*) established in his name, as was the case with several later contributions to temples clearly identified as from the Lin Huifang Chang.

12. <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z> /臺灣文獻叢刊/二一八 臺灣南部碑文集成/甲、記(中)/重修府學文廟碑記 [accessed 2015-10-08]
13. <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z> [accessed 2013-05-31] /臺灣文獻叢刊/二一八 臺灣南部碑文集成/丙、其他(上)/重修府學文廟粵籍題捐碑記
14. <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/?tdb=%BBO%C6W%A4%E5%C4m%C2O%A5Z> /臺灣文獻叢刊/二一八 臺灣南部碑文集成/丙、其他(上)/重修府學文廟閩籍題捐碑記 [accessed 2015-10-08]