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Review

Reviewed Work(s): Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895 by William T. Rowe

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during the Cultural Revolution. Yet she taught herself enough English and history to get into the University of Pennsylvania where she received a Ph.D. in 1985. Liu works at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing. It is her dissertation, with Romila Thapar's foreword, that is reviewed here.

The book contains eight chapters in three parts, six appendixes, a chronology and bibliography, seven maps, seven figures, names and words in Chinese, along with an introduction, conclusion, and index. The author first describes the Kushan state during the first three centuries A.D. and its role in the Roman empire's trade, via India and Central Asia, with China. The Chinese attempted to control warlike people, such as the Hsiung-nu, and the silk route connecting major Indian cities is discussed next.

Liu argues that, because "Buddhism was the most active religion in the Kushan state . . . and became the dominant religion in China in the period under study (first-sixth centuries A.D.), and because the transmission of Buddhism from India to China paralleled an active trade between the two countries, it would be logical to expect some connection . . . between these two developments" (p. 2). Liu finds four historical processes—long-distance trade, urbanization, developments in Buddhist theology, and the spread of Buddhism to China—that overlapped and depended on each other (pp. 21–22).

The trade items from India were largely luxury goods, for example, coral, pearls, glass vessels and beads, precious stones, lapis lazuli, incense, perfume, bdellium, costus, and myrrh. China exported mainly silk in large quantities. These luxury items were initially used by royalty and later by the aristocratic elite. Then, through active merchant participation, royal patronage, and needs of "seven treasures" in Buddhist worship as a result of the Mahayanist developments, trade flourished. Liberal donations from the royalty, elite, monks, nuns, and the laity strengthened both trade and the spread of Buddhism in China.

There was a tremendous growth in Buddhism under the Northern Wei. In A.D. 534, more than thirty thousand monasteries were registered and Buddhism, for the first time in China, was treated in a separate monograph by Wei Shou (p. 145). Political legitimacy and crises, social pressure, and spiritual need attracted all—king, elite, and masses—toward Buddhism. Although Buddhism in fifth-century India had already passed its golden age, it was just reaching its maturity in China. Buddhism in post-Han North China developed into an institution capable of surviving numerous disasters through many dynasties and, ultimately, came to survive even longer than its Indian model (p. 173).

Liu has used a rich variety of literary, archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic sources from both India and China. She has produced a solid study of luxury trade and of the spread of Buddhism to China. She writes in a straightforward manner. Her judgments are well balanced, and she throws more light than heat on the topic. Liu is a unique scholar who needs to be

profusely commended for her worthy contribution to an important and neglected subject. I hope that she continues her research on the later period. I was surprised, however, not to find the works of P. C. Bagchi, Edward Conze, Charles Drekmeier, G. C. Pande, M. S. Pandey, J. P. Sharma, C. S. Upasak, and N. K. Wagle cited in the bibliography. Oxford University Press, Delhi, has done a good job of printing on poor quality paper. The binding is weak, but the book is reasonably priced.

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WILLIAM T. ROWE. *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796–1895*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 440. \$42.50.

In the second volume of his study of Hankow, William T. Rowe sets forth a masterful analysis grounded in a wealth of empirical detail: this is social history at its best. The work is an insightful study of social actors and structures—their functions, development, and interaction—in the important nineteenth-century Yangzi River city. It culminates in a depiction of an attempted rebellion in 1883, which the complexity and nuances of Rowe's analysis enables us to understand more fully.

One of the many strengths of this study of "early modern" Hankow is Rowe's knowledgeable and incisive comparisons and references to European urban development. Rowe's firm grounding in Western social science theory and European social history coupled with his deep knowledge of Chinese society and culture has produced cogent descriptions and interpretations of the city and urban change. He clearly delineates the aspects and significance of Hankow's social space and the composition and origin of the city's population. He examines the distinctive urban *mentalité* of the city and explores the significance of class, which he considers a "fluid and situational" concept (p. 50).

More important, this work probes a number of themes that are significant for our understanding of late imperial China, one of them indicated in the subtitle. Rowe finds that, unlike European cities at a similar level of development and unexpectedly, given Hankow's "own violent and contentious society" (p. 6), the level of open conflict and social protest was low. Following Georg Simmel, he argues that conflict and community are not necessarily antithetical, that conflict indeed may play an integrating role in a community, and that it is interdependence rather than commonality that binds a community together. Rowe shows the contentions between various social actors in such episodes as the plot of 1883 and the stall keeper's riot of 1894 and as ritualized in the Dragon Boat Festival. In each case he finds the reassertion or strengthening of community and consensus based "on the interplay of subcommunal competition and cooperation, conflict and mediation" (p. 8). This interpretation of community and conflict offers a powerfully suggestive ap-

proach for viewing Chinese communities and arenas of social action beyond Hankow. Not defined clearly in this model is the point at which conflict leads not to integration but to social disruption.

Rowe argues that local elites were in large part responsible for containing large-scale or widespread social rupture. Their "paternalistic concern" (p. 214) and their active pursuit of a social consensus enhanced the possibility of strengthening already existing community bonds. In regard to elites and community, Rowe, as throughout the book, considers the crucial implications of his interpretations; such a judicious and balanced approach is another strength of his work. Here he notes that such positive contributions as working for community consensus and providing the leadership in community services can be seen obversely as the defining and shaping of this consensus and service by elites holding a dominant cultural hegemony over society.

The relationship between state and society is a crucial theme in Rowe's treatment of the urban community. Using the provision of social services, he argues that impetus for change came mostly from society itself with the state bureaucracy playing a subsidiary role. An especially important societal initiative was the benevolent hall (*shantang*) system, which played an integrative role in the city as a whole. In this regard, Rowe's discussion of the rise of the public sphere is important. He argues that there was an "expanding sphere of collective but extragovernmental responsibility" throughout the century (p. 61), resulting from both a cyclical and a secular retreat of state initiative and a willing resourcefulness among societal forces. Rowe's thoughtful reflections on the public sphere as opposed to the governmental and private spheres in the late nineteenth century add much to our understanding of this important development.

This book points with great clarity to the nineteenth-century turning point of the Taiping rebellion: Rowe calls it the "most important watershed in [the] local history" of Hankow (p. 247). Had he chosen to organize the book chronologically, pre-Taiping and post-Taiping would have been the obvious appropriate periodization. In many, perhaps most, aspects of city life—for example, the emergence of the public sphere, social mobility, crime and self-defense, the work force, and the structure of commerce and work organization—the devastating rebellion wrought great changes. Rowe finds the city to have been affected after the rebellion by a "cultural anomie" stemming from the "new and unsettling openness" of commerce and society (p. 21).

Finally, Rowe points to the last decade of the Qing when conflict began to overwhelm the elite-led community and consensus amid the dynasty's new policies and the rise of more class-based interests. This community disaggregation may have become apparent in significant strikes, riots, and protests only in that decade, but it is clear that the unraveling of the community as it had been began with the Taiping catastrophes.

In sum, this work is a brilliant contribution to our understanding of the morphology and workings of the Chinese city with its various communities, of the relationship between state and society in the last days of the empire, and of significant social change in the last years of the Qing.

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JANICE E. STOCKARD. *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 221. \$32.50.

Until fairly recently, scholars thought that they understood the basic parameters of the Chinese family. Recent research is undermining that understanding and suggesting exciting new approaches.

Janice E. Stockard has uncovered and meticulously documented startling marriage practices in the silk-producing areas of the Canton Delta. She shows that, in many places in Sundak (Shun-te) County, the normal form of marriage was what she calls "delayed transfer marriage," a form of marriage in which the bride returned to her natal family three days after her marriage and remained there for several years before eventually taking up residence with her husband. During this interval, she periodically visited her husband's home. On her first visits, she took her own food. Only gradually did she partake of food offered by her husband's family. The nature of the sexual relationship of the couple during this interval is somewhat ambiguous, but the event that precipitated the woman moving in with her husband was frequently pregnancy. That this form of marriage existed at all is remarkable enough; that it was the dominant form is truly astonishing.

During the late nineteenth century, a variant of delayed transfer marriage developed in which a "bridedaughter" (Stockard's term for the already married woman who had not yet left her natal home) paid her husband's family a sum of money so that they might purchase for him a concubine who relieved the bridedaughter of most of the duties of wife. But the bridedaughter remained ritually tied to her spouse—after her death, she received sacrifices as his wife. The necessity of having a husband in the next world seems to have been more pressing than the need for one in this world. The practice of marrying a living woman to a dead man (spirit-marriage), known in other areas of China and usually interpreted as a practice inimical to the best interests of the woman, was regarded by women in Sundak as a highly desirable form of the institution. Indeed, families in which an unmarried man had died were besieged with offers from young women wanting to marry him. Stockard also finds sworn spinsterhood in this region.

In addition, Stockard documents the existence, again in silk-producing areas of the Canton Delta, of "girls'