

Book Reviews

The Ideal Chinese Political Leader: A Historical and Cultural Perspective, By XUEZHI GUO. [Westport, CT: Praeger. 2002. ISBN 0-275-97259-3.]

How and to what extent can Chinese culture mould a political leader – his personality, behaviour, strategy in political interactions, and the way he envisions for governance – and impact on the shaping of political system and rules? To answer this question, Xuezhi Guo examines how Chinese political culture, centred on Confucianism and fused with Daoism and legalism, has evolved in terms of political pursuits for Chinese leaders. Drawing on established literature, Guo argues that there are “five major characteristics that form the foundation” (p. 232) for an ideal Chinese leader’s political pursuits. They are humaneness (*ren*), which is the source of the human feelings of empathy and sympathy; rituals (*li*), which define social boundaries and manifest virtues based on self-cultivation and self-realization; a strong moral obligation, which is essential for social harmony and order; a transcendent attitude toward political pursuits, which aids self-preservation and curbs unrealistic and inappropriate ambitions; and the ability to master strategy in order to achieve one’s goals while surviving political hardships. Should a political leader achieve all these, according to Chinese political thought, he would become a nobleman (*junzi*) as a person, and a near sage-king as a ruler. Thus, his governance would be benevolent; his people would behave according to their social status in a hierarchically structured society; his leadership would enjoy popular support because his strong moral obligation would set up a perfect example for people to follow; his transcendent attitude would provide him with self-protection on the one hand, and prevent his government from interfering in people lives on the other; and his strategy and astuteness would enable him to prevail in political affairs.

Few leaders in China have even come close to this kind of ideal kingship. However, Chinese rulers have never hesitated to take advantage of the value system centred on *ren* and *li* to consolidate their rule. Thus, benevolence, a central piece of *ren* in terms of governance, provides rulers with legitimacy to eliminate those labelled as “enemies,” as benefiting their followers, while rituals are used to stifle individual autonomy, the very foundation for human rights and freedom. Guo argues that modern Chinese leaders, namely Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, were no exceptions in their political pursuits, although in their efforts to reinvent China they adopted Western ideologies and practice to varying degrees. The impact of Chinese culture on these leaders was so profound that not only did they employ traditional strategies and (where necessary) transcendent attitudes in political struggles for power, but they also manipulated their followers and the general public with traditional values – which centre on communalism at the expense of individualism, and are ‘goods-’ rather than ‘rights-’ oriented –

to consolidate their authorities and promote their ideas. Mao Zedong was perhaps an extreme case in this respect.

Guo's study provides students of China studies and the general public with an in-depth reading of Chinese political culture and its effect on Chinese leaders and their political pursuits. But it demands a more profound question. Why has an ideal political leader, a *junzi* as a person and a sage-king as a ruler, never come into being in China, despite the relentless pursuit by literati, the would-be leadership class in China, of *ren* and *li*, and the ceaseless efforts of Chinese scholars to perfect Confucianism in terms of governance? Guo notes that "Chinese political thought does not favour an institutionalized political system ... , but rather relies on a ruler's personal qualities" (p. xiii) for good government. Indeed, given the innate flaws in political thought, fruitless efforts to produce an ideal political leader in over two thousands years, and the ultimate failure to establish a truly "benevolent government" despite repeated revolutions and heroic sacrifices, it is both intriguing and astonishing that Chinese leaders and the general public fail to understand that essentially it is the system, not good people, that matters for a good and accountable government. In this sense, cultural explanations for political outcomes in China and political leaders' behaviour perhaps explain too much, for political decisions and policy are made more often than not in consideration of *realpolitik*, and too little because, as Robert Putnam reveals in his *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton University Press, 1993), political institutions do foster the culture that reinforces the system, although a civic society is vital for political development.

JING HUANG

Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance. Edited by ELIZABETH J. PERRY and MARK SELDEN. [London and New York: Routledge, 2000. xii + 249 pp. £16.99. ISBN 0-415-22334-2.]

In all likelihood the event with the largest political and social impact in the East-Asian region would be the democratization of China. However, it is also evident that China's political reform, like its economic transition, is taking on the form of a cautious and gradual restructuring. Out of pragmatic reasons – allowing society to *assist* the government in areas where it should not govern, is incapable of governing, or cannot govern – the state has unofficially relaxed its grip over certain social spheres such as women's rights, social welfare and rural poverty. As a result, marked shifts in state–society relations have taken place allowing for greater freedom of association, speech and popular contention. On the other hand, the imprisonment in December 1998 of leaders of the newly established Chinese Democratic Party, and the harsh repression of the *falun gong* leave no doubt about the intentions of the central leadership: the state sets out the boundaries of individual liberties, and these run

along strict political, ethnic and religious divides. The alternating policies of informal toleration and strict control have shaped the dynamics of Chinese popular contention, which sometimes bear striking similarities to other (semi)authoritarian states-in-transition.

This relatively unexplored terrain forms the theme for the volume edited by Perry and Selden. In this sense, they not only address a highly critical issue of social change in China, but also a timely one. To many observers China has reached a crossroads: citizens have gained and become more conscious of their rights, and further stalling of political reforms might foment widespread popular discontent and protest. As Perry and Selden write: "Is Chinese society a ticking time bomb, about to detonate the Communist state? Have the wide-ranging patterns of resistance and pressure for change from below generated a fundamental transformation in popular consciousness or in the state–society relationship?" (p. 13). The various eloquently written contributions in this volume are a measure of this potentially explosive socio-political mixture.

The volume starts off with a solid introduction that gives essential background information on the reforms, and the various social cleavages and sources of conflict. Catering to the needs of students and teachers, the introduction also makes reference to theories and concepts on social movements (framing, resource mobilization, grievance, political opportunities and constraints) and thus provides a good framework for reading the chapters. One theme that runs through the collection is the contradictory role of local authorities in shaping popular contention. While they might be inclined to suppress voices of dissent, local leaders just as often protect, legitimize, and voice popular resistance. We find such cases in the vivid descriptions by Zweig (village officials standing up for the rights of their constituencies that have fallen victim to processes of urbanization, commodification and industrialization); Bulag (Mongol officials that articulate ethnic resistance against the interests of Chinese migrants); C.K. Lee (union cadres siding with increasingly dissatisfied migrant and laid-off workers); White (officials defending farmers that resist the one-child policy); and Jing (local cadres leading villagers in environmental protests against the state).

Looking at the other side of the state–society equation, many chapters also devote their attention to the specific dynamics of popular contention and social movements. Such examples can be found in the contributions by Pei, who notes a shift in the dissident democracy movement from confrontational to more indirect, legal stratagems against the state; Zheng, who describes the impact of social and economic transition in shaping the differentiated resistance strategies of women's groups; Mallee, relating the stories of the millions of migrant farmers whose active resistance effectively eroded the state's control mechanisms over rural society – the *hukou* or registration system; Feuchtwang, writing on the differences between outright political opposition through revitalized religious traditions such as in modern Xinjiang or Tibet, versus the negotiated, less visible religious contention through the preservation of

local deities, temple cults and festivals; and S. Lee and Kleinman, who examine the little-researched, yet, controversial issue of suicide – with particular reference to female suicide – which runs counter not only to modern Chinese moral values, but traditional Confucian and Daoist values as well.

For such a comprehensive volume it is a pity that no contribution explicitly examines the dispersing, heterogenizing implications of globalization on popular protest and grievance. Following Arjun Appadurai, how did global flows of economic, technological, cultural, ethnic, and religious concepts affect local resistance and contention? Which flows propelled by transnational capital proved decisive in moulding social conflict and cleavage in China: those from the West or those from the East – Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan? One social arena in which global flows have directly shaped state–society relations is the development sector, where international donors intentionally organized civic, voluntary groups that today occupy negotiated, at times contested, spaces in society. Barmé’s contribution is the sole article in the volume that is (more narrowly) devoted to this topic, as he explores the role of Hong Kong and Taiwan media in shaping discourse of urban intelligentsia and artists.

However, these are only minor points of criticism. Through well-researched articles that draw on in-depth fieldwork and ample Chinese and Western sources, this edited volume gives a good overview of the hotspots of Chinese society, that might or might not one day evolve into social movements or cycles of contention. I had long since earmarked this book for reading, and now that I have digested it, I am well satisfied and believe it would make an excellent textbook for courses on modern China, social movements and popular protest.

PETER HO

The Transformation of Rural China. By JONATHAN UNGER. [Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002. ix + 256 pp. \$23.95. ISBN 0-7656-0552-X.]

This book brings together Jonathan Unger’s wide-ranging research on rural China over the past 30 years. It covers most topics of interest to students of rural politics and society. Four chapters deal with the “Countryside under Mao,” focusing on the 1960s and 1970s, and seven with the reform era. Several of the chapters appeared in earlier versions in journals or as book chapters. The Mao chapters draw heavily on the well-known book, *Chen Village*, which Unger co-authored with Anita Chan and Richard Madsen. The author relies heavily on interviews, gathered initially from refugees in Hong Kong and later from numerous field trips to Guangdong, the south-west, Qinghai and elsewhere, in which he had opportunities to speak to ordinary villagers and local officials, and to engage in local survey research.

Research on rural China is divided into studies of particular locales, which yield rich data but raise questions about ‘generalizability’ –

missing the forest for the trees – and studies that seek to understand the whole but that run the risk of over-generalizing by missing essential local variation. Jonathan Unger's book succeeds admirably in blending both approaches. Some chapters analyse one locale; others generalize about large parts of the country such as the poor south-western and western provinces or the industrializing eastern regions. The localized materials are situated in the context of broader data from secondary Western or Chinese academic and journalistic sources.

What holds the two parts of the book together is Unger's scepticism about wholesale decollectivization. It isn't that he fails to recognize the achievements of the reform period or the enormously damaging impact of Maoist policies, campaigns and practices. What does bother him is that decollectivization was essentially imposed and accomplished by fiat, with one stroke of the knife (*yidaoqie*) – here he differs sharply from other scholars – and that the advantages of retaining elements of co-operation were lost in the process. Unger believes that the production teams, the lowest tier of the commune system, could have worked effectively had they been given full autonomy. The free rider problem could have been overcome by mobilizing social pressures, provided material incentives were not undercut by disadvantageous state procurements.

The option of redefining and retaining the teams was not tried. Instead, households were on their own. Strip farming made it difficult to provide for irrigation. Even now, free market economists believe that the remaining source of social security, the entitlement to collectively-held land, should be replaced by privatization and that the periodic reallocation of land to account for changes in the family cycle should be abolished. (On the latter point, Unger fails to discuss the crucial issue of investment in land which requires long-term security of land holdings.) The dismantling of collective services such as health care plunged much of the poorer countryside into a crisis, accompanied by the crisis in rural education. Collective resources, Unger notes, are of particular importance in the poor areas, where households which cannot offer collateral are unable to obtain small loans to buy such inputs as chemical fertilizer. Unger paints a dismal picture of rural poverty, especially in minority areas, although he bestows guarded praise on the state poverty programme. Many of the problems of rural China are due to continued administrative arbitrariness and abuse, which Unger sees as an important continuity with the Mao period, one that should have been the subject of drastic political reform but was not.

The "wager on the strong" worked well in the industrializing villages of eastern China, where welfare services could be maintained from local resources. Unger argues that patronage and dependency defined the relations between the authorities and the peasants in these areas. In two chapters on the highly industrialized township of Xiqiao, Guangdong, he offers an enlightening discussion of private enterprise, concluding that local business people are beginning to exert real influence at the village level.

In the chapters on the Mao era, Unger claims that there was real

peasant commitment to socialism. Poor peasants' gratitude for land reform overrode their misgivings about later policies. The poor and lower-middle peasants saw the class line as legitimate, because it gave them a superior status vis-à-vis the village pariahs. And, study of Mao's teachings in the mid-1960s resulted in a "new world view" striking root (p. 27). He believes that many peasants underwent a temporary, almost religious, conversion in the mid-1960s. One result of these beliefs was that peasants accepted the Dazhai work point system by mutual evaluation, which functioned because people felt impelled to show their moral worth by willingly contributing to the collective. But he notes that peasants became disillusioned in the 1970s when top-down mismanagement reduced material rewards: "Political despotism ultimately ruined rural socialism" (p. 28).

Together with his views on decollectivization, other scholars will dispute this assessment. It contrasts sharply with the findings of Dali Yang, who offers a very different interpretation of peasants' views of socialism after the catastrophe of the Great Leap Forward, which Unger only mentions in passing. Moreover, the author himself describes the essentially coercive nature of the political environment. After all, the key themes of Mao study were class struggle and the threat posed by new enemies. Even good-class peasants must have been aware that if they said the wrong thing, they could themselves become targets. Unger also shows that commitments to socialism hinged on the expectations of a better material life. Remunerative, coercive and normative incentives were thus closely linked

In sum, this is a richly researched, strongly analytical book, often provocative, thought provoking and stimulating.

THOMAS P. BERNSTEIN

Chinese Women and Rural Development: Sixty Years of Change in Lu Village, Yunnan. By LAUREL BOSSEN. [Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002. 391 pp. Hard cover \$80.00, ISBN 0-7425-1107-3; paperback \$29.95, ISBN 0-7425-1108-1.]

This study constitutes a major contribution to our understanding of women, gender and rural development within and beyond China. Examining 60 years of economic, political and social change in one village in Yunnan province, this book has both depth and breadth. Research in Lu village, also the site of Fei Xiao-tong's very fine field study conducted in the 1940s and reported in *Earthbound China*, enables the author to examine how larger concepts and abstractions such as Chinese culture, communist planning and market-driven reforms shape and are shaped by gender definitions and relations in everyday practice. Building on Fei's earlier study, and drawing on her own surveys, interviews and personal narratives from repeated field visits between 1989 and 1999, Laurel Bossen has assembled and analysed a wealth of ethnographic detail on

conditions of local development from the pre-revolutionary period to the present, and thus the diverse economic, political and cultural changes experienced by women in a single village.

Three of the main chapters reconstruct the economic roles women played in the local community from the 1930s and document the very considerable changes in the local economy, the household economy and the economics of the gender system. The author pays careful and detailed attention to gendered relations to land, gender divisions of labour in village and household, the fine balance between agriculture and non-agricultural and on- and off-farm occupations, the distribution of wealth and poverty, processes of impoverishment and enrichment, and conflicts with child and elderly care. In examining many under-researched economic and gender themes of past and present, this local study revises images of women's farm labour before and after the revolution, details old and new opportunities for non-agricultural work within and beyond the village, and highlights the interdependence of men and women. In particular Bossen's study adds significantly to our understanding of footbinding and its eradication, and of ways in which despite a succession of shifts and new opportunities, divisions of labour within family and village primarily remain gendered. For earlier decades, her examination of the household and wider economy leads her to associate the demise of footbinding in this village with simultaneous changes in cotton textile technologies, domestic handicraft production and rise of new transport technologies in international trade.

A further major section of the book presents social, demographic and cultural aspects of gender and development depicting marriage and family dynamics among different generations. Here again detailed analyses of family institutions and customs including marriage payments, wedding arrangements, family rituals, divorce, family division, inheritance, sworn sisterhood, family planning and care for the elderly, illustrate how such practices contribute to the complex textures of family life and exert a strong influence on women's experience of development. These chapters are especially interesting for their exploration of unusual patterns of marital residence such as uxorilocal and long-distance marriage and thorny issues to do with family planning policy, sexual imbalances at birth and later ages, and disturbing rates of female suicide due to overwork and lack of co-operation, support and respect from family members. One particular linkage that the author might have explored further is the relation between village endogamy and close post-marital contacts between women and their natal kin, and sex ratios at birth and in infancy. Viewing Lu village from a historical perspective makes it possible for the author to re-examine gender in the course of rural development both within and beyond China. The discursive movement between developments in Lu village, China and international development processes is one of the many strengths of this book. Bossen has a wide and close acquaintance with the literature on gender and rural development and one of her goals was to understand how gender systems

more generally relate to agricultural systems and their variations. She uses well her exploration of gender in relation to a specific agricultural system with its changing cropping patterns, production sites, technologies and labour requirements and divisions to address broader transformative processes and debates in the gender and development field. Overall, Bossen has taken full advantage of her unique opportunities in a single village to observe and compare the tensions between state and market, kin groups and individual, men and women, and in so doing has improved our understanding of how women in one village experienced and responded to the dramatic changes in China's rural development and of gender systems in relation to international processes of rural development.

ELISABETH J. CROLL

Chinese Femininities, Chinese Masculinities: A Reader. Edited by SUSAN BROWNELL and JEFFREY N. WASSERSTROM. [Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002. xiv + 460 pp. £40.00; \$60.00. ISBN 0-520-21103-0.]

This compilation will be welcomed by all who teach courses on gender, women or the family in Chinese society. Edited by the anthropologist Susan Brownell and the historian Jeffrey Wasserstrom, the book offers a series of carefully paired essays on male and female issues that explore the historical and cultural construction of sex and gender in Chinese society. The introduction provides an invaluable literature review that shows how research in this area in the 20th century grew from, and was influenced by, global trends in social and political thought. Thus work in the 1970s was inspired by the women's movement in the West. It was often written by Europeans who, unlike their American counterparts, still had some limited access to the Chinese mainland. It tended to be presented in the form of overviews and to be concerned with the success and failure of 20th-century challenges to women's subordination in China. The 1980s and early 1990s produced many more focused studies of the lives of women, often underpinned by fieldwork as this became possible. The last years of the 20th century in Chinese studies, as in other areas of scholarship, saw a shift of interests from women to gender. Another important change was that China-born scholars, often graduates of American universities, began to contribute their distinctive voices to debates.

The first two essays in the book, by Janet Theis and Matthew Summer, use Qing dynasty court records to tease out concepts of femininity and masculinity as reflected in legal practice. The increased emphasis on the circumscription of women of elite families in the Qing period is explored by Susan Mann in a fine essay originally published in 1991. By some maverick decision, names of dynasties and places have been converted into *pinyin* while book titles and authors are left in the Wade-Giles of the original publication. Such departures from scholarly norms can only increase the difficulty of convincing students of the importance of

romanizing Chinese accurately and consistently. Paired with Mann's essay, a piece by Susan Glosser focuses on the way the men of the "new culture" generation saw the chaste, domestic wife as the symbol of a weak, backward nation, and as an obstacle to their own achievement of modernity. In a section on literature, Lydia Liu challenges the idea of a female literary tradition in China while Wendy Larson explores the male tradition. Gail Hershatter's essay on prostitution and David Ownby's on bandits deals with views of 'dangerous sex' in the early Republican period. This is followed by essays on the gender identities of protagonists of the Cultural Revolution by Emily Honig and Nara Dillon. Contributions by Charlotte Furth and Nancy Chen show that ideas drawn from traditional Chinese medicine have informed Chinese concepts of sex and gender and continue to do so. The final essays deal with the reform era. Harriet Evans examines the changing images of the ideal wife, William Jankowiak writes about parental affection and Louise Schein and Ralph Liptzinger focus on the interaction of gender, sexuality and ethnicity showing that internal orientalism affects the depictions and understandings of China's minority peoples.

As this collection clearly shows, the study of gender is central to an understanding of China's recent past and to its present. A concern with gender is timely now because the reform era in China has not only brought about the recognition of existing gender inequalities that in Maoist times were hidden or denied, it is associated with the emergence of new forms of gender inequality related to consumerism, to China's growing links with the global economy and to a re-evaluation of the family and the domestic sphere.

The editors of this wide-ranging collection are to be congratulated for producing a reader which brings together the work of so many distinguished researchers in the field and yet offers a coherent and accessible view of the significance of gender in Chinese society. I have only one disappointment: I would have expected more contributions by scholars born in China, a group that very properly plays an increasingly important role in English language publishing in China studies. In particular, the absence of a piece by Xueping Zhong, author of *Masculinity Besieged*, (Duke University Press, 2000) a pioneering text in the field, was surprising. Nonetheless, this is a splendid book and should be widely read. The introductions and selected further readings will make it especially useful as a course text.

DELIA DAVIN

Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Gender in Chinese History. Edited by SUSAN MANN and YU-YIN CHENG. [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001. 310 pp. \$19.95; £13.95. ISBN 0-620-22276-8.]

Recent Western research on women and gender in Chinese history has raised critical questions about many of the familiar narratives of China's

Confucian tradition. This research – much of it the work of contributors to this volume – has produced perspectives on gender relations that are at once more complex, fluid and historically plausible than the standard assumptions of Confucian discourse would suggest. The historical constitution of the ‘inner’ and the ‘outer,’ and the relationship between these apparently distinct spheres across time have been a central aspect of this work. The boundaries between these spheres were far from fixed. Indeed, women’s activities and experiences – in medicine and technology for example – often seemed to challenge the boundaries altogether; the distinction between the concepts was more a marker of interdependence than of simple hierarchy. The title of this book aptly points to the ironic contrast between dominant Confucian assumptions about women and the pervasive presence – the visibility – of women in the documentary record.

Aimed at students and teachers interested in the history of Chinese women, *Under Confucian Eyes* brings together new translations of primary sources written between the Tang and the late Qing dynasties. The texts are presented with introductions explaining their significance and suggestions for further reading. As the introduction points out, Chinese writers treated the family and household as “crucial sites of production and reproduction on which the larger polity depended to flourish and endure” (p. 1). However, research bias towards themes associated with the public world of statecraft has resulted in a marginalization of those topics associated with the ‘inner’ sphere of women’s lives and gender relations. Though uneven in its attention to different periods – predictably, materials from the late-Ming and early-Qing predominate – the volume offers a glimpse of the rich diversity of sources on women’s lives once the ‘inner’ world is rescued from discursive obscurity.

The texts move through accounts of women’s religious experiences, letter-writing guides, funeral eulogies to bawdy stories of sexual fantasy and romantic intimacy. Didactic texts written for the edification of women in the early Tang dynasty suggest an interpretation of women’s moral influence that both upholds and goes beyond the standard Confucian requirements of filiality, loyalty and diligence. The *Book of Filial Piety for Women*, here presented in parallel text alongside equivalent passages from the *Book of Filial Piety*, portrays women’s personal propriety and self-sacrifice not so much as signs of women’s subordination to the outer sphere, but as examples of the ways in which a wife’s ‘inner’ practice contributes to the moral stance of her husband in the ‘outer’ sphere. The Ming writer Luo Rufang even uniquely argued that “motherly love and nurturance” (*ci*) was the foundation of filial piety. The story of Princess Miaoshan, by contrast, represents a view of women’s moral identity which emphasizes personal autonomy rather than marital responsibility. Long familiar to women and men throughout China, and a powerful component of the cult of Guanyin in China, the story tells of a woman’s conflict between her desire for spiritual autonomy and social expectations of marriage and childbirth. Sexual practices and gender relations feature prominently in texts on non-Han peoples. Others about

supernatural women described as fox spirits, goddesses and ghosts demonstrate the importance of gender difference as a vehicle of imagination and fantasy.

On a methodological note, this volume is a fine example of how historical evidence about 'marginalized' themes can be assembled to challenge dominant assumptions of 'mainstream' history. These texts present not only new interpretations of women's lives, but more nuanced understandings of the 'public sphere,' constituted by inner as well as outer effects. The textual evidence of different voices, perspectives and relationships offers a forceful critique of the dominant Confucian discourse of gender and domesticity. It also suggests that the relative sidelining of gender in standard historical writings on China has been the result not of a lack of importance of women in the world of men's affairs, but of scholarly bias towards the public sphere of politics and statecraft.

HARRIET EVANS

Shehui zhuanxing yu wenhua bianmao: huaren shehui de bijiao [Social Transformation and Cultural Changes in Chinese Societies]. Edited by LAU SIU-KAI, WAN PO-SAN, LEE MIN-KWAN and WONG SIU-LUN. [Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001. 545 pp. US\$12.00. ISBN 962-441-554-4.]

This is the fourth volume produced by the same editors, and is a collection of 22 articles from the Fourth Conference on Social Indicators in Chinese Societies organized by these four Hong Kong academics in 2000. The authors are social scientists (especially sociologists) specializing in social indicators research in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China. This book is divided into five sections, with five chapters depicting various aspects of social transformations in China and Taiwan, three chapters portraying economic changes in China and Hong Kong, five essays describing cultural dynamics in today's Taiwan and Hong Kong, four essays analysing emerging environmental consciousness in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and the remaining five papers discussing issues related to ethnicity and class in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

From the distribution of chapters in different themes, readers can detect the diverging features of the development in social indicators research in the three Chinese societies. The six chapters related to China concentrate only on the characterization of current macro-level changes in urban population, economic growth and occupational structure, and social development, employing social indicators based on existing government statistics. The social indicators in China are designated primarily to measure the social and economic impact of the regime's 'open and reform' strategy since the early 1980s.

In Hong Kong and Taiwan, on the other hand, the development of

social indicators research has led to a broader spectrum and wider sociological perspectives, including aspects of public life in cultural globalization, human needs, privacy, gender preference in childbirth, environmental consciousness, sustainable development, eco-feminism, inter-ethnic marriage, ethnic identity, social capital, white-collar mentality and class conflict. It is interesting that the social indicators scholarship of Hong Kong also shows an unspoken intention to monitor significant changes in public sentiments in the post-1997 transition era. In Taiwan, the enterprise of social indicators has been developed further to reflect many newly emerging socio-cultural changes arising from the increasing complexity of Taiwan's political and economic transformations. Moreover, the empirical data used by the authors from Taiwan and Hong Kong in these chapters are also more diverse in nature, and the presentation of social statistics more sophisticated.

From the various chapters in this book and previous volumes of social indicators research in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China, readers can grasp some pictures of long-term societal trends as well as short-term social problems in the three ethnic Chinese societies, individually. But a systematic sociological comparison of social change and development among the three societies is still not presented in the volumes. It is hoped that in future conferences and volumes, more bilateral or even trilateral comparative studies will be consciously made by using comparable social indicators from the three Chinese societies.

Finally, a careful reader cannot help noticing from this book the different development paths and levels of advance in social indicators research and in the broader social sciences in the three modern Chinese societies.

HSIN-HUANG MICHAEL HSIAO

Media in China: Consumption, Content and Crisis. Edited by STEPHANIE HEMELRYK DONALD, MICHAEL KEANE and YIN HONG. [London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002. 240 pp. £50.00. ISBN 0-7007-1614-9.]

The media play an increasingly important role in contemporary Chinese society and feature significantly in most people's lives. For this reason alone *Media in China: Consumption, Content and Crisis* is a welcome volume in an under-researched field. The book comprises 17 chapters including an introduction and afterword by Hemelryk Donald and Keane. The second chapter is flagged as an overview of China's 'media industries' but focuses almost exclusively on television and then the remaining chapters include seven more on television, three on cinema, two on popular music, one on outdoor media and one on Internet portals. This produces a strong leaning towards television at the expense of a more comprehensive introduction to Chinese media. Indeed there is nothing on radio or print media of any kind, and only minimal attention to the Internet.

The general picture of China's 'mediasphere,' as the editors like to call it, is a useful one that starts to tackle some of the complex issues surrounding Chinese media practices and attempts a preliminary theoretical framework for understanding them. In the introduction and conclusion Hemelryk Donald and Keane pertinently point out some of the misplaced clichés in many Western analyses of Chinese media. They also pinpoint some of the critical changes afoot in Chinese media – notably relating to access, the proliferation of information and entertainment 'platforms,' and the decentralization of Chinese media structures and practices.

The book's strengths lie in its subject matter, its situated examples of different media practices and its youthful enthusiasm, which carries over into most chapters to make interesting and thought-provoking reading. Unfortunately, the chapters are uniformly too short, producing a recurrent feeling throughout the book of having touched something fascinating but of being left afterwards with more questions than answers.

One of the volume's major weaknesses is the disjuncture between the framework given by Hemelryk Donald and Keane, also suggested by the book's subtitle, and the remaining content of the work. Apart from the conclusion and afterword, for instance, only two chapters in the book are substantively on consumption while at least ten deal with the production and industry side of China's media industries. Similarly, only six chapters directly address the issue of content while at least five ignore it completely. Ironically, even Keane's chapter on television content in actual fact deals more substantially with television *formats* from an industry perspective. Perhaps least convincing of all is the reference to 'crisis,' which is substantiated in only two other chapters in the book pertaining to the film and music industries and probably disguises more than it reveals in reference to other media sectors.

The co-editors argue that China's media are in crisis as they tackle new financial and policy structures while retaining many functions and obligations – principally propaganda – from the past. However, a good understanding of the changes and transitions in China's media industries requires subtlety and sensitivity of a kind that the melodrama of 'crisis' fails to provide.

The theoretical formulation of the book comes mainly in the introduction and conclusion, and does offer some interesting food for thought. However, the arguments remain for the most part at the level of suggestion and speculation. Hemelryk Donald and Keane, for example, justifiably point out the need for a new theory of culture foregrounding consumption in Chinese society (pp. 8–9) but make little reference to the existing literature on Chinese consumption and offer no 'theory of culture' of their own. The slightly less than convincing nature of the theoretical frameworks is, however, exacerbated by the general failure of the authors of individual chapters to take up the issues introduced by the editors and a general detachment from some of the key literature on Chinese society of recent years.

In summary, *Media in China* offers a useful introduction to some key aspects of the changing landscape of Chinese media that will be primarily

useful for undergraduate and postgraduate students of China. It will particularly interest those researching media, especially television, but has a general pertinence for China studies more generally. The media are so fundamental to contemporary China that few can afford to ignore the topic any longer and this volume will help many take the initial steps on the road to understanding.

KEVIN LATHAM

Education in the New China: Shaping Ideas at Work. By YVONNE TURNER and AMY ACKER. [Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002. viii + 247 pp. £42.50. ISBN 0-7546-1914-1.]

This volume explores a new and little understood facet of Chinese education – the development of private colleges which recruit students outside the public higher education system. These institutions typically charge high fees and emphasize fields of knowledge such as business and foreign languages, which may help graduates find their way into China's thriving 'new' economy. The authors, one from Britain and the other from America, provide a fascinating case study of Harmony College, where they had work experience as head of English and head of business respectively. The main source of information for the volume comes through the narratives of an opportunity sample of 31 students and graduates of the college, 18 women and 13 men, who told their stories in vivid and often heart-wrenching detail. In many ways, the final chapter of the book, which presents six of these stories "in their own words," is the most significant contribution of the volume, with narratives ranging from a graduate of the famous Peking University who decided to go to Harmony College thereafter, to young people from regions as diverse as Inner Mongolia, Jiangxi, Gansu and Heilongjiang. All of them had somehow found ways to raise the funds for this relatively expensive study programme.

After introducing the project, the authors provide a lengthy contextual chapter which draws on a wide range of reputed scholarly research on the history and contemporary situation of Chinese education. They have a particular interest in issues of women's participation, and occasionally err on the side of exaggeration, with statements such as the following: "In 1952 over 90% of the population were illiterate, and virtually all women were unable to read and write" (p. 35). Generally, however, they make thoughtful use of the literature to sketch out a context for understanding the recent development of private colleges and their relation to the public system.

In subsequent chapters they draw upon aspects of the narratives garnered in their interviews to sketch out a picture of the education system from pre-school through elementary, middle school, high school and post-secondary education, as experienced by these 31 individuals. This provides a unique "subjective" account of schooling in socialist

China, which can profitably be set against the many academic studies of China's school system over the past several decades. A thematic review of the same material highlights shared and different perspectives of the subjects on a wide range of topics from teaching and learning to political movements. Further chapters deal with their reflections on the nature of their educational experience at Harmony College and their future plans and expectations. Finally there is a chapter that anticipates the values and behaviours which these young people are likely to bring to British universities if they succeed in the plans they have for study abroad. These insights may well be quite helpful to academic and administrative staff in Britain dealing with students from China and East Asia.

This book will be of interest to scholars of China, and to educators interested in cross-cultural educational understanding. It provides an interesting model of action research across cultures, as well as many rich insights into contemporary Chinese education at a time of rapid change. It also opens a door to the understanding of a burgeoning arena in Chinese education, that of private schooling.

RUTH HAYHOE

China in the World Market: Chinese Industry and International Sources of Reform in the Post-Mao Era. By THOMAS G. MOORE. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. xviii + 344 pp. Hard cover £45.00, ISBN 0-521-66442-4; paperback £16.95, ISBN 0-521-66442-X.]

This is another doctoral thesis on China, which means that there is one good idea that has been padded out to satisfy the word requirement. It also has the mandated thesis structure: background, hypothesis, case studies, conclusions containing policy implications and an endnote on methodology. The one good idea is a genuinely good one, and original, so it is a worthy thesis, but as a contribution to the literature, it would have been better cut back to a couple of articles. The style is repetitive (there is only one good idea) and boring. But specialists on China's opening-up programme and those working on industrialization policy will value having it on their shelves, even if they cannot manage to plough through the whole book.

The one good idea can be stated simply. In the author's own words, "The major conclusion of the book is that the international environment most propitious for reform, restructuring, and rationalization of Chinese industries during the 1980s and early 1990s was one marked by moderate economic closure rather than the ideal-typic economic openness assumed by most observers." His hypothesis is that when world markets for a sector's product are constrained by external factors, those industries respond by trading up to higher value-added products and by restructuring to attain lower costs. He tests this hypothesis with case studies of the

textile and shipbuilding industries, the former constrained by the MFA (Multifibre Arrangement) and the latter by GSC (global surplus capacity). Free trade, or no closure, simply encourages industries to go on as they are, bulk exporting, without having any incentive to upgrade quality or to become more efficient. He finds collaborative support for his hypothesis in the case studies.

When the author addresses the question of whether or not the findings are case-specific or can be generalized to other sectors, his analysis becomes rather contrived. He examines the contrasting South China export boom in processing activities and simple low value manufactured goods such as toys, athletic footwear, electronic games and household appliances. These sectors did not face the same external "closure" as the two main case study sectors but they moved up market in the same way. Faced with this problem of generalizing his hypothesis in order to set up a new developmental paradigm, he uses the usual methodological trick of claiming that the South China experience was "an unrepresentative case." The South China crawl up the value-added chain was in his opinion "pushed through by investors from Hong Kong and Taiwan, not induced by a free trade environment, *per se*." But those Hong Kong and Taiwanese investors were motivated to move into South China by the opening up, i.e. freeing up of trade, by the Chinese government. South China produces at all levels of the value-added chain for these simple manufactured products and does so, and can only do so, because of the increasingly free trade environment China faces for those products.

The author has established that in the particular circumstances in which China found itself in the 1980s and early 1990s when it was seeking to establish export-focused industrial sectors, the textiles and shipbuilding industries responded to moderate market closure by moving up market. He has not established his conclusion that "a free trade environment does not have the same effect in inducing industrial change in [transition] China as it might in another country."

Most of the research for this thesis was carried out in Hong Kong, where the author was based during the fieldwork period October 1991 to September 1992, rather oddly because of a condition imposed by his "post-Tiananmen Fulbright grant." It is a pity that the author was not able to spend more time in China, interviewing the principles involved in both the government and the sectors covered. While it is true that Hong Kongers and "American and European informants" have an "unrivalled willingness to talk openly about issues concerning China's deepening integration into the world economy," this is no substitute for in-depth research in China.

The book provides a case study *curiosum* rather than a major contribution to the literature on opening economy industrialization in China. It is unfortunate that the first formal statement of the main hypothesis contains a typo where confusingly the word "modern" was substituted for "moderate."

Guangdong in the Twenty-first Century: Stagnation or Second Take-off?

Edited by JOSEPH Y.S. CHENG. [Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2000. 460 pp. \$34.00. ISBN 962-937-066-2.]

The economic success of Guangdong since 1978 has been widely studied and its contributing factors are several, including the geographical and economic proximity to Hong Kong and Macau, the special economic policies and institutional settings granted by the central government, the pragmatic development strategies – especially those practised in the Zhu (Pearl) River delta, and the extensive overseas Chinese clan relationship. Unlike its preceding three volumes, which focused on factors contributing to the rapid growth of Guangdong, different models of development, and the challenges faced in the new stage of development, this volume mainly gives attention to the impact of Zhu Rongji's reform and of the financial crisis on the development of Guangdong.

According to the editor, there are four sections in this multi-disciplined collection of work by Hong Kong academics, emphasizing political trends (chapters on organizational streamlining and economic restructuring, interest articulation between the government and private enterprise); economic reforms (chapters on industrial structure and industrial policy, review of FDI, comparison of FDI between Guangdong and Beijing); legal innovations (chapters on the collective contract system, labour disputes in Shenzhen, legal perspectives on the province's challenges in the 21st century, and legal developments); and developments in social services (chapters on decentralization of higher education, services for the elderly, crime, water pollution legislation, solid waste management).

The basic question posed in this book is whether Guangdong, the most economically developed province in pro-reform China, can enjoy further growth in the new century after its previous success. While growth rates have been stagnant in the late 1990s, this research has identified several constraints that might lead to the loss of momentum of the province's development, including the negative impact of the Asian financial crisis on Guangdong's exports, widespread corruption and related illegal activities, and increasing competition from other regions, notably, the Chang (Yangtze) River delta. It appears from chapters in this volume that the leadership in Guangdong is well aware of these challenges.

This is a collection of research on various subject fields, with balanced shares on political, economic and social issues. Methodologically, chapters on interest articulation between the government and private enterprises, determinants of FDI between Guangdong and Beijing, collective contracts and Chinese-style collective bargaining, and the water pollution legislation apply case studies for analysis. The introduction chapter has fairly comprehensive summary of each chapter, giving readers a condensed view of the main arguments. Although the conclusion chapter has a section on co-operation with Hong Kong, it would perhaps have been better to have included at least one chapter on co-operation between Guangdong and Hong Kong–Macau, as this factor has been influential on the economic development of Guangdong. While the book title imposes

a question mark on the two outcomes, the whole manuscript leaves the readers to judge the likelihood of the future of Guangdong reaching “stagnation” or “second take-off.”

Well-edited with detailed chapter contents, maps, tables, figures and contributors’ information, *Guangdong in the Twenty-first Century* should be a helpful reference for those concerned with the development of southern China in the new millennium. Business and social analysts, and scholars of Asian studies could also benefit from this multi-disciplined research collection.

FUNG KWAN

China and the Knowledge Economy: Seizing the 21st Century. By CARL J. DAHLMAN and JEAN-ERIC AUBERT. [Washington, DC: The World Bank. xxvi + 170pp. \$25.00. ISBN 0-8213-5005-6.]

Written at the request of the Chinese government, *China and the Knowledge Economy: Seizing the 21st Century* is a publication of the World Bank Institute in collaboration with the World Bank’s East Asia and Pacific Region. It has an executive summary, an introductory chapter, and three parts. The introductory chapter puts China’s development in historical and comparative perspectives, discussing reasons for China’s stagnation and economic decline in comparison with Western countries over the past two thousand years. Part one points out the daunting challenges that China has been facing, from increasing employment, maintaining higher growth and international competitiveness, reducing regional and income inequalities, and sustaining the environment. Part two discusses the importance of building an infrastructure conduit to the development of a knowledge-based economy, including economic and legal systems, human capital and information. Part three focuses on technological foundations, emphasizing that China should diffuse technology through the economy, improve the research and development system, and explore global knowledge. The report represents a prescription that the World Bank writes for China’s economic and social development for the 21st century (although falling short of suggesting the opening up of higher education to foreign investment), of which the Chinese leadership is fully aware. But “moving to action,” as the title of the last chapter suggests, is more urgent than knowing the symptoms.

The report is based on the analysis of World Bank staff with background information supplied by Chinese scholars in economics, science, education and management. Therefore, there is information unavailable in Chinese sources. For example, the well-publicized State High-Tech Research and Development Programme, or 863 Programme (so called because it was launched in March 1986 by four senior scientists with the approval of Deng Xiaoping), is said to have been disappointing. The report discloses that the number of patents yielded from the programme is of the order of 700 over the period 1986–1998, approximately half the

number obtained by basic research projects supported through the National Natural Science Foundation of China – on which the government spent about one-third as much money over the 12 years.

Since the late 1980s, the Chinese have been transfixed by various concepts from abroad. First there was “the third wave,” and now “the knowledge economy” has become a buzzword. But there is no time left for China to merely embrace these and other soon-to-be-introduced terms if it really wants to be part of the trends behind these terms, and to leapfrog into world-class distinguished league of economies. Seizing the 21st century and the opportunities provided by the knowledge-based economy, is the recommendation that the report conveys.

CONG CAO

Understanding Modern Taiwan. Essays in Economics, Politics and Social Policy. Edited by CHRISTIAN ASPALTER. [Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2001. xii + 235 pp. £42.50. ISBN 0-7546-1602-9.]

This is a disappointing book on an interesting and important topic for two main reasons: first, the nine chapters included in this volume are of very uneven quality and only a minority of them are both informative and original; and secondly, all the contributions were written in the late 1990s, thus before Chen Shui-bian’s election, substantially diminishing their interest, in particular on issues such as labour, social welfare or nuclear policies, all of which have witnessed profound changes in the last few years.

This weakness is greatly felt since the freshest contributions to this book deal precisely with these later series of problems. For instance, Christian Schafferer’s chapter on Taiwan’s nuclear policy and anti-nuclear movement is a useful account of the background and the political debate about the construction, frozen in October 2000 and resumed a few months later, of a fourth nuclear plant. Hsiao Hsin-huang’s paper is a rich, descriptive and analytical exposé of what he supposedly sees as the five major “streams” of the social welfare movement in Taiwan since the 1980s: disabled, women, children, youth and elderly welfare movements. And Christian Aspalter’s final chapter on the relationship between welfare policies and elections relevantly underscores the growing importance of social welfare programmes in candidates’ political platforms, although the demagogic and unrealistic dimensions of these new ‘pork barrel’ promises tend to be ignored.

The rest of the volume does not add much value. Regrettably, Aspalter’s introductory chapter on the Taiwanese economic miracle does not include any section on the cross-strait extension (and hollowing out) of the island’s industrialization. The next paper on Taiwanese emigration to the US discusses neither the reversed brain-drain phenomenon observed since the 1980s nor its relation/comparison with mainland Chinese emigration to American high-technology centres (Tsen Yen-fen). Based on second-hand Western literature, Chuang Ya-chung’s chapter on Tai-

wanese identity, though not wrong, gives an impression of *déjà vu*. Schafferer's other contribution presents what are regarded as the five main factors of Taiwan's liberalization and democratization (economic development, social changes, the People's Republic of China, the US government, the Republic of China's international isolation and the Taiwanese opposition movement), however, it does not provide any new assessment of their respective roles and the way they have interacted in this process. And Cheng Wei-yuan's chapter on labour policies is too sketchy to really address the question of the difficult development of nationwide and powerful unions in today's democratic Taiwan.

This book therefore should not be read as a *mélange* of comprehensive studies on various aspects of today's Taiwan, but rather as a *potpourri* that provides some useful background information about less researched features of this newly democratic country.

JEAN-PIERRE CABESTAN

Macau in Transition: From Colony to Autonomous Region. By HERBERT S. YEE. [Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. xxiii + 208 pp. ISBN 0-333-75009-8.]

The date chosen for Macau's handover to Chinese administration, 20 December 1999, was so close to the onset of Y2K hoopla that it virtually guaranteed Macau would vanish from the world's consciousness once the ceremonies were over. Thankfully, in this volume Herbert Yee pierces this obscurity with a carefully researched, insightful study of the social and political dimensions of Macau's transition from "Chinese territory under Portuguese administration" (the status defined for it after the 1974 Portuguese revolution) to Chinese Special Administrative Region.

Readers who have knowledge of Hong Kong's transition from British colonial rule will find several familiar features in Macau's experience: the initial good feeling engendered by the Joint Declaration, which covered up fundamental differences that emerged later in squabbles among negotiators; the administrative machinery of transition involving a joint liaison group and a land commission; and the drafting of a basic law that regulated and circumscribed political development in the SAR-to-be. Yet there is much that is different in Macau's transition process. The Portuguese authorities occupied a weaker bargaining position than their British counterparts, yet they were able to use as leverage China's desire to showcase the "harmonious" working relationship with Portugal to the world, and especially to Britain, in order to obtain concessions for themselves. The presence in Macau of an indigenous Eurasian minority, the Macanese, introduced complexities in the interplay among interest groups that were lacking in Hong Kong. Public opinion in Macau, unlike in Hong Kong, also strongly favoured the introduction of Chinese rule, reflecting dissatisfaction with the Portuguese authorities' ability to fight economic recession and maintain law and order. Yee is particularly

effective in shedding light on these differences and exploring their significance both for the negotiating parties and for the Macau SAR's post-handover political development.

In obtaining views of the Macau population on issues relating to the transition, Yee relies extensively on surveys taken by himself and his colleagues in the eight years prior to the handover. These surveys paint a picture of a citizenry that is poised between a traditional passive stance towards politics and governance and a more Western-influenced, participatory view. The insights Yee offers into public attitudes towards the transition are most enlightening, and point to the difficulties involved in reconciling changing public attitudes with the inflexible political structures negotiated under the transition regime – a problem that plagues post-handover Hong Kong as well.

The final chapter recaps the dynamics of the transition process and discusses the outlook for Macau's future political development. Here it would be helpful if Yee broadened his focus beyond the prospects for democratization. He is certainly correct that the democratic camp in Macau is politically weak and faces marginalization by other political forces. Yet the alternative for Macau is not necessarily a subservient regime wholly beholden to Beijing. The emergence of independent, pro-business political groupings who successfully contested the 1996 Legislative Assembly elections means that "government by tycoon," or at least a government that feels compelled to systematically co-opt business interests, is very much a possibility. As the young Chinese civil servants catapulted into top policy-making jobs gain maturity and confidence, they may choose to bring a technocratic, non-ideological attitude to governance. These developments are noted elsewhere in the book, but pointing to their significance in the context of Macau's prospective political development would enhance the concluding discussion.

This last point is only a minor quibble with a book that is valuable reading to anyone with an interest in Macau itself, in the process of Chinese reunification, or more broadly in current political developments in the greater China region. Necessarily, however, it leaves the story incomplete; in other words, the book cries out for a sequel. Perhaps the author can be prevailed upon to produce an equally authoritative study of socio-political developments in the first years of the Macau Special Administrative Region.

BRUCE TAYLOR

Some Did It for Civilization, Some Did It for Their country: A Revised View of the Boxer War. By JANE E. ELLIOTT. [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002. xliii + 610pp. US\$39.00. ISBN 962-201-973-0.]

Jane Elliott presents a strongly revisionist thesis about the Boxer War of 1900 embedded in a labyrinthine book. Her main topic is the war waged

by eight foreign powers against the Boxers in 1900, but the book contains byways where Elliott beckons readers to follow through discussions of images of warfare that are tangential to this main thesis. In her introduction she states, "This study proposes grounds for a dramatic new way of seeing the events of the siege of the Legations in the summer of 1900. Put quite simply, moderate forces either within the armed forces alone or in conjunction with the moderate to modernizing factions at Court, deliberately stayed the hand of those laying siege to barricades around the Legation" (p. xxvii–xxviii). However, the evidence Elliott presents seldom discusses the siege in Beijing and relates primarily to the efforts of the modern Wu Wei army units to repulse the foreign powers' invasion at Dagu and Tianjin from 17 June to 14 July 1900.

As I understand Elliott's main thesis, she asserts that the official Qing dynasty armies assigned to protect Tianjin and Beijing from a foreign invasion were well-equipped with the latest weaponry, well-trained for battle and well-led in an admirable military performance against the combined efforts of the foreigners' assault. She believes these Qing units performed well and operated under a strategy intended to check foreign armies short of Beijing, but to do so without damaging irrevocably "the long-term best interests of China" (p. 529). Further, she believes that "some" of those Qing armies and Chinese fighting against the foreigners were motivated by a sense of patriotism and national self-defence that was similar to the popular nationalism historians associate with late 19th-century Europe and North America. Her message is highlighted in a frontispiece in Chinese dedicating the book, "In the memory of General Nie Shicheng who gave his life fighting for his country against the invading Powers in 1900."

Elliott argues that later historians, both Chinese and Western (and especially Americans), continue to misrepresent the Boxer War. They have accepted the views of the elite British press, especially *The Times* of London, and those found in the self-congratulatory accounts written by representatives of the eight powers in the aftermath of their bloody suppression of the Boxers. These wrongly characterized the resistance as composed of ill-trained and ill-equipped Qing soldiers incompetently led and aided by ignorant and often vicious Chinese peasants.

Elliott presents considerable evidence in the historical record to support her revisionist thesis. She uncovers efforts to hide the defeat suffered by Admiral Edward Seymour in his disastrous expedition from 10 June to 26 June 1900 to rescue those held in the Beijing legation quarter; details the high quality of the training, armaments and leadership of the Qing armies with material from European and Japanese military attaché reports; and provides accounts of the admirable leadership and fighting qualities of the Qing forces in the battle for Tianjin from both Chinese and foreign sources. She makes particularly effective use of material from Scott Dalby's 1976 Columbia University dissertation about the views of Qing officials in the Tianjin region. Her conclusions about the successes of the Chinese in the late 19th century are a minority opinion, but one supported by other scholars, including some she does not cite such as

Stephen C. Thomas, *Foreign Intervention and China's Industrial Development, 1870–1914* (1984).

Unfortunately the promise of this revisionist agenda becomes obscured behind Elliott's exploration of related but largely irrelevant issues concerning images of war. Only in the last two chapters of this 600-page book does Elliott set forth evidence to support her main thesis while another five long chapters involve investigations of the British and American elite and popular press coverage of the Boxer War, the way the war was represented in Chinese popular art, the limitations of Western war photography of the late 19th century and a 96-page analysis of cartoons with Boxer themes drawn for Western and Japanese audiences.

The problems begin in the introduction, where Elliott states "What distinguishes this work from other studies of the Boxer rising is that the emphasis is upon *image makers* ..." (p. xxviii). Image makers are the subjects of the first five chapters and in them Elliott reveals a great fascination with visual representations as historical sources. Her general conclusion is that elite image makers totally misrepresented the Boxer uprising, but that popular conceptions both in China and the West were closer to the truth. What bothered me about these chapters was that I saw little connection between them and the issue of how well the Qing fought against the foreign powers in 1900. Most of this material really belongs in a separate book.

Yet, some of the material in these chapters is relevant to Elliott's main thesis. For example, I took Elliott's significant conclusion for a 138-page chapter on Chinese popular prints to be that the Chinese masses in north China had similar access to visual representations of the Boxer War as those conveyed by the popular European and North American printed press of the same day. Thus, she asserts they were as capable of nationalistic feelings as the readers of the French, British or German press in the summer of 1900.

Revisionists must accept that their new conclusions will be debated. For example, in her long discussion of Chinese popular prints Elliott argues, in support of the patriotism of ordinary Chinese in 1900, that these widely distributed prints of warfare against the foreigners imbued the ordinary Chinese with "precisely the kind of knowledge that inspired in the illiterate poor a love for their country, the patriotism which countless European observers found lacking in the Chinese (p. 117). I think Elliott's conclusion plausible, but certainly open to some debate for as Eugen-Weber established in *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (1976), the transition from rural subject into citizen of a nation-state is a complex process.

Elliott is on even less firm ground when she argues that the Chinese woodblock tradition more successfully "displays the impersonal random destructive force of war in a way that was not apparent in European art ... until the twentieth century" and therefore was more "modern" (pp. 129–130), or in the assertion that the "Chinese tradition had a liveliness and a force, and above all, a profusion of common men

fighting, nowhere apparent in its Western counterparts” (p. 131). In the course of reading Elliott’s book, I visited the West Bend, Wisconsin Art Museum where hangs a large colour lithograph of the American Civil War entitled “The Battle of Corinth” by Louis Kurz (1833–1915). Kurz, himself a veteran of the American Civil War, and a partner ran a lithographic printing company in Chicago that in the 1890s produced a large series of such prints for mass distribution depicting all kinds of Civil War battles. The scene depicts the Union and Confederate forces fighting on 3–4 October 1862. The two armies are gathered around their generals and their flags, with artillery and small arms firing, and soldiers falling dead and wounded. The style is distinctively Western, but the underlying composition quite comparable to some of Elliott’s plates, “The English and French Armies Engaged in Battle with Boxers” (plate 3.10a) and “Victory of General Dong at Beicang” (plate 3.14). The Kurz print has the same liveliness, force and emphasis on the common fighting men that Elliott finds unique in the Chinese prints.

Elliott’s account in the final two chapters on the state of readiness of the Qing armies and the battles around Tianjin in June and July 1900 I found to be incomplete and difficult to follow. For example, Elliott tells us that a “serious evaluation of the military role of the Boxers in the battle of Tianjin ... lies outside the purview of the present study ...” (p. 531). That is a sizable hole in a book about the Boxer War. Moreover, Elliott’s narrative approach is difficult to fathom. The key to her arguments are the battles in the summer of 1900. Why put off the heart of the book to the final chapter, some 500 pages along? It appeared to me that Elliott must have imagined her readers as already having full command of those events. In her final chapter Elliott provides a rationale for the way Nie Shicheng fought around Tianjin that begins, “The answers lie in the decrees which instructed him to not to attack the (Seymour) Expeditionary Force but to prevent foreigners from reaching Beijing ...” (p. 529) and goes on to detail four other factors that explain his behaviour. Yet these arguments are never fully developed with textual citations while the circumstances and impact of Nie Shicheng’s death on 9 July, five days before the fall of Tianjin, are never described. Indeed, I repeatedly felt that Elliott did not do full justice to the Qing defence of Dagu and Tianjin. Finally, I never understood who were the “some” of the title. Certainly it included Nie Shicheng and his First Army (*qianjun*) of the modern Wu Wei armies. But, what about other units such as the Muslim troops of Dong Fuxiang? She seems to include generally the young Chinese men in the imperial armies, but the issue of how the Boxers themselves fit in is left hanging. Such problems are familiar to readers who see good manuscripts as they come to a press before publication. Why the Chinese University Press in Hong Kong did not insist on a thorough revision of this manuscript is a mystery, for as it stands Jane Elliott’s work is too sprawling and unfocused to garner the attention her important revisionist ideas deserve.

The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project.

Edited by MILENA DOLEŽELOVÁ-VELINGEROVÁ and OLDŘICH KRÁL
with GRAHAM SANDERS. [Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard
University Press, 2001. xv + 348 pp. £30.95. ISBN 0-674-00786-7.]

More than 80 years after the May Fourth movement in 1919, this intellectual revolution continues to fascinate scholars and politicians who ponder the future of modern China. *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital* is another effort to examine the movement's competing goals of modernity.

The book is an admirable sequel to *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium*, edited by Benjamin Schwartz and published in 1972 in the same Harvard East Asian monograph series. But whereas the earlier work leaned towards a more historical approach, the present volume, comprised of contributions from another group of leading scholars in the field, concentrates on the May Fourth project of rewriting literary history in an attempt to reassess the convoluted development of the Chinese discourse on modernity.

The opening essays by Leo Ou-fan Lee and Rudolf Wagner provide erudite introductions to the continuing debates. They underline the complexity of the relationship between rhetoric and political power, but each has a distinct emphasis. Lee criticizes the "incomplete modernity" of the movement in its conflation of aesthetic modernism and nationalism. Wagner, however, chronicles the activists' manipulations to politicize and appropriate the movement by assuming the role of national vanguard.

Similar hegemonic devices underlay the tactics with which May Fourth scholars rewrote Chinese literary history. As Milena Doleželová-Velingerová, Stephen Owen, and Ellen Widmer cogently argue in their essays in the second part of the volume, the May Fourth enterprise of rewriting literary history did not reflect an objective reading of the past. Instead, it was a radical reinvention of China's past literature according to a preconceived ideological programme in order to legitimate the May Fourth's new cultural policies. A case in point is the new intellectuals' proclamation of the primacy of vernacular over classical as the genuine "literature of the people," as Doleželová-Velingerová's essay clearly demonstrates.

In the third part of the volume, Catherine Vance Yeh's essay on "roots literature" of the 1980s (that is, literature seeking cultural roots) and David Der-wei Wang's comparison of four fictional genres (among them, social exposé) of the late Qing and late 20th century give the May Fourth dialogue a fitting contemporary ring. Yeh sees the ghost of May Fourth reappear in "roots literature," where writers continue to adhere to the earlier practice of using fiction as a tool to arouse national cultural consciousness.

The volume concludes with Ying-shih Yü's perceptive reflection on the meaning of May Fourth. Yü proposes to discard the conventional analogy of "renaissance" or "enlightenment," which, according to him, is either too simplistic or too political when assessing this intellectual

upheaval. Yü warns against a master narrative and advises us to examine this “age of cultural contradictions” in terms of “its multidimensionality and multidirectionality.”

A brief review can hardly do justice to the sophisticated analysis and lively debates presented in this work. But it is clear that these debates call for new research. For example, a more comprehensive review of the controversial and biased reading of Chinese literary history by such luminaries as Hu Shi and Zheng Zhenduo is in order. Similarly, a deeper inquiry into the “cultural conservatism” of the *Critical Review* (*Xueheng*) group also needs to be taken. More important, however, the debates further displace May Fourth from the proud place it once held in China’s modern history of progress. Indeed, a common concern about the hegemonic nature and rigid ideological constructs of the May Fourth project informs most of the essays. This hegemony resulted in a single literary history and a monolithic worldview. It is therefore hazardous to reduce this intellectual movement to any one point. The multiple worlds and conflicting doctrines of the May Fourth movement, as Ying-shih Yü wisely suggests, can only be comprehended from many diverse angles.

CHANG-TAI HUNG

Seeking Modernity in China’s Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900–1927. By WEILI YE. [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001. 330 pp. \$49.50. ISBN 0-8047-3696-0.]

They went to America to learn the skills to make China modern and along the way they transformed themselves. Some of the earliest pioneers, women trained in missionary schools before going to America in the late 19th century, returned to China as medical doctors and created a new profession in China. Those who earned PhDs, paid for by the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program, became the backbone of a generation of systematically trained professionals who brought a new basis for social and political authority to a state that was seeking a source of intellectual legitimacy to replace the now-defunct Confucian exam system. And for them all, their values underwent enormous challenges. For the first time, they thought about marrying for love – in many cases having left their arranged marriage partner back in China while they went overseas to study. Men and women mixed together in social gatherings and debated free love. The women’s own self-perception of their gender roles changed, as did their relationship to the state, their profession, and the poorer strata of Chinese society.

Weili Ye’s excellent study of Chinese students in America in the first 27 years of the 20th century shows how the dual processes of learning overseas and the personal struggle for identity were greatly influenced by the different periods covered in the book: the late 19th century, when traditional values dominated China’s ruling class; the first decade of the 20th century, when historically rooted values, such as prohibitions about

the social mixing of the sexes, were still strong in China but were undergoing challenges; and the May Fourth generation that sought professionalism and social liberation, with little ambivalence about rejecting traditional values. Thus while women of the May Fourth generation first tasted feminism in China, “upon arriving in America, their feminist convictions were greatly strengthened, and even radicalized” by the suffrage movement in America. Overseas students were at the cutting edge of Chinese society; otherwise they would not have ventured overseas. But America’s evolving norms affected the modernized mind they brought back to the motherland, complicating their efforts to reintegrate into a changing China.

Dr. Ye mined vast sources about these people. She studied the magazines and newspapers of a generation of Chinese scholars in America, presenting surveys that reflected their views. For her chapter on the arts, Dr. Ye delves into the plays produced by a generation of Chinese playwrights in America. For the love affair of Hu Shih and his American mistress, she studies the letters they exchanged. In fact, Dr. Ye leaves no stone unturned in her pursuit of data that reflect the views and experiences of her protagonists. And while each chapter presents an overall portrait of life in the particular sphere, we always meet several major players in each period through touching and meaningful mini-biographies.

The scope of the study – student associational life, professionalism, race, women, morality and romance, and recreation – resonate for me, for a unified perspective must be applied to many cases to assess its validity. And while some cases bordered on the tedious, such as the chapter on recreational activities, they are justified for a female historian who seeks to understand the comprehensive impact of life in America on this overseas generation.

Numerous themes reflect the circumstances of returnees today. As the Qing dynasty was collapsing, overseas students in America heatedly debated what political forms were needed to keep China powerful and unified, all the while balancing American democracy with concerns that only a centralized China could prevent national disintegration. Yet without returning to engage in nation building, their discussions were little more than idle chatter.

Once they returned, could China incorporate them into an emerging society? Could they carve out their own space where they could act as modern, worldly citizens in a society that distrusted outside values? Could they find an audience for their plays; universities or institutions where they could transfer their new methodologies; and government institutions where they could utilize their new skills? One excellent theme was racial discrimination. Yet, as with most aspects of their lives, overseas students turned their real time experience into new professions, making the study of race, racial development and racial discrimination a target of academic analysis.

A depressing epilogue shows how those who chose a more political role fell prey to post-1949 politics and suffered greatly due to the

Communist government's innumerable political movements of the 1950s and 1960s. While it remains unclear why she decided to leap into the contemporary period, she was able to reflect on the negative side of the overseas students' lives when they chose to return.

While the book needed greater conceptual clarity in its definitions and its overall intellectual construct – I am after all a political scientist, and not an historian – and needed a concluding intellectual restatement, Weili Ye has written a wonderful social history about China's modernization and its conundrums, viewed through the lives and experiences of a generation of overseas students. The scope is enormous, the detail remarkable, and the analysis often penetrating. Scholars and advanced students in education, history and women's studies will be richly rewarded by this study.

DAVID ZWEIG

Surviving the City: The Chinese Immigrant Experience in New York City, 1890–1970. By XINYANG WANG. [Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001. 157 pp. \$17.95. ISBN 0-7425-0891-9.]

The author, Xinyang Wang, is a social historian who reassesses the history of early Chinese immigrants in New York City, departing from the ethnic-heritage and racism analyses of immigrants' adaptation to America. Instead, he pursues an actor-oriented approach, showing how economic forces played an important part in the decision-making activities of the immigrants, such as the selection of neighbourhoods for settlement, participation in the labour movement, return to China, and intensification of intra-group solidarity.

The book has seven chapters. Chapter one lays out the general argument and has a brief introduction to his research methodology, which is basically historical and comparative. He relies heavily on the newspapers from Chinese immigrant presses in New York, and his comparative data on the Italian Americans are drawn principally from primary sources. Chapter two provides a brief history of the Chinese artisans and peasants from China, with a short comparison between Chinese and Italian immigration to the United States. Chapter three explores the problem of the Chinese immigrants' return migration. The author argues that there is no mystique about why some Chinese immigrants returned to the old country. The factors that motivated the return migration of European immigrants were fundamentally the same as those for the Chinese immigrants in New York.

The author also discusses why the Chinese immigrants dropped their sojourner mentality in the early 1950s and decided to stay in the United States. The Second World War, economic opportunity created by the war, and the demographic change in the Chinese community all seemed to play a role in the change of the sojourner mentality. Chapter four discusses how the work places of the Chinese laundry men played a crucial role in the immigrants' residential location. Chapter five exam-

ines various factors for group loyalties among the Chinese. He contends that the ethnic economy was a major reason. The Chinese tended to socialize only with kinsmen and fellow townsmen in their work places; as a result, there was a strong group loyalty among the Chinese. Chapter six debunks the allegation that Chinese immigrants were anti-union and incapable of expressing labour militancy. The author shows that the Chinese immigrants did try to arouse class-consciousness among their co-workers with some successes. Labour militancy is a function of production relations. Chapter seven concludes that the ethnic economy greatly influenced the adaptive patterns of the Chinese in New York City. To survive in New York did require certain adaptive strategies such as choosing certain places to live, and developing certain techniques in building group solidarity and work relations.

All in all, the book is quite successful in showing how immigrants are actors and shapers of their own destiny. It is a valuable addition to the literature on immigration history in the United States and to Asian American Studies. The emphasis on how the ethnic economy influences adaptive strategies, however, is not a totally new perspective. It should not be overly emphasized at the expense of a more even-handed treatment that includes cultural factors and racism emanating from the larger society. As demonstrated by many scholars, these factors do affect the adaptive patterns of immigrants in general and the Chinese in particular. The cultural tendencies of the Chinese to affiliate with each other on the bases of “blood ties” and “locality of origin,” and the tradition of returning to one’s homeland to glorify one’s ancestors and family status are perhaps greater than those of other groups. The dialect similarities among the Chinese also encouraged certain patterns of group affiliation. Furthermore, one could argue that racism against the Chinese played a crucial role in the development of the Chinese ethnic niche composed of Chinese restaurants, hand laundries and garment factories. This is particularly so in New York state where the Chinese were excluded until the 1940s from 27 occupations, including lawyer, engineer, doctor, bank director, chauffeur, dentist, pawnbroker, guide, accountancy, security guard, embalmer, plumber, horse track employee, veterinarian, architect, estate agent, registered nurse and teacher (Milton Konvitz, *The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law*, 1946). Xinyang Wang could have given these factors of culture and institutional racism a more prominent role in the decision-making activities of the Chinese immigrants, as they shaped both the economic structure and the adaptive responses of the Chinese in America.

BERNARD P. WONG

Transpacific Displacement: Ethnography, Translation, and Intertextual Travel in Twentieth-Century American Literature. By HUANG YUNTE. [Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press, 2002. xv + 209 pp. \$ 24.95. ISBN 0-520-23223-2.]

The key words provided in the title – “ethnography,” “translation” and

“intertextual travel” – as well as various combinations of these terms, explain the contents of this book, which sets out two main aims: to give an exposition of Orientalist cultural work in 20th-century American letters; and to consider this cultural work from a textual point of view.

The indications given in the introduction draw a profile of an Orientalist tradition that goes back to the 17th century, when the first Jesuits arrived in China and began a long history of speculations about Chinese language and cultural traits.

The first three chapters explore how this tradition, fully articulated by Emerson, was then textually transmitted to Ezra Pound through Ernest Fenellosa’s study and to Amy Lowell through the work of Florence Ayscough and Percival Lowell. This part of the book does not stand out for its novelty. An excellent study on the subject is available, for example, in Robert Kern’s *Orientalism, Modernism and American Poem* (1996).

In chapter four, however, the shift into more peripheral texts and into the American pop culture of Charlie Chan’s movies renews interest. Huang discusses Charlie Chan’s text, showing how its language essentializes features of the Chinese race and cultural clichés. At the same time, other literary texts, by the well-known essayist Lin Yutang and the lesser-known poet John Yau, constitute a response to ethnic prejudice, advocating Chinese–English pidgin as a means of socio-cultural critique.

Thus Huang’s attention gradually focuses on aspects of American literary canon. In the last part of the book Huang attempts to fathom strategies for assimilation from both Asian American writers and American scholars. The author presses on with a critique of what could be dubbed as the political imagery of American translation. Through a detailed comparative analysis between some contemporary Chinese poems and their translations, Huang Yunte demonstrates how translators’ choices are aimed at emphasizing Chinese political context over formal features of the text.

The study of translators’ manipulations has a long history, and perhaps it could be interesting to attempt a different approach to the problem. For example, along with an exposition of what is in the Chinese text and what translation has ‘failed’ to convey, one could spend a few words on the fact that this very comparative analysis enables us to highlight some features of the Chinese text in its own language. We are told of the differences between the Chinese text and the American text, but not much about the differences *inside* the language.

Another related critical annotation arises from some choices in methodology. The author claims he wants to focus on the text but, at the same time, he often supports his reading of both Chinese and English versions using extra-text comments made by the poet or by the translator.

The critical issues engendered by the confinement of the poem to the frame of political representation are far from over, and fertile connections with a certain understanding of the nature of language can be drawn. However, limited space slights Huang’s absorbing discussion of the more than double-edged Chinese–English relationship.

Transpacific Displacement has then the merit of pointing out linguistic and cultural clichés in America's encounter with Chinese literature. From what is called the "ventriloquism" of imagist poets Pound and Lowell, to the "double ventriloquism" of more recent Asian American writers, this book opens up possibilities of looking at textuality as a means of questioning cultural identities.

COSIMA BRUNO

Chinese Populations in Contemporary Southeast Asian Societies: Regional Interdependence and International Influence. Edited by M. JOCELYN ARMSTRONG, R. WARWICK ARMSTRONG and KENT MULLINER. [Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. 376 pp. £45.00. ISBN 0-7007-398-0]

This collection of papers grew out of a conference of the same name held at the University of Illinois in 1997. Like most of its kind it suffers from some unevenness of content but happily, in this case, not from excessive variation in the focus of the contributors. Its title is a little misleading in that many of the relationships between Chinese populations and their social and economic matrices are implicit rather than explicit. That small caveat apart, the volume is a valuable addition to the literature.

Broad regional overviews are provided in the introduction by M. Jocelyn Armstrong and R. Warwick Armstrong, in a longer historical overview by Norman Parmer, and a short disquisition by Leo Suryadinata on the economic role of the ethnic Chinese in the region. There follow chapters by Hong Liu on Chinese commercial organizations in Singapore, by Theresa Chong on Chinese Chambers of Commerce in the Philippines, by Jean DeBernardi on new developments of Christianity in Singapore and Malaysia, and a paper by veteran researcher Judith Nagata on the empowerment of Chinese women in Malaysia through world religions. Sharon Carstens contributes a fascinating study of personal identity amongst Hakka at Pulai, Ulu Kelantan. More wide-ranging are papers by Tan Bee Cheng on identity amongst South-East Asian Chinese in general and finally a look at translational practices within the even broader Asia-Pacific region by Donald Nonini.

The Armstrongs' summary is very useful as far as it goes, emphasizing the basic points that definitions of "Chinese" are extremely various amongst the countries of the region and that their country-by-country distribution is very far from following that of the populations in general. Here one might have wanted a more extended discussion of just how each country determines who is "Chinese." In Singapore, for example, though the authors do not say this, "Chineseness," like other ethnic categories, officially descends in the male line. In other states the definitions, as the authors make clear, differ widely, varying not

only from country to country but also from time to time. What is striking is that census takers, notwithstanding sometimes many generations of residence and assimilation, everywhere maintain this ethnic denominator.

Norman Parmer's chapter, "Historical perspectives ...," seemingly written for a high-school audience, is not to be relied upon at a great number of points. He seriously underrates the former importance of the Chinese in agriculture, although to be fair he does mention their role in the plantation sector. But Chinese farming communities have existed in the region for centuries as work by William Newell, Peter Gosling, this reviewer and many others demonstrates. Of this literature Parmer seems to be entirely ignorant. He also adopts a highly Sinocentric view of the many diplomatic missions sent to the Yellow Throne over centuries. It is very doubtful that South-East Asian rulers saw themselves as vassals, as Parmer argues. Since resident diplomatic missions did not really begin until the 19th century there was no other alternative way of conducting international relations. Tribute accompanied these missions, of course, but tribute was received in return. Written Chinese was not really a legacy in Vietnam (p. 19). The use of Chinese characters to write Vietnamese was. Only a total ignoramus would need to be told that in the Philippines Catholic orders were influential. This book clearly presupposes a fair pre-knowledge of the region. Why Filipino farmers around 17th-century Manila found it hard to compete with Chinese is not explained. It is doubtful that "all" Chinese were, at that time, men. Most were, certainly. It is simply not true (p. 44) that the Japanese occupation "... made life bad for everyone ..." (p. 44). Mr. Lee Kwan Yew, to take one example, clearly laid the basis for his wealth by working the black market at the time. Contrary to Parmer, some would argue that colonialism created the basic framework of South-East Asian states. The fact that today's nations were almost entirely constituted during that period may be quoted as part of the evidence.

But the badness of one apple should not influence assessment of the rest. To this reviewer, the Carstens' paper on the Hakka of Pulai, Ulu Kelantan, was amongst the most interesting of the case studies, along with Tan's more wide-ranging discussion of personal and community identities. The final paper, Nonini's, is more theoretical but full of interest though rather skirting the issue of the continued utility of the concept of "ethnic Chinese" or of its congener "overseas Chinese." No one would use "ethnic British" or "overseas British" to refer to the descendants of British persons settled in Canada, the US, Australia or New Zealand. Or are we to follow the American usage in considering anyone with a "black" ancestor to be "black"? Thus anyone with a Chinese ancestry is Chinese? This reviewer looks forward to the day when Chinese populations in South-East Asia, or anywhere else, are no longer identified as such.

“A Truthful Impression of the Country”: *British and American Travel Writing on China, 1880–1949*. By NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD. [Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001. xxii + 231 pp. \$39.50. ISBN 0-472-11197-3.]

Studies of China in the Western imagination have come a long way since Arnold Reichwein and Harold Isaacs, as Nicholas Clifford points out in his carefully composed introduction to this latest venture into the field. It will no longer do just to gather together sources from hither and yon to compose some unitary grand picture; we need to pay much closer attention not only, in view of all the ink subsequently spilt over ‘Orientalism,’ to how these writings were composed, but also to who was writing them and why. A good case is made here for separating out the works of a broadly conceived category of travellers, distinct from other groups with more claims to expert knowledge, such as scholars and journalists, even if some fruitful ambiguity remains (p. 12) as to whether the truthfulness they aimed at applies to the description of the subjective qualities of their impressions or of the objective state of the China that impressed them: a good case is made, too, for not assuming that we may only concern ourselves with the former at the expense of the latter. All the famous names and a good number of the lesser known are called upon in this study, from Isabella Bird to Auden and Isherwood, though perhaps the decision to focus on “China, culturally rather than geographically defined” (p. 21) explains the exclusion of Gerald Reitlinger, *South of the Clouds: A Winter Ride Through Yunnan* (London: Faber and Faber, 1939), a work that would otherwise seem to demand treatment as a piece of deliberate travel writing of the more mature sort.

For of course there is a fair range of quality covered in this survey, from the able to the less competent, though the former writers are not necessarily the most revealing. China is confusing enough even for the experts, and if competent travel writers manage to achieve a certain consistency in their reactions, this may well be due to the spurious effect of superior artifice. It is, after all, not only the attempt at describing the real China but also the subtle and elusive business of change in China that Clifford rightly puts at the centre of his investigation. Yet if we take one of the least able amongst his sources, the frankly second-rate Mrs. Alec-Tweedie, whose reflections on the decline of Beijing are alluded to on p. 101, we find that on a subsequent trip recorded in her potboiler *My Legacy Cruise* (London: Hutchinson, 1936), she both transcribes the notes of a first-time visitor in her company echoing her earlier dicta with the words “so impressive and grand and great, and at the same time going to rack and ruin” (p. 206) and a few pages later herself records, “The peeling walls seem to have been mended and painted pink. There were more motor-cars and more smart shops; but the real old Peking was exactly the same real old Peking that I knew so well.” Truthful impressions, to say nothing of the reality, were, and doubtless remain, contradictory.

But if these books, as Clifford shows, were worth reading, they are certainly worth re-reading. And whatever we make of them, the truthful impression of their worth provided in this stimulating study will doubtless serve for years to come as an index of unchanging value against which to measure our own interpretations. If there are other genres of Western writing on China that Nicholas Clifford has been exploring recently, I for one look forward to hearing about them.

T. H. BARRETT

Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise. By PHILIPPE FORÊT.
[Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000. xvii + 209 pp. \$32.95.
ISBN 0-8248-2293-5.]

This is the first monograph in English on the Chengde imperial summer resort (*bishu shanzhuang*), declared by UNESCO in 1994 a site of World Heritage. The author nonetheless attempts more than a survey of monuments (see chapter three for the architectural history of the complete resort: the road, palace, hill stations and outer temples). He comes with a distinct, new approach, when analysing and reading the symbolic meaning of this cultural landscape.

The novelty also arises from his choice of specific sources. The book is based on fieldwork examinations of the site, and unofficial historic documents: both visual and written materials. The visual materials (maps, paintings, miniatures and engravings) were edited by emperors Kangxi and Qianlong; the written materials (prefaces, vista names and poems) were composed by them. Additional information is taken from the letters of Jesuit missionaries employed at the court. Focusing on material of an unofficial nature is unusual yet purposive, since it may reveal internal contradictions and inaccuracies that are not shown in official texts, and so help to understand better the emperors' characters and true political goals.

The author discusses the significance of Chengde through Qing terms and concepts. Kangxi built and Qianlong enlarged the summer resort, drawing on geomantic, Confucian and Buddhist models, with the intention of exploiting the symbolic potential of the natural and transformed landscape. Chengde park, with its palace, the scholars' gardens, the prairies and the mountainous frontier, obviously represents a reduced version of the empire, and alludes to the political power of the emperors. Philippe Forêt goes beyond this notion when he traces the imprinting of the imperial authority on a natural environment, and the creation and transition of a cultural landscape, the aim of which was to persuade. He is aware of, and makes use of, the ambiguity of the pictorial and cartographical representations. They were intended to please the eye, but also suggest the hidden motives and goals of the Qing empire.

The author further argues that a fundamental part of the continued Manchu expansion in Inner Asia was the intimate relationship with

Tibetan Buddhism which, after all, becomes surprisingly apparent in the iconography of the residence. The apparent ambivalence of Buddhist beliefs in the visual materials about architecture, on the other hand, was but “a technique employed by the emperors in order to construct a spectacle of domination and submission,” as he puts it. As for the outer temples, their geographical display does not support the ethnic configuration within the empire, although they follow architectural models from Tibet, Mongolia or Turkestan, namely the four striking complexes built under Qianlong. The author observes that *Pule si*, which was started in 1766, was placed on the alignment between the central Jingshan pagoda (in the middle of the park) and Qingchui peak (which symbolizes mount Kunlun or even Sumeru). The display of the other temples is harder to explain – it may even simply be due to the actual Chengde topography. Forêt suggests a mandala configuration, albeit without cartographic evidence. The Qing rulers were aware of the multi-ethnic nature of their empire and were, accordingly, much concerned about the promotion of Manchus. This too is implied in the symbolism seen in the surrounding hills of Rehe.

The political and religious views are also embodied in the arrangement of the imperial garden, with Jingshan pagoda and Ruyi island as the central elements. The court gardens within the walls of the imperial resort had replicas outside: religious gardens and peasants’ terraced fields, which the author explains as three types of environments, that of elite, that of temples, and that of commoners. Two final chapters discuss later representations of Chengde, and Chengde studies.

Through his elegantly styled interpretation of the Chengde summer resort, in terms of the political, geographical and religious symbolism, Philippe Forêt has introduced an approach that leads to fascinating insights into the 18th-century Qing culture, and by doing so, presents a noteworthy contribution not only to Chinese studies, but to landscape studies in general.

LUCIE OLIVOVA

Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits. By JAN STUART and EVELYN S. RAWSKI. [Washington, DC and Stanford, CA: Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in association with Stanford University Press, 2001. 216pp. \$75.00. ISBN 08047 4262 6.]

This lovely book accompanies a show of ancestor portraits from the mid-15th to the 20th century held at the Smithsonian’s Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in 2001. The Sackler’s recently acquired collection, supplemented for the show with contributions from the Freer Gallery and private collections, consists of 85 paintings depicting mostly noble and upper-class men and women, probably sold by families caught in the disruptions of the late Qing.

The Chinese art historian and curator Jan Stuart, and the Qing historian Evelyn Rawski (co-editor with James L. Watson of *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, 1988) provide a thorough and very enjoyable introduction to these paintings. Approaching them as both “art and artifact,” the authors analyse the paintings within several contexts: the history and practice of ancestor rituals, conventions of portraiture both East and West, the identities of those painted, portraiture at the Qing court, and the introduction of photography. While ancestor figures have been depicted since the Warring States period and paintings explicitly commissioned since the Song, their “iconic pose” was set in the late Ming. The authors stress that this pose is sufficiently distinct from other forms of Chinese portraiture to enable these paintings to stand as a distinct genre with its own commercial workshop techniques. Although Western connoisseurs and buyers have only recently come to appreciate them, these paintings *are* art. And they are carefully accurate representations of their subjects, not “generalized types” as suggested by art historians a few decades ago. Comparisons to other forms of portrait painting help explicate how this exactitude in depicting the deceased is combined with the imposition of such conventions as the aloof smile and the full frontal position in which the deceased looks straight into the eyes of the viewer. All memorial portraits seat the figure in an undefined space that is not the earthly world, nor a cloud-filled heaven. It is a special realm in which the ancestors must be attended and from which they observe their descendants. The conventions that have been perfected in this genre not only afforded an encounter with distinct identities, they also provided a visual portrayal of familial history and current relationships with the dead.

While the sections on portrait conventions and Qing dress, for example, are fascinating, the opening chapter on the ritual use of these portraits is most immediately helpful. It is an informative historical survey of ancestor rites, informed by archaeological and court records, that focuses on the relationship of such portraits to spirit tablets and to definitions of lineage. In various periods and social groupings, such portraits might replace tablets, or be used alongside tablets, or afford separate additional ritual offerings. In the Ming, Confucians like Zhu Xi and Cheng Yi objected to ancestor images (they attempted to discourage the practice by arguing that the slightest inaccuracy in the painting would render the offerings ineffective), but by the late Qing commemorative portraits were used by nobles and commoners alike. Their ritual importance insured that these paintings would never be hung as standard pieces of decor; still, there are accounts of a 20th-century foreigner coming upon a neglected cache that a Chinese companion could dismiss as musty old stuff.

From the colourful story of the collection’s acquisition (the American collector was convinced that these paintings would “forever change American opinion of Chinese art”) to the concluding comparison of ancestor portraiture to the work of the American painter, Chuck Close, the essays in this book illuminate how ritual has generated – and shaped – art.

Worshipping the Ancestors adds up to a distinct contribution to the history of Chinese art and ritual, and it would be a fine addition to any library collection in art history or Chinese history. The Chinese scholar of any field of study, however, will find that the gently solemn faces, precise forms, and vibrant colours make this book immediately irresistible.

CATHERINE BELL

Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue, Japonica-Sinica I–IV. By ALBERT CHAN. [Armonk, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2002. xliii + 626 pp. \$145.00. ISBN 0-7656-0828-6.]

The *Japonica–Sinica* section of the Jesuit Archives in Rome is one of the most frequently consulted archives by scholars doing research on Christianity in China. Until now there existed only partial descriptions of these materials and innumerable quotations from “Jap.Sin” in the relevant contributions. With the outstanding catalogue under review, prepared over almost 22 years by Fr. Albert Chan S.J. in collaboration with Adrian Dudink (for the history of this work see the preface, pp. xiii–xv), we do have now an easier access to, and understanding of, Jesuit Chinese and China-related materials which cover a great variety of subjects: catechisms, prayer-books, apologetics and theological tracts, philosophy and science, classics and related works (among others the works of the father of neo-Confucianism, Zhu Xi).

The catalogue consists of a very interesting preface, list of illustrations, list of books and documents (*Japonica-Sinica I–IV*), bibliographical references and abbreviations, and a descriptive catalogue (pp. 1–561). The main part of the work, the descriptive catalogue, lists some 600 titles, mostly in Chinese, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, written by Jesuit missionaries (Aleni, Buglio, Couplet, Ricci, Ruggieri, Schall, Vagnone, Verbiest, and many others such as the Figurists) and converts (for instance, Xu Guangqi). It is simply arranged according to the title-number given in the old Latin catalogue; each entry consists of the title, author’s dates, *juan*, and date of the edition, followed by remarks on the physical shape of the text, (Latin) inscriptions or seals on the cover, and descriptions of the contents with references to translations, publications, other versions, etc. which vary in length. The romanization used is Wade-Giles. The indices (pp. 565–623) include titles, printing houses and publishers, names of places, subjects, names of persons), so there is no difficulty in finding authors and their works. However, the criteria for arranging the Chinese titles in the index (pp. 565–581) are not clear at all. There is also a very useful “List of Popes and Jesuit Superiors (1541–1773)” at the end of the book (p. 625f.).

It is, however, a pity that – as stated in the preface (p. xv) – the catalogue has not been updated before publication (2002), so that cross-

references to other catalogues, collections of texts, and publications after the 1970s are few and mainly restricted to the early 1980s. Therefore, important catalogues by Paul Pelliot (*Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Kyōto 1995), Takata Tokio (*Bonteikō toshokan shozō kanseki mokuroku hōhen* [Supplement to *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*], Kyōto, 1997), Joseph Dehergne (“Catéchismes et catéchèse des Jésuites de Chine de 1584 à 1800,” in *Monumenta Serica* XLVII, 1999, pp. 397–478), and others are not mentioned. Nor are references made to published editions of Jesuit and other texts, such as N. Standaert *et al.* (eds.), *Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library*, five vols. (Taipei: Fujen Catholic University, 1996), and since then the new 12-volume collection: *Chinese Christian Texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus* (Taipei: Ricci Institute, 2002). There are, furthermore, some other smaller omissions, as for instance the new edition of Alfons Vāth’s book on Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. (1592–1666) (Nettetal: Steyler, 1991) that has made the out-of-print 1933 edition accessible. These and other references to relevant works published before the publication of the present catalogue in 2002 would, of course, enhance the usefulness of this magnificent book. There will be, however, an addition to Chan’s catalogue which will widen some of its aspects, compiled by his co-worker, Adrian Dudink, “The Japonica-Sinica Collections I–IV in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus: an overview” (in *Monumenta Serica* L, 2002).

Notwithstanding some deficits, the catalogue under review is a major achievement in the field of history of Christianity in China and the Sino-Western transfer of ideas. It will surely find its place next to Louis Pfister’s *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l’ancienne Mission de Chine* (Shanghai, 1932) and Joseph Dehergne’s *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome and Paris: Institutum Historicum, 1973) in every Sino-Western library, but also as a handbook for students of religion and Christianity in China.

ROMAN MALEK