

# THE MAKING OF A HINTERLAND

State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1853-1937

KENNETH POMERANZ

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## The Making of a Hinterland

To my parents, who rarely told me what to do, but nonetheless showed me how; and to Benjamin, who helped more than he knows.

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### Acknowledgments

It is hard to say when this book began. One answer would be autumn 1979, when, as a college senior, I wandered into Sherman Cochran's Chinese history course. By the end of the term, I wanted to make a career of Chinese history; and Sherm has been an invaluable teacher, critic, adviser, and friend ever since. In graduate school, I was lucky enough to find mentors willing to tolerate an eccentric latecomer to Chinese studies and to help me through the many obstacles that lay ahead. Jonathan Spence and Beatrice Bartlett did everything one could ask from advisers, and more; and both have remained friends and teachers since I left Yale. Two other people I studied with at Yale—John Merriman and James Scott—have also been particularly helpful; though neither works on China, the influence of both should be evident throughout the book.

As a proposal turned slowly into a dissertation and then a book, many other people added helpful comments. Foremost among these scholars is R. Bin Wong, who read and discussed what must have seemed to be endless versions of the text; if there are better colleagues than he, I am unaware of them. Many others—Emily Honig, James Lee, Peter Lindert, Don McCloskey, Tom Rawski, James Scott, and the participants in an April 1989 workshop of the Southern California China Colloquium—commented helpfully on draft chapters, papers that were later incorporated into the work, and other fragments. As

a manuscript reader for the University of California Press, Joseph Esherick provided comments that led to a much stronger final version of the book; the other, anonymous, reader was also extremely helpful.

At the research stage, I benefited from access to a number of libraries and archives and from contact with helpful staff members. In the United States, I found rare materials at Sterling Library (Yale), Starr East Asian Library (Columbia), the Harvard-Yenching Library, Library of Congress, Charles W. Wason Collection (Cornell), Bentley Historical Library (University of Michigan), UCLA, and the New York Public Library. In China, I was welcomed at the libraries of Shandong University, Shandong Normal University, People's University, Beijing University, and Nanjing University, and at the Shandong Provincial Library, the Beijing Library, the Capital (Shoudu) Library, the Library of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the First and Second Historical Archives of China. Special thanks are due to Wei Qingyuan and Ju Deyuan for the help they provided at the First Historical Archives. I am also grateful to the Bentley Historical Library for making it possible to use in this book several photographs from the Clifton O'Neal Carey papers.

Along the way, this project has received an ample share of institutional and financial support. The Yale Council on East Asian Studies provided fellowship support during most of the research and writing; the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China made essential arrangements for a year's research in China; and final touches have been added during a research leave (mostly devoted to a new project) supported by the ACLS-SSRC Joint Committee on Chinese Studies and the University of California President's Research Fellowship. My editors at the University of California Press, Sheila Levine and Amy Klatzkin, have been as helpful and pleasant to work with as any author could wish. As copyeditor, Joanne Sandstrom ironed out numerous infelicities and found creative solutions to problems I had never noticed.

Thanks are also due to various people who fall into none of the above categories. David Pattinson provided a new copy of a crucial document that I somehow lost after leaving Jinan. Alan MacDonald and Jeni Umble each took a turn at rescuing me from word-processing disasters; Hod Finklestein made possible a legible version of figure 1.

Finally, Maureen Graves has done more than anyone—as sounding board, reader, and most of all, companion—to make this book possible; I cannot imagine it, or the years during which it took shape, without her.

### A Note on Place Names

The Chinese words for jurisdictional units have been translated in the conventional manner: fu is rendered as "prefecture" and xian as "county." The term xian is appended to place names only when the name would otherwise be monosyllabic or ambiguous. The term zhili zhou (literally, "independent district"), has been translated as "county" when it refers to a district encompassing a single county and "prefecture" when it refers to a district encompassing multiple counties (e.g., the four-county units centered on Linqing and Jining). The province north of Shandong, which was Zhili until 1927 and Hebei afterward, is identified by the usage of the period discussed in a given passage, or occasionally by Zhili/Hebei. The city of Liaocheng, once known as Dongchangfu, has been rendered as Liaocheng throughout, reserving the name Dongchangfu for the prefecture of which it was the capital.

## Abbreviations and Technical Notes on Selected Sources

AH anjuan hao. Subdivider for files in Second

Historical Archives, Nanjing.

CZGB Shandong caizheng gongbao.

DFZZ Dongfang zazhi.

Dissertation Pomeranz, Kenneth. "The Making of a Hinter-

land: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1900–1937." Ph.D. dissertation,

Yale University, 1988.

GCIC Freeman, John Ripley. Grand Canal Investiga-

tions. Typescript, 1921; version held at library

of Cornell University.

GCIM Freeman, John Ripley. Grand Canal Investiga-

tions. Typescript, 1921; version held at library

of University of Michigan.

GX Guangxu reign (1875–1908).

HBMCLB Hebei mianchan lu bao. Readers may be puzzled

to see a number of points concerning events in Shandong supported by references to this Hebei journal; these pages come from the magazine's "cotton news from other provinces" section,

which emphasized Shandong events.

HH Shulibu, Huang He shuili weiyuanhui. Huang

He shuili shi shuyao (Outline of the history of Yellow River water conservancy). Beijing: Shuili

dianli chubanshe, 1984.

HWJB Hewu jibao. This magazine also had a slightly

irregular publishing schedule, and not all the issues I read had their covers; individual government orders reprinted in the magazine are usually dated, but the longer reports sometimes

are not.

HWTK Shandong hewu tekan.

JD jiguan daihao. Reference number for files in

Second Historical Archives, Nanjing.

JSGB Shandong jianshe gongbao.

JSYK Shandong jianshe yuekan.

LFZZ Junjichu lufu zouzhe. Grand Council archival

collection at First Historical Archives, Beijing.

NCH North China Herald.

NSGB Nong shang gongbao.

NYHH Shandong Nan Yun Hu He su jun shiyi

zhoubanchu. Diyijie baogao (Shandong Canal and Lake Dredging and Restoration Board, first

report). Jinan(?), 1915.

OEI Shandong Office to Encourage Industry

(Quanyesuo).

QYHK Shandong quanye huikan. This magazine had a

slightly irregular publishing schedule, and covers were missing from many of the issues used, but in almost all cases, the exact publication date was verifiable; where this was not the case, publication dates could at least be fixed within one

month.

QZ quanzong hao. Reference number for files in

Second Historical Archives, Nanjing.

RO Shandong Reconstruction Office (Jiansheju).

SDXZJSSYQGB Shandong sheng xian zheng jianshe shiyanqu

gongbao.

SDZZ Shandong zazhi.

SS Tōa Dobunkai, Shina Shōbetsu Zenshi (The

provinces of China). Vol. 4: Shandong. Tokyo:

Tōa Dobunkai 1918.

SSYZ Zhongguo shiyebu, guoji maoyiju. Zhongguo

shiye zhi, Shandong sheng (Industrial gazetteer

of China, Shandong province). 1934.

THS Chintao Shubigun Minseibu Tetsudōbu. Tō-

hoku Santō (Bokkai Santō Engan Shokō Iken Chīfū Kan Toshi) (Northeast Shandong [all ports on Shandong's Bohai coast, and cities between Wei Xian and Yantai]). Chōsa Hōkoku Sho (Chōsa Shiryō 17) (Research report [research materials no. 17]). Qingdao: Chintao

Shubigan Minseibu Tetsudōbu, 1919.

XCJSXK Xiangcun jianshe xunkanl Xiangcun jianshe

banyuekan. Magazine changed from every ten days to every two weeks in 1935, and name changed accordingly, but numbering remained consecutive. Because of missing covers of many issues of XCJSXK and the magazine's slightly irregular publication schedule, the exact day of publication for issues was often impossible to fix; however, the month of publication usually

could be easily confirmed.

XT Xuantong reign (1909–12).

YRO Shandong Yellow River Office (Hewuju).

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