

萧公权文集

中国乡村

论十九世纪的帝国控制
(英文版)

Rural China

**Imperial Control in the
Nineteenth Century**

Kung Chuan Hsiao (萧公权) 著



中国人民大学出版社



国家出版基金项目
NATIONAL PUBLICATION FOUNDATION

萧公权文集

中国乡村

论十九世纪的帝国控制（英文版）

Rural China

**Imperial Control in the
Nineteenth Century**



国家出版基金项目
NATIONAL PUBLISHING FUND PROJECT

中国人民大学出版社

·北京·

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国乡村：论十九世纪的帝国控制：英文/萧公权著. —北京：中国人民大学出版社，2014

（萧公权文集）

ISBN 978-7-300-19892-7

I. ①中… II. ①萧… III. ①乡村-行政管理-研究-中国-清代-英文 IV. ①D691

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字（2014）第 189546 号

萧公权文集

Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century

中国乡村：论十九世纪的帝国控制（英文版）

Kung Chuan Hsiao（萧公权） 著

出版发行	中国人民大学出版社		
社 址	北京中关村大街 31 号	邮政编码	100080
电 话	010-62511242（总编室）		010-62511770（质管部）
	010-82501766（邮购部）		010-62514148（门市部）
	010-62515195（发行公司）		010-62515275（盗版举报）
网 址	http://www.crup.com.cn http://www.ttrnet.com （人大教研网）		
经 销	新华书店		
印 刷	涿州市星河印刷有限公司		
规 格	158 mm×236 mm 16 开本	版 次	2014 年 6 月第 1 版
印 张	49.5 插页 3	印 次	2014 年 6 月第 1 次印刷
字 数	851 000	定 价	158.00 元

版权所有 侵权必究

印装差错 负责调换

PREFACE

This is a study of the rationale, methods, and effects of the system of control over rural China as exercised by the Ch'ing government during the nineteenth century. Owing to the limited availability of relevant information and my desire to bring this study to a close within a reasonable period of time, I do not propose to explore every aspect of the subject or to give a full account of those aspects with which I deal. Some omissions are in fact quite conspicuous. For instance, the ethnic minorities that dwelt in some parts of the empire as well as the rural inhabitants of its outlying regions are not considered. I hope, however, that despite the lacunae that remain, the results presented here will convey a tolerably clear impression of the situation that prevailed in the empire during the period.

Such a study may serve some useful purposes. Imperial China was an agricultural country in which rural inhabitants constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. No discussion of Chinese history or society can be adequate without taking into account the impact of the government upon the millions that lived in the villages and the attitudes and behavior which the people exhibited under various conditions at various periods of time. The nineteenth century is particularly interesting, for it was a period of dynastic decline and political transition. A study of rural China during this period will reveal some of the forces and factors that contributed to the decline of the imperial system and will perhaps also furnish useful clues for interpreting the historical developments of later times.

Descriptions and narratives of Chinese rural life in the nineteenth century are not lacking, but they are often not the results of careful investigation. Few of them offer painstaking analyses of the phenomena observed; some contain a variety of misconceptions and misinterpretations. The unresolved divergencies in interpretation that abound in some of these writings often prove bewildering to the reader. There is a need for a more systematic treatment of the matter—a need which the present study presumes partially to fill. Moreover, although much has been written on the general administrative system of the empire, relatively little has been written either in Chi-

nese or in Western languages on its structure and functioning at the lowest administrative—or rather subadministrative—level. An important aspect of the imperial system has thus been neglected. By showing, as I have tried to do, how the imperial government undertook to maintain control over the inhabitants of the countryside, how these inhabitants reacted to that control, and how the natural and historical environment influenced both the operation of the system of control and the behavior of those that came under its sway, I have attempted to arrive at a more or less adequate view of the matter and at the same time to dispel some of the major misconceptions that have gained currency in certain quarters.

To approach this aim I have striven for concreteness and preciseness in presentation, even at the risk of burdening the reader with cumbersome details. I believe that only in this way can the picture be brought into sufficiently sharp focus to give an accurate impression. Such an approach has channeled my efforts into a historical rather than a theoretical treatment of the subject. I am concerned, in other words, with exhibiting the relevant situations and processes that had historical reality at a given time rather than with general concepts or inclusive schematisms for universal application. I have tried to scrutinize each set of facts from as many different angles and in as many different situations as the data permit. And as the full significance of any institution or set of institutions cannot be grasped without reference to the historical and social context, I have often found it necessary to deal with matters that transcend the subject of immediate concern or to allude to situations that extend beyond the period under consideration.

SOURCES

The use of source material requires care. Writings on China and things Chinese of the nineteenth century are readily available. However, information directly germane to the present investigation is not too ample nor is every bit of it trustworthy. How to treat such material constitutes a methodological problem.

Rural inhabitants of imperial China were mostly illiterate. Their workaday conditions and doings did not as a rule engage the attention of those who could write and therefore remained largely unrecorded. Officials and scholars who made frequent references to "the distress and sufferings of the people" were more likely to repeat generalities than to portray the concrete realities of rural life. Moreover, the relatively small amount of pertinent information which I have been able to muster from diverse Chinese sources does not always fully or directly serve my purpose. It has been said that the historian of primitive economic life must usually be content with documents preserved only in fragments and written by men who knew nothing of the

problems that interest us today. Dealing with a relatively recent period of Chinese history and having a comparatively large amount of accessible material to draw upon, I am more fortunate than the historian of primitive economic life. Nevertheless, I cannot help wishing that the writers of Chinese documents had anticipated some of our problems and needs. Writers of the nineteenth century often left behind them pieces of tantalizing information but stopped short of making the matters sufficiently transparent to readers of a later age. Or, as in other instances, useful data concerning one locality or one period are found in a certain source, but comparable or matching records for other localities or periods are unavailable anywhere.

Owing partly to an actual dearth of material and partly to the limited amount of records to which I had access, the data used in this study are not uniformly adequate or evenly balanced. The resulting view of rural China is thus a mosaic of historical fragments, with better definition and fuller details at some places but with gaps or areas of haziness at others. To compensate for this defect and to guard against misunderstanding, the following expedients were sometimes resorted to. Whenever possible, the locality and time of each piece of information is indicated so that the reader may appraise not only the pertinence of the individual items cited but also the validity of the conclusions based upon them. In some instances a limited quantity of data relative to conditions prevailing before or after the nineteenth century was used to help fill some of the inevitable gaps.

Allowance for possible biases or inaccuracies in the material used presented another problem. Official documents, from which a considerable amount of information was drawn, were written almost exclusively from the government's standpoint. Moreover, officials in the imperial days were prone to exaggerate, to tone down, or to whitewash matters as convenience or necessity dictated. They were inclined to regard the reports required of them as an annoying routine to be dispatched with as little fuss about accuracy as possible. Documents that involved matters of grave consequence were given more careful treatment, but with a view not to insuring exactitude or truthfulness but rather to making certain that the officials concerned might not be implicated or contract greater responsibilities than they had to.

Local gazetteers, which furnished a good deal of indispensable information, were written often with little more objectivity or accuracy than were government documents. Some of these records of local conditions, events, and personalities were more painstakingly or competently done than others; but a considerable number are marred by the partiality, dishonesty, or carelessness of contributors. The local gentry and in some instances the local officials who dictated the actual contents as well as the editorial policies of the works sponsored by them, were too often not above prejudice or selfishness. The fact that

any single gazetteer was written by a number of persons whose scholarly qualifications were not uniformly high and who frequently executed their assignments with poor coordination and inadequate supervision,¹ points to the possibility of unintentional errors and omissions, even where willful misrepresentation was not practiced. A well-known Chinese historian went so far as to say that local gazetteers were among those categories of writings to which credence could not be lent.² Most of the gazetteers contain sections dealing with geographical and related matters. Even there the data are too often inadequate and inaccurate. In many instances later editions of a gazetteer reproduced entries from editions compiled decades or centuries earlier without making necessary provisions to reflect whatever changes may have taken place during the interval and without warning the reader of the fact. Occasionally, in small or remote localities, a dearth of reliable information prevented even the most conscientious compilers from producing satisfactory records.³

Private writings posed no less a problem. The authors of these belonged to the literate segment of the population, and many of them were gentry. Their views and attitudes were therefore similar to those of the writers who drafted government documents and compiled local gazetteers. Writing in a private capacity, they may well have been freer than the writers of government documents to state the truth as they saw it and to express their convictions as they wished. But there is no assurance that they were on that account necessarily free from bias or inaccuracy.

All this points to one conclusion: circumspection is required in using source material. I have avoided using any writing that appears to be of doubtful reliability; but in a few instances I had to choose between using doubtful information and having no information at all and took the lesser of the two evils. The margin of error was narrowed by checking such information against the known historical background and against accounts given by Western writers whenever available, and by making due allowance for biases or distortions where these were known to exist.

Western writers, particularly those of the nineteenth century who were in China to witness happenings and conditions of the empire, have furnished much useful information. The fact that they came from lands with widely different cultural traditions gave them certain advantages denied to native writers. They were free from the intimate prejudices of the latter and could observe the developments with some detachment. Furthermore, being in a strange land where even items of everyday life demanded reflection, they were likely to discern significant facts that easily escaped the notice of native writers. For instance, the vivid descriptions of rural scenes and activities found in some Western writings would have been regarded by Chinese writers

as too commonplace to merit recording. This is not saying that Western writers of the nineteenth century did not have disadvantages of their own. They were often inclined to interpret Chinese ways and institutions in terms of their own societal background; few of them escaped entirely the distorting effects of what may be called "cultural apperception." And, owing to personal idiosyncrasies, prepossessions, or sheer incompetence, some of them gave accounts that are misleading or confusing.⁴ I found it no less necessary to exercise caution in using Western writings than in using Chinese material.

I used information relative to conditions prevailing later than the nineteenth century when I felt that such information would shed light on the period under investigation or when data directly pertinent to that period were not available at the time of writing. Obviously there is some risk in using such material. But as the changes that occurred in rural life during the nineteenth century and in the opening decades of the twentieth do not appear to have been extensive or basic, any error that may result from inferring earlier conditions from accounts of later situations would not materially affect the accuracy of the picture.⁵ It may be noted also that I made use of such accounts sparingly and in only a few instances.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my colleagues in the Far Eastern and Russian Institute at the University of Washington who at various times took part in the Modern Chinese History Project. My thanks are due in particular to Chung-li Chang, Franz Michael, Vincent Y. C. Shih, George E. Taylor, and Hellmut Wilhelm. They overcame my initial hesitancy to undertake a challenging task and thus gave me an opportunity to acquaint myself with a field into which I had hitherto had no more than a casual glimpse. They offered me encouragement and advice at all stages of the preparation of this volume, and I found their words helpful and stimulating. Even when I could not bring myself to accept their opinion on some point, I was invariably persuaded by their searching criticisms to re-examine the case, and as a result was often able to present the evidence in a more suitable way or formulate the conclusions in a more careful manner. I alone, of course, am responsible for the shortcomings that still remain.

I am indebted to George E. Taylor, who read my lengthy manuscript several times through and made valuable suggestions toward its improvement, and to Gladys Greenwood, who edited the manuscript with admirable judiciousness and meticulous care. My thanks are due also to Mercedes MacDonald, who undertook the laborious task of checking the references, quotations, notes, and bibliography and prepared the

manuscript for the printer. For their generous help I am very grateful.

Kung Chuan Hsiao

University of Washington
October 10, 1957

目 录

前 言	I
-----------	---

第一编 乡村地区的组织

第一章 村庄、市集与城镇	3
第二章 基层行政组织：保甲及里甲	25

第二编 乡村控制

第三章 治安监控：保甲体系	43
第四章 乡村税收：里甲体系	84
第五章 饥荒控制：社仓及其他粮仓	144
第六章 思想控制：乡约及其他制度	184

第三编 控制的效果

第七章 村庄控制的效果	261
第八章 宗族与乡村控制	323
第九章 乡村对控制的反应（一）	371
第十章 乡村对控制的反应（二）	412
第十一章 总结与后叙	501
附录一	519
附录二	547
附录三	551

注 释 555

音译表 729

清朝皇帝世系表 737

参考文献 739

索 引 773

CONTENTS

Preface	I
PART ONE: THE DIVISIONS OF RURAL AREAS	
1. Villages, Markets, and Towns	3
2. Administrative Divisions: Pao-chia and Li-chia	25
PART TWO: RURAL CONTROL	
3. Police Control: The Pao-chia System	43
4. Tax Collection in Rural Areas: The Li-chia System	84
5. Famine Control: She-ts'ang and Other Granaries	144
6. Ideological Control: The Hsiang-yüeh and Other Institutions	184
PART THREE: THE EFFECTS OF CONTROL	
7. The Effects of Control on the Village	261
8. The Clan and Rural Control	323
9. Rural Reactions to Control: I	371
10. Rural Reactions to Control: II	412
11. Summary and Postscript	501
Appendix I	519
Appendix II	547
Appendix III	551
Notes	555
Table of Transliteration	729

Reigns and Emperors of the Ch'ing Dynasty	737
Bibliography	739
Index	773

TABLES

1. Description of Villages in North China (over 1, 000 Population)	17
2. Description of Villages in North China (100-199 Population)	18
3. Description of Small Villages in North China (less than 100 Population)	19
4. Physical Aspects of Large and Small Villages in North China	19
5. Rural Markets in Lu-Lung Hsien	20
6. <i>Pao-Chia</i> Arrangement in Ch'ing-Pien Hsien	30
7. <i>Pao-Chia</i> Arrangement in Ch'ing-Pien Hsien	71
8. Occurrences of Embezzlement	140
9. Revenue from <i>Ti-Ting</i> and Other Levies (in 1, 000 taels)	141
10. Local Granaries in Lu-Chou Fu, 1883	156
11. Grain Reserves in Lu-Chou Fu	156
12. Status of <i>Hsiang-Yin</i> Guests in Hsiang-Shan	211
13. <i>Hsiang-Yin</i> Guests in Nan-Ch'ang Hsien	212
14. Status of <i>Hsiang-Yin</i> Grand Guests in Nan-Ch'ang Hsien	212
15. Number of <i>Hsiang-Yin</i> Guests in Nan-Ch'ang Hsien	217
16. <i>Hsiang-Yin</i> Guests in Hsing-An	218
17. <i>Hsiang-Yin</i> Guests in Hsiang-Shan	218
18. <i>Hsiang-Yin</i> Guests in Jung-Hsien	219
19. Distribution of Funds for Six Sacrifices (in taels)	224
20. Temples in 35 Villages, Ting Chou (Chihli)	276
21. Genealogical Records of Eight Clans of Lo-Ch'uan (Shensi)	334
22. Ritual Land of Clans	338
23. Land Tenure and Ownership	383
24. <i>Li-Chia</i> Divisions and Their Variations	520
25. <i>Li-Chia</i> Arrangements, Szechwan	523
26. Number of <i>Hu</i> per <i>T'u</i> , Ju-Lin Hsiang	530
27. Number of <i>Li</i> and <i>T'u</i> , T'ao-Yüan Hsien	531
28. Rural Divisions of T'eng Hsien, Kwangsi	536
29. Principal Changes in Granaries from Sui to Ch'ing Dynasties	549
30. Variation in Markets	564

31. Rural Markets and Towns	564
32. Some <i>Hsü</i> in Hsin-I Hsien	565
33. Changes in Nomenclature	574
34. Reserves in Li-P'ing Fu	608

Part One

**THE
DIVISIONS
OF
RURAL
AREAS**

ARRANGEMENT OF TU AND T'U
 Yen-yüan Hsiang, Chekiang
 (Each square represents approximately 5 li)

