

els, besieged within the cities, were alienated from the rural hinterland in which the old political and social order persisted and resisted. This pattern of confrontation prefigures that of the anti-Japanese war or that of the anti-Kuomintang struggle. But in the mid-nineteenth century, it was the most conservative forces which entrenched themselves in the country.

Kuhn's study is well documented. Drawing on numerous sources (local gazetteers, official documents and collected works of those who elaborated the theory and applied the policy of local militarization) the author carefully replaced the *t'uan-lien* system in its social and ideological context. The central themes, vigorously formulated, provide a constant guide by means of the many examples provided.

The author chose for his research a definite chronological period. However, it would have been interesting to compare—even in a general way—the role of the local elite during the Taiping Rebellion and during the 1911 Revolution. For the help given to the Ch'ing by the traditional rural leadership would appear as a still more decisive factor for triumph in the nineteenth century if its defection could be considered as a chief cause of the Manchu overthrow fifty years later. The author hints at this problem (p. 217 n. 44), but he seems more anxious to determine "how the local power of the elite was affected by the major institutional changes that surrounded the birth of the Republic" than to investigate the responsibilities of these elite in these changes. The sociological approach used by Kuhn throws a new light on the interplay of the real power factors in the countryside, but apparently makes the author bypass some fundamental points raised by his own study: how, why and when the local militarization which was developed in the nineteenth century to support the central government and the established social order became a threat to both of them.

The author sometimes seems more concerned with the structural outlines than with their specific historical content. In one of his most brilliant chapters (Chapter V), he draws a typology of military forms in the orthodox, gentry-dominated camp and in the heterodox, secret-society dominated subculture, and he shows the many similarities and interactions

existing between these two hierarchies on the basic local level. Consequently the militia (*t'uan*) and the secret-society lodge (*t'ang*) appear as alternative forms of local organization "structurally indistinguishable and politically indeterminate" (p. 179). The wavering loyalty of *t'uan* and the frequent crossing of political lines by *t'ang* members turned into officials' allies find here an illuminating explanation. But if we subordinate the whole interplay of the Chinese-socio-political forces to a single set of organizational principles, how shall we understand the reality of the opposition, the possibility of evolution, and the ultimate success of revolution?

Another point which would call for some reserve, is Kuhn's view of the Ch'ing dynastic decline in the mid-nineteenth century. Drawing on well-known studies, he is inclined to think that the Ch'ing regime crisis was in fact a whole civilization crisis brought on by the staggering rise of China's population and the attendant rise in commodity prices and exhaustion of the reserve of new lands. Of course Kuhn knows that evidence on these problems is far from having been established, and at the beginning of his book he presents his views as an hypothesis (p. 6). However he later and frequently refers to this rural bankruptcy, which in the course of his study appears as a major cause of local militarization (pp. 9, 38, 51, 99, 120, 160) the hypothesis has been thus transformed into a solid fact. But moving into one of the largely unexplored areas of modern history, the author is not supposed to bring light on every point at one time. His contribution is a fundamental one and the problems raised above only testify to the deep interest which this original and brilliant study can inspire to its reader.

MARIE-CLAIRE BERGERE

Paris

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