

Reviews

Jacqueline Leckie, *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community*, Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2007, xii + 204 pp. ISBN: 978-1877372-50-6 (hbk.).

This book presents the first full length history of the Indian community in New Zealand, this community constituting the southernmost group among the global Indian diaspora numbering at present more than twenty million living in 53 countries. In New Zealand in the 2006 census, the Indians, according to their own response, numbered 104,582, thus representing more than 2 percent of the nation's population and becoming the second largest Asian group after the Chinese. I describe Leckie's book as the 'first' comprehensive history of this community because its predecessor, Kapil Tiwari's book (*Indians in New Zealand: Studies in a Sub Culture*), published in 1980, comes nowhere near it in terms of research and sophistication. Hew McLeod's book (*Punjabis in New Zealand: A History of Punjabi Migration, 1890-1940*), published in 1996, though a true pioneer in this field, deals only with the Punjabi settlers. The present book has been written primarily for the members of the Indian community at the request of the New Zealand Indian Central Association. But that is not its only significance. What is really astonishing is the way the members of this community have participated in the process of production of this self-knowledge, by providing Leckie with personal stories, photographs and other sources which the master craftsperson has stiched into a fascinating story. And then, it is not just a community history, as it will not frustrate the snobbish academics either. In this book, theory and interpretation are deeply embedded in the narrative in such a way that they will not escape the discerning eyes of the professionals, while not unnecessarily encumbering the narrative for the general readers. This is a commendable achievement that speaks volumes about the author's scholarship as well as story telling skills.

What Leckie shows in this book, first of all, is that migration and settlement are essentially individual experiences, as decisions to migrate are taken, supported and executed primarily by individuals and families, and the challenges of a hostile new environment are also experienced and negotiated in the first instance at an individual or family level. All these individual stories of adventure, endurance and acculturation then make up the collective story of a community. Although the first Indian to set foot on the soil of New Zealand was a Bengali *lascar* (sailor) who jumped an East India Company

ship in 1809 and settled down in New Zealand with his Māori wife, we do not know much about him. And so the first recorded history of pioneer Indian settlers is that of the two brothers Bir Singh Gill and Phuman Singh Gill who arrived in New Zealand in the 1890s from Punjab. Phuman Singh started his career as a hawker, then established a confectionary business, married an English nurse and raised his family in Wanganui. His elder brother Bir Singh married a Māori woman, had a daughter, but his marriage did not last long and he died in Palmerston North in 1922. The book provides many such fascinating stories of early pioneers, their occupations, their economic mobility as well as struggles, their inter-community relationships, and the pains and tribulations of their adjustments in the new cultural and physical environment of New Zealand. Leckie argues that they were not 'sojourners', as most of them settled down, and contributed to the settlement and development of New Zealand. For example, it was Edward Peters, a Goanese Indian, who first spotted gold in Otago in 1861, although the credit went to the Australian discoverer, Gabriel Read. Other than that, these people contributed to New Zealand life by transporting goods of daily necessity to remote settlements, helped with farming and scrub-cutting, and cared for the environment by recycling bottles and scrap metals and the like. Their history should therefore be considered as part of the mainstream of New Zealand history, and not just as a side story of a marginal and exotic minority.

However, notwithstanding all those contributions which have remained largely unrecognised till now, their migration and settlement were not easy processes, as they encountered various official hurdles as well as overt and covert acts of social discrimination. The initial migration was from Gujarat and Punjab, and the route was through Fiji and Australia, the latter's white Australia policy after 1901 being a further reason to migrate to New Zealand. The prime motivation to migrate was the trying economic condition in the particular regions of India where they were migrating from, as well as family and kinship ties in New Zealand. The hurdles were many, as apart from the long harrowing sea voyages, there were the English language test and after 1920 a restrictive immigration law. But those who dexterously circumvented all those barriers did well in the new land through community support, their high endurance thresholds and entrepreneurship. But as they opened small businesses and owned properties, they were perceived as economic threats, and this threat perception found expression through an overt racist and sexist language that bred racial hatred for the 'Asiatics'. The worst consequence of this was the formation of the White New Zealand League and their active lobbying for total banning of Indian migration and their repatriation to preserve the racial purity of the New Zealand society. But that could not be done, as India was still a part of the British Empire, and as British subjects they could move 'freely' to any other British dominions. However, as this book shows, that freedom was seriously restricted.

This process of Othering also articulated the collective self of the Indian immigrants in New Zealand. Leckie's book deals with the histories of organisations that began to appear as a response to white racist attacks, and provides a detailed story of the New Zealand Central Indian Association and its multifarious activities contributing to the forging of a new Kiwi-Indian identity. It also deals with aspects of inner community life like gender relations and inter-community social relationships with the Māori and the Pākehā; their sporting activities and political affinities. It can thus truly claim to be a single comprehensive history of the Indian community in New Zealand.

As a history of a community the tone of this book might appear to be more celebratory than critical, and it is perhaps a bit thin on the post-1990 situation. But the importance of this book lies in the fact that it is a mine of information on the Indians in New Zealand from the earliest period of settlement till about the end of the 1980s. With innumerable photographs, life histories, copies of documents, cartoons and excerpts from newspapers, it will be an extremely helpful sourcebook for all future researchers on any aspect of the history of this community. And what is most significant, this book situates the Indians within New Zealand's nation-space and its mainstream history.

Reviewed by SEKHAR BANDYOPADHYAY
Victoria University of Wellington

S.Irfan Habib and Dhruv Raina, eds., *Social History of Science in Colonial India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2007, xl + 395 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-19-568157-4; ISBN-10: 0-19-568157-6 (hbk.).

The editors of this book have formed a well-known partnership specialising in edited volumes on various aspects of Indian history and science. Both are also respected scholars of the social history of science in India in their own right. The present volume is one in a series of themes in Indian history published by Oxford University Press. It is a welcome addition to the growing corpus of books on the topic of imperialism and science in India.¹

The volume brings together already published articles and chapters on the topic, from Russell Dionne and Roy MacLeod's article on 'Science and Policy in British India, 1858-1914' (1979) to Kapil Raj's more recent (2000)

¹ One thinks of recent publications such as: Kapil Raj's *Science and the Raj: A Study of British India*, second edition (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), David Arnold's *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005) and Arnold, *Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

one published in *Osiris* on knowledge production and national identity in India and Britain. Overall, the majority of works reproduced here (nine of the twelve) have been published in the last two decades.

As the editors note, in selecting suitable articles they were effectively charged with a ‘close to impossible task’ (ix). What criteria guided their selection? They eschewed works of medical and environmental history, deciding instead to focus on their own expertise in the history of science. A number of relevant articles, having appeared elsewhere, were excluded, as were more accessible publications, available through electronic databases and the like. It would be trite to be picky about which works were and were not included—no doubt any combination of authors would come up with a different list.

The volume meets many of the stated aims of the series: to provide an introduction to the topic, supported by carefully chosen essays of central importance and historiographical significance, and to provide a reassessment of the field under discussion. The introductory chapter offers a useful overview of the state of the field of the social history of science in India, from its beginnings, emergence and consolidation, covering the period from the 1960s to the 1980s and beyond. I’m not so sure, however, whether it offers any new reassessments of the by now well-tilled field of India’s social history of science. This requirement is anyway probably rather ambitious on the part of the commissioners of the series, given the many challenges already facing editors of such a project. Nevertheless, the introduction presents an overview that will be particularly useful to newcomers to the field and students studying this topic at tertiary institutions.

As for the chapters themselves, I shall not rehearse their arguments and merits since these works have already been published elsewhere, but I shall note here those which are included (and thereby satisfy the curiosity of many historians of science no doubt). K.N. Pannikar’s useful overview of Indian pre-colonial cultural trends begins the volume, which then moves onto an excerpted chapter from Matthew Edney’s influential book *Mapping An Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). S.N. Sen’s (Chapter 3) discussion of the introduction of western science in India, and Kapil Raj’s (Chapter 4) more recent article on knowledge production, complement each other well, while this discussion is extended by Zaheer Baber’s work (Chapter 5) on ‘Science, Technology, and Colonial Power’ and re-visited in Dionne and MacLeod’s classic work, mentioned above (Chapter 6). Ian Inkster’s (Chapter 7) ‘Science, Technology, and Imperialism in India’ usefully discusses the impact of British technological and economic policy in India while the editors’ own work investigates the indigenous reception of science in colonial India (Chapter 8). Gyan Prakash’s (Chapter 9) ‘The Image of the Archaic’ provides a fascinating analysis of the construction by Indian elites of earlier Indian scientific achievements in the light of western science.

The final three chapters of the book largely discuss later developments in the history of science in India. These include Shiv Visvanathan's (Chapter 10) discussion of Indian industrial research and Subrata Dasgupta's (Chapter 11) fascinating case-study of the physicist and later plant phytologist, J.C. Bose, whose work exploded the racist notion that Indians were incapable of theoretical research. Deepak Kumar's (Chapter 12) discussion of Indian development discourse in British India in the twentieth century rounds out the volume.

Taken together, these chapters provide valuable perspectives on topics especially pertinent to scholarship on colonialism and science, not simply in India but also elsewhere, by suggesting perspectives and topics of comparison. Discussion of the reception, adaptation and use of science by Indians is especially useful; as are evaluations of the relationships between economy, the colonial state and science. Of equal merit are examinations of the relationship between sciences practised in India and Britain, and scientific exchange between these two areas (and within India itself). The chapters also cover topics that are easily applicable to other regions that experienced colonialism: notably, the growth of practical sciences and their associated educational institutions (such as surveying for instance), the access of non-Europeans to scientific education, and so on.

I have used some of the chapters above as recommended readings for a course I am running on Science and Empire in India and Australasia, 1760s-1920s. They have proved admirably suited to this third year paper, and I expect that such an audience will prove to be the primary beneficiaries of this work. The usefulness of the present volume in this respect is enhanced by a combined bibliography on science in colonial India published at the end of the book. I was, however, dismayed by the extent to which the book is riddled with typographical error: this does not do the work of the editors, or the scholars whose works they have reproduced—still less a publisher with the reputation of Oxford University Press—much credit. This, and the fact that there is no index (surely for a work that has taken such a long time to produce, extra money could have been found for this?), are but minor gripes in what is otherwise an extremely useful volume that will appeal to students of the social history of science in India and elsewhere.

*Reviewed by JAMES BEATTIE
University of Waikato*

Jamie Greenbaum, *Chen Jiru (1558-1639): The Background to, Development and Subsequent Uses of Literary Personae*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2007, xliii + 292 pp. ISBN: 978-90-04-16358-4 (hbk.).

Richard E. Strassberg, trans., *Wandering Spirits: Chen Shiyuan's Encyclopedia of Dreams*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 2008, xv + 289 pp. ISBN: 978-0-520-25294-3 (hbk.).

Many years after the event, in his *Record of My Thoughts of Friends of Old* (*Sijiu lu* 思舊錄, the loyalist Ming dynasty scholar Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-95) remembered having encountered an elderly Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 beside West Lake at Hangzhou in 1628:

His three painted barques were deployed in the following manner: in the first were laid his quilts and blankets; in the second, he received his guests; and, in the third, he accommodated all his many old friends and hangers-on. His visitors too were as numerous as the clouds in the sky. Tao Ting inquired of him: 'Having been here ten days already, you have doubtless enjoyed something of the splendours of mountain and lake on offer?', to which he responded with a laugh: 'What with all this meeting and greeting, the only thing that I have caught sight of is the gangplank!' (My translation)

Huang followed up with a visit on Chen at his home in his Hall for Inviting Righteousness in Songjiang the following year, later noting that so many were Chen's guests each day that he would commonly be required to serve three sittings of lunch each day. 'Such was his fame, despite never having passed the examinations', Huang marvelled, 'that, above, his name was known to official and gentry alike, whilst, below, so too did the artisans, the merchants, and the singing girls. The price of any object that he lent his name to would soar for a while, to the extent that calligraphy and paintings and various other objects of one sort or another often circulated throughout the world with his named falsely attached to them'.

Huang's memories of this eminent late-Ming cultural figure seem almost untainted by either regret or criticism. Huang was in fact grateful to Chen for the assistance that he had provided him in his quest to restore the good name of his father, executed in 1626 for his opposition to the eunuch faction at court. Others, similarly recording memories across the divide of dynastic cataclysm and the reestablishment of order under a new (and alien) imperial house, proved less forgiving of the particular brand of material extravagance and political apathy that so characterised Chen's age and which he seemed so perfectly to embody. To the sometime Qing official and

bibliophile Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709), for instance, Chen's fame as a recluse was ill-earned—little more than an excess of vainglory on his part—whilst the quality of the writing contained in Chen's collected works, he believed, did not live up to the expectations generated by his reputation.

The first of the monographs under review, based on Greenbaum's PhD thesis at the Australian National University, is not so much a biographical study of this figure, although such is long overdue in the secondary literature in English, but rather an examination of the nature of fame and celebrity in the context of the social and economic changes of the late imperial period in China. And, as seen above, Chen's was a life lived in the full glare of contemporary publicity. Celebrity, during the late imperial period in China as much as elsewhere today, implies a degree of complicity in the creation of a marketable persona, as Greenbaum argues convincingly. A somewhat self-serving item from Chen's *Clear Words from a Peaceful Age* (*Taiping qinghua* 太平清話) captures something of his complicity in this process:

To collect ten thousand books of a most usual kind; to wrap them up in brocade of a most unusual quality and to fumigate them with an incense of a most unusual variety; to sit in a thatched hut behind reed curtains, with paper-lined windows and clay walls; to remain all my life a commoner, whistling and singing away in the midst of all this—such is my fondest desire. A visitor who happened to overhear me saying this exclaimed with a laugh: 'And of all men between Heaven and Earth, such a one as this is the most unusual of all'. (Again, my translation)

Greenbaum traces the trajectory whereby Chen became, in the words of a contemporary, 'the Grand Councillor in the Mountains' (*shanzhong zaixiang* 山中宰相). Having failed the provincial examinations twice, the second time in 1585, Chen the following year undertook a very public and much discussed ritual of renunciation of the life of a scholar-official both long expected of him and in keeping with his social status—he burnt his scholars' robes and cap. 'To participate in worldly affairs makes for a life full of clamour, to dissociate oneself from them makes for a peaceful life...I, myself, am not yet thirty but already dislike the vulgar world...I intend to take the rest of my life into my own hands and spend it happily, communing with nature' (18), he declared to the local magistrate, in explanation of the choice he had made.

This choice having been made, the issue of livelihood needed to be addressed. 'Chen did not make a living from his reclusion', Greenbaum argues, 'but his reclusion made possible a certain type of living. Adopting the role of a recluse gave Chen an image presentable both to his peers, and to the

wider world. It acted as a screen behind which he could make a living by other means' (36). What were these means? Chen was, of course, immensely well-connected within the elite circles of an increasingly prosperous lower Yangtze delta region that he never felt the need to move beyond, counting amongst his friends the pre-eminent calligrapher and art historian of the age, Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), who named one of his buildings in honour of Chen, the scholar-official Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-90), and the former Grand Secretary Wang Xijue 王錫爵 (1534-1611). For more than thirty years, Chen served as tutor to the son of one important man after another. At the same time, he participated in a range of local projects such as famine relief, public works, and the compilation of local gazetteers. As his literary fame grew, however, it was above all else his brush that earned him his not inconsiderable income, and the best chapters of Greenbaum's book deal with Chen's relationship with a burgeoning late imperial Chinese commercial printing and publishing industry, and his engagement in the tradition of biographical writing. In this last respect, Chen's efforts are remarkable, if not particularly innovative in his approach—over the course of his life, Chen wrote over a hundred biographies of one sort or another, both commissioned and not. Greenbaum is astute in reading this excess of biographical writing as something of an autobiographical enterprise, as both outcome of his increasing celebrity and as a means of perpetuating that celebrity.

This is an excellent study of its topic—perhaps one of China's first modern professional writers? If one leaves it feeling that Greenbaum never entirely comes to grips with either the protean quality of Chen's talents or the quality and nature of his lasting fame, one nonetheless is grateful both for the extent to which he integrates his study of the man with a sophisticated understanding of his times and engages with an increasingly sophisticated literature on the literary and material culture of the late imperial period.

Chen Jiru had three sons; he named them 'Dreaming of the Lotus', 'Dreaming of the Pine', and 'Dreaming of the Grass'. In this respect too, Chen was typical of his age, in his interest in (obsession with, in many cases) dreams and their meaning and interpretation. It is a preoccupation that is found at the heart of many of the greatest of late imperial Chinese literary and artistic products. Recent years have seen the publication of some excellent scholarship (in both Chinese and Western languages) on aspects of traditional Chinese dream culture. Now we have an excellent English translation of the single most important late imperial Chinese compendium of traditional Chinese dream lore, Chen Shiyuan's 陳士元 (1516-95) *Mengzhen yizhi* 夢占逸旨 [Lofty Principles of Dream Interpretation], completed around 1562. Encyclopaedic and eclectic in its selection of material, logical in its thematic arrangement of this material, punctilious in its identification of the sources

employed, Chen's work is an invaluable window into this late imperial Chinese interest in dreams.

'Dreaming is spirit-wandering and a mirror for knowing the future', stated Chen. As Strassberg makes clear in his concise and scholarly introduction to his translation and as was the case with so many intellectual traditions in China, the oneiric one was never dominated by a single universally accepted theory. The dream in China, as implied by Chen above and as discussed some years ago by Judith Zeitlin in her *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale* (1993), was always either prophecy (*zhao* 兆) or illusion (*huan* 幻). 'Dreams were seen as both a confirmation of and a threat to the sense of order in waking life, as factual and as fabricated, as meaningful and as delusional', argues Strassberg (2). As had been the case with Chen Jiru, Chen Shiyuan's productive years as a writer, editor, and compiler, were spent in reclusion, in Chen Shiyuan's case, the result of an inauspicious dream that caused him to resign abruptly from the magistracy that he had earned himself through early examination success. His book of dream interpretation, likewise, was inspired by a dream, or so he tells us in a preface. 'What encounter isn't a dream, and what dream isn't real?', the old man who appears in his dream to present him with a set of volumes asks Chen; his work, then, is a transcription of those volumes. As such, as Strassberg makes clear, it is a work that has remained in continuous circulation for almost four and a half centuries. Over these years, its readership, originally the 'some five to six hundred thousand first-degree holders' intent on discerning their prospects of advancing further in their careers, has changed as markedly as has the contingent reality that Chinese traditionally understood as having given rise to the dream. Now it speaks also in an elegant and readable English and will be of immense interest to all fascinated by Chinese and/or comparative dream culture.

Reviewed by DUNCAN M CAMPBELL
Victoria University of Wellington

The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian, Translated by W. Marsden and Revised by T. Wright, Newly Revised and Edited by Peter Harris, with an Introduction by Colin Thubron, Everyman's Library, New York, London and Toronto, Alfred A. Knopf, 2008, xxxv + 21 pp., maps. ISBN: 978-1-84159-313-5 (hbk.).

As retold here by both Colin Thubron ('Introduction') and Peter Harris ('Editor's Afterword') in the latter's magnificent new edition of the Everyman version of Marco Polo's *Description of the World* (also, as here, known as *The Travels*), perhaps the greatest, certainly the most influential,

book ever ‘written’, the story associated with its composition is justly as famous as the book itself. Sometime around 1298, the Venetian Marco Polo, then in his 44th or 45th year, found himself incarcerated in prison in Genoa. There with him was a man from Pisa named Rustichello, a minor author of Arthurian romances, and to this man, we are told, Marco related the tale of his life as a merchant and of his travels with his father Nicolò and his uncle Maffio (both jewel merchants) across Central Asia to the land we now call China, eventually to meet Khubilai Khan, Mongol emperor of all China and founder of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). For the elder Polos, this was a return trip as they had been received by the great Khan some years before on an earlier journey and had carried back to Rome on his behalf a letter to the Pope; for Marco, at the age of 17, it was his first venture into the unknown world of the East, the Great Beyond. According to Marco’s prologue to his tale—as recorded by Rustichello—the Polos remained in China for 17 years, returning to Venice around 1295, by way of a sea route that took them through what is present-day South-East Asia and accompanying a Mongol princess who had been betrothed to Arghun, the Mongol ruler of Persia.

As a text, this ‘richly astonishing’ travel saga, as Thubron labels it, has presented posterity with a number of difficulties to do with its provenance and its transmission. Nothing resembling an ‘original’ has ever been uncovered. In fact, we have no certain knowledge of the language in which Polo told his tale or, rather, in which Rustichello chose to record it; was it a form of Italian, an early form of French, or was it written in Latin? The first dated mention of the text occurs in 1307, in a note appended to a manuscript version written in an early form of French which was said to have been given to the son of the French King, Philip the Fair, by Marco Polo himself. From that date onwards almost 150 different versions, both manuscript and printed, have been identified, written in a range of languages. The first printed edition has been dated 1477; the earliest English translation (that of John Frampton and of a Spanish translation of an inferior Venetian version) is dated 1579. In the absence of the unlikely discovery of early but as yet unidentified versions of the text in European libraries, the scholarly endeavours of Luigi Bernadetto, published in 1928, will probably remain as close to a definitive guide into this textual vortex as we are ever likely to have.

Equally, too, has the content of the book occasioned both extraordinary labours and acrimonious debate, much of it focused on issues of either commission or omission that Polo’s tale is said to have perpetrated. In terms of the former, and to the extent that Marco Polo does speak in his own voice within the “terse and impersonal sentences” of the book, he claims that the elder Polos had played a vital role in the capture of the important Song dynasty city of Xiangyang (Saianfu in *The Travels*) and that he himself had been entrusted with the administration of the city of Yangzhou (Ianguì). The first of these claims, Thubron calls an ‘outrageous lie’; perhaps the most

damming evidence against the veracity of Polo's account of his stay in China is the fact that none of the relevant Chinese sources for this city during these years give any uncontested reference to Marco Polo or his father or uncle. As to his supposed sins of omission, the list of those things that Marco either failed to observe (or bother to speak about), or which Rusticello, whether through uncertainty or scepticism, did not record, is long and famous and includes, for instance, foot-binding, chopsticks, printing, the particular nature of the Chinese writing system, the drinking of tea, and the Great Wall.

Both Thubron and, particularly, Harris are appropriately dismissive of the naysayers; 'Behind a screen of ghostwriting, editing and copying its authorial voice is that of Marco Polo', concludes Harris, "and although there are difficulties with the text of his book, there are good reasons to accept that he went to China and saw for himself, there and en route, much of what he describes' (391).

Last year, Peter Harris produced a highly readable but handsomely annotated translation of the account of Cambodia written by the Chinese traveller Zhou Daguan 周達觀, *A Record of Cambodia: The Land and its People* (*Zhenla fengtu ji* 真臘風土記) (Bangkok: Silkworm, 2007). Zhou Daguan set off on his travels in 1295, the very year that Polo returned from his. For the purposes of this present republication of the story told by Zhou's Venetian contemporary, Harris has subjected the text of Thomas Wright's 1854 revision of William Marsden's 1818 translation of the Italian translation produced in 1559 by Giovanni Battista Ramusio on the basis of his access to a manuscript version of the text written in Latin and, he tells us, of "marvellous antiquity" to a complete reediting, has restored the proper names mentioned to the form found in that base text, and has supplied throughout a wealth of unobtrusive but always informative and judiciously worded notes. With its maps, its chronology, and its sumptuous cover besides, it can only be hoped that this edition will serve to win Marco Polo's book—now, sadly more often referred to than read one suspects—a new generation of readers. For it to do so would seem peculiarly timely; the promise of adventure, the twinned lure of the erotic and the exotic, the dreams of wealth incalculable that his tale embodies and which served to reshape the ancient world seems as relevant now as it was then, now that China is again taking its place at the economic centre of the world.

*Reviewed by DUNCAN M CAMPBELL
Victoria University of Wellington*

Koichi Hamada and Hiromi Kato, eds., *Ageing and the Labor Market in Japan: Problems and Policies*, Lanham, Edward Elgar, 2007, xiii + 191 pp. ISBN 978-1845428-49-5 (hbk.).

Many industrialized nations are currently facing a demographic crisis with falling birth rates and an expanding dependent ageing population. The problem is particularly acute in Japan. After almost two decades of economic reversal the country desperately needs an adaptive younger workforce attuned to rapid technological change and capable of fostering the innovative edge so clearly lacking in the years of high growth. The consensus for growth fashioned in those earlier decades was forged with little thought to improvements in social welfare. Bereft of a Western-style social security system designed in theory to care for citizens from the cradle to the grave, Japan had a culture of familial care for the elderly and an acceptance of the need to save for one's protection in later life.

Japan is destined to undergo a demographic transition well into this century and to host perhaps the oldest population in the world. The impact on the labour force and capital accumulation will be serious and only eased potentially by sudden changes in immigration policy, life expectancy or marriage and childbearing patterns, none of which is either likely or very predictable. For the greater part of the twentieth century, Japan enjoyed a growth in its labour force as a result of a rise in the population of its working age citizens and a fall in birth rates which prompted rising labour market participation amongst women. The prospect now is of a declining workforce and possibly a reversal of the much-lauded savings rate which had fuelled industrial funding in the past. As the concentration of population of working age declines alongside increases in life expectancy, the balance between the working and the dependent population will shift resulting in a declining share of those able to rely on earnings to sustain living standards and an increasing share of those relying on income transfers or support from other sources such as property. In consequence, the economic growth of the nation as a whole will come to depend to a much larger extent than before upon improvements in technology and productivity.

There is rather more certainty about demographic trends than there is in the range of remedial policies and their likely outcomes. Whereas the number of workers in Japan increased by almost 50 per cent between 1960 and 1995, the increase is projected to be around one-fifth of that rate by 2025. It would require a substantial change in immigration levels or participation rates amongst women and the elderly themselves to dampen the impact of such a demographic transition. Current and future generations of workers may if they succeed materially become more self-reliant but such a benign scenario is hardly a sufficient basis upon which to frame policy choices or remedial action. And the scope for action is very limited. As the dependency

ratio (that of non-working aged population to working-aged population) declines the pressure for higher labour productivity will intensify at the very time the high savings rate upon which Japan's labour efficiency has traditionally depended is destined to weaken. Nor is it the case that an ageing population will increase employment opportunities for the young. In the straightened economic climate of modern Japan, corporations are more reluctant to hire employees for the long term as they had been in the past while it still remains difficult to shed senior workers as readily as in market-driven Western societies.

The problems and policies arising from ageing and its impact upon the Japanese labour market are the core concerns of this book as its title clearly suggests. There is discussion of ageing and employment, the effects of changing labour force participation by females and the elderly, the impact of ageing on economic growth, the possible offsetting influences of immigration, foreign direct investment and trade liberalization, and changing views about retirement. Each topic is subject to rigorous scrutiny based upon econometric modelling and careful attention to methodology and the weight of evidence.

As the editors point out, Japan's problem with an ageing population is exacerbated by the growing tendency of unmarried younger workers to live longer within the parental home and to accept financial assistance to meet basic expenses as well as by others who remain content with irregular part-time work with few opportunities for developing key marketable skills. As more and more younger people forego extended education and training in the face of a declining demand for new recruits from established industries, the potential impact of an ageing population becomes all the more serious as consumers threaten to outnumber producers.

The chapters make clear the specific issues facing Japan. The age composition effect arises from the legal difficulty of dismissing older employees thus reducing the demand for younger workers and exacerbating the problem of stay-at-home 'parasite singles'. Problems persist in encouraging much-needed labour force participation by women and the elderly themselves because of tax laws, child care provision and differing views as to the value of the experience which older workers might bring to the workplace. The relative scarcity of younger people in the workforce creates other less obvious problems. Relative scarcity could raise real wages to previously unexpected heights at earlier ages so that the profile of lifetime earnings for younger people becomes flatter, reducing the incentive to improve education and training. Neglecting such improvements in human capital could conventionally slow Japan's growth potential. And this at time when the cost of caring for the elderly in terms of labour and capital input are on a rising trajectory. Recourse to immigration as a solution to the demographic problem is not as obvious as it might seem. Japan has long

celebrated its social homogeneity and resistance to immigration and as one contributor suggests it could convince itself that a more efficient use of female labour together with a strategic policies regarding trade and capital flows might prove more than adequate substitutes for labour inflow.

The tightly argued contributions to this volume offer a broad range of evidence and counter-evidence in dealing with these various themes, drawing upon microeconomic household data, established economic theorems, estimates of participation probability and, as an illustration of the approach adopted, a discussion of household retirement decisions taken either in the manner of a Nash equilibrium or in the manner of a Stackelberg leader. The book in other words is not the easiest of reads for those unaccustomed to stern statistical or formulistic economic reasoning. However the conclusions drawn are carefully nuanced and sufficiently focused on the principal concerns surrounding the demographic debate to make them accessible and relevant.

Chapters of a fundamentally different style and objective could well have looked out of place in this volume but one is left yearning for some evidence of the political economy surrounding this important demographic transition. Japan is still led by ageing men probably less troubled than the majority by the financial headaches of growing older but who can hardly be unaware of the nation's daunting prospects. Issues of the tax treatment of married couples and the complex problems surrounding immigration emerge clearly from the data and modelling so carefully constructed here making it all the more imperative that we know more about how the authorities are tackling the fundamentals no matter how distant the demographic shifts might appear. We do not yet know what societal forces from old and young alike might affect the urgency with which Japan's demographic time bomb is addressed or how imaginatively policy might be fashioned to deal with problems that the run the risk of being dismissed as tomorrow's concern. This volume's essays do credit to the complexity of the inherent problems lying ahead and to the dangers Japan faces if it chooses to neglect them. As such it could prove to be an indispensable aid to policy formulation.

*Reviewed by RICK GARSIDE
University of Otago*

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 2006, xiii + 693 pp. ISBN: 978-0-674-02332-1 (hbk.); 978-0-674-02748-0 (pbk.).

This book is in many ways an extended conclusion, or coda, to Roderick MacFarquhar's comprehensive three-volume study of *The Origins of the*

Cultural Revolution, published between 1974 and 1997. The overall purpose of *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution* was, in the author's words, 'to examine the impact of the main events of the decade prior to the Cultural Revolution on...Chinese leaders in order to understand why Mao decided to tear down and rebuild a regime he had done so much to create.' This it did through a dense, textured account of élite politics and policy-making in the years following de-Stalinisation in the Soviet Union, when Mao attempted to develop the legacy of Stalin in a Chinese manner, notably through the Hundred Flowers movement and the Great Leap Forward.

Mao's Last Revolution picks up where *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution* left off, and takes the story through to its ignominious end, with the death of Mao in 1976 and the final abandonment of the policies he had fought so doggedly and deviously for. Broadly speaking *Mao's Last Revolution* takes a similar approach to its predecessor by providing a narrative history of élite politics, one based on a wide variety of source materials, from official documents to the accounts of former participants and victims. There is, however, less emphasis than in the earlier work on domestic policy-making and on the impact on China of external events. This is no doubt partly because domestic policy considerations were almost entirely eclipsed by the expediency and machinations of day-to-day Cultural Revolution politics, while external affairs only regained the importance they had had before 1965 with the momentous events of 1969-1970—the Sino-Soviet border clashes, US moves to draw down the war in Vietnam, and the US-Chinese rapprochement. But the shift of emphasis may also reflect the interests of MacFarquhar's co-author, Michael Schoenhals, whose earlier interest in pre-Cultural Revolution politics and whose 'bloodhound ability to find obscure but fascinating materials' (as MacFarquhar writes in the Introduction) are particularly well suited to the task of describing domestic political events as played out day by day in élite circles, especially in Beijing.

Momentous, mind-numbing events take a long time for historians to come to terms with. It is now over half a century since Stalin died, and his gruesome legacy is still being described, discussed and analysed, a process helped by improved access to Soviet era archives and by the willingness of those who lived through the Stalin era to speak out more unrestrainedly than before. Mao, on the other hand, has only been dead for 32 years, and for all the Chinese Communist Party's willingness to criticise him, at least in his later years, the time has yet to come when Chinese and other historians can assess the Cultural Revolution and what went before it in a manner 'untrammelled by the procrustean bed of the party line'.

In the meantime *Mao's Last Revolution* provides us with about as definitive an account of Cultural Revolution politics as we can expect, at least for now, with a wealth of circumstantial detail and new, or newly encapsulated, insights into the many significant crises and events of the

period. These include the creation of the Red Guards and the Central Cultural Revolution Group in 1965-66, the fissiparous Wuhan incident in July 1967, the so-called May 16 conspiracy in 1967, the destruction of Mao's enemies within the party leadership, and the bitter and bloody political campaigns that followed the early surge of the Cultural Revolution (including the cleansing of the class ranks campaign in 1968 and the aftermath of the April 1976 demonstrations on Tiananmen square). Some events already well-scrutinised, such as the Lin Biao affair, get somewhat less comprehensive treatment than others about which there is still much to be learned, such as the Tao Zhu affair in 1966-67, or domestic developments at the time of the ninth party congress in 1969, but on the whole this represents a welcome shift of emphasis that helps to redress imbalances in earlier accounts of the period.

There is a relative lack of overarching analysis in the book, and this sometimes makes for a slightly numbing sense of narrative in which (in the famous words of Elbert Hubbard) there is 'just one damn thing after another'. But a careful reading amply repays the effort, for the authors' preferred method is to build up the reader's understanding of cause and effect, and of the underlying political culture affecting those caught up in the *mêlée*, by indirect means and by descriptions of particular aspects of decision-making and political mood, rather than more concertedly or overtly. They do not, for example, discuss leadership decision-making as such at any length. But they do comment tellingly on key relationships within the leadership, for example Zhou Enlai's servile attitude to Mao; and they underline the critical importance to decision-making of Mao himself, even in his dotage. In this context they take note of the fact that during the important early months of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, Mao was fully informed of everything that went on, with specially assigned aircraft making daily runs to him with documents and materials, so that he was by implication fully responsible for what happened during that period. And with respect to the depraved political culture of the period, they offer a number of helpful insights into what is still in many ways an inexplicably mysterious period of collective hysteria. They suggest, for example, that the unrestrained violence that characterised many Red Guard attacks on party critics arose from the fact that whereas party violence had earlier been controlled and calibrated, the rules were now suspended, resulting in a 'juvenile state of nature, nationwide, foreshadowed in microcosm by Nobel Prize-winner William Golding in *Lord of the Flies*' (131).

In conclusion, the authors argue that the Cultural Revolution had the opposite effect to the one intended, laying the groundwork for the abandonment of most Maoist policies in favour of the policies and practices put in place by Deng Xiaoping and his successors, and for an end to any popular respect for the party's ruling ideology. There is something to be said for this view, though it is arguable that by the 1970s Leninist-Stalinist

ideology had had its day anyway, not just in China but in most other places as well, while 'revisionist' policies of the kind eventually implemented after Mao's death had strong support within the Chinese party leadership as far back as the 1950s, and indeed account for Mao's increasingly desperate attempts in his later years to salvage the Chinese revolution on his own terms. All this being the case, the Cultural Revolution may simply have served to delay what was, in the end, an irresistible trend, at the terrible cost amply documented in this significant study.

*Reviewed by PETER HARRIS
Victoria University of Wellington*

John Fitzgerald, *The Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2007, 289 pp. ISBN: 978-0-86840870-5 (pbk.).

This award-winning book will transform understandings of the Chinese contribution to life in Australasia and the South Pacific. It is primarily an exercise in political history, albeit one with deep roots in the social history that has dominated in studies of the Chinese in both Australia and New Zealand. Building on this social history foundation, Fitzgerald uses the knowledge gained from such work to interrogate issues that lie at the heart of debates about the national culture. His aim is to ensure that such work will no longer be marginalized, seen as of significance only to the Chinese community itself. One of the many strengths of the book is the way Fitzgerald uses Chinese-language sources to develop completely new perspectives about familiar issues, thereby enriching Australian debates about the past and its legacy. While there are fewer Chinese-language sources available to historians of New Zealand, those that exist remain largely unused; perhaps this book may help stimulate a greater interest in such material on this side of the Tasman. Significantly, there is also a strong transnational character to the book, as Fitzgerald explores the cultural and economic reach of the Australian-based Chinese community. With our national histories evolving and becoming less solipsistic, the contributions of those who have always been engaged with the wider world will be valued more, and the stories Fitzgerald tells here should soon find their way into the mainstream of the Australian narrative.

In essence, this is an exercise in institutional history, and in the core chapters of the book Fitzgerald explores the main features of Chinese Australian history through a focus on the Yee Hing Company (or the Hung Men Brotherhood), the Chinese Masonic Society and the Kuo Min Tang (KMT). He looks first at the role the Yee Hing (Yixing) brotherhood played

in recruiting Chinese labourers, and the support the brotherhood offered to these men once they arrived in Australia. In exploring the role of this fraternal network, Fitzgerald contests some persistent perceptions about the Chinese overseas. For instance, he notes that the repatriation rate for Chinese was commensurate with that for European immigrants in the New World in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but that these men were highly mobile, moving between rural and urban settlements, between various British territories in the South Pacific and back and forth to south China. Institutions like the Yee Hing brotherhood provided an important support network for these men, especially once the exclusionary force of the White Australia policies began to be felt.

In 1911 the Yee Hing Company opened an impressive building in Mary Street in Sydney, thereby transforming itself into the Chinese Masonic Society. Fitzgerald develops his discussion of the role of this society around the ideal of respectability, which he argues was 'one of the most powerful forces working for social transformation among immigrant communities in federation Australia.' When the underground society went public as the Chinese Masonic Society 'it was responding to forces at work not in China but in Australia. The New South Wales (NSW) network sought recognition of the rightful place of a Chinese community organization in a white-settler country, and sought some acknowledgement that members of the society were decent, law-abiding citizens' (82-3). By explaining Chinese Australian behaviour in such terms, Fitzgerald incorporates it into the heart of the national story. In doing so he challenges those who seek to make the case for exclusion around difference, based on a perception about the fundamental incompatibility of Chinese values with mainstream Australian culture.

Fitzgerald also provides a fascinating exploration of Chinese Australia at the time of federation. Those familiar with his earlier work on Liang Qichao's travels in Australia will have encountered some of this before, but in drawing on the Chinese-language press, especially the *Tung Wah News*, he offers an entirely new insight into the debates that surrounded federation, and also at the way the Australian experience was used by Chinese to develop arguments about the future path for China in the wake of the 1911 revolution. Contributors to the *Tung Wah News* tended to be pro-federation, believing that it would benefit all Australians by unifying, enlarging and strengthening the country, and that it offered a new model of participation in public life. Understandably, however, Chinese Australians tended to view federation as part of a British imperial project rather than as simply a national event. They supported the imperial ideal 'because the treaties binding the British and Chinese empires were their last line of defence against the Australian nationalist leagues calling for their removal. Many Chinese Australians found refuge from White Australian nationalism in the ideal of Australian national confederation within the greater British empire' (108).

In a series of chapters that form the second half of the book, Fitzgerald turns to consider the activities of the Australian-based KMT, and it is here that the transnational role of Chinese Australians becomes even more evident. In his earlier book, *Awakening China*, Fitzgerald showed himself to be one of the most sophisticated interpreters of the KMT, and here he develops that earlier work by exploring the institutional networks of an organisation that connected Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands into the dynamic coastal regions of pre-WW2 China, particularly Shanghai and Hong Kong. In doing so he reveals the potential value to historians, including historians of New Zealand, of the KMT archives in Sydney. In 1925, Sydney became the regional headquarters for the KMT in Australasia and the Pacific. The Sydney office supervised seven branches in New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, Wellington, Auckland, Fiji and New Guinea, which in turn supervised 24 sub-branches within their jurisdictions. Even the Francophone KMT branch in Tahiti was placed under the jurisdiction of the headquarters in Sydney. In Chapter Six, Fitzgerald explores what he considers to be the 'distinctively Australian' features of the KMT, paying particular attention to its labour orientation and to its role in representing Australians to Chinese government authorities. In Chapter Seven, he examines the expansion of the Sydney-based KMT network into the South Pacific, focusing in particular on the role played by banana-trading companies led by Heungshan merchants. These were the parent companies of the great department store chains (Sincere, Wing On and Sun Sun) that would lead a retail revolution in Hong Kong and China. Sun Yat-sen had a personal portfolio of shares in Wing On, and the Wing On Company made substantial loans and donations to Sun's central headquarters in Shanghai. Finally, in Chapter Eight, Fitzgerald turns his attention to the Chinese Australian entrepreneurs who 'made up the largest identifiable group of international Chinese investors in Shanghai before the communists came to power in 1949' (177). These businessmen would raise capital from a widely dispersed network of shareholders in Australasia and the Pacific and then invest shareholder capital in large-scale enterprises under the control of family-managed firms. They were all Christians, and most began their careers in Sydney. These three chapters on the KMT are enormously rich and will in themselves transform understandings of the Chinese contribution to life in Australasia and the South Pacific.

There is also a polemical aspect to the book, as Fitzgerald enters the debates over race, culture and national identity that plagued the Howard years. He directs his strongest criticisms at those like Keith Windschuttle (*The White Australia Policy*, 2004) who argue that the hostility shown towards Chinese was justified by a commitment to certain values and beliefs that only white Australians could profess; Chinese Australians were unable to appreciate these 'Australian' values. This is what Fitzgerald calls 'the big

white lie' at the heart of Australian history, because, as the Chinese-language sources demonstrate, Chinese Australians 'were no less committed to freedom, equality and fraternal solidarity than were other Australians' (viii). While Fitzgerald is correct to contest such justifications of White Australia, his argument that Chinese Australians aspired to 'national' values has its problems. It emphasises conformity rather than diversity, and reminds me of those liberal feminist arguments that reduce equality for women to sameness with men. Is it simply the case that Chinese Australians replicated the political aspirations of the Anglo-Celtic mainstream, or did they contribute something more to the diversity of contemporary Australian life? Perhaps if Fitzgerald had extended his focus to include religious institutions he may have been more receptive to the case for diversity. As it is, his own narrative makes it clear that there was much more going on here than simply a replication by Chinese Australians of the values of mainstream culture.

Despite this minor disagreement with the tenor of his polemic, I have no qualms in saying that Fitzgerald has provided us with a powerful critique of the racist justifications for White Australia, justifications that unfortunately surfaced once again during the recent 'history wars'. But this critique is only one small part of a much more ambitious book. In demonstrating the central role that Chinese played in the development of Australasia and the Pacific, Fitzgerald also reveals the limits of national histories that rely solely on English-language sources. This is an enormously rich and stimulating book, and it is particularly pleasing to at last have a book on the Chinese diaspora that is worth arguing with.

*Reviewed by BRIAN MOLOUGHNEY
Victoria University of Wellington*

John M. Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, 289 pp. ISBN: 978-0-7425-3422-3 (pbk).

Prior to the handover there was virtually no scholarly interest in Hong Kong. There were some very good academic studies of the territory, but they were not sufficient in number for Hong Kong to have become a distinct academic subject. That all changed with the announcement in 1982 that Hong Kong would revert to Chinese rule. Since then, there has been a flood of work on the region, and this shows no signs of abating more than 10 years after the handover. This means that writing a concise history of Hong Kong is now a considerable challenge, yet John Carroll has done an excellent job of processing all this material and producing an engaging and up-to-date overview of the territory from the beginnings of colonial rule through to the present. It will be of particular value to those who teach on Hong Kong, as

they now have book that students will find accessible and interesting, but it will also serve as a good entry point for those who want to learn more about the development of this distinctive region.

The first chapter covers the period from the British acquisition of the island during the First Opium War (1839-42) through until the Taiping Rebellion (1851-64). After some difficult early years the settlement began to thrive in the 1850s, mainly due to domestic turmoil in China but also because of the opening of new commercial opportunities. As Carroll notes, the combination of the Taiping Rebellion, Chinese emigration, and the growth of overseas Chinese communities 'transformed Hong Kong from a colonial outpost into the center of a transnational overseas trade network stretching from the China coast to Southeast Asia and all the way to Australia and the Americas' (30). Chinese entrepreneurs became settlers rather than sojourners and laid the foundations for the new business élite, and their endeavours were facilitated with the establishment of financial institutions like the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank (founded in 1864). Carroll then turns his attention to the establishment of the main ethnic communities, Chinese, Europeans, Eurasians, and Indians, and at the development of the administrative structures of government. There are also good, concise discussions here of colonial education, prostitution and disease.

Carroll begins a chapter on 'colonialism and nationalism' by considering how the bubonic plague of 1894 revealed the high degree of suspicion with which the segregated Chinese and European communities viewed each other. Despite their wealth, members of the Chinese bourgeoisie still faced discrimination, which was enforced both legally and informally. They were required to send their children to separate schools, and restricted from residing in certain areas of the island (Chinese were not allowed to live on the Peak, a regulation that was not repealed until 1946). Nevertheless, by the early 1900s Chinese owned most of the real estate in Hong Kong. The completion of the Kowloon-Canton Railway in 1910 helped link Hong Kong with the Chinese market, but it also revealed the extent to which life in the territory was shaped by developments on the mainland. The rising tide of nationalism across the border often spilled over into Hong Kong, as was seen in the Tram Boycott of 1912-13. These disruptions continued during the inter-war years, with the Mechanics' Strike of 1920, the Seaman's Strike of 1922 and the Strike-Boycott of 1925-6. Carroll provides a good account of these events, indicating that while nationalist movements in China affected Hong Kong, there were also local reasons for the way things developed in the way they did. For instance, the 1925-6 Strike-Boycott was sparked by events on the mainland, yet it received much of its force from genuine economic concerns amongst the Chinese population and from the popular antagonism towards the privileged status of foreigners. Despite this, Chinese nationalism within the territory did not develop into widespread anti-colonialism. Many

Chinese remained loyal to the colonial government, and the strike strengthened ‘people’s appreciation for the colony’s political and economic stability—especially in contrast to the political turbulence in neighbouring Guangdong—and reaffirmed their sense of belonging and commitment to Hong Kong’ (105).

There is a good chapter on the war years and the consequences for Hong Kong of the establishment of the People’s Republic in 1949, but it was the coverage of the post-war years that I found most interesting. This is perhaps a reflection of the fact that this period has attracted the most attention from scholars over the past decade or so, particularly Hong Kong-based scholars. Carroll’s account of the emergence of a ‘new’ Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s, with its focus on the effects of rapid population growth and the tensions associated with this, as well as on public housing and welfare, is clearly indebted to this work. He also has a very good discussion of how post-war economic, social and cultural developments led to the emergence of a distinctive Hong Kong identity. I would have liked a little more on the language issue, and on the role of the film industry in this process, but he does a fairly good job of balancing the many factors at work. The last sections of the book deal with the countdown to 1997, and the passage of events since then. Once again, he achieves a good balance here, leaving readers with a clear understanding of the major factors at work in these events. There is also a useful chronology of events and a good bibliography to direct interested readers to the most useful material in the now substantial field of Hong Kong studies.

This book is exactly what the title says it is, a ‘concise’ history of Hong Kong. It is well balanced and well written. Readers looking for a more personal account of the territory, one with a greater emphasis on cultural developments, should look at Leo Ou-fan Lee’s recent *City Between Worlds: My Hong Kong* (Harvard University Press, 2008). Together, these two books represent an excellent introduction to the history of this most fascinating city.

*Reviewed by BRIAN MOLOUGHNEY
Victoria University of Wellington*

Hayden J. A. Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2007, xiv + 273 pp. ISBN-13: 978-1851968-94-7 (hbk.).

This is the third title to be published in Pickering and Chatto’s ‘Empires in Perspective’ series. Hayden Bellenoit’s focus is on the social history of education in north India, with a particular emphasis on the relationship between empire and religion in the ‘late colonial’ period. As a work of social

history it attempts to interact with and to interrogate wider sociological and educational literature; in particular Pierre Bourdieu's notion that 'education reproduces society's dominant, elite, ruling ethos' (112). Bellenoit also seeks, in line with other recent writers², to integrate the discussion of British Protestant missionaries³ into the 'mainstream of South Asian historiography' (7), by considering more carefully their relationship with imperialism as educators and 'oriental' scholars.

Bellenoit begins by tracing the continuities and discontinuities between the early modern era and the late colonial period. On the one hand, he argues that pre-'Mutiny' British Protestant missionary disparagement of Indian religion and cultural mores, and later-nineteenth century engagement or dialogue, reflected a much longer tradition of engagement with Hindu society and religion dating back to the Greeks and early Persian / Arabic visitors. In this sense, early Protestant British missionary criticisms of Hinduism represented a continuation of a long tradition, albeit for different reasons, one primarily reflecting late-Enlightenment intellectual anxieties and evangelical revivalism. After the 'Mutiny', however, confrontation was replaced by a more reflective engagement that found its apogee in John Farquhar's notion of religious fulfilment—Christ as the 'crown' of Hinduism. A too easy caricaturing of Alexander Duff and other early missionaries as being hyper critical of Indian religion detracts from Bellenoit's argument at this point.

On the other hand, there were also marked discontinuities from the time of the 'Mutiny' that were equally influential. Late-nineteenth century imperial education policy was driven by the need for an educated cadre of bureaucrats, and was doubly shaped by post-'Mutiny' sensitivities over potential Hindu-Muslim conflict and by straightened financial circumstances. Education was gradually devolved to a range of subsidized mission schools which were perceived to offer the potential triple benefits of a moral education, religious 'neutrality' and a more personal approach. By 1910 missionary-run schools (mostly Anglican) outnumbered Government schools in the ratio of four to one, with significantly more of the north's education budget spent on aided schools. Education was also extended by this means to girls, both institutionally and through targeting the *zenanas*. At the same time, policy directions and ultimate control remained with the Raj, and missionary educators had little political power. The relationship that developed was less one of 'sympathy' and more one of 'convenience' (57.) There was not an automatic congruence between the aims of the Raj and

² For example: Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Faultlines: Christianity and colonial power in India, 1818-1940*, Stanford University Press, 2002.

³ Archival research is based on the three most active organizations in North India: the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).

missionaries. Ongoing disagreements over financial support typified the tensions between the two bodies.

The core of the book revolves around: missionary engagement with Hindu knowledge; the interrelationship of pedagogy, infrastructure and secularization; and the contestation of an imposed colonial pedagogy by Indian religious leaders, scholars and students. With respect to pedagogy, Bellenoit suggests that the colonial encounter between missionary educators and their (largely) Hindu students was marked by a considerable degree of interaction and constructive engagement. In particular, he argues that mission schools were 'centres of spiritual inquiry ... and [inter] religious discussion' (66), and also sites of negotiation between teachers, students and their parents. Teachers were partly motivated by a 'fulfilment' approach to inter-religious dialogue, where the theistic elements of Hinduism were seen as 'aspirations after the "truth"' (69). Accordingly, they were often more informed about Hinduism and Islam than may have been the case for other educators and missionaries in India. In turn, they were also more concerned about the moral dimensions of education than with direct and quick conversion of their students. The emphasis was on students putting into action what they learnt. These missionary teachers leaned towards engagement with the Indian social elite, and especially those Hindu groups intent on social reform.

At the same time, school principals were also constrained by Indian expectations that they would emphasize morality over conversion in their programmes, to the extent that these expectations may have partially dictated missionary pedagogy and philosophy. To go against this expectation was suicide, in that mission schools were dependent on this constituency for their students. British Anglican missionaries were distinguished, in this regard, from their American Presbyterian and Methodist counterparts in Northern India. The focus of the latter was on the lower social castes and direct evangelism. Ostensibly this resulted in more conversions and a more identifiably Christian movement amongst Hindu Indians.

The net effect of all of this was that British (Anglican) missionaries tended to subvert the apparent connection between religion and empire or between Christianity and civilization. They were critical of the tendency towards 'Anglicization' inherent in 'secular' school pedagogies, they were more sympathetic to other understandings of masculinity (and therefore less sympathetic to the prevailing Victorian discourse of manly, muscular Christianity), and they did not readily accept that 'imperial' and 'Godly' authority were necessarily connected. In essence their schools became potential sites of a Christian-Hindu 'cultural hybridism' (86).

While missionary educators may have been critics of the imperial system, they were also constrained by a range of imperial and domestic pressures. Their precarious financial existence meant that they were subject

to conditional government grants (especially with respect to the content of text books and the direction of examinations), and the criticism of those at home who wanted to see more concrete results (in terms of ‘conversions’). One longer-term effect was that mission schools increasingly focused more on ‘secular’ education and less on the aspired-to religious dialogue previously outlined. They were also restricted in terms of their religious *raison d’être* by so-called ‘demographic’ factors; namely that the majority of teachers were Muslim or Hindu Indians. Bellenoit draws attention to the ‘ironic’ fact that government schools had a much higher proportion of teaching staff who were European and Christian.

Domestically, missionary schools were also constrained by a pragmatic student body more interested in academic success and vocational advancement than in religious engagement. The introduction by the Uttar Pradesh Government of the School Leaving Certificate in 1909 added further weight to the more pragmatic demands and expectations of students and communities. Ultimately ‘mission schools were supported by Indian elites who understood their valuable social and moral utility’ (112). Capital and demographic growth of mission schools were increasingly founded upon the patronage of local rulers, pundits, governments and communities. English-medium education was seen as one way of sustaining higher caste identity and influence. At the same time, emerging ‘indigenous’ educational institutions, especially amongst Hindus influenced by the Arya Samaj reforming movement, added their own set of pressures. Missionary education was not a monopoly so much as one element of an increasingly sophisticated educational market economy.

If Indian agency was influential in shaping infrastructure and pedagogy, then it was equally influential in contesting prevailing discourses embedded within missionary education. Missionaries attempted to engage students and other Hindu scholars in interreligious dialogue with a bent towards ‘fulfilment’ theology. In turn, students and scholars actively engaged with and often intellectually reasoned against or resisted such discourse. Students, in particular, were keen in their observations and criticisms. They were quick to pick up on any hypocritical disjuncture between what was taught and modelled by Christian teachers. The notion of ‘nominal conversion’ was often dismissed. In one case, a student appreciatively thanked his teachers for helping him to return to the Vedas as his key religious text. At the same time, Indian students and scholars also contested the so-called superiority of Western sciences and of English (both as language and literature). This was mirrored, by the 1890s, in a growing pessimism amongst missionary educators as to the efficacy of conversion and societal transformation through pedagogical means alone. The result, suggests Bellenoit, was that an emphasis was increasingly placed on what he terms ‘affective knowledge’ and on the personal influence of missionaries on

their students. It is in these terms that he sees a longer-lasting missionary influence on students both at and beyond school.

Finally Bellenoit probes the relationship between missionary education and the development of Indian patriotism and nationalism. Here he more satisfactorily considers the period 1900-1920, which is part of the entire book's purview but not well treated in earlier chapters. With other scholars he suggests that a number of influences existed, such as mission schools and the Arya Samaj groups, which informally helped to foster Indian patriotism prior to the emergence of formal nationalism from 1920 onwards. He draws an interesting link between the emergence of 'affective education' and patriotism, citing the growing proliferation of student hostels connected to mission schools as a key factor. This residential aspect of the education system grew markedly after 1900 catering for significant numbers of both Indian boys and girls. From the missionaries' perspective, hostels were cost effective institutions that maximized the ability of resident teachers to mentor and influence students individually and collectively. From the perspective of the residents, the hostels may have had the longer-term effect of fostering 'a strong sense of religious plurality, theism, and, at times, humanistic morality. These were all forms of constructive nationalism, to which both missionaries and Indians contributed' (160). Caste lines were often blurred. Students exercised forms of self-government within the hostels. What emerged was a 'syncretic morality and student culture' (166). In many instances, missionaries working through the hostels may have been more in touch with Indian society than their colonial peers, and many may have had greater sympathy towards Indian patriotism (if not nationalism itself) particularly in the wake of the 1905 *swadeshi* movement. On a wider front, there is evidence that a range of missionary educators were active, in their resistance, to colonial educational policies and political directives that were deemed to be racially and religiously discriminatory (especially against Muslim Indians) or restrictive of Indian political freedoms.

In drawing all of this together, Bellenoit observes that the 'reading of cultural contact between missionaries and Indians was not a gloomy one; it was engaging and at times accommodating, and above all a testimony to the vitality, adaptability and resilience of India society' (205). The result is a detailed, albeit often repetitive, treatment of the empire-religion nexus. A glaring weakness is the apparent lack of proof-reading either on the part of the author or publisher. Many and consistent errors of spelling, grammar and word usage detract from the reading of this monograph. Its strength lies in its clear focus on north India as one particular 'missionary site';⁴ as such it draws attention to the ongoing need to understand the workings of the

⁴ See also Hayden J. A. Bellenoit, "Missionary Education, Religion and Knowledge in India, c. 1880-1915", *Modern Asian Studies* 41, 2 (2007), pp. 369-394.

empire-religion nexus in a range of discrete geographical and temporal settings. It is also a comparative study, in that it draws upon comparisons with other missionary education endeavours within the Indian sub-continent. Yet this comparative aspect is limited, and deserves fuller treatment either in this work or in a subsequent monograph. Engagement with the wider literature around empire and religion is thin and poorly developed. Comparative comment lacks both breadth and depth, raising more questions than there are answers. In particular, we are left to ponder to what extent British Anglican missionaries were actually unique or representative in their theology, strategies, aspirations and policies. A host of other examples drawn (for example) from North American Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries, New Zealand Presbyterian missionaries, and evangelical British missionaries, all active in India over the same period, would likely paint a complex picture of the relationship of Western missionaries to the Empire, to Indian society and culture, and to Indian nationalistic aspirations; one which might problematize the notion that British Anglican educators were unique. That said, this is an important contribution to South Asian social and educational history, to the history of the modern Protestant missionary movement, and to the wider debate over the relationships between religion, missions and empire.

Reviewed by HUGH MORRISON
University of Otago

David Chapman, *Zainichi Korean Identity and Ethnicity*, London and New York, Routledge, 2008, x + 182 pp. ISBN: 0-415-42637-5 (hbk.); 0-203-94481-X (ebk.).

David Chapman's *Zainichi Korean Identity and Ethnicity* offers a valuable in-depth look at the diverse articulations of *zainichi* Korean identities that appeared between the 1970s and the present. Studies and theorisations of diaspora, exile, immigrants and so forth have flourished in recent years, but past studies of *zainichi* Koreans have rarely located themselves in such a global context, often treating them as an isolated case with unique historical and political situations. This well-researched book, while certainly recognising and appreciating the uniqueness of *zainichi* history and experiences, attempts to illuminate *zainichi* identity formation by using some theoretical insights from Cultural Studies, postcolonial studies, feminism, and, most interestingly, Australian debates surrounding multiculturalism. It is also well-informed by existing works on the topic by *zainichi* and Japanese writers.

With its substantial overview of *zainichi* identity developments, largely seen from within the *zainichi* community, this book is a great resource for any student of *zainichi* history and identity. Compared to the mass of literature available in Japanese, there has been only a limited number of English-language books published on the subject. This book's contemporary focus—especially the material covering the recent period up to the 2000s in the context of the *kyōsei* discourse—is particularly valuable. In addition, the book's real strength lies in its theoretically informed analysis and its commitment and sensitivity towards the diversity within *zainichi*.

Chapman challenges the essentialised and homogenised view of *zainichi* as a uniform identity (and also of categories like 'ethnicity' and 'nationality' as essentialised and uniform entities). Although the academy over the last decades has been busy deconstructing and problematising 'Japan' and the 'Japanese' as an ahistorical and essentialised entity, minority identities such as *zainichi* Koreans have proved to be a less popular object for a similar challenge—no doubt a reflection of their history and usefulness as a counter-identity of a marginalised community differentiated from the mainstream Japanese. Chapman, however, points out that *zainichi* 'resistance discourses' have in fact excluded and marginalised some voices within the *zainichi* community, and firmly directs the readers' attention to the heterogeneity of *zainichi* identities. Writing about minority groups as an outsider is a tricky business, especially if one is to question the orthodoxy status of their 'resistance' discourse. Chapman deals with this by choosing discourse-analytic approach and by staying close to texts produced within the *zainichi* community and by key *zainichi* thinkers and activists. He also maintains a critical eye towards the Japanese state and nationalism itself, pointing out that the 'homogenising effect of both Japanese and Korean national identity has played a significant role in marginalising many *zainichi*' (5). Throughout the chapters, he traces the diverse views on what it means to be a Korean in Japan, as they have been articulated by different generations and groups of *zainichi* intellectuals, activists, and writers.

What we are presented with, then, is a story of discursive struggles over the hegemonic control of *zainichi* identity construction. Following Chapter 1, which covers the scope and approaches of the book, Chapter 2 presents an overview of the historical relationship between the Japanese state and *zainichi* community, as well as postwar *zainichi* activism centring around *Mindan* and *Sōren*. The details of the 1970 Hitachi employment discrimination case, where Hitachi company withdrew its employment offer to a *zainichi* graduate upon learning his nationality, is also included in this chapter. Chapter 3 looks at the 'Third Way' debate that was sparked by a 1979 interview of a second-generation Korean, Kim Tong-myung. Kim proposed the 'Third Way' as 'a way to live in Japan as home, without being totally Korean or totally Japanese but instead being '*zainichi*', and 'a move

away from the yoke of the homeland and first-generation control' (44). He represented the voice of the younger generations of Koreans who did not share the first generation's assumption of the 'future return' to the Korean homeland. This chapter also examines Japan-born Kang Sang-jung and Yang Tae-ho's debates over the necessity of the homeland affiliation for *zainichi*. A number of issues that emerged in this context (critique of Japanese nationalism, notion of *minzoku*, hybrid identity) are discussed utilising some insights from Diaspora, postcolonial and Cultural Studies. Chapman also points out some limitation of the 'Third Way', namely that despite its attempt to conceptualise *zainichi* as a non-essentialist and hybrid form of identity, certain categories (such as naturalised Koreans and children of Korean-Japanese couples) were still essentialised and excluded from this hybrid *zainichi* identity.

As a context for the debate over 'naturalisation', which was central to much discussion of *zainichi* identities, Chapter 4 looks at the citizenship-related issues such as the nationality clause in the Constitution, fingerprinting and Alien Registration Law, enfranchisement, public service employments. Most *zainichi*, Chapman says, 'desires the granting of all legal rights normally associated with citizenship but at the same time retaining the right to assert cultural identity' (81). Naturalisation is not an obvious or easy choice for many *zainichi* because of the history of colonisation and the assimilationist policy of the Japanese state. The issue of the colonial past and its influence over the articulation of *zainichi* identities are dealt with in chapter 5, through analysis of *zainichi* intellectual discourse on postcoloniality in Korea, Japanese orientalism, and a critique of Japanese nationalism and the imperial system. Chapman argues that *zainichi* discourse of decolonisation is dominated by the 'national-identity binary approach' (102), which leads to a 'tendency to homogenize the *zainichi* population, often portraying it in masculine terms and ignoring other possibilities of postcoloniality' (103)—a comment I feel may not be entirely fair on writers like Kang Sang-jung, Yoon Keun-cha and Lee Yeon-suk, when their primary aim was to challenge the essentialised Japanese national identity, rather than address *zainichi* identity *per se*. Still, the point about binarism and its repressive function itself is a valid one, and Chapman's use of Sonia Ryang and others' work on gender and feminism to address the heterogeneity, complexity, and micro-power relations within the *zainichi* identity, is highly effective.

The last chapter introduces 'the fourth choice' against the backdrop of the recent discourse of multi-cultural coexistence (*tabunka kyōsei*) and the rhetoric of Japan as a multicultural and multiethnic society. The *kyōsei* discourse, which emerged with the increasing 'foreign' presence in Japan, is examined in some detail here. Both positive and negative responses to this Japanese version of multiculturalism within *zainichi* community are

discussed, though Chapman's reference to the Australian discourse of multiculturalism renders us sceptical of the *kyōsei* discourse, as it may simply lock in the difference of minority identities within the national border. The 'fourth choice' refers to a stance that seeks to maintain both difference (of ethnicity) and belonging (to the Japanese society) as 'Korean-Japanese' or 'Japanese of Korean background' (132) by gaining Japanese citizenship while still using Korean names. The positive advocacy of naturalisation as a means of facilitating multicultural coexistence in Japan by radically challenging the assumption of homogeneity, offers a new and different perspective from past articulations of *zainichi* identity that were largely defined in relation to the assimilation/exclusion binary. Critique of Japanese homogeneity and the equation between Japanese nationality and ethnicity, of course, has not emerged exclusively from *zainichi* community. Such a concern is now a shared discourse of both Japanese and *zainichi*, and as such further evinces the fuzziness of the boundary between *zainichi* and Japanese. Overall, this is an excellent work that charts the development of *zainichi* identity formations and *zainichi* engagement with Japanese society over the last 40 years or so.

Reviewed by RUMI SAKAMOTO
University of Auckland

Paul B. Trescott, *Jingji Xue: The History of the Introduction of Western Economic Ideas into China, 1850-1950*, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 2007, xxiv + 442 pp. ISBN: 978-962-996-242-5 (hbk.).

Paul Trescott laboured long and hard, not least in fusty university archives, to collect and tabulate the material on which this book is based. Trescott presents information on the numbers of Chinese students who studied economics at US, European, and Japanese universities before 1950. He records the dates of their overseas study, the types of degree they attained, and the branches of economics (e.g. agricultural economics or monetary economics) in which they specialised. Lists of the academic staff of Chinese universities and colleges, especially Christian colleges, are examined in order to identify American and European professors, as well as Chinese professors with overseas qualifications. Trescott also examines the publication records of Chinese-based economists in both English and Mandarin. This painstaking work results in a considerable achievement.

Trescott's focus is less on the history of economic thought than the history of the economics profession in pre-revolutionary China. The final chapter contains a brief discussion of events since 1949. In the early years of the transmission of Western economic ideas to China, there was widespread

misunderstanding of some basic concepts due to indifferent translation of classic works. Some texts, moreover, came to China via Japan, necessitating a second round of translation. The ideas that appealed most to Chinese scholars and activists were not the free market dogmas of Smith and Ricardo, but rather the institutionalism and socialism of writers such as Henry George and the members of the German historical school. Chinese students at American (predominantly) or European universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were inclined to concentrate on institutional topics rather than pure theory or mathematical economics, though this choice might have reflected their previous training as well as their interests. That the Chinese were selective in their adoption of Western economic ideas may be illustrated by Sun Yat-sen and his supporters, who became advocates of a mish-mash of collectivist ideas, including land nationalization and the promotion of a heavy industrial sector. The Chinese were struggling to find a type of economics that was relevant to their situation—however development economics, as it is now called, was not in the forefront of Western thinking. Most leading Western economists stressed marginal analysis and the static allocation of resources.

Columbia University in New York City attracted more Chinese graduate students than any other foreign university, followed at some distance by Harvard and Wisconsin. Study in America was subsidised in part by the recycling of the indemnities paid to the US after the Boxer uprising in 1900. Although strong in a number of fields, Columbia was particularly well-known in the interwar era for economic statistics, public finance, and institutional economics. Many Chinese doctoral students worked in these fields, then returned home, sometimes to their undergraduate universities, to teach the next cohort. But there was more to the transmission of economic ideas to China than the education and repatriation of graduate students. A good number of Westerners taught economics in China for shorter or longer periods, especially at the missionary colleges, and conducted research on Chinese topics. Trescott dwells the contribution of several of these enterprising Westerners, including John Bernard Taylor at Yanjing University, and John Lossing Buck, husband of Pearl, who promoted the study of agricultural economics at Nanjing University. Buck was an academic entrepreneur who orchestrated several large, though statistically unsophisticated, surveys of the Chinese rural economy.

By the interwar decades writing in Chinese on economic issues, including the problems of the Chinese economy, was flourishing. Though some publications appeared under the names of Western-trained Chinese economists, numerous prolific Chinese economists (and business and political leaders writing on economic themes) had never studied in the West. Following the outbreak of war with Japan in 1937, the professors and students of some leading coastal universities were forced to trek inland to re-

establish their departments in safer areas, often in atrocious conditions. The development of the Chinese economics profession was undoubtedly interrupted by war, revolution, and the advent of a Communist state that frowned on capitalist economics. Yet some leading Chinese scholars fled to Taiwan or the USA to pursue successful careers, while interest in Western economics was never completely eradicated on the mainland.

On one level, Trescott's book is in the interwar tradition of descriptive surveys. The reader learns a great deal about the progress of economics at key institutions such as Beida, and about the careers of eminent Chinese economists. There are scores of descriptive tables listing universities, degrees awarded, articles published, and so on. On another level, however, Trescott points out that Western economics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while containing many insights of universal application, had little to say about the problems of developing economies like China. This deficiency forced the Chinese to improvise: they did so, in the main, by devising collectivist programmes. Trescott celebrates the emergence of the economics profession of China, and outlines its distinctive features, in this intriguing and enjoyable book.

*Reviewed by JOHN SINGLETON
Victoria University of Wellington*