

Rural-Urban Relations in the Ningpo Area during the 1930s

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In the field of pre-modern Chinese social and economic history, numerous micro-studies have been made of central and local government institutions and functions, government financial policy and administration, the actual conditions of the rural economy, and the structure of the major types of manufacturing. In contrast, relatively few detailed historical studies have been made of Chinese cities, and with a strikingly small number of exceptions (virtually all of them recent) they have dealt with only the highest central places in the urban hierarchy of China. Also, scholars have often researched Chinese cities primarily to make nation-wide generalizations or to discern the common properties of urbanizational experiences in different parts and periods of China. Furthermore, in the process of generalization, dichotomous models usually held sway: the city was contrasted with the countryside, and the great tradition confronted with the little tradition.¹⁾

Consequently, most urban historians, with little to gain from such studies, have shown scant interest in Chinese cities. The mainstream of their studies has been formed on the basis of knowledge drawn from countries other than China. Therefore, when historians of China are asked to discuss a general topic in urban history on a comparative basis—such as the existence or nature of a rural-urban continuum, the relation between a city and its hinterland, the social and economic differentiation within a city, the meaning and degree of urbanization for particular urban classes and cultures, and the views of the universe and ideological norms manifested in the shape of a city—we have repeatedly found our knowledge to be inadequate. Many analytical methods and fields of knowledge indispensable for making probing historical comparisons remain virtually unknown to (and thus untested by) the historian of China's cities. These omissions are especially noticeable in the absence of studies on the middle-level sub-systems in the Chinese urban hierarchy.

It is only in the past few decades that students of Chinese urban history have become aware of the significance of these methodological and empirical inadequacies and of the need to overcome them.²⁾ Some scholars have thus begun to employ theoretical methods which might bring the history of Chinese urbanization into a general comparative scheme involving the urban and social development of different societies. Other scholars have focused more on analyzing the functions and structures of urban centers on the provincial,

prefectural, and county levels, sometimes within a wide-ranging social context inclusive of all Chinese cities.

This essay seeks to develop some of these more recent scholarly trends in its use of very detailed statistical reports on the city of Ningpo 寧波 and its surroundings during the 1930s, in order to clarify the issue of the rural-urban continuum in China before the 1949 communist victory in China. In an earlier study, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland" (1977),³⁾ I presented a general overview of the formation, development, and internal differentiation of the city of Ningpo and its hinterland over the past thousand years, showing particular interest in the growth of activities by Ningpo's own entrepreneurial groups. In the present article I wish to use new data to examine the condition of rural-urban relations in Ningpo during the 1930s. It was a time when numerous changes towards modernization were evident, but, as this essay will show, many aspects of the traditional economy remained deeply rooted. By starting with an analysis of Ningpo's recent urban system, we will have the advantage of a rich data base, which will enable us to work backwards in time, with the aid of already ascertained knowledge on institutional change, to decipher possibly similar conditions earlier on.

1. A Brief Description of Ningpo City

Ningpo is a port city located in the northeastern corner of Chekiang Province along the seacoast of Central China. From the perspective of the twentieth century, Ningpo City's history is marked by two dates, its establishment in 783 and its opening to Western trade in 1843. During the intervening thousand years, it served not only as a regional city, but also as an entrepôt for the overall economy of the entire Lower Yangtze Valley region. The heyday of its prosperity came in about 1820 to 1860, years which ironically saw the end of its predominant role in the Lower Yangtze Valley economy. For once Shanghai was opened in 1843 as a treaty port to Western trade, this city, located near the mouth of the Yangtze River some 130 kms. to the north of Ningpo, began to head a new network of urban settlements in the Lower Yangtze Valley region. More than half of Ningpo's former functions as a distribution harbor shifted then to Shanghai. Yet, Ningpo's traditional coastal trade survived until the early twentieth century, abetted by the city's location at a halfway point along the Chinese seacoast; it was a natural port of call for ships sailing north (*peihao* 北號, *peipang* 北幫) or south (*nanhao* 南號, *nanpang* 南幫) along the coast.⁴⁾ Also, Ningpo remained closely interlinked with inland water transportation by means of the Chê-tung 浙東 Canal, the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. For these reasons, Ningpo would maintain its position as a regional and inter-regional trading center, until basic changes eventually took place in water transportation, commercial techniques, and commercial organization.

Ningpo and its environs form a basin for the Yung 甬 River and its tributaries, the Yü-yao 餘姚 and the Feng-hua 奉化 Rivers. The Yung River breaks off from these two other rivers at a site called San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Three Rivers' Mouth) some 13 miles before it flows into Hangchow Bay. At this site large-size ocean ships would halt their river passage and then dislodge their cargoes onto small boats headed for Hangchow and the Yangtze Valley or the Ch'ien-t'ang 錢塘 River Valley. As Map 1 shows, the city of Ningpo was built at this key juncture and its oval shape fits in well with the natural terrain of the area. The city's circumference, as measured by its wall, was 7,763 metres in the Sung dynasty (960-1276); in the Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644) it was expanded slightly to 8,668 metres. In 1927-28, however, the city wall was taken down and replaced by a circular modern road.⁵⁾

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the administrative region of the city of Ningpo (the Chushan Islands having been made administratively independent) virtually coincided with the natural commercial region found in Map 1. But, previously, until the dissolution of the prefectural level of government in 1927, the administrative region of Ningpo was limited only to the six counties of Yin 鄞, Chen-hai 鎮海, Tz'u-ch'i 慈谿, Feng-hua 奉化, Hsiang-shan 象山, and Ting-hai 定海, (then including the Chushan Islands).⁶⁾ Inside the city of Ningpo, there were the headquarters of both the county government of Yin 鄞 County and the prefectural government of Ningpo Prefecture during the Ch'ing 清 dynasty (1644-1911); during the same period the city also held the circuit level administration for Ningpo, Shao-hsing 紹興, and T'ai-chou 台州 prefectures.⁷⁾

2. Statistical Materials and Spatial Units

The materials used in this article largely come from the anonymously compiled *Comprehensive Gazetteer of Yin 鄞 County <in Ning-po> in the Republican Period (Min-kuo Yin-hsien T'ung-chih 民國鄞縣通志)* <henceforth *MKYHTC*> published in 1935. Its abundant statistical data and detailed maps constitute the principal evidence for my analysis, and thus the degree of their accuracy and reliability require some discussion. In 1908 to 1911 the Chinese government sought to undertake the first modern Chinese census in order to prepare for parliamentary elections, conscription, local self-government, and school reform. This work was halted by political disorder attendant to the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911 and the beginning of the Republican period.⁸⁾ But, in the years from 1927 to 1936 the Nationalist government also prepared to carry out a census within areas under its control for the same purposes. As this government's main base of operations was in the Middle and Lower Yangtze Valley regions, the major county of Ningpo, Yin County, became the focus of much administrative attention. Government interest in this survey was intensified by the concurrent National-

ist campaigns to rid the countryside of any communist presence. Consequently, investigatory institutions for the collection of relatively high-quality data were established.⁹⁾ Of course, traditional abuses leading to overregistration and underregistration of the population still existed, as the preface to the series of population statistics collected in the *MKYHTC* recognizes.¹⁰⁾ The imperfections of this work's statistics thus must be frankly acknowledged. Nonetheless, the government's establishment of very small administrative sub-divisions and the participation of both the local police and local mutual surveillance units (*pao-chia* 保甲) in this population census of Yin County give us confidence in reports of a decline in the false registration of the county's households and their members. They also give us good reason for making careful use of this census' statistics for undertaking an analysis of Ningpo city and its environs in the 1930s.

In 1930 the local administrative divisions of Yin County underwent an epoch-making reform that made them more suitable for efficient censuses and other government surveys. During the late imperial period as well as the early Republican period, the administrative units of the county had been roughly divided into 14 cantons (*hsiang* 鄉) (including two for the area encompassing the old city and its direct suburbs).¹¹⁾ The area of all these cantons had been parceled up into 51 subordinate cantons (*pi* 畝) numbered clockwise. These sub-cantons were themselves parceled up into several subordinate *tu* 都, each of which consisted of several large villages. Since census figures were compiled along lines of the artificial demarcations of this kind of administrative unit structure, we cannot decipher the actual population and distribution of Ningpo's natural settlements before 1930.

The Yin County government in 1930 divided its agricultural area into 5 districts (*ch'ü* 區) and numbered them, VI to X, counter-clockwise. It designated the urban areas as well as the western outskirts of Ningpo City as the "Ningpo Urban Sector" and divided it into 5 more districts, numbered I to V. These 10 districts altogether contained 35 canton-townships (*hsiang-chen* 鄉鎮) which refer to the essentially rural cantons (*hsiang* 鄉) and those former cantons which had been changed into townships (*chen* 鎮) upon the emergence of a market town in their area.¹²⁾ Finally, there is the lowest and smallest administrative unit, the settlement (*ts'un-lo*); in urban areas it might be a group of streets or blocks and in rural areas a group of villages. In the Ch'ing dynasty this Yin County administrative system consisted of 14 cantons, 489 *tu*, and 871 settlements.¹³⁾ In 1930, after the Nationalist administrative reforms, this system of local government was reorganized into 10 districts, 350 canton-townships, and 2027 settlements (Table 1).¹⁴⁾

The local police and local mutual surveillance units, as mentioned in the preface to the population report in the *MKYHTC*, participated in the census survey.¹⁵⁾ Unfortunately, we do not know the real level and results of their participation. In 1935, at a time when local mutual surveillance

Table I. Distribution of Settlements and Population within the Jurisdiction of Yin County (Ningpo): 1933

districts	townships and cantons			settlements	1932	1933	density p/km ²	urban or rural distinction	location	% of total population	
	(total)	townships	cantons		area (km ²)	Present residents					
urban sector	I	34	33	1	154	10.5	83,447	7,952	urban	intramural, south	14%
	II	11	11	0	37	2.875	31,823	11,066	urban	intramural, north	5%
	III	11	10	1	77	18.07	22,935	1,263	urban	W. Suburb	4%
	IV	10	10	0	37	7.5	41,146	5,486	urban	E. Suburb	1%
	V	12	9	3	28	4.025	30,735	7,636	urban	N. Suburu	5%
	total	78	73	5	333	42.975	210,086	4,028			28%
rural sector	VI	49	8	41	605	232.675	99,358	427	rural	W. Countyside	16%
	VII	43	4	39	162	328.49	62,494	190	rural	SW. Countyside	10%
	VIII	67	13	54	308	185.3375	88,824	479	rural	S. Countyside	14%
	IX	56	9	47	243	333.775	86,408	259	rural	SE. Countyside	14%
	X	57	12	45	376	253.675	105,951	418	rural	E. Countyside	17%
		total	272	44	226	1,694	1333.9525	443,035	332		
	sum	350	119	231	2,027	1376.9275	653,121	474			

systems were being revived throughout the country, there were 168,129 families, 1,743 large surveillance units (*pao* 保), and 16,799 sub-surveillance units (*chia* 甲) in Yin County.¹⁶⁾ The 1933 census calculated the occupational structure in each canton-township,¹⁷⁾ and in 1934 the local police bureau, with the help of its branch offices and stations, counted up the population of each occupation category throughout the county.¹⁸⁾ As Professor Ho Ping-ti has pointed out, mutual surveillance units or similar local self-rule groups responsible for making population surveys and reports on the number of male adults in their groups' households were established to check and thereby assure the accuracy of the census data.¹⁹⁾ But so long as men sought to escape tax and service levies, population registration even by this relatively efficient method was incomplete. The population and other statistics of Yin County in the 1930s, nonetheless, rank as one of the most comprehensive, accurate, and useful collections of county-wide statistical data surviving from the late imperial period.

The *MKYHTC*, not surprisingly then, differs from virtually all other old-style local gazetteers. It contains not only detailed statistics about the population, occupations, religions, settlements, families, irrigation systems, transportation network, agriculture, industry, commerce, finance, schools, and churches of Yin County; but it also has 26 exceptionally informative maps graphically describing precise spatial variations in the above categories.²⁰⁾ Because the survey was limited to Yin County, it could not report on the western, southern, and eastern stretches of the natural commercial orbit of Ningpo City. But it still can serve as a very important base of information for these other sections of Ningpo prefecture as well.

3. Urbanization and Commercialization

Table 1 indicates the number of districts, cantons, and townships in Yin County; the population of each district; and, the distribution of the population density. It is based on statistics compiled in 1932 and 1933 (the area statistics in 1932, the population in 1933). Map 2 shows the general pattern of spatial variation in population density. From this data we can discern some significant characteristics of Yin County's population. First, the average population per sq. km in Yin County is 474. This rate is very high, compared to 1948 rates for the entire Lower Yangtze Valley region (277), Soochou Prefecture (416), Shao-hsing Prefecture (340), and Ningpo Prefecture itself (313).²¹⁾ Second, the population density in Yin County's urban sector (Districts I-V) has an average of 4,028 and in the rural sector (Districts VI-X) an average of 332. This clear distinction between the urban and rural worlds of this county is evident in the population distribution as well: 19% of the county's population lived inside the city (Districts I-II), 28% in the Ningpo Urban Sector as a whole (Districts I-V), and 72% in the rural areas (Districts

VI-X). Third, out of 119 townships, 39% were located in the rural areas, indicating a rather high level of urbanization there.

The reason why the Ningpo Urban Sector was so densely populated undoubtedly lies in the great variety of pivotal roles played by Ningpo City in the local and regional economy. Ningpo City was not only the circuit, prefectural (till the 1927 elimination of this level of local government), and county capital but also the capital of the region's commerce which it dominated economically in the regional urban hierarchy. Its numerous high-level functions intensified the concentration and differentiation of natural resources in the region and led to its own high population density. The same reasons help explain the high population density in the rural areas of Yin County, as their close interrelationship with the urban economy brought about higher levels of commercialization, population, and occupational differentiation than in the peripheral areas of the economic orbit of Ningpo City.

A. Urbanization and Commercialization in the Rural Areas

The figures on occupational differentiation for the employed and unemployed in 1933 rank as one of the more imperfect sets of statistics in the *MKYHTC's* body of data.²²⁾ For example, some data for District IX were originally put in the wrong categories, distorting the total for this district and the overall total for all the districts.²³⁾

Table 2-1 and 2-2 (which reflects a correction of the just noted data errors) breaks down the occupational distribution for the working population of Yin County into three categories: agriculture (24%), handicrafts and industry (32%), and commerce (24%). The same categories can be seen for each rural district as well. For District VI the respective percentages are 30%, 48%, and 15%; for District VII, 33%, 36%, and 8%; for District VIII, 39%, 28%, and 25%; for District IX, 46%, 27%, and 25%; and, for District X, 40%, 26%, and 24%. Districts VIII, IX and X thus contain a high percentage of merchants, Districts VI and VII a high percentage of artisans and industrial workers, and Districts VIII, IX, and X a high percentage of peasants.

Let us now examine the relationship among the agricultural resources, profits, and population distribution in the rural areas, by referring to the information in Table 1 on population distribution density in 1933, Table 3 on the land area,²⁴⁾ and Table 4 on the output and profit of farm fields in each district in 1930.²⁵⁾ The total area of Yin County in 1930 year was 1,658,752 *mou* (1 *mou* equals roughly a sixth of an acre), of which farm fields (*nung-t'ien* 農田) accounted for 45.13%, mountain land (*shan-ch'and* 山場) 26.08%, rivers and streams (*ho-liu* 河流) 20.03%, and building lots (*chai-ti* 宅地) 3.13%. The population density, as Map 3 shows, in Districts VII and IX stood at less than 600/sq. km. But in most parts of these two districts the population density was far lower, at 200/sq. km. District IX, as well as parts of Districts VI, VII, and X, were located in the hills, and they had

Table 2-1. Occupational Differentiation in Yin County: 1933

Districts	Male (persons, %)		Employed										Unemployed P.			
	Female ("	Female ("	Party members	Officials	Military	Policemen	Peasants	Artisans	Merchants	Scholars	Free Profession	Others	The Above Total	Jobless Laborers	P. without Occupation	The Above Total
I	M (P)		13	143	52	93	514	13,650	18,704	1,209	228	1,441	36,047	209	400	675
	M (%)		0.04	0.40	0.14	0.26	1.43	37.87	51.87	3.35	0.63	4.00	2,423	31.00	69.00	100.00
	F (P)							1,502	120	213	27	561	2,423	466	32,786	33,252
	F (%)							62.00	5.00	9.00	1.00	23.00	100.00	1.40	98.60	100.00
II	M (P)		1	236	47	89	55	5,119	7,284	171	293	168	13,464	212		212
	M (%)		0.07	1.75	0.35	0.66	0.43	37.98	54.05	1.28	2.18	1.25	100.00	100.00		100.00
	F (P)							496	10	27	13	28	574		13,206	13,206
	F (%)							86.30	1.70	4.70	2.40	4.90	100.00		100.00	100.00
III	M (P)		10	52	9	31	1,909	2,336	3,892	83	84	1	8,407	203	41	244
	M (%)		0.20	0.65	0.20	0.40	22.53	28.00	46.00	1.00	1.00	0.02	100.00	83.20	16.80	100.00
	F (P)							820	13	6	31		870		11,330	11,330
	F (%)							93.50	1.96	1.00	3.54		100.00			100.00
IV	M (P)			31	80	49	2,031	5,963	7,013	160	32	42	15,402		1,064	1,064
	M (%)			0.20	0.52	0.32	13.18	38.70	45.51	1.09	1.20	0.28	100.00		100.00	100.00
	F (P)						82	1,018	382	21	8	9	1,520		17,338	17,338
	F (%)						5.40	66.88	25.20	1.38	0.54	0.60	100.00		100.00	100.00
V	M (P)		1	304	26	84	231	3,697	5,061	361	152	2,352	12,269	284	50	334
	M (%)		0.01	2.46	0.22	0.60	1.88	30.12	41.25	2.92	1.29	19.16	100.00	85.00	15.00	100.00
	F (P)						2	537	55	94	5	66	759		12,461	12,461
	F (%)						0.26	70.35	7.53	12.55	0.66	8.65	100.00		100.00	100.00
VI	M (P)		7	17	9	39	21,354	8,107	9,691	438	721	974	41,357	589	3,553	14,142
	M (%)		0.02	0.05	0.03	0.09	51.66	19.54	23.46	1.06	1.74	2.35	100.00	4.17	95.83	100.00
	F (P)						85	26,877	893	1	283	2,648	30,787	191	19,914	20,105
	F (%)						0.30	87.03	3.09	0.01	0.82	8.65	100.00	1.00	99.00	100.00

VII	M (P)		28	16	29	13,861	6,038	3,361	160	64	321	23,878		52	25	77
	M (%)		0.11	0.06	0.12	58.10	25.24	14.10	0.66	0.26	1.35	100.00		67.53	32.47	100.00
	F (P)						9,050	37	9	7	8,852	17,955			12,719	12,719
	F (%)						50.35	0.22	0.06	0.04	49.33	100.00			100.00	100.00
VIII	M (P)	9	43	125	89	17,507	9,135	11,167	1,913	816	4,649	45,463	1,412	2,063	3,475	
	M (%)	0.01	0.10	0.30	0.20	38.51	20.09	24.56	4.20	1.80	10.22	100.00	40.70	59.30	100.00	
	F (P)					18	3,601	268	718	240	38	41	1,307	2,933	4,240	
	F (%)					0.05	8.83	0.66	1.76	0.60	88.10	100.00	30.90	69.10	100.00	
IX	M (P)	131	1	8	3	11,937	6,237	6,400		497	45	25,259	6,254	45	6,290	
	M (%)	0.52	0.01	0.03	0.01	47.25	24.67	25.30		2.00	0.20	100.00	99.20	0.80	100.00	
	F (P)	2					719	5				726		43,691	43,691	
	F (%)	0.30					99.00	0.60				100.00		100.00	100.00	
X	M (P)	3	32	37	28	16,751	9,775	12,477	228	248	1,048	40,627	72	321	393	
	M (%)	0.01	0.08	0.09	0.07	41.20	24.40	30.70	0.55	0.60	2.66	100.00	18.45	81.60	100.00	
	F (P)	1				1	836	9	8	4		859		57,699	57,699	
	F (%)	0.20				0.20	97.10	1.00	1.00	0.50		100.00		100.00	100.00	
Total	M (P)	175	887	419	534	86,150	70,057	85,050	4,723	3,135	11,042	262,172	9,278	17,628	26,906	
	M (%)	0.07	0.33	0.16	0.20	32.86	26.72	32.44	1.80	1.20	4.21	100.00	34.49	65.51	100.00	
	F (P)	3				188	45,456	792	1,097	618	48,523	97,677	1,964	224,077	226,041	
	F (%)	0.01				0.19	46.54	0.81	1.12	0.63	49.68	100.00	0.87	99.13	100.00	

Table 2-2. Selected Occupational Differentiation of Population in Yin County, Ningpo: 1933

Districts	Peasants (A)	(A) / (D) %	Artisans (B)	(B) / (D) %	Merchants (C)	(C) / (D) %	total of employed persons (D)
I. male & female	514	1.33%	15,152	39.38%	18,824	48.93%	38,470
II. "	55	0.39%	5,615	40.00%	7,294	51.19%	14,037
III. "	1,909	20.57%	3,156	34.01%	3,905	42.09%	9,277
IV. "	2,113	12.48%	6,981	75.25%	7,395	43.70%	16,922
V. "	223	1.73%	4,234	32.49%	5,116	39.26%	13,028
total of urban d.	4,824	5.25%	35,138	38.30%	42,534	46.36%	91,734
VI. "	21,439	29.71%	34,985	48.49%	10,584	14.67%	72,144
VII. "	13,861	33.13%	15,088	36.03%	3,398	8.12%	41,833
VIII. "	17,525	38.51%	12,736	27.98%	11,435	25.12%	45,504
IX. "	11,937	45.93%	6,953	26.76%	6,405	24.64%	25,985
X. "	16,752	40.37%	10,611	25.57%	12,486	30.09%	41,486
total of rural d.	81,514	35.91%	80,375	35.41%	44,308	19.52%	226,952
sum total	86,338	27.09%	115,513	36.24%	86,842	27.24%	318,689

a low population density. In Map 3 the more detailed data for the distribution of population density in the whole area are shown.²⁶⁾

Table 4 shows that the output of farm fields in District VII ranks as the highest in the entire county, but they produce no profit. In District IX, the area, output, and profits of the farm fields are all small, but a section of the southeastern corner of the district boasted a population density of as high as 600 because of its considerable production of salt. The salt industry consisted of fields for collecting salt (*hui-ti* 灰地) covering 14,040 *mou*, the fields for manufacturing salt (*ts'ao-ti* 竈地) of 63,141 *mou*, ca 4,640 salt workers, and a profit of 1,260 oz. of silver.²⁷⁾ The places with a relatively high rate of population density in District VII are concentrated along the banks of the Yin 鄞 River, where not only were paddy fields dominant but also common were highly profitable fields for a cough medicine crop (*pei-mu* 貝母).²⁸⁾ Districts VI, VIII, and X, all bordering the urban districts, had a large area of land devoted to fields, a high output, and remarkably high profits.

For all these reasons, although Districts VI and VII were the principal agricultural parts of Yin county, their handicraft workers outnumbered their farmers. These workers specialized in making straw mats (*lin-hsi* 蔴蓆) and straw hats (to be discussed below) in the western part of District VI and the eastern part of District VII.²⁹⁾ In 1934, the area of the straw-producing fields in the county was 6,000 *mou*, their output was 30,000 bushels (*dan* 擔)³⁰⁾ (for an average production of 1,500 *chin* 斤 per *mou*),³¹⁾ and the females engaged

Table 3. Distribution of the Farm Area, Yield and Profit by District in Ningpo: 1930

District	Farm fields	%	Yield (chin)	%	Profit (yuan)	%
VI	207, 121. 63	27.64	85, 840, 573	23.26	3, 887, 933	28.12
VII	96, 099. 85	12.82	102, 931, 021	27.86	2, 118, 186	15.32
VIII	157, 397. 98	20.95	71, 543, 722	19.38	3, 294, 515	23.83
IX	111, 049. 98	14.87	43, 003, 216	11.65	1, 423, 636	10.29
X	177, 396. 93	23.72	65, 720, 757	17.85	3, 102, 093	22.44
Total	749, 067. 37	100.00	369, 039, 289	100.00	13, 826, 262	100.00

Table 4. Statistics of the Acreage of Land by Category in Ningpo: 1930

Category of Land	Area	%
farm fields	749, 063. 67 mou	45.13
embankments	531. 39 mou	0.03
road	22, 788. 18 mou	1.38
lake & marsh	37, 586. 54 mou	2.28
mountain land	432, 739. 21 mou	26.08
rivers & streams	332, 555. 84 mou	20.03
forest	17, 544. 63 mou	1.08
wasteland	10, 291. 76 mou	0.63
building lots	51, 790. 44 mou	3.13
miscellaneous land	3, 858. 27 mou	0.23
Total	1, 658, 752. 63 mou	100.00

in this work came from 15,000 families.³²⁾ The straw mats produced here ran as high as two to three million sheets a year,³³⁾ and they were sold to the interior of China as well as to Japan and the Southeast Asia for a profit of 2,000,000 yuan.³⁴⁾ As Map 3 shows, the rural areas to the west of Ningpo City had, in certain sections, a population density as high as 867 per sq. km. The major reason is this area's mat production, as is evident, for example, in the presence of 23 mat wholesalers in the city of Huang-ku-Lin 黄古林 along with 81 shops and 4 native banks.³⁵⁾

Similarly, a section in the general area of Chiang-shan 姜山 Township in District VIII also had a dense population, engaged not in salt but in cotton cloth, lace, and straw Panama hat production as well as fishing and wool manufacturing.³⁶⁾ Straw hat production was the most important industry in Districts VI and VIII; the raw materials were imported from Manila in the Philippines, but the work force of 100,000 females was all local. The yearly production of straw hats was 2,000,000, and there were over 3,000 sellers and tens of wholesalers here.³⁷⁾ The hats were shipped to Europe for profits of

more than 10,000,000 yuan.³⁸⁾ Ocean fishermen congregated in the northern section of District IX on the west shores of Lake Tung-ch'ien 東錢, and thus the population density there was high.³⁹⁾ The industries and handicrafts of Ningpo City were concentrated in its eastern and northern suburbs; their neighboring rural areas, such as District X, had many worker residents as well. Many small working class families lived in a densely populated stretch of Ssu-kang 泗港 Township, and along the south bank of the Yung River cotton growing and ice making (for use in the fishing industry) predominated.⁴⁰⁾

Although the average output of rice per *mou* in Yin County reached close to the maximum level of 300 *chin* (one *chin* equals 0.5 kg) attainable with traditional Chinese farming technology and a heavy use of organic fertilizer, this output did not satisfy the rice needs of the population in Ningpo City and the surrounding villages.⁴¹⁾ That is, the total annual output of Yin County was 1,188,000 bushels, but its annual rice consumption in 1932 was far higher, some 1,710,000 bushels.⁴²⁾ The deficient 520,000 bushels were shipped in from two coastal prefectures of Chekiang Province, Wen-chou 溫州 and T'ai-chou 台州, from some Middle Yangtze Valley areas, and from Thailand, Rangoon, Saigon, Hong Kong, and other foreign ports.⁴³⁾

What provided the framework for the commercialization of agriculture was a network of marketplaces. As Map 4 shows, the organization of village markets began in the Sung dynasty. It was by and large completed during the latter half of the Ch'ing dynasty, by which time all of the villages of Yin County had fallen within the marketing area of a specific nearby standard marketing town. The natural resources and products of the villages were brought first to such standard market towns, and from there they proceeded to the intermediate market towns and thence via the intermediate market towns and central market towns to Ningpo City. The economic services provided by Ningpo would go back the same route to the villages. As I have explained this matter in my earlier article,⁴⁴⁾ there is no need to discuss it again here. We can get a general view of commercial conditions here by consulting the list of names and schedules of the marketplaces (Table 5),⁴⁵⁾ a map showing the distribution of the fixed markets or settlements with shops (Map 5),⁴⁶⁾ and a map which shows, from amongst the commercial goods such shops deal in, the number and distribution of native banks and shops dealing with imported goods from north and south China, cotton cloth, oil and soy sauce, fresh and dried marine products, straw mats, Chinese medicine, incense and candles, imported goods from south China, and miscellaneous goods (Map 6).⁴⁷⁾ A dark circle in Map 5 indicates a settlement with at least one permanent shop, and the figure attached to a dark circle is the total number of permanent tax-paying shops there. A blank circle indicates a settlement with a periodic market. As for those villages with shops shown in Map 6, a capital letter indicates the distribution of ten kinds of shops. The

Table 5. Periodical Markets in and out of the City: ca. 1935

District	Market	Schedule per month	Nr. of Shops (st : Stalls)	Reference
Urban District				
I	7th Market	daily, morning	80	
	1st District Market	daily, morning	84	
	3rd Market	daily, morning	St 2F 224 1F 265	
	S. Suburban M.	3.13.23.morning	120+	bamboo, vegetables, foods
II	2nd Market	daily, morning	St 210	
	4th Market	daily, morning	St 135	
III	W. Suburban M.	daily, morning	St 50	
	W. Suburban M.	daily, morning	160+	
IV	5th Market	daily, morning	St 168	
	Tung-chin M.	4.9.14.19.24.29		
V	1st Market	daily, morning	St 463	
	6th Market	daily, morning	St 161	
Rural District				
VI	Wang-ch'un-ch'iao M	2.5.9.12.15.19. 22.25.29	30+	formerly, 2.7.12.17. 22.27,
	Tuan-t'ang M	1.6.11.16.21.26	43	mainly for rice, followed by vegetables and foods
	Shih-ch'ih M	5.9.15.19.25.29	75	
	Mai-mien-ch'iao M	3.7.10.13.17.20 23.27.30	24	
	Fu-chin-ssu M	4.8.14.18.24.28	22	Fu-chin-ssu=Pu-cheng
	Li-she M	2.7.12.17.22.27	90+	
	Kao-ch'iao M	4.8.14.18.24.28	30+	
	Shih-tzu-kang M	1.5.11.15.21.25	70	
	Shih-t'ang M	2.6.9.12.16.19 22.27.30	20+	
	Huang-kung-lin M	3.7.10.13.17.20. 23.26.29	81	yield of mat; 10 million +pieces costing 5 million +yuan, mat dealers 23
	Ch'in-tien M	4.9.13.19.24.29	10+	
	Pei-tu M	3.9.13.19.23.29		established in 1935
	Heng-chang-ch'iao M	4.8.14.18.24.28 6.10.16.20.26.30	15	large market small market
	Heng-chieh-t'ou M	2.8.12.18.22.28	28	moved from Lin-ts'un
	Feng-ao M	2.8.12.18.22.28	98	March & April for bamboo shoots; small market on even-num- bered days; 2.8.12.18. 22.28, large market
VII	Shih-ma-t'ang M	1.6.11.16.21.26	10+	
	Ch'ien-yu-te M	2.5.12.15.22.25	20+	
	Ch'en-chiao-t'ung M	1.4.7.9.11.14.17. 19.21.24.27.29	20+	1.7.11.17.21.27, large market 4.9.14.19.24.29, small market

District	Market	Schedule per month	Nr. of Shops (st : Stalle)	Reference
VII	Yuan-chen-ch'iao M	4. 8. 14. 18. 24. 28	23	
	Wang-chia-ch'iao M	1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26	10+	
	Pai-liang-ch'iao M	5. 10. 15. 20. 25. 20	22	
	Yin-chiang-ch'iao M	daily, dawn	160+	formerly, 3. 7. 13. 17. 23, called as Hsiao-ch'i
	Hsu-chia-ch'iao M	daily, dawn		
VIII	Ch'en-po-tu M	2. 5. 7. 10. 12. 15. 17. 20. 22. 25. 27. 30	47	
	Tao-chiang M	1. 3. 6. 8. 11. 13. 16. 18. 21. 23. 26. 28	45	Chang-chia-ts'un 3. 8. 13. 18. 23. 28 Fu-chia-ts'un 1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26
	Kao-t'ang-ch'iao M	1. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. 13. 15. 17. 19. 21. 23. 25. 27. 29	28	
	Miao-hen M	3. 7. 10. 13. 17. 20. 23. 27. 30	8	
	Wang-chia-ching-t'ou M	3. 6. 9. 13. 16. 19. 23. 26. 29	21	
	Ting-ch'iao M	5. 10. 15. 20. 25. 30	27	
	Chiang-shan-tung M	2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 12. 14. 16. 18. 20. 22. 24. 26. 28. 30	54	
	Chiang-shan-hsi M	1. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. 13. 15. 17. 19. 21. 23. 25. 25. 29	63	
	Chen-chien-ch'iao M	1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26	19	
	Ku-chia M	2. 6. 9. 12. 16. 19. 22. 26. 29	12	
	Chang-hua-shan M	2. 5. 7. 12. 15. 17. 22. 25. 27	9	
	Ya-tao-ch'iao M	3. 5. 7. 10. 13. 15. 17. 20. 23. 25. 27. 30	25	
	Ch'en-chia-t'un M	5. 9. 15. 19. 25. 29	18	
	Tung-lin M	3. 7. 10. 13. 17. 20. 23. 27. 30	2-3	on market day, 10 stal- les for marine products, 2 for meat
	Hsu-tung-tai M	2. 4. 7. 9. 12. 14. 17. 19. 22. 24. 27. 29	40	Tung-t'ou 2. 4. 7. 9. 12. 14. 17. 19. 22. 24. 27. 29. Hsi-t'ou 5. 10. 15. 20. 25. 30
	Hou-hsiao-fang M	5. 10. 15. 20. 25. 30	14	
	Hu-chia-fen M	2. 4. 6. 9. 12. 14. 16. 19. 22. 24. 26. 29	53	
	Chia-ts'un M	2. 5. 7. 9. 12. 15. 17. 19. 22. 25. 27. 29	56	
	Chou-chia-tai M	2. 4. 6. 9. 12. 14. 16. 19. 22. 24. 26. 29	12	
	Hu-hsiao-chou M	1. 5. 8. 11. 15. 18.	18	

District	Market	Schedule per month	Nr. of Shops (st : Stalls)	Reference
		21. 25. 28		
VIII	Tou-men-ch'iao M	2. 4. 6. 9. 12. 14. 16.	32	
		19. 22. 24. 26. 19		
	Ts'ai-lang-ch'iao M	3. 5. 8. 13. 15. 18.	33	large market
		23. 25. 28		
		1. 7. 10. 11. 17. 20.		small market
		21. 27. 30		
	Heng-ch'i M	1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26	130+	mainly for bamboo & lumber, 60 shops stood along the main street
	Tung-chia-tiao M	2. 4. 6. 9. 12. 14. 16.	50	
		19. 22. 24. 26. 29		
	Tsou-ma-t'ang M	1. 3. 5. 8. 11. 13. 15.	32	
		18. 21. 23. 25. 28		
	Shih-fu-an M	2. 4. 6. 9. 12. 14. 16.	2-3	
		19. 22. 24. 26. 29		
	Ta-ao M	4. 8. 14. 18. 24. 28	10+	
	Fan-sung M	5. 10. 15. 20. 25. 30	5-6	
IX	Ch'ien-hsu M	3. 5. 7. 10. 13. 15.	30+	renown for the sale of potteries & roof-tile
		17. 20. 23. 25. 27. 30		
	Yun-lung-ch'ih M	1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26	50+	
	Mo-chih-yen M	1. 4. 6. 9. 11. 14.	135	
		16. 19. 21. 24. 26. 29		
	Kuang-yin-chuang M	3. 7. 13. 17. 23. 27	34	
	Yin-chia-wan M	3. 8. 13. 18. 23. 28	54	
	Ta-yen-t'ou M	4. 9. 14. 19. 24. 29	50	
	T'ao-kung-shan M	2. 7. 12. 17. 22. 27	141	San-fang ts'un 3. 5. 8. 10. 13. 15. 18. 20. 23. 25. 28. 30, Mei-hsu-hsia-ts'un 4. 9. 14. 19. 24. 29 Shan-t'ou-ts'un 1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26 Nien-tzu-t'ung 2. 7. 12. 22. 27
	Han-ling M	5. 10. 15. 20. 25. 30	100+	mainly for Bamboo & lumber, followed by fish & vegetables
	Hsia-shui M	4. 9. 14. 19. 24. 29	10+	
	Hen-chih M	4. 9. 14. 19. 24. 29	4-5	venders come mostly from Hsia-shui,
	Kuan-chiang M	2. 7. 12. 17. 22. 27	0	mainly for foods, followed by sea fish
	T'ang-t'ou M	3. 8. 13. 18. 23. 28	60+	mainly for foods, followed by fish
	Hsien-hsiang M	daily, dawn	70+	mainly for salt, followed by rice & cotton
	Chan-ch'i M	daily, morning	70+	mainly for fish
X	Miao-ken M	4. 8. 14. 18. 24. 28	20	

District	Market	Schedule per month	Nr. of Shops (st : Stalls)	Reference
X	P'an-hua ch'iao M	1. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. 13. 15. 17. 19. 21. 23. 25. 27. 29	20+	since late Ch'ing
	Ssu-kang M	2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 12. 14. 16. 18. 20. 22. 24. 26. 28. 30	38	
	San-ch'iao M	1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26	19	
	Hsin-shih-kang M	1. 7. 11. 17. 21. 27	4-5	
	Hen-ching M	2. 4. 6. 9. 12. 14. 16. 19. 22. 24. 26. 29	16	
	Chiu-ai M	3. 5. 8. 10. 13. 15. 18. 20. 23. 25. 28. 30	60+	
	Hsia-ying M	3. 7. 10. 13. 17. 20. 23. 27. 30	45	Hsia-ying=Ya-ying
	Chiang-ts'um M	4. 9. 14. 19. 24. 29	35	
	Mei-hsu M	2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 12. 14. 16. 18. 20. 22. 24. 26. 28. 30	104	mainly for fish, vegeta- ble and foil (for ritual)
	Kao-ch'ien M	3. 8. 13. 18. 23. 28	10+	
	Fang-ch'iao M	1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26	7-8	since late Ch'ing
	Wu-hsiang-ch'ih M	4. 9. 14. 19. 24. 29 2. 7. 12. 17. 22. 27	110+	large market small market
	Pao-ch'ung M	2. 5. 7. 10. 12. 15. 17. 20. 22. 25. 27. 30	56	
	Tung-wu M	1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26 3. 8. 13. 18. 23. 28	50+	large market small market

figures attached to them are for the total number of each kind of shop. The fact that many native banks are in the rural areas west of the city suggests that the concentration of straw mat and straw hat production in this area is controlled by Ningpo City financial interests through agents of the native banks. The reason why few agents of the native banks are found in villages to the south and east of Ningpo City is possibly that the native bank shops are overwhelmingly centered in the east corner of the city and that the commerce of the rural area is directly connected with the banks there.

Map 6 is based on statistics for shops that paid business taxes (the many small, non-tax-paying shops or those dealing with special items like salt and rice are thus not included). We can know the scale and identity as well as the distribution of different agricultural products, farm tools, and daily goods by seeing the distribution of periodic markets (Map 5), their schedule (Table 5), and the varieties of major commercial goods recorded for some markets.

Let us next look at the question of the relative rates of people with fixed and unfixed residences, an issue connected to the urbanization of the Ningpo region. Table 8 at the back, or the statistics presented at the end of this article indicate for every canton and township these trends for their "present

residents", their sojourning population from within Ningpo prefecture (and its percentage of the number of "registered population"), and their sojourning population from outside of Ningpo (and their percentage of the number of "registered population").⁴⁸⁾

On average, a rural district's total sojourning population totals adds up to 8.07% of the entire rural population. Broken down to the district level, this rates is 7.01% in District VI, 4.96% in District VII, 6.57% in District VIII, and 6.96% in District IX, and 12.66% in District X.

The place of origin for the population in the rural sector is remarkably often from within Yin County. Meanwhile, in some villages of the districts (VI and X) the sojourners' share of the population even came to close to 30%. The percentage of settlers from other Prefectures of Chekiang Province in District VI is 5.52%; in District X this figure reaches its highest level of 5.78%. Unfortunately, we do not know how accurate these statistics are and on presently what criteria the "present residents" were distinguished from the soujourning population. Caution is thus required in the use of these figures, but it is undeniable that many people took up registered residence in the rural areas around Ningpo City.

B. Urbanization and Commercialization in the Urban Areas

Maps 7⁴⁹⁾ and 8⁵⁰⁾ indicate the population distribution in the urban districts of Ningpo. All the townships and some of the cantons in these districts are blocked in by dotted lines. In Map 8, inside each block one will find three figures; the top one is this block's index number, the middle one is its present population, and the bottom one is its sex ratio (SR) (i.e., the number of its males for every hundred of its females). Map 7 and 8 show a remarkable concentration of population in the eastern half of the old, oval-shaped inner town, especially in its southeastern section to the south of the main road that links the East Gate and the West Gate. Map 8 also shows that the core of the population resided at the juncture of Ningpo's three main rivers, the Yung, the Yü-yao, and the Feng-hua. A high SR, whereby the males outnumber the females, might indicate a relatively large settlement of hired or migrant male workers. But, the mean household size (MHS) in the 1933 population statistics is 4.11 members. Broken down to the district level, this rate becomes 4.70 in District I, 4.80 in District II, 4.19 in District III, 4.40 in District IV, 4.42 in District V, 3.82 in District VI, 3.94 in District VII, 3.93 in District VIII, 3.89 in District IX, and 4.09 in District X. The MHS in the urban area, except for three districts, is slightly higher than in the rural areas, but it is still within the range we would normally expect.

The SR exceeds 150 in thirteen demarcated blocks in Map 8: Nos. 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 56, 61, 63, and 70. The high SR in No. 60 is probably explained by the residence there of many male workers employed by the modern textile factories in No. 59. The SR in the western parts of the old city generally falls below 100, since, as we shall soon see, this area

was a high-class residential section and its families had a high number of females compared to males.

Now let us have a look at the trends in occupational differentiation in the urban areas, by examining to the Tables 2-1 and 2-2. On the whole, the percentage of merchants was high, and the same was true for handicraft workers because of the manufacture of many raw materials in these urban areas. In District III, in the western outskirts of Ningpo City, however, half of the workers were peasants.

Map 9⁵¹⁾ indicates the total number of tax-paying shops on each city street, showing the scale and variation of commercialization in different urban locations. As was true with the distribution of the city's population, the number and distribution density of shops on each street were noticeably high at the juncture of the three rivers. That is, the usage of land for commercial activities would seem to conform well to considerations of economic rationality as shaped by ecological factors.

In order to confirm this conclusion, I selected 3 major commodities, out of the 128 kinds of commodities dealt with in Yin County as compiled on the basis of the original materials (Maps 10, 11, 12).⁵²⁾ Out of them, the shops handling imported goods from north and south China as well as coastal and marine goods (Map 10)⁵³⁾ were concentrated in the narrow region called "Below the River" (*Chiang-hsia* 江夏, originally called *Chiang-hsia* 江下 which is sandwiched between the Feng-hua River, the Yü-yao River, and the northern part of the old city wall).

The silk shops were concentrated along the main street which links the East and West Gates, suggesting that luxury goods were largely sold along this street (Map 11). The native banks, as Map 12⁵⁴⁾ indicates, are all crowded into the Below the River section. Long considered in the city and villages as the economic heart of Ningpo, this section lies at the core of the commercial zone of Ningpo City.

Markets, of course, were set up in the city to facilitate the collection and distribution of goods needed for daily life. Within the old city there were seven modern markets: one in District IV, and two apiece in Districts I, II, and V.⁵⁵⁾ In addition, a periodic market had existed for many centuries at both the South and West Gates and in the eastern suburbs.⁵⁶⁾ These periodic markets were places where peasants in the suburbs could sell their produce directly to the city residents. In seven modern markets there was a total of 1,840 stalls selling vegetables, fish, and meat. In addition, in 1934 there were 784 mobile stalls selling snacks inside the old city.⁵⁷⁾ Most of the urban area's traders came from Yin County, but some came from other counties and even from other provinces (Table 6 and 7).⁵⁸⁾

Table 6. Statistics of Stalls Within the City of Ningpo, With Reference to Dealers' Place of Origin: 1934

Item of Food Native-place		Meals	Noodle	Meat	Refresh-	Soft	Sugar	Total
		& Dishes	& Others		ments	Drink	& Fruits	
Chekiang Province	Yin Hsien	11	76	78	90	241	5	501
	Tz'u-ch'i H		6		2	7		15
	Chen-hai H		5	6	1	11		23
	Ting-hai H							
	F'eng-hua H	1	7	6	6	9		29
	Hsiang-shan H		2	4	3	3		12
	Yu-hang H	2	16	7	20	13	1	59
	T'ai-chou	8	24	6	16	11		65
Wen-chou	2	9	5	6	9		31	
Other Provinces	Kiang-su	1	10	4	1	4		20
	An-hwei		5			4		9
	Ho-pei		1	1		2		4
	Kiang-si		14					14
	Others		2					2
Total		25	177	117	145	314	6	784

Table 7. Statistics of Stalls at County-established Food Markets in the City of Ningpo: 1934

Kind of Foods Food markets	Meat	Fish	Vegeta-	Fruits	Egg	Poultry	Total
			bles				
1st Market	16	76	120	12	6		230
2nd	7	42	63	9	3	2	126
3rd	17	58	91	17	3	25	211
4th	4	23	20	2	2		51
5th	5	44	59	3	2		113
6th	5	18	18		1	2	44
7th	4	17	18	4	2		45
Total	58	278	389	47	19	29	820

4. The City and Chinese Culture

Did the commercial center of Ningpo City, as previously described, coincide with the center of the city itself? It would appear not. Map 13⁵⁹⁾ shows a diachronic pattern of the distribution of the government offices, schools, and academies in the city. Map 14⁶⁰⁾ does the same for the residences

of officials, gentry members, and other powerful local figures. These two maps indicate that the public and cultural cores of the city co-existed apart from the commercial center. The locations favored by officials and gentry tend to show a preference for land in the geographic center of the city, a finding one can also have about the government's use of land for its own buildings. The marks in both Map 13 and 14 indicate the period when a building was set up, and the numbers attached to the marks are the index numbers in the tables given next to these maps for the names of the buildings or their owners. The irregularly shaped, dotted-line block in the center of Map 13, lying north of the main East-West street, is the Inner Wall Section; it served as the central zone for government administration. The government offices outside this district were mainly located in the center of the southern section of the city inside the city wall. The residences of the officials and gentry members, as Map 14 indicates, were also concentrated in the southwestern, central, and southern sections of the city. There are many reasons why official and semi-official structures tended to be built in the central section of the city. The role of symbolic norms, which had an influence on the security and layout of the city cannot be overlooked.⁶¹⁾ Also, the officials' and gentry members' preference for homes in the western side of the city can be partly explained by ecological considerations.

The rice consumed in the city came mainly from the plains to its west (Districts VI and VII). As nos. 20 and 21 in Map 13 show, the charitable granaries (*i-chuang* 義莊) set up by urban-based officials and gentry members for their families and relations were situated generally in the southern and western sections of the city. Their location was probably determined by their convenience for rice transport and, most significantly, their proximity to their owners' landholdings.

As conditioned by the terrain of the entire Ningpo region, the city's fresh water supply came largely from the mountains to the west. It was directed into the city by canals. First stored in the man-made reservoir—Moon Lake (*Yüeh-hu* 月湖)—in the western section inside the city, it was then guided by a maze of canals to the sluice gate near the East Gate, where the water exited into the Yü-yao River.⁶²⁾ In general, the best residential areas in the city were in its western section. As Map 15⁶³⁾ clearly indicates, the highest priced land inside the city was in its southwestern section.

The 1933 statistics on the occupational distribution of the population (Table 2-1 and 2-2) also support this view. The large number of officials residing in District V indicates a change from past practice. It is noticeable that most individuals in the 1933 category of "scholar" lived in the rural areas. In the past scholars and officials often had both rural residences and urban abodes; they shifted back and forth between the city and the village, just like many merchants and artisans.⁶⁴⁾ But in this Yin County census a person's officially registered domicile was to be his original residence. Conse-

quently, only a small number of people could have been counted as permanent residents in the city, far fewer than actually was the case. In 1933 a modern-style survey of occupations was carried out. But, since the principles of the investigation are not known particularly on this point of residence ascription, we cannot determine how much this survey's criterion for determining one's place of abode differed from past practice. Only the large number of scholars listed for District I can confirm our previous judgements on land usage preference. But, the fact that many scholars were still living in at best semi-commercialized rural areas underlines the point that the scholars' traditional practice of residing in the villages had not changed. In other words, those educated men with the potential and the aspirations to become officials maintained their original domicile in the rural areas. When historians have commented on the degree and meaning of the "urban character" of the Chinese city in the class culture of pre-modern China, they have often noted that a particular feature of the elite in China in contrast to many other countries has been the ambivalence of their commitment to a strictly urban or strictly rural way of life. The distribution pattern we have discerned for scholars makes clear that they were both urban and rural based.⁶⁵⁾

Conclusion

How common were these Ningpo conditions elsewhere in China? Ningpo's role as an important regional urban center suggests that we have some reasons to believe it was not a total exception. Fortunately, we can find a useful comparison from the area of another regional economic urban center, Tientsin in Hopei Province in north China. The 1840s saw a noticeable improvement in the accuracy of the government's statistics thanks to its reliance on the local mutual surveillance system.⁶⁶⁾ The 1846 book *Local Mutual Surveillance Groups' Records in Chin-men* (*Chin-men pao-chia t'u-tse* 津門保甲圖冊) lists the population and occupations of the eight sections of Tientsin County.⁶⁷⁾ A complete comparison with the Ningpo figures is impossible, since the 1846 survey did not include the category of "scholar" and the names and number of soldiers and officials then in office (this last pair held 5% of the county's registered residents).

The number of agricultural households accounts for 54.2% of the entire population, merchants and artisans for 31.3%, and boat households for 7%. We can also discern the total number of the generations and their share of the population in this county. With (a) referring to peasants, (b) to merchants and artisans, and (c) to boat households, we have the following set of figures: inside the city wall: a) 29.4% b) 52.7% c) 0.2%, eastern and northern suburbs: a) 26.0% b) 61.7% c) 2.4%, western and southern suburbs: a) 42.7% b) 44.9% c) 3.5%. Equally detailed figures can be found for the degree of commercialization in the rural areas of Tientsin county:

T'ai-ku area of the southeast canton: a) 43.4% b) 33.8% c) 16.9%, all of the northwest canton: a) 30.6% b) 39.4% c) 25.8%. From these statistics, we can see that in the mid-19th century the degree of commercialization in the large commercial cities and their surrounding countryside was quite remarkable. Ningpo's occupational structure and commercialization were certainly not unique.

On the basis of the findings in the above analysis, I want to conclude this essay by making three points, which, I believe, are important for understanding the process and significance of urbanization in Chinese society. First, there was a highly intensive degree of commercialization in big commercial cities and their surrounding countryside. The conditions of specialization of local production (Map 1), the pattern of the distribution of the population density of the entire county (Map 2), the differentiation of occupations (Table 2-1 and 2-2), and the distribution of periodic markets and settlements with shops have all been made clear for Yin County. By relying on the figures of the emigrant and immigrant sojourning population in each canton and township and the ratio of these groups to "registered population" in each canton and township, we can see that some villages in each district in the countryside swallowed up not a few immigrants from the hinterland counties of Ningpo Prefecture and sent out scores of sojourners to the outer world. We can also learn that the immigrant population in all the urban areas except District V accounted for one fourth of the entire registered population. Immigrants from Chekiang Province constituted 40% of the residents in District V and more than 20% in Districts I and II. Thus, the number of immigrants in the urban areas was substantially large. In terms of the regional origins of its residents Ningpo City was rather cosmopolitan. In many historical materials this kind of big city is described as attracting people "from places in all directions" (*wu-fang tsa-ch'u* 五方雜居). It is no exaggeration to conclude that in the Ningpo urban area the guest groups' presence had become far from being negligible.

Secondly, the extent of the urban-rural continuum in Ningpo exceeds one's general expectation and shows particularly subtle and complex features of interest to students of this general phenomenon. As Map 4 shows, small-scale settlements with limited core-place character were interstitially situated between larger settlements with a greater core-place character. If we view urban-rural relations merely as a simple continuum of settlement scale, occupational structure, or degree of core-character without giving consideration to the factor of space, it is impossible to comprehend the character and functions of a regional structure which possesses the features of both the city and the countryside and which accomplished a differentiation in their functions. The way to make an analysis of this nuanced and complex urban-rural continuum, as I have indicated in a previous article, is regional system analysis based on the central place hierarchy approach. But, due to the inadequacy

of the historical sources, I have decided to postpone further consideration of this issue to a later date.

Thirdly, as the example of Ningpo City shows, there are two central zones and cores in the urban landscape. One is the core for merchant activities, the other is that of the officials and gentry members. A similar division is evident in the structure of other old Chinese cities, such as Soochow, Hangchow, Canton, Taipei, Tainan, Ch'üan-chow, Hankow, and even Peking. Many Chinese scholars hold the view that the presence of the bureaucracy in pre-modern Chinese cities determined their basic character. This insight, I believe, is important, and I do not wish to reject it completely. But I would argue that this viewpoint emphasizes only one dimension of the wide variety of different roles which these cities have performed in their past. The gaps in our knowledge of these still neglected dimensions of the urban history of China, such as the changes in the seemingly mundane details of their inhabitants' daily life, needs to be filled in by future studies of not just Ningpo but other Chinese cities as well.

Notes

- 1) For a discussion of related theoretical issues, see G. William Skinner, *Program on East Asian Local Systems* (Stanford: Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University, 1970), pp. 2-6, and "Introduction: Urban Development in Imperial China," in G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp. 1-5. Also, see Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1975), pp. 11-13.
- 2) For a brief survey of recent scholarly trends in Chinese urban history, see William T. Rowe, *Hankow, Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 1-14, and his *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 1-11.
- 3) Yoshinobu Shiba, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland," in G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China*, pp. 391-439.
- 4) D. J. MacGowan, "Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trades Unions," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 21 (1886), p. 149; and, Negishi Tadashi, *Shanghai no Girudo* (The Guilds in Shanghai) (Tokyo: Nihon-hyōronsha, 1951), pp. 31-2.
- 5) *Min-kuo Yin-hsien T'ung-chih* (Comprehensive Gazetteer of Yin County in Ningpo in the Republican Period) (1935; Taipei: Ch'eng-wen, 1974 reprint), pp. 1601-1604 (hereafter *MKYHTC*).
- 6) The administrative unit called Ningpo Prefecture along with its government was abolished in January, 1920. Then, with the abolishment of the Ning-Shao-T'ai 寧紹台 Circuit administration, whose territorial jurisdiction encompassed Ningpo, Shaohsing, and T'ai-chow Prefectures, in 1927, the administration of Yin County was entrusted to the Provincial government in Hangchow.
- 7) *MKYHTC*, pp. 1060-24; *Ta-Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih*, ch. 281; *Chê-chiang T'ung-pu*; *Chien-chih-yen-ko*.
- 8) Ho Ping-ti, *Studies on the Population of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 73-79.

- 9) *Ibid.*, pp. 79-86.
- 10) *MKYHTC*, pp. 585-6.
- 11) *MKYHTC*, pp. 269-332.
- 12) *MKYHTC*, pp. 321-64.
- 13) *MKYHTC*, pp. 269-332.
- 14) In Table 1, the data for the figures of townships, cantons, and settlements is derived from the 1933 census compiled by township/canton units (*MKYHTC*, pp. 435-584). Some data for demographic figures in the 1933 census are incorrect. So the data of population by township/canton in Table 1 is based upon the 1933 Population Statistics (*MKYHTC*, pp. 593-626). The area data comes from 1932 accounts for subdivisional administration (*MKYHTC*, pp. 364-98).
- 15) *MKYHTC*, pp. 1138-43.
- 16) *MKYHTC*, pp. 631-2.
- 17) *MKYHTC*, pp. 435-584.
- 18) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2641-52.
- 19) Ho Ping-ti, pp. 79-84.
- 20) These maps are only found in the 1935 edition of *MKYHTC*; the 1974 reprint unfortunately omitted all of them.
- 21) Robert F. Dernberger and Robert M. Hartwell, *The Coterminal Characteristics Of Political Units and Economic Regions in China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1983). The population density figures based on the area statistics are found on pp. 99-100, the population figures on pp. 35-36.
- 22) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2641-51.
- 23) The original entries for district IX (*MKYHTC*, pp. 2649-50) read policemen 3, peasants 6,237, scholars 6,400. There is an obvious clerical error here resulting in an understatement of peasants and overstatement of scholars. Tables 3-1 and 3-2 correct this error by canceling the figure for peasants and moving the following three figures one column to the left. This is why the figure for scholars has to be omitted.
- 24) *MKYHTC*, p. 1970.
- 25) *MKYHTC*, p. 1971.
- 26) Map 3 and Table 8 are based on the 1933 Population Statistics (*MKYHTC*, pp. 593-622) and the area data in the 1935 survey of subadministrative divisions. In this 1935 survey a new subdivisional system was introduced. That is, several previously existing townships/cantons were grouped together so as to form a new township/canton, or an unit next to the District in its size. The 1935 survey records the area data for each such new unit. See also my article "Commercial Differentiation in a Chinese City—The Example of Ningpo in the 1930s" in *East Asian Cultural Studies* (a periodical published by the UNESCO Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, The Toyo Bunko, Tokyo), vol. 29 (1990).
- 27) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2054-55.
- 28) *MKYHTC*, p. 1986.
- 29) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2071-79.
- 30) *MKYHTC*, p. 1977.
- 31) *MKYHTC*, p. 1976.
- 32) *MKYHTC*, p. 2067.
- 33) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2067, 2068.
- 34) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2068, 2369, 2384.
- 35) *MKYHTC*, pp. 1590, 2196.
- 36) *MKYHTC*, pp. 510-37.
- 37) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2072-77, 2067.
- 38) *MKYHCT*, p. 2203.
- 39) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2024-32; *Min-kuo T'ai-shan Hsien-chih* (Republican Gazetteer of T'ai-shan Islands), ch. 3 indicates that the fishermen from the vicinity of Tung-ch'ien Lake were one of the major three territorially based groups in Ningpo who engaged in fishing

- around the Chushan Islands.
- 40) *MKYHTC*, pp. 561-84, 1986, and 2042-45.
 - 41) *MKYHTC*, pp. 1975-76.
 - 42) *MKYHTC*, pp. 1972-73, 1969-70, and 2387.
 - 43) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2366, 2370, 2376, 2381, 2387, and 2134-69.
 - 44) Shiba (1977), pp. 428-9.
 - 45) Table 5 is based on the county-wide survey of market-places in *MKYHTC*, pp. 1587-98.
 - 46) Map 5 is based on the same source given in note 45.
 - 47) Map 6 is based on the 1932 statistics of tax-paying shops in the county (*MKYHTC*, pp. 2170-99). For an analysis of the original records, refer to my article "Commercial Differentiation in a Chinese City—The Example of Ningpo in the 1930s".
 - 48) The sources for this table are derived from the 1933 population record (*MKYHTC*, pp. 593-626).
 - 49) Map 7 is made by combined use of the 1933 population records (*MKYHTC*, pp. 953-624) and the area data in the 1935 survey of subdivisions (*MKYHTC*, pp. 398-423).
 - 50) Map 8 is based on the 1933 population record (*MKYHTC*, pp. 953-624).
 - 51) Map 9 is based on the 1932 Statistics for tax-paying shops in the county (*MKYHTC*, pp. 2170-92).
 - 52) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2170-99. In my article "Commercial Differentiation in a Chinese City" the details of the original statistics are shown in the form of a table.
 - 53) The original data for Map 10 is found in *MKYHTC*, pp. 2170-92.
 - 54) The original data for Map 12 is found in *MKYHTC*, pp. 2170-92.
 - 55) See the 1934 statistics for the county-established markets in the city area in *MKYHTC*, pp. 2098-9, and for the markets within the county in *MKYHTC*, pp. 1587-89.
 - 56) *MKYHTC*, pp. 1587-89.
 - 57) *MKYHTC*, pp. 2097-98.
 - 58) For more detailed information on such modern markets and stalls, refer to my article, "Commercial Differentiation in a Chinese City."
 - 59) The data for Map 13 is found in *MKYHTC*, pp. 1606-52.
 - 60) The data for Map 14 is found in *MKYHTC*, pp. 1714-23.
 - 61) Arthur F. Wright, "The Cosmology of the Chinese City", and Sen-dou Chang, "The Morphology of Walled Capitals", both in G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China*, pp. 36-100.
 - 62) *MKYHTC*, pp. 1188-91.
 - 63) The data for Map 15 is found in *MKYHTC*, pp. 1985-87.
 - 64) As to this "sojourning" nature of Chinese scholar-officials, merchants, artisans and special entertainers, see G. William Skinner, "Mobility Strategies in Late Imperial China: A Regional Systems Analysis", in Carol A. Smith, ed., *Regional Analysis, Vol. I, Economic Systems*, New York: Academic Press, 1976, pp. 327-364.
 - 65) For a useful discussion about the class and culture of Chinese urbanism, refer to G. William Skinner, "Introduction: Urban and Rural in Chinese Society", in *The City in Late Imperial China*, pp. 253-273.
 - 66) Ho Ping-ti, pp. 48-50.
 - 67) Momose Hiromu, "*Shinmon Hoko-zusetsu ni tsuite*" (On the Local Mutual Surveillance Groups' Records in Chinmen or Tienchin County) in his *Min-Shin Shakaikeizaishi Kenkyū* (Studies in Socio-economic History during the Ming and Ch'ing Periods) (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1980), pp. 253-60.

Table 8. Percentages of Out- and In-migrants in Ningpo Area : 1933

Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
I 區												
1. 迎鳳鎮	2,446	2,371	75	3.07	2,093	85.57	353	14.43	0	0.00		
2. 水則鎮	2,052	1,909	143	6.97	1,680	81.87	354	17.25	18	0.88		
3. 菱池鎮	2,103	1,909	194	9.22	1,836	87.30	255	12.13	12	0.57		
4. 惠天鎮	2,821	2,686	135	4.79	2,420	85.79	381	13.51	20	0.71		
5. 天一鎮	2,596	2,499	97	3.74	2,191	84.40	402	15.49	3	0.12		
6. 書院鎮	2,646	2,505	141	5.63	2,288	86.47	345	13.04	13	0.49		
7. 煙嶼鎮	1,957	1,881	76	3.88	1,672	85.44	271	13.85	14	0.72		
8. 湖濱鎮	2,854	2,765	44	1.54	2,369	83.01	481	16.85	4	0.14		
9. 花園鎮	2,547	2,369	178	6.99	2,180	85.59	361	14.17	6	0.24		
10. 鄞山鎮	3,932	3,725	207	5.26	3,382	86.01	526	13.38	24	0.61		
11. 竹洲鎮	2,804	2,705	99	3.53	2,421	86.34	378	13.48	5	0.18		
12. 柳汀鎮	2,356	2,299	57	2.42	1,905	80.86	439	19.63	12	0.51		
13. 孔廟鎮	2,785	2,682	103	3.70	2,114	75.91	651	23.38	20	0.72		
14. 聚奎鎮	2,831	2,763	68	2.40	2,646	93.47	167	5.90	18	0.64		
15. 仁安鎮	2,377	2,302	75	3.16	1,866	78.50	498	20.95	13	0.55		
16. 太昌鎮	2,313	2,292	21	0.91	1,869	80.80	437	18.89	7	0.30		
17. 壽昌鎮	2,375	2,325	50	2.11	1,909	80.38	446	18.78	20	0.84		
18. 毛衙鎮	2,701	2,600	101	3.74	2,326	86.12	357	13.22	18	0.67		
19. 唐家鎮	2,927	2,836	91	3.11	2,374	81.11	541	18.48	12	0.41		
20. 念風鎮	2,083	2,049	34	1.63	1,343	64.47	724	34.76	16	0.77		
21. 開念鎮	2,415	2,391	24	1.01	1,777	73.58	604	25.01	34	1.41		
22. 念橋鎮	2,640	2,595	45	1.70	1,715	64.96	862	32.65	63	2.39		
23. 靈橋鎮	3,609	3,588	21	0.58	2,260	62.62	1,333	37.02	13	0.35		
24. 大沙鎮	2,138	2,010	128	5.99	1,571	73.48	548	25.63	19	0.89		
25. 獅橋鎮	1,354	1,316	38	2.81	854	63.07	495	35.56	5	0.37		
26. 延慶鎮	2,019	1,971	48	2.38	1,438	71.22	576	28.53	5	0.25		

Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
27. 永寧鎮	1,913	1,855	58	3.03	1,188	62.10	721	37.69	4	0.21		
28. 濠河鎮	1,398	1,389	9	0.64	972	69.53	414	29.61	12	0.86		
29. 深仁鎮	4,718	4,709	9	0.19	2,976	63.08	1,636	34.68	106	2.25		
30. 又新鎮	2,426	2,370	56	2.31	1,739	71.68	683	28.15	4	0.16		
31. 東渡鎮	2,514	2,498	16	0.64	1,566	65.29	948	37.71	0	0.00		
32. 甬水鎮	2,214	1,969	245	11.07	1,856	83.83	316	14.27	42	1.90		
33. 長春鎮	4,003	3,828	175	4.37	3,252	81.24	661	16.51	90	2.25		
34. 博愛鄉	1,646	1,486	160	9.72	1,463	88.88	186	10.21	15	0.91		
<i>total</i>	86,513	83,492	3,021	3.49	67,511	78.04	18,335	21.19	667	0.77		
II 區												
35. 戰船鎮	4,191	4,121	70	1.67	2,246	53.59	1,461	34.86	484	11.55		
36. 茶場鎮	3,756	3,739	17	0.45	2,549	67.86	1,068	28.43	139	3.70		
37. 縣東鎮	2,172	2,156	16	0.74	1,536	70.72	531	24.45	105	4.83		
38. 甘溪鎮	2,741	2,679	62	2.26	2,166	79.02	490	17.88	85	3.10		
39. 海曙鎮	4,421	4,196	225	5.09	3,081	69.69	1,148	25.97	192	4.34		
40. 永和義鎮	2,492	2,391	101	4.05	1,946	78.09	488	19.58	45	1.81	13	0.52
41. 永豐鎮	1,514	1,489	25	1.65	1,104	72.92	393	26.29	7	0.46	5	0.33
42. 歸仁鎮	2,275	2,149	126	5.54	1,957	86.02	300	13.19	18	0.79		
43. 敦安鎮	2,326	2,213	113	5.11	1,831	78.72	444	19.09	51	2.19		
44. 通利鎮	3,655	3,517	138	3.78	3,029	82.87	568	15.54	58	1.59		
45. 德聚鎮	3,308	3,164	144	4.35	2,961	89.51	339	10.25	8	0.24		
<i>total</i>	32,851	31,814	1,037	3.16	24,406	74.29	7,235	22.02	1,192	3.63	18	0.05
III 區												
46. 萬安鎮	1,249	1,194	55	4.40	1,074	85.99	175	14.01	0	0.00		
47. 新塘鎮	1,998	1,863	135	6.76	1,811	90.64	174	8.71	13	0.65		
48. 柳莊鎮	1,583	1,333	250	15.79	1,333	87.37	200	12.63	0	0.00		

Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
49. 中河鎮	3,405	3,016	*389	11.42	2,801	82.26	595	17.47	9	0.26		
50. 望京鎮	2,741	2,472	269	9.81	2,366	86.32	354	12.91	21	0.77		
51. 慶豐鎮	3,550	3,197	353	9.94	2,952	83.15	548	15.44	50	1.41		
52. 澤民鎮	1,857	1,628	229	12.33	1,607	86.54	218	11.74	32	1.72		
53. 西衢鎮	1,297	1,110	187	14.42	1,214	93.60	73	5.63	10	0.77		
54. 北登鎮	3,933	3,559	374	9.51	3,332	84.72	549	13.96	52	1.32		
55. 自登鎮	2,743	2,528	215	7.77	1,858	67.74	812	29.60	73	2.66		
56. 自由鄉	1,136	1,035	101	8.89	962	84.68	174	15.32	0	0.00		
<i>total</i>	25,492	22,935	2,557	10.03	21,360	83.79	3,872	15.19	260	1.02		
IV 區												
57. 大古鎮	5,162	5,010	152	2.94	4,414	85.51	717	13.89	31	0.60		
58. 新河鎮	3,575	3,446	129	3.61	2,768	77.43	775	21.68	32	0.90		
59. 錦繡鎮	4,139	4,020	119	2.88	3,422	82.68	682	16.48	35	0.85		
60. 烏豐鎮	3,772	3,543	229	6.07	2,960	78.47	802	21.26	10	0.27		
61. 後塘鎮	5,564	5,414	150	2.70	4,946	88.89	584	10.50	34	0.61		
62. 華嚴鎮	3,773	3,629	144	3.82	3,162	83.81	599	15.88	12	0.32		
63. 櫟木鎮	4,883	4,769	114	2.33	4,187	85.75	680	13.93	16	0.33		
64. 和豐鎮	3,491	3,291	200	5.73	2,605	74.62	824	23.60	62	1.78		
65. 賀成鎮	4,001	3,889	112	2.80	3,312	82.78	670	16.75	19	0.47		
66. 清潔鎮	4,258	4,135	123	2.89	3,512	82.48	742	17.43	4	0.09		
<i>total</i>	42,618	41,146	1,472	3.45	35,288	82.80	7,075	16.60	255	0.60		
V 區												
67. 白沙鄉	3,113	3,070	43	1.38	1,707	54.83	1,163	37.33	243	7.81		
68. 同興鎮	2,856	2,848	8	0.28	1,676	58.68	1,036	36.27	144	5.04		
69. 槐樹鎮	3,837	3,734	103	2.68	2,178	56.76	1,567	40.84	92	2.40		
70. 麥陽鎮	2,008	1,983	25	1.25	794	39.54	1,061	52.84	153	7.62		

Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
71. 泗洲鄉	3,043	2,992	51	1.63	1,486	48.83	1,394	45.81	163	5.36		
72. 桃渡鎮	2,189	2,155	34	1.74	1,210	55.28	903	41.25	76	3.47		
73. 瑪瑙鎮	2,567	2,555	12	0.47	1,195	46.55	1,181	46.01	191	7.44		
74. 浮石鄉	2,387	2,368	19	0.80	1,576	66.02	743	31.13	68	2.85		
75. 招商鎮	2,278	2,271	7	0.31	1,163	51.05	936	43.28	127	5.58	2	0.09
76. 花牆鎮	2,393	2,372	21	0.88	1,732	72.38	530	22.15	126	5.27	5	0.21
77. 磚橋鎮	2,487	2,471	16	0.52	1,542	62.00	832	33.45	*113	4.54		
78. 引仙鎮	1,921	1,916	5	0.26	921	47.94	822	42.79	178	9.27		
total	31,079	30,735	344	1.12	17,180	55.37	12,218	39.17	1,674	5.43	7	0.02
Total of Urban Sector	218,553	210,122	8,431	3.86	165,745	75.84	48,735	22.30	4,048	1.85	25	0.01

VI區

1. 集土鎮	2,311	2,164	147	6.34	2,119	91.69	187	8.09	5	0.22		
2. 高橋鄉	2,974	2,704	270	9.99	2,706	90.99	258	8.67	10	0.34		
3. 衛民鄉	1,537	1,441	96	6.25	1,411	91.80	125	8.13	1	0.07		
4. 柳堰鄉	967	832	135	13.96	866	89.56	*101	10.55	0	0.00		
5. 青湖鄉	1,816	1,753	63	3.47	1,716	94.49	100	5.51	0	0.00		
6. 橫街鎮	565	555	10	1.77	476	84.25	86	15.22	3	0.53		
7. 橫漲鎮	1,273	1,216	57	4.48	1,180	92.69	91	7.15	2	0.16		
8. 上王鄉	744	734	10	1.34	671	90.19	73	9.81	0	0.00		
9. 鶴山鄉	3,161	2,969	192	6.07	2,942	93.07	208	6.58	11	0.35		
10. 豐惠鄉	4,715	4,471	244	5.17	4,458	94.55	255	5.41	2	0.04		
11. 孚惠鄉	1,436	1,041	395	27.51	1,313	91.43	118	8.22	5	0.35		
12. 秀水鄉	2,439	2,389	50	2.05	2,380	97.58	52	2.13	7	0.29		
13. 九龍鄉	4,596	4,201	395	8.62	4,146	90.21	443	9.64	7	0.15		
14. 太平鄉	2,574	2,458	116	4.51	2,383	92.58	186	7.23	5	0.19		
15. 石碶鎮	2,643	2,509	134	5.34	2,518	95.27	122	4.62	3	0.11		
16. 櫟社鎮	2,347	2,127	220	9.37	2,228	94.93	90	3.83	29	1.24		

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17.	龍化鄉	3,978	3,486	492	12.37	3,712	93.31	261	6.56	5	0.13		
18.	月塘鄉	3,392	3,259	133	3.92	3,040	89.62	352	10.38	0	0.00		
19.	新民鄉	1,426	1,346	80	5.61	1,352	94.81	74	5.19	0	0.00		
20.	清道鄉	3,034	2,757	277	9.13	2,880	94.92	145	4.78	9	0.30		
21.	段塘鎮	4,583	4,033	550	12.00	4,399	95.99	183	3.99	1	0.02		
22.	西徐鄉	987	962	25	2.53	926	93.82	61	6.18	0	0.00		
23.	溪渡鄉	2,167	1,820	347	16.01	2,109	97.32	58	2.68	0	0.00		
24.	同仁鄉	2,016	1,753	263	13.05	1,857	92.11	158	7.84	1	0.05		
25.	輞元鄉	1,777	1,604	173	9.74	1,573	88.52	204	11.48	0	0.00		
26.	桂林鄉	1,833	1,787	*46	2.51	1,758	95.91	66	3.60	9	0.49		
27.	明農鄉	2,198	1,911	287	13.06	2,127	96.77	65	2.96	6	0.27		
28.	西山鄉	2,034	1,971	63	3.10	1,855	91.20	179	8.80	0	0.00		
29.	三成鄉	4,863	4,600	263	5.41	4,827	99.26	36	0.74	0	0.00		
30.	象南鄉	2,445	2,294	151	6.18	2,402	98.24	37	1.51	6	0.25		
31.	股浦鄉	2,476	2,127	349	14.10	2,299	92.85	158	6.38	19	0.77		
32.	古林鎮	989	956	33	3.34	918	92.82	65	6.57	6	0.61		
33.	布政鄉	2,422	2,296	126	5.20	2,378	98.18	39	1.61	5	0.21		
34.	獅嶺鄉	3,418	3,343	75	2.19	3,415	99.91	3	0.09	0	0.00		
35.	雷莊鄉	3,455	3,380	75	2.17	3,336	96.55	99	2.87	20	0.58		
36.	蕻水鄉	490	468	22	4.49	458	93.47	32	6.53	0	0.00		
37.	後倉鄉	876	805	71	8.11	756	86.30	120	13.70	0	0.00		
38.	兩湖鄉	1,935	1,842	93	4.81	1,829	94.52	106	5.48	0	0.00		
39.	武陵鄉	4,934	4,780	154	3.12	4,758	96.43	176	3.57	0	0.00		
40.	鳳鼻鎮	2,523	2,271	252	9.99	2,310	91.56	192	7.61	21	0.83		
41.	望春鄉	990	968	22	2.22	910	91.92	79	7.98	1	0.10		
42.	塘南鄉	746	714	32	4.28	711	95.31	32	4.29	3	0.40		
43.	惠濟鄉	1,505	1,433	72	4.78	1,454	96.61	47	3.12	4	0.27		
44.	鏡水鄉	1,228	1,144	84	6.84	1,201	97.80	27	2.20	0	0.00		
45.	北渡鄉	695	645	50	7.19	646	92.95	49	7.05	0	0.00		

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46. 碧 水 鄉	748	701	47	6.28	724	96.79	24	3.21	0	0.00		
47. 保 佑 鄉	1,867	1,733	134	7.18	1,711	91.64	156	8.36	0	0.00		
48. 鎮 源 鄉	1,818	1,741	77	4.24	1,697	93.34	107	5.89	14	0.77		
49. 葑 里 鄉	900	864	36	4.17	889	98.78	10	1.11	1	0.11		
total	106,846	99,358	7,488	7.01	100,730	94.28	5,895	5.52	221	0.21		
VII 區												
1. 鄞 江 鎮	2,214	2,125	89	4.02	1,996	90.15	210	9.49	8	0.36		
2. 懸 慈 鄉	1,862	1,801	61	2.85	1,388	64.77	451	21.05	23	1.07		
3. 蕙 峯 鄉	1,166	1,060	106	9.10	932	79.93	230	19.73	4	0.34		
4. 百 梁 橋 鄉	1,772	1,709	63	3.56	1,558	87.92	214	12.08	0	0.00		
5. 仁 里 鄉	1,117	1,082	35	3.13	1,075	96.24	39	3.49	3	0.27		
6. 蘆 涇 鄉	1,031	980	51	4.95	979	94.96	52	5.04	0	0.00		
7. 馬 湖 鄉	1,137	1,059	78	6.86	1,103	97.01	34	2.99	0	0.00		
8. 前 虞 壩 鎮	1,844	1,739	105	5.69	1,764	95.66	79	4.28	1	0.05		
9. 巖 蛟 鄉	1,534	1,478	56	3.65	1,493	97.33	41	2.67	0	0.00		
10. 青 陽 鄉	933	899	34	3.64	919	98.50	6	0.64	8	0.86		
11. 長 青 鄉	1,104	1,048	56	5.07	1,074	97.28	30	2.72	0	0.00		
12. 梅 園 鄉	707	690	17	2.41	497	70.30	210	29.70	0	0.00		
13. 民 益 鄉	2,321	2,207	114	4.91	2,256	97.20	65	2.80	0	0.00		
14. 民 正 鄉	1,275	1,243	32	2.50	1,159	90.90	115	9.02	1	0.08		
15. 力 義 鄉	1,151	1,109	42	3.79	1,119	97.22	32	2.78	0	0.00		
16. 鎮 寧 鄉	1,057	1,000	57	5.39	1,017	96.22	40	3.78	0	0.00		
17. 大 中 鄉	1,008	988	20	1.98	946	93.85	59	5.85	3	0.30		
18. 中 興 鄉	774	694	80	10.34	703	90.83	70	9.04	1	0.13		
19. 光 溪 鄉	1,556	1,421	135	8.68	1,470	94.47	60	3.86	26	1.67		
20. 寶 峯 鄉	1,279	1,239	40	3.13	1,126	88.04	153	11.96	0	0.00		
21. 三 平 鄉	1,162	1,145	17	1.46	1,097	94.41	65	5.59	0	0.00		
22. 芝 象 鄉	1,124	1,069	55	4.89	1,124	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		

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23. 月山鄉	2,535	2,418	117	4.62	2,532	99.88	3	0.12	0	0.00		
24. 錫麓鄉	973	926	47	4.83	971	99.79	2	0.21	0	0.00		
25. 章水鎮	3,780	3,405	375	9.92	3,736	98.84	42	1.11	2	0.05		
26. 崔壘鄉	2,199	2,080	119	5.41	2,194	99.77	5	0.23	0	0.00		
27. 梅峯鄉	1,206	1,140	66	5.47	1,194	99.00	11	0.91	1	0.08		
28. 朱湯鄉	1,122	1,061	61	5.44	1,122	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		
29. 周許鄉	1,670	1,540	130	7.78	1,653	98.98	17	1.02	0	0.00		
30. 蜜巖鄉	2,152	1,931	221	10.27	2,125	98.75	27	1.25	0	0.00		
31. 鯨山鄉	986	891	95	9.63	964	97.77	22	2.23	0	0.00		
32. 大皎鄉	1,324	1,276	48	3.63	1,314	99.24	10	0.76	0	0.00		
33. 小皎鄉	1,498	1,421	77	5.14	1,456	97.20	42	2.80	0	0.00		
34. 界姚鄉	1,472	1,411	61	4.14	1,408	95.65	62	4.21	2	0.14		
35. 梅溪鄉	1,434	1,363	71	4.95	1,429	99.65	5	0.35	0	0.00		
36. 翁山鄉	1,675	1,657	18	1.07	1,670	99.70	5	0.30	0	0.00		
37. 新周公鄉	1,378	1,276	102	7.40	1,345	97.61	32	2.32	1	0.07		
38. 鶴嶺鄉	2,071	1,949	122	5.89	2,005	96.81	66	3.19	0	0.00		
39. 環溪鄉	2,341	2,287	54	2.31	2,227	95.13	114	4.87	0	0.00		
40. 龍谷鄉	2,474	2,427	47	1.94	2,439	98.59	35	1.41	0	0.00		
41. 清源鄉	1,275	1,249	26	2.04	1,262	98.98	13	1.02	0	0.00		
42. 自新鄉	2,314	2,262	52	2.25	2,305	99.61	9	0.39	0	0.00		
43. 作新鄉	747	739	8	1.07	741	99.20	6	0.80	0	0.00		
<i>total</i>	65,754	62,494	3,260	4.96	62,887	95.64	2,783	4.23	84	0.13		

VIII 區

1. 文山鎮	1,442	1,227	215	14.91	1,334	92.51	89	6.17	19	1.32		
2. 上張鄉	1,283	1,231	52	4.05	1,233	96.10	46	3.59	4	0.31		
3. 競新鄉	2,029	1,953	76	3.75	1,953	96.25	62	3.06	14	0.69		
4. 山後鄉	1,057	996	61	5.77	996	94.23	45	4.26	16	1.51		
5. 錢壘鄉	1,511	1,453	58	3.84	1,511	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		

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6. 明新鎮	2,286	2,040	246	10.76	2,129	93.13	94	4.11	63	2.76		
7. 茅東鄉	1,397	1,278	119	8.52	1,298	92.91	62	4.44	37	2.65		
8. 姜山東鎮	2,519	2,403	*116	4.53	2,354	93.45	143	5.68	22	0.87		
9. 姜山中鎮	1,920	1,833	87	4.53	1,833	95.47	83	4.32	4	0.21		
10. 姜山西鎮	1,968	1,914	54	2.74	1,837	93.34	110	5.59	21	1.07		
11. 克強鄉	1,691	1,572	119	7.04	1,587	93.85	62	3.67	37	2.19	5	0.30
12. 陳婆渡鄉	3,882	3,705	177	4.56	3,705	95.44	125	3.22	52	1.34		
13. 陵江鄉	694	673	21	3.03	666	95.97	17	2.45	11	1.59		
14. 荃江鄉	482	448	34	7.05	453	93.98	18	3.73	11	2.28		
15. 五豐鄉	1,912	1,846	66	3.45	1,846	96.55	61	3.19	5	0.26		
16. 甲村鎮	2,817	2,677	140	4.97	2,808	99.68	9	0.32	0	0.00		
17. 石上橋鎮	2,144	1,849	295	13.76	2,138	99.72	0	0.00	5	0.23	1	0.05
18. 羣任鄉	780	730	50	6.41	778	99.74	2	0.26	0	0.00		
19. 羣安鄉	1,690	1,582	108	6.39	1,650	97.63	35	2.07	5	0.30		
20. 長橋鄉	2,051	1,913	138	6.73	2,045	99.71	3	0.15	3	0.15		
21. 豐平鄉	1,173	1,123	50	4.26	1,151	98.12	16	1.36	6	0.51		
22. 前巖鄉	809	725	84	10.38	791	97.78	11	1.36	7	0.87		
23. 徐李鎮	2,097	1,846	251	11.97	2,086	99.48	9	0.43	2	0.10		
24. 梅山鄉	852	798	54	6.34	852	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		
25. 盤松鄉	656	594	62	9.45	548	83.54	63	9.60	45	6.86		
26. 民強鄉	831	755	76	9.15	829	99.76	2	0.24	0	0.00		
27. 勵江鄉	1,031	922	109	10.57	1,021	99.03	7	0.68	3	0.29		
28. 民權鄉	541	511	30	5.55	511	94.45	18	3.33	12	2.22		
29. 華山鄉	1,090	1,048	42	3.85	1,052	96.51	30	2.75	8	0.73		
30. 鎮安鄉	2,617	2,354	263	10.05	2,326	96.52	60	2.29	31	1.18		
31. 橫溪鄉	860	735	125	14.53	860	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		
32. 道陳鄉	1,900	1,849	51	2.68	1,837	96.68	45	2.37	18	0.95		
33. 大畧鄉	2,094	2,016	78	3.72	2,026	96.75	48	2.29	20	0.96		
34. 走馬塘鎮	2,039	1,963	76	3.73	1,963	96.27	59	2.89	17	0.83		

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35. 沈風水鄉	925	840	85	9.19	897	96.97	27	2.92	1	0.11		
36. 中和鄉	802	762	40	4.99	762	95.01	26	3.24	14	1.75		
37. 三和鄉	594	570	24	4.04	570	95.96	17	2.86	7	1.18		
38. 麗西鄉	1,588	1,474	114	7.18	1,504	94.71	48	3.02	35	2.20	1	0.06
39. 俞家埭鄉	889	784	105	11.81	792	89.09	53	5.96	44	4.95		
40. 里植鄉	1,104	1,052	52	4.94	1,060	96.01	26	2.36	18	1.63		
41. 忠嘉鎮	1,399	1,310	89	6.36	1,310	93.64	52	3.72	37	2.64		
42. 新東鄉	415	386	29	6.99	388	93.49	16	3.86	11	2.65		
43. 榆橋鄉	759	699	60	7.91	695	91.57	36	4.74	28	3.69		
44. 孫家莊鄉	438	403	35	7.99	403	92.01	15	3.42	20	4.57		
45. 獅南鄉	1,349	1,264	85	6.30	1,308	96.96	22	1.63	19	1.41		
46. 三達鎮	1,798	1,694	104	5.78	1,694	94.22	73	4.06	31	1.72		
47. 蕙東鄉	969	898	71	7.33	925	95.46	44	4.54	0	0.00		
48. 甘君鄉	797	764	33	4.14	764	95.86	22	2.76	11	1.38		
49. 西林鄉	1,251	1,199	52	4.16	1,214	97.04	34	2.72	3	0.24		
50. 望治鄉	1,096	1,055	41	3.74	1,069	97.54	15	1.37	12	1.09		
51. 守望鄉	1,204	1,125	79	6.56	1,125	93.44	46	3.82	33	2.74		
52. 荻濱鄉	1,662	1,589	73	4.39	1,589	95.60	53	3.19	20	1.20		
53. 豐林鄉	1,089	964	125	11.48	1,059	97.25	24	2.20	6	0.55		
54. 董王鄉	485	467	18	3.71	467	96.29	13	2.68	5	1.03		
55. 雅道鎮	1,639	1,547	92	5.61	1,547	94.39	56	3.42	36	2.20		
56. 民樂鄉	790	744	46	5.82	744	94.18	32	4.05	14	1.77		
57. 張黃鄉	2,141	2,002	139	6.49	2,002	93.50	91	4.25	48	2.24		
58. 桃江西鄉	1,175	1,097	78	6.64	1,117	95.06	34	2.89	24	2.04		
59. 桃江東鄉	1,706	1,576	130	7.62	1,641	96.19	49	2.87	16	0.94		
60. 石家鄉	1,774	1,577	197	11.10	1,756	98.99	7	0.39	11	0.62		
61. 古塘鄉	1,829	1,769	60	3.28	1,780	97.32	36	1.97	13	0.71		
62. 共清鄉	1,381	1,218	163	11.80	1,239	89.72	88	6.37	54	3.91		
63. 清河鄉	1,403	1,297	106	7.56	1,293	92.16	55	3.92	53	3.78	2	0.14

Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
64. 隴民鄉	845	758	87	10.30	747	88.40	81	9.59	15	1.78	2	0.24
65. 定橋鄉	1,676	1,573	103	6.15	1,641	97.91	20	1.19	15	0.89		
66. 黃家鄉	650	620	30	4.62	634	97.54	13	0.20	3	0.46		
67. 銅盆浦鄉	2,378	2,277	101	4.25	2,277	95.75	76	3.20	25	1.05		
68. 花石鎮	932	908	24	2.58	929	99.68	2	0.21	1	0.11		
total	95,077	88,824	6,253	6.57	91,149	95.87	2,736	2.88	1,181	1.24	11	0.01
IX 區												
1. 雲龍碛鎮	1,770	1,519	251	14.18	1,691	95.54	79	4.46	0	0.00		
2. 永平鄉	2,202	2,027	175	7.95	2,131	96.78	71	3.22	0	0.00		
3. 沙林鄉	1,332	1,222	110	8.26	1,318	98.95	14	1.05	0	0.00		
4. 湖塘鄉	1,347	1,274	73	5.42	1,321	98.07	26	1.93	0	0.00		
5. 臨海鄉	813	739	74	9.10	813	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		
6. 綠洋鄉	1,174	1,128	46	3.92	1,168	99.49	6	0.51	0	0.00		
7. 姚家浦鄉	753	681	72	9.56	749	99.47	4	0.53	0	0.00		
8. 下水鄉	1,481	1,319	162	10.94	1,352	91.29	129	9.78	0	0.00		
9. 董雁鄉	1,693	1,519	174	10.28	1,669	98.58	24	1.42	0	0.00		
10. 永安鄉	1,628	*1,581	47	2.89	1,608	98.77	20	1.23	0	0.00		
11. 永樂鄉	1,046	974	72	6.88	1,016	97.13	30	2.87	0	0.00		
12. 永福鄉	1,118	1,017	101	9.03	1,114	99.64	4	0.36	0	0.00		
13. 蘆浦鄉	523	515	8	1.53	517	98.85	6	1.15	0	0.00		
14. 戴港岸鄉	1,087	982	105	9.66	1,038	95.49	49	4.51	0	0.00		
15. 永康鄉	1,333	1,279	54	4.05	1,320	99.02	9	0.68	4	0.30		
16. 覺新鄉	864	864	0	0.00	863	99.88	1	0.12	0	0.00		
17. 管江山鄉	1,525	1,354	171	11.21	1,494	97.97	31	2.03	0	0.00		
18. 五山鄉	1,147	1,095	52	4.53	1,119	97.56	28	2.44	0	0.00		
19. 陳楊鄉	696	617	79	11.35	688	98.85	8	1.15	0	0.00		
20. 四四鄉	1,428	1,395	33	2.31	1,409	98.67	19	1.33	0	0.00		
21. 埼東鎮	3,840	3,769	71	1.85	3,816	99.38	20	0.52	4	0.10		

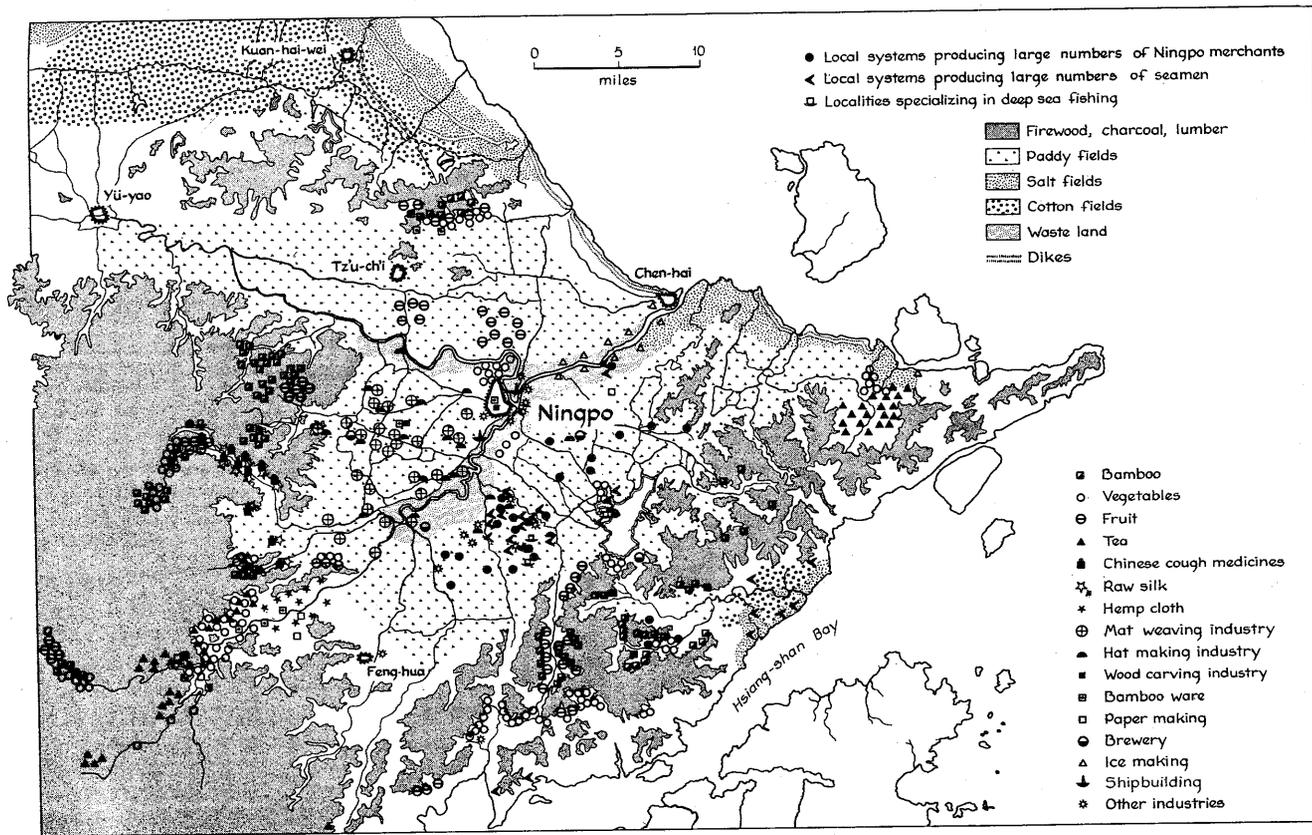
Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Thore Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
22. 埼西鄉	2,155	2,025	130	6.03	2,145	99.54	10	0.46	0	0.00		
23. 王夾壘鄉	627	585	42	6.70	551	87.88	76	0.12	0	0.00		
24. 永滿鄉	2,015	1,736	279	13.85	1,989	98.71	24	1.19	2	0.10		
25. 永韓嶺鎮	3,799	3,488	*311	8.18	3,763	99.05	26	0.68	10	0.26		
26. 永善泰鄉	1,890	1,708	182	9.63	1,872	99.05	18	0.95	0	0.00		
27. 永善鄉	1,763	1,614	149	8.37	1,756	98.60	7	0.39	0	0.00		
28. 永嘉鄉	2,106	1,918	188	8.93	2,105	99.95	1	0.05	0	0.00		
29. 永順鄉	1,432	1,321	111	7.75	1,414	98.74	18	1.26	0	0.00		
30. 四浪鄉	1,567	1,415	*152	9.70	1,552	99.04	14	0.89	1	0.06		
31. 上城鄉	242	238	4	1.65	242	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		
32. 五四鄉	603	561	42	6.97	580	96.19	23	3.81	0	0.00		
33. 咸祥鎮	6,826	6,639	187	2.74	6,727	98.55	90	1.32	9	0.13		
34. 周戴鄉	1,600	1,394	206	12.88	1,584	99.00	15	0.94	1	0.06		
35. 大嵩鎮	2,643	2,456	187	7.08	2,612	98.83	29	1.10	2	0.08		
36. 金芝鄉	1,533	1,468	65	4.24	1,531	99.87	1	0.07	1	0.07		
37. 鄒谷碧華鄉	1,667	1,556	111	6.66	1,656	99.34	11	0.66	0	0.00		
38. 史張薛鄉	1,849	1,830	19	1.03	1,840	99.51	9	0.49	0	0.00		
39. 蔡墩鄉	1,604	1,398	206	12.84	1,593	99.31	11	0.69	0	0.00		
40. 梅隱鄉	3,032	2,876	156	5.15	3,018	99.54	14	0.46	0	0.00		
41. 東西漲黃鄉	1,104	1,015	89	8.06	1,014	91.85	90	8.15	0	0.00		
42. 施塘溪鄉	1,337	1,095	242	18.10	1,304	97.53	33	2.47	0	0.00		
43. 山水鄉	1,591	1,507	84	5.28	1,484	93.27	107	6.73	0	0.00		
44. 莫枝堰鎮	1,707	1,648	59	3.46	1,681	98.48	22	1.29	4	0.23		
45. 前徐鎮	2,062	1,911	151	7.32	2,050	99.42	12	0.58	0	0.00		
46. 圓塢鄉	1,237	1,197	40	3.23	1,189	96.12	48	3.88	0	0.00		
47. 東山鄉	1,994	1,756	238	11.94	1,991	99.85	3	0.15	0	0.00		
48. 埼南鄉	721	707	14	1.94	709	98.34	12	1.66	0	0.00		
49. 永濱鄉	1,742	1,473	269	15.44	1,712	98.28	30	1.72	0	0.00		
50. 永濱鄉	1,823	1,701	122	6.69	1,815	99.56	8	0.44	0	0.00		

Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
51. 球南鄉	1,910	1,846	64	3.35	1,896	99.27	14	0.73	0	0.00		
52. 俞塘鄉	994	934	60	6.04	990	99.60	4	0.40	0	0.00		
53. 弦溪新白鄉	2,168	2,141	27	1.25	2,159	99.58	9	0.42	0	0.00		
54. 臨塘鄉	1,146	1,126	20	1.75	1,134	98.95	12	1.05	0	0.00		
55. 橫街鄉	735	698	37	5.03	706	96.05	29	3.95	0	0.00		
56. 觀音莊鄉	2,843	2,556	287	10.09	2,805	98.66	38	1.34	0	0.00		
<i>total</i>	92,867	86,407	6,460	6.96	91,383	98.40	1,446	1.56	38	0.04		
X 區												
1. 河南鎮	1,977	1,730	247	12.49	1,799	91.00	174	8.80	4	0.20		
2. 曹妙鄉	1,411	1,243	168	11.91	1,286	91.14	112	7.94	13	0.92		
3. 迴源鄉	1,231	1,119	112	9.10	1,154	93.74	74	6.01	3	0.24		
4. 金價鄉	1,929	1,779	150	7.78	1,860	96.42	65	3.37	4	0.21		
5. 橫涇鎮	2,147	1,697	450	20.96	1,922	89.52	103	4.80	122	5.68		
6. 邱隘鎮	3,496	3,013	483	13.82	3,368	96.34	128	3.67	0	0.00		
7. 七星鄉	1,650	1,383	267	16.19	1,618	98.06	32	1.94	0	0.00		
8. 田雅鄉	1,524	1,267	257	16.87	1,523	99.93	1	0.06	0	0.00		
9. 新建鄉	1,126	976	150	13.32	1,109	98.49	14	1.24	3	0.27		
10. 五鄞鄉	1,950	1,676	274	14.05	1,906	97.74	40	2.05	4	0.21		
11. 五鄉鎮	3,250	2,993	257	7.91	3,101	95.42	149	4.58	0	0.00		
12. 皎磧鄉	2,183	2,019	164	7.51	2,109	96.61	74	3.39	0	0.00		
13. 王鐘鄉	1,839	1,599	240	13.05	1,795	97.61	44	2.39	0	0.00		
14. 安石鄉	2,574	2,327	247	9.60	2,460	95.57	114	4.43	0	0.00		
15. 寶幢鎮	5,964	5,334	630	10.56	5,389	90.36	553	9.27	22	0.37		
16. 玉涵鄉	1,601	1,468	133	8.31	1,557	97.25	37	2.31	7	0.44		
17. 九東鄉	920	866	54	5.87	906	98.48	14	1.52	0	0.00		
18. 東吳鎮	3,110	2,835	275	8.84	2,965	95.34	144	4.63	1	0.03		
19. 少白鄉	1,187	1,090	97	8.17	1,077	90.73	108	9.10	2	0.17		
20. 天童鎮	2,924	2,714	210	7.18	2,897	99.08	27	0.92	0	0.00		

Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin Dounty (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	E/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
21. 畫龍鄉	733	688	45	6.14	718	97.95	13	1.77	2	0.27		
22. 玉泉鄉	1,054	1,023	31	2.94	1,038	98.48	16	1.52	0	0.00		
23. 鳳溪鄉	1,052	1,023	29	2.76	1,017	96.67	35	3.33	0	0.00		
24. 三塘鄉	1,057	949	108	10.22	928	87.80	129	12.20	0	0.00		
25. 嘉慶鄉	2,306	1,763	543	23.55	2,013	87.29	254	11.01	39	1.69		
26. 湖江鄉	3,530	3,137	393	11.13	3,248	92.01	268	7.59	14	0.40		
27. 潘葉鄉	2,915	2,574	341	11.70	2,755	94.51	153	5.25	7	0.24		
28. 泗港鄉	1,637	1,486	151	9.22	1,547	94.50	86	5.25	4	0.24		
29. 迴龍鎮	1,607	1,420	187	11.64	1,558	96.95	49	3.05	0	0.00		
30. 高錢鄉	2,326	1,984	342	14.70	2,158	92.78	162	6.97	6	0.26		
31. 四八鄉	2,163	1,923	240	11.10	2,124	98.20	39	1.80	0	0.00		
32. 五湖鄉	1,748	1,485	263	15.05	1,644	94.05	104	5.95	0	0.00		
33. 梅梨鄉	1,048	1,019	29	2.77	1,034	98.66	14	1.34	0	0.00		
34. 益謹鄉	3,539	2,969	570	16.11	3,222	91.04	309	8.73	8	0.23		
35. 益新鄉	4,347	3,525	822	18.91	4,041	92.96	301	6.92	5	0.12		
36. 寧裕鄉	2,687	2,481	206	7.67	2,658	98.92	25	0.93	4	0.15		
37. 維勤鄉	1,325	1,080	245	18.49	1,222	92.23	103	7.77	0	0.00		
38. 六河鄉	3,291	2,827	464	14.10	3,134	95.23	155	4.71	2	0.06		
39. 高平鄉	1,069	875	194	18.15	1,003	93.83	63	5.89	3	0.28		
40. 都橋鎮	2,551	2,204	347	13.60	2,500	98.00	51	2.00	0	0.00		
41. 姜村鎮	1,704	1,539	165	10.33	1,572	92.25	127	7.45	5	0.29		
42. 下應鎮	3,142	2,592	550	16.30	3,067	97.61	75	2.39	0	0.00		
43. 虹史鄉	1,741	1,471	270	15.51	1,663	95.52	61	3.50	17	0.98		
44. 余徐鄉	1,934	1,808	126	6.51	1,798	92.97	135	6.98	1	0.05		
45. 俞真鄉	3,096	2,825	271	8.75	2,954	95.41	141	4.55	0	0.00	1	0.03
46. 王家鄉	1,814	1,610	204	11.25	1,696	93.50	117	6.45	1	0.06		
47. 鹽場鄉	2,791	2,376	415	14.87	2,356	84.41	435	15.59	0	0.00		
48. 張監鄉	1,969	1,808	161	8.18	1,929	97.97	39	1.98	1	0.05		
49. 邵家鄉	1,266	1,012	*254	17.93	1,236	97.63	23	1.82	7	0.55		

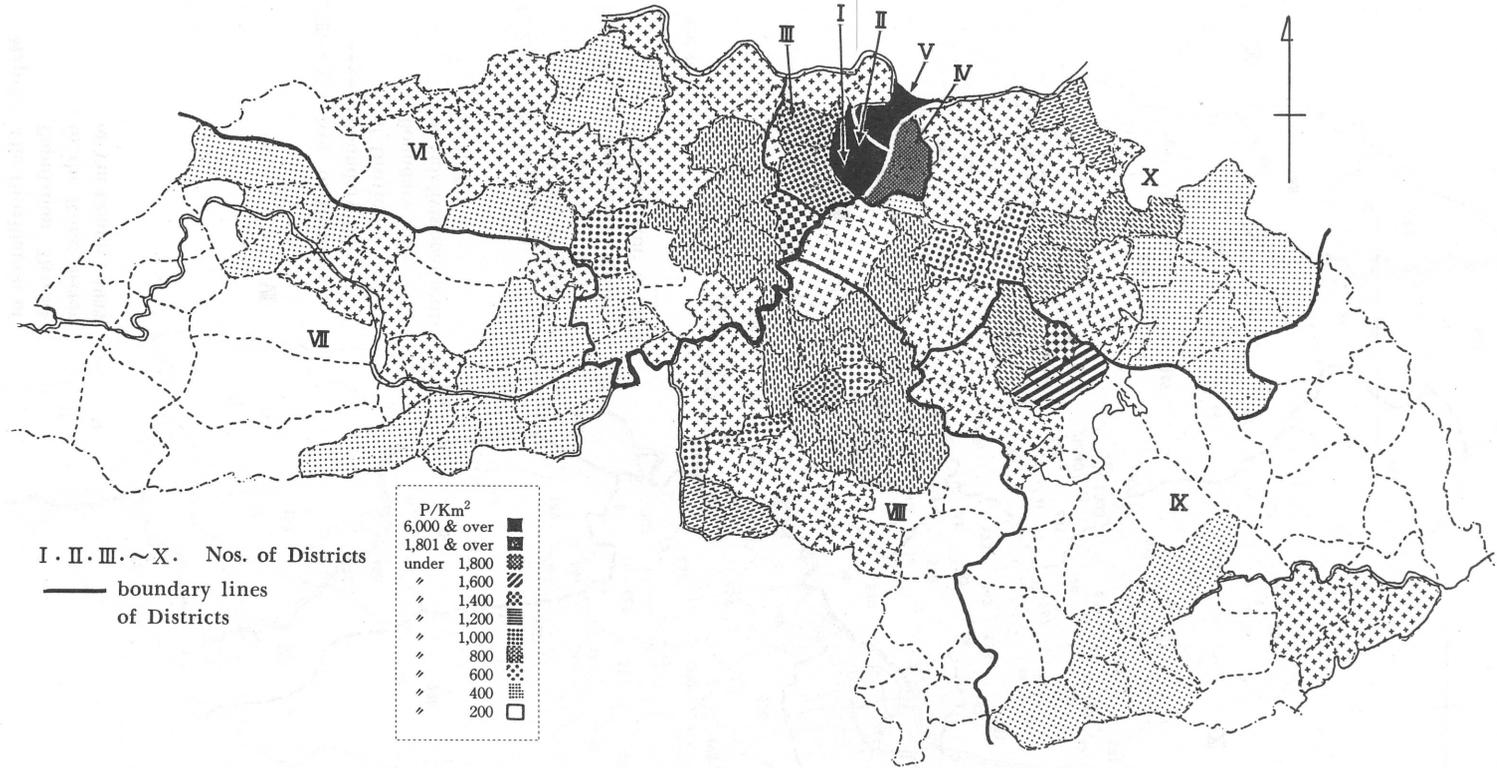
Township/ Canton	Registered Population (A)	Presently Residing (B)	Those Out- Migrated (C)	C/A %	Registered Within Yin County (D)	D/A %	From Chekiang Province (E)	F/A %	From other Provinces (F)	F/A %	From Abroad (G)	G/A %
50. 浦口鄉	1,871	1,641	230	12.29	1,799	96.15	69	3.69	3	0.16		
51. 平隘鄉	1,634	1,402	232	14.20	1,528	93.51	105	6.43	1	0.06		
52. 勝家園鄉	1,154	1,018	136	11.79	1,030	89.25	120	10.40	4	0.35		
53. 姜隴鄉	2,154	1,695	459	21.31	1,923	89.28	221	10.26	10	0.46		
54. 望梅鄉	1,363	929	434	31.84	1,274	93.47	86	6.31	3	0.22		
55. 梅墟鎮	3,021	2,613	408	13.51	2,502	82.82	503	16.65	16	0.53		
56. 新安鄉	3,260	2,665	595	18.25	2,916	89.45	344	10.55	0	0.00		
57. 龍鐘鄉	1,492	1,384	108	7.24	1,406	94.24	80	5.36	6	0.40		
<i>total</i>	121,384	105,951	15,433	12.66	114,012	93.93	7,017	5.78	354	0.29	1	
Total of Rural Sector	481,928	443,034	38,894	8.07	460,161	95.48	19,877	4.12	1,878	0.39	12	0.01
Sum Total	700,481	653,156	47,325	6.75	625,906	89.35	68,612	9.79	5,926	0.85	37	0.01

* indicates the incorrectness of the figure in original source caused by clerical misentry.



Map 1. Local Specialization in the Ningpo Area, Late Nineteenth Century

G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China*, (1977), Stanford University Press, Stanford, p. 425.



Map 2. The Distribution of Population Density in Ningpo Area: 1933

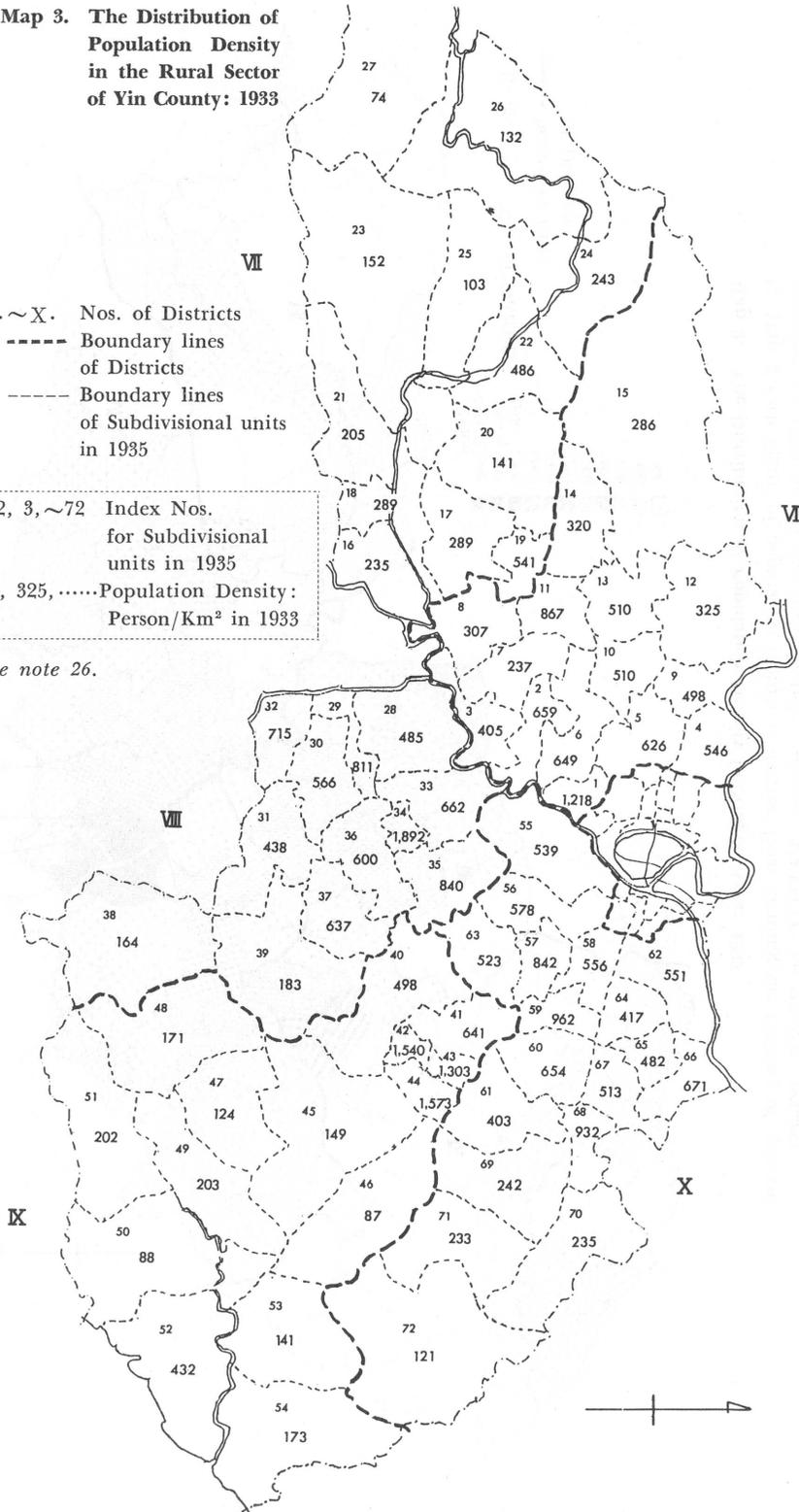
In Map 2 each figure of population density is derived from dividing the number of “present residents” (in 1933) by the area data (in 1932). Sources: *MKYHTC*, pp. 593-626. 423-433.

Map 3. The Distribution of Population Density in the Rural Sector of Yin County: 1933

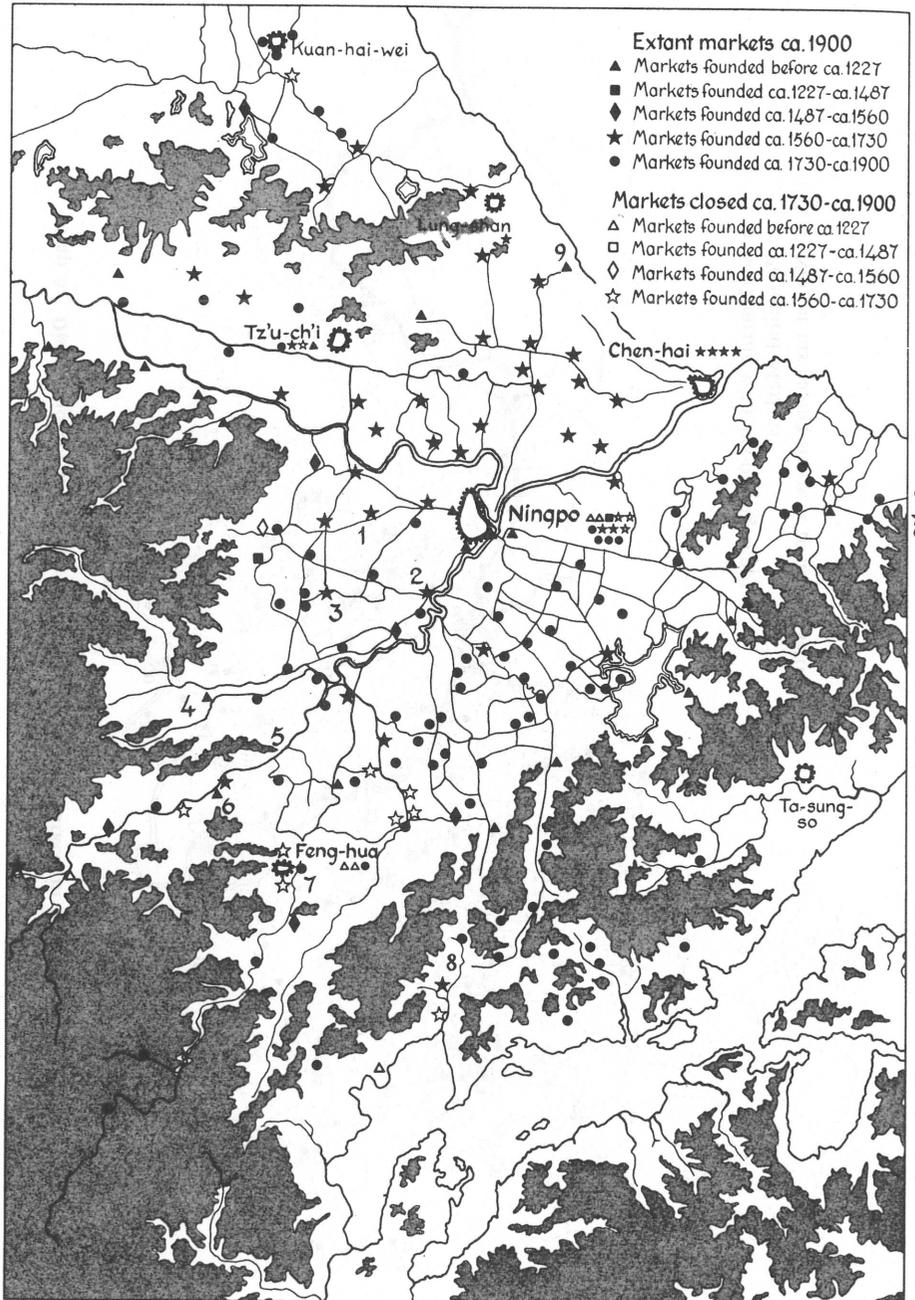
VI-VII-X. Nos. of Districts
 - - - - - Boundary lines of Districts
 - - - - - Boundary lines of Subdivisional units in 1935

1, 2, 3, ~72 Index Nos. for Subdivisional units in 1935
 510, 325, Population Density: Person/Km² in 1933

See note 26.



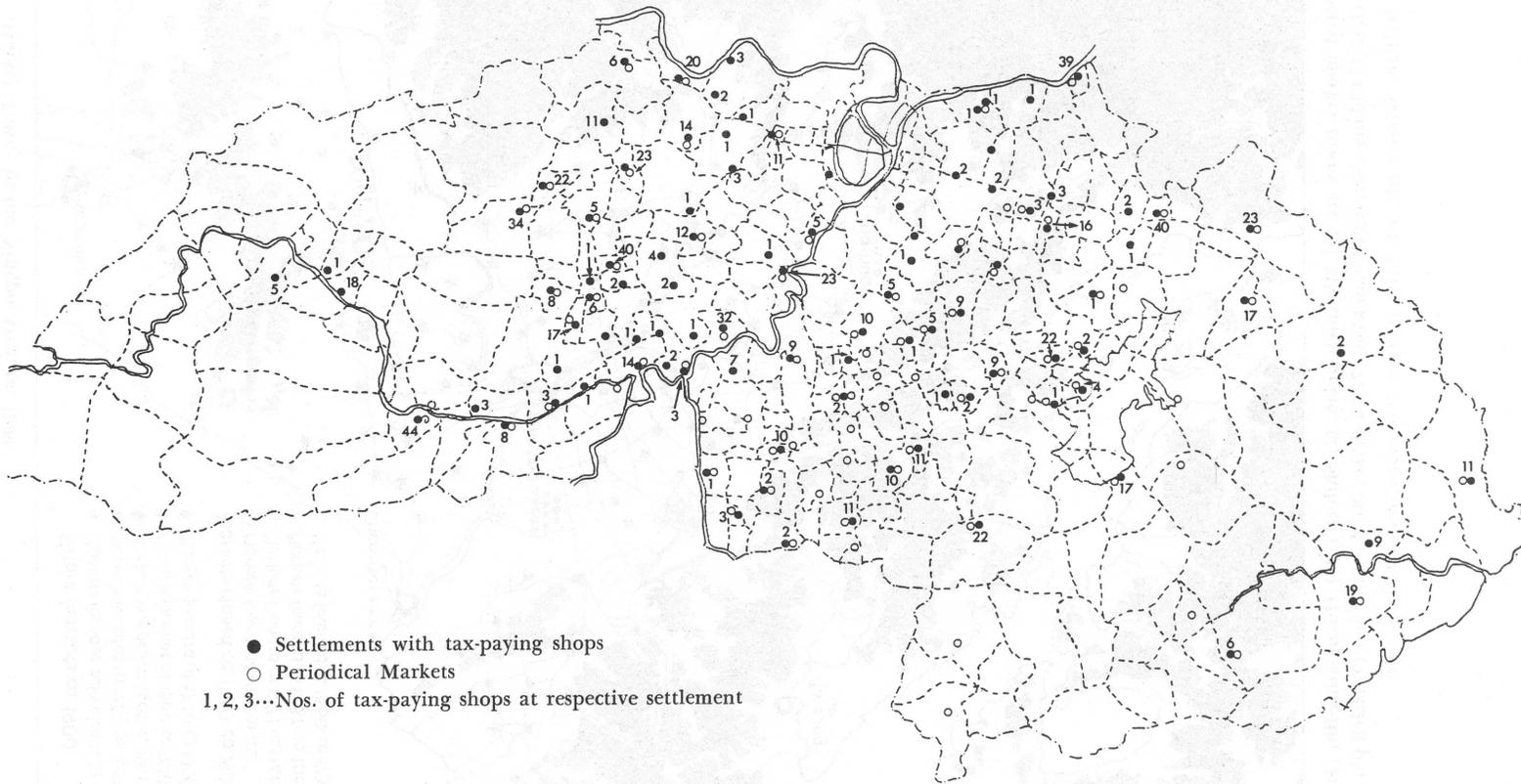
Map 4. Market Towns in the Ningpo Area, ca. 1900.



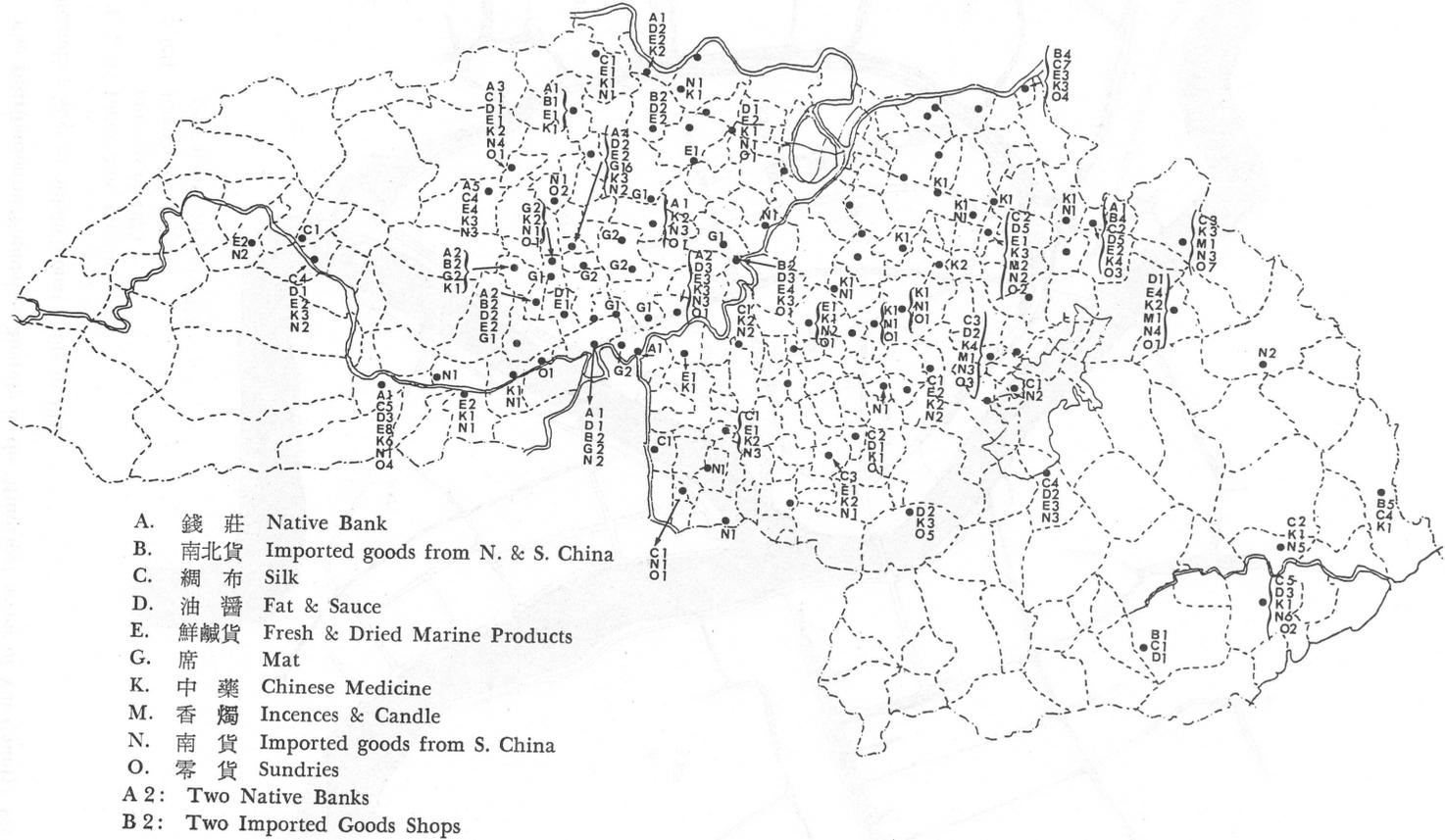
Numbered market towns are (1) Mai-mien-ch'iao, (2) Shih-ch'i, (3) Huang-kung-lin, (4) Hsiao-ch'i, (5) Chiang-k'ou, (6) Ch'üan-k'ou, (7) Ta-ch'iao, (8) Shun-hu, and (9) Hsieh-p'u.

G. William Skinner ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (1977), p. 404.

Map 5. Distribution of tax-paying shops and Periodical Markets in Ningpo's Countryside: 1932



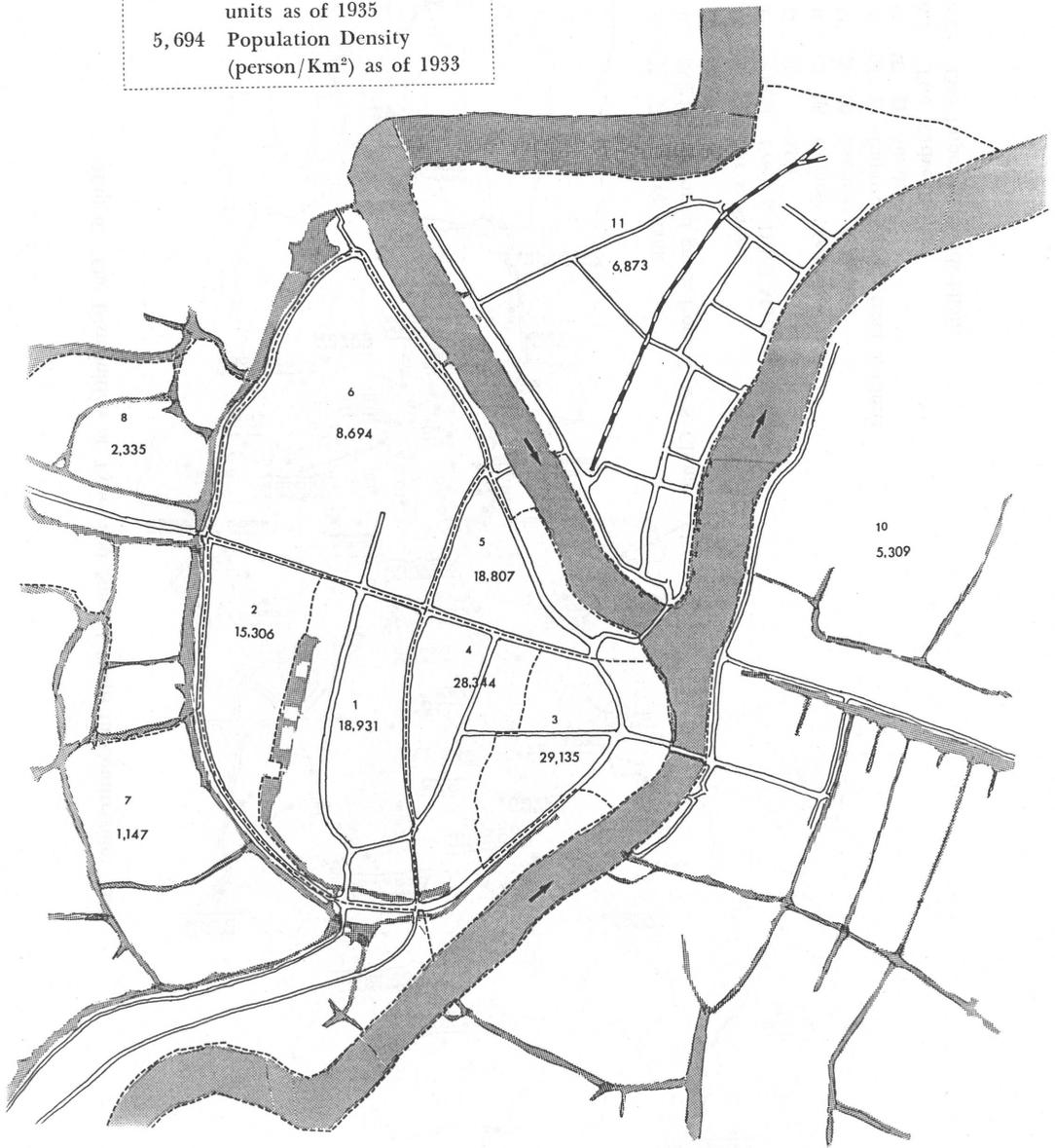
Map 6. The Distribution of Types and Nos. of Shops in Countryside: 1932



Map 7. The Distribution of Population Density in the Municipal Sector of Yin County: 1933

----- Boundary lines of Subdivisional Units in 1935

1. 2. 3 Index Nos. for the above units as of 1935
5, 694 Population Density (person/Km²) as of 1933

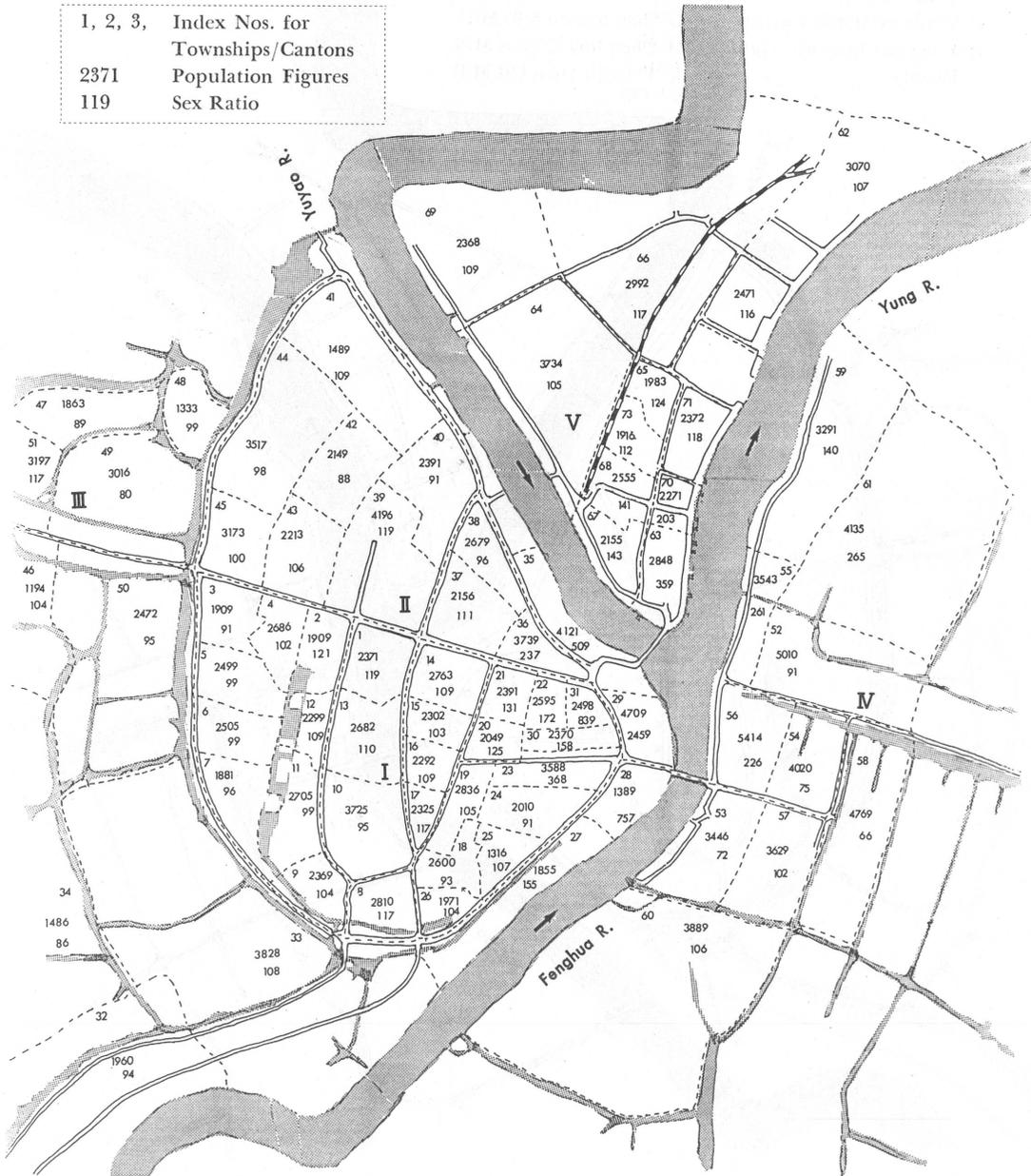


Map 8. The Distribution of Presently Residing Population in the Municipal Sector of Yin County: 1933

----- Boundary lines of Township/Canton in 1933

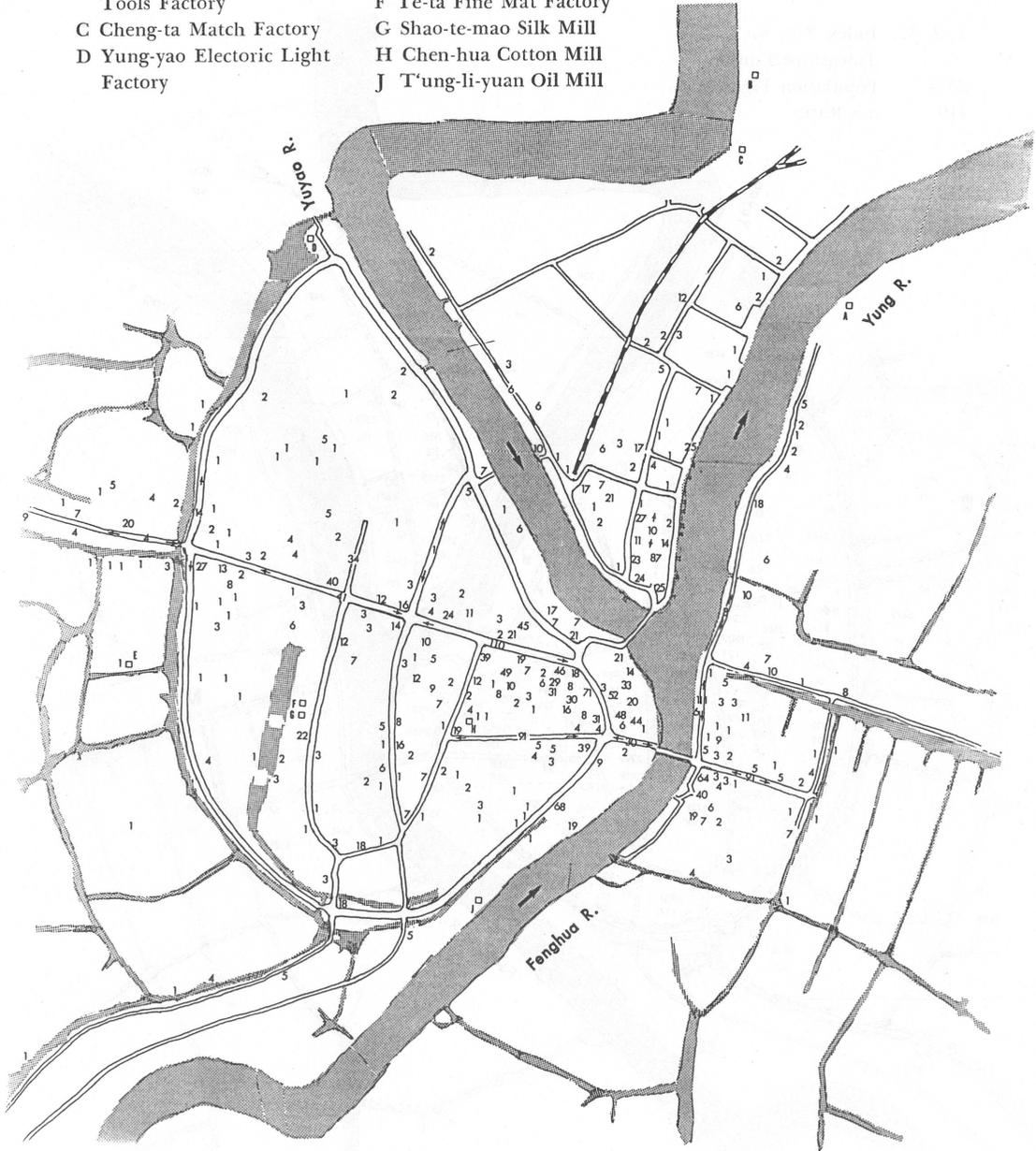
I, II, III, ~ V Nos. of Districts

1, 2, 3,	Index Nos. for Townships/Cantons
2371	Population Figures
119	Sex Ratio



Map 9. Distribution of the shops (indicated by their numbers) in the City of Ningpo: 1932

- A~J:
- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| A Ho-feng Cotton Mill | E Ju-sheng Bamboo-shoots Cannery |
| B Ningpo Machinery & Tools Factory | F Te-ta Fine Mat Factory |
| C Cheng-ta Match Factory | G Shao-te-mao Silk Mill |
| D Yung-yao Electric Light Factory | H Chen-hua Cotton Mill |
| | J T'ung-li-yuan Oil Mill |



Map 13. Diachronic Distribution of Sites of Official and Academic Buildings in the City of Ningpo and its Vicinity

1, 2, 3, ... Index Nos. (see Table in next page)

- △ Sung (960-1279)
- Yüan (1271-1368)
- Ming (1368-1644)
- Ch'ing (1616-1912)
- Inner Walls



Official and Academic Buildings Appeared in Map 13

Sung	41 Charity Granary (2)
1 Prefectural Magistrate's Office	42 Charity Granary (3)
2 Controller-general (West)	43 Charity Granary (4)
3 Controller-general (East)	44 Public Pharmacy
4 Administrative Assistant to the Military Commissioner	45 Provincial Military Commander
5 Controller-general (South)	46 Subprefectural Magistrate
6 Chief Military Inspector	47 Yüeh-hu Academy
7 County Magistrate's Office	48 Yu-ts'ai Academy
8 County Defender	49 Hsiao-lien-t'ang Academy
9 Supervisory office for Shipbuilding	50 Pan-chih Academy
10 Examination Hal	51 Ch'ung-shih Academy
11 Prefectural School	52 Inland Custom Office
12 County School	53 Maritime Custom Office
13 Prefectural Commercial Tax Office	54 The Great Britain Consulate
14 Maritime Trade Commissioner	Sung
15 Prefectural Wine Tax Office	55 Wei-kuo 30th Regiment
16 Tea and Salt Certificate Validation Office	56 Wei-kuo 55th Regiment
17 Military Commissioner's Grain Purchase Granary	57 Drill Ground
18 Military Commissioner's Grain Purchase Granary (South)	58 Small Drill Ground
19 Ever-Normal Granary	59 Hsiung-chieh Regiment
20 Granary for Chariable Estates of Shih and Other Families	60 Ch'üan-chieh Regiment
21 Granary for Charitable Estates of Lou Family	61 Ch'ung-chieh 28th Regiment
22 Academy of Lou and Yüan Families (Ch'eng-nan Academy)	62 Ch'ung-chieh 29th Regiment
23 Academy of Kao Family (Ch'ang-ch'un Academy)	63 Ch'ung-chieh 30th Regiment
24 Yung-tung Academy	64 Shipyard Regiment
Yüan	Ch'ing
25 Mongolian School	65 Small Drill Ground
26 Medical School	66 Middle Brigade Drill Ground
27 Mao-shan Academy	67 Left Brigade Drill Ground
28 Yin-chiang Academy	68 Right Brigade Drill Ground
29 Administration Office (Lu-shih-ssu)	69 Front Brigade Drill Ground
30 Branch of Liang-che Tax Transport and Salt Monopoly Commissioner	70 Rear Brigade Drill Ground
31 County Magistrate's Office (Yüan)	71 Large Drill ground
32 Weaving and Dyeing Service	72 Assistant Regional Commander's Office (Middle Brigade)
Ming	73 Assistant Brigade Commander's Office (Middle Brigade)
33 Branch Office of Provincial Administration Commissioner	74 Brigade Commander's Office (Left Brigade)
34 Branch Department of Investigation Bureau (in the Sung: Prefectural Judge's Office, in the Yüan: Price Stabilization Paper Money Storehouse, in the Ch'ing: Branch Department of Education Intendant)	75 Assistant Brigade Commander's Office (Left Brigade)
35 County Magistrate's Office (Ming)	76 Brigade Commander's Office (Right Brigade)
36 Commercial Tax Office (Ming)	77 Assistant Brigade Commander's Office (Right Brigade)
37 Maritime Trade Commissioner (Ming)	78 Brigade Commander's Office (Front Brigade)
38 Ching-ch'uan Academy	79 Brigade Commander's Office (Rear Brigade)
39 T'ien-i-ko Library	80 Assistant Brigade Commander's Office (Rear Brigade)
40 Charity Granary (1)	81 Garrison Vice Commander's Office
	82 Assistant Garrison Commander's Office
	83 Military Shipyard
	Sung
	84 Yang-tz'u Academy
	Ming
	85 Surveillance Commissioner

Map 14. Diachronic Distribution of Residences of Notables in the City of Ningpo and its Vicinity

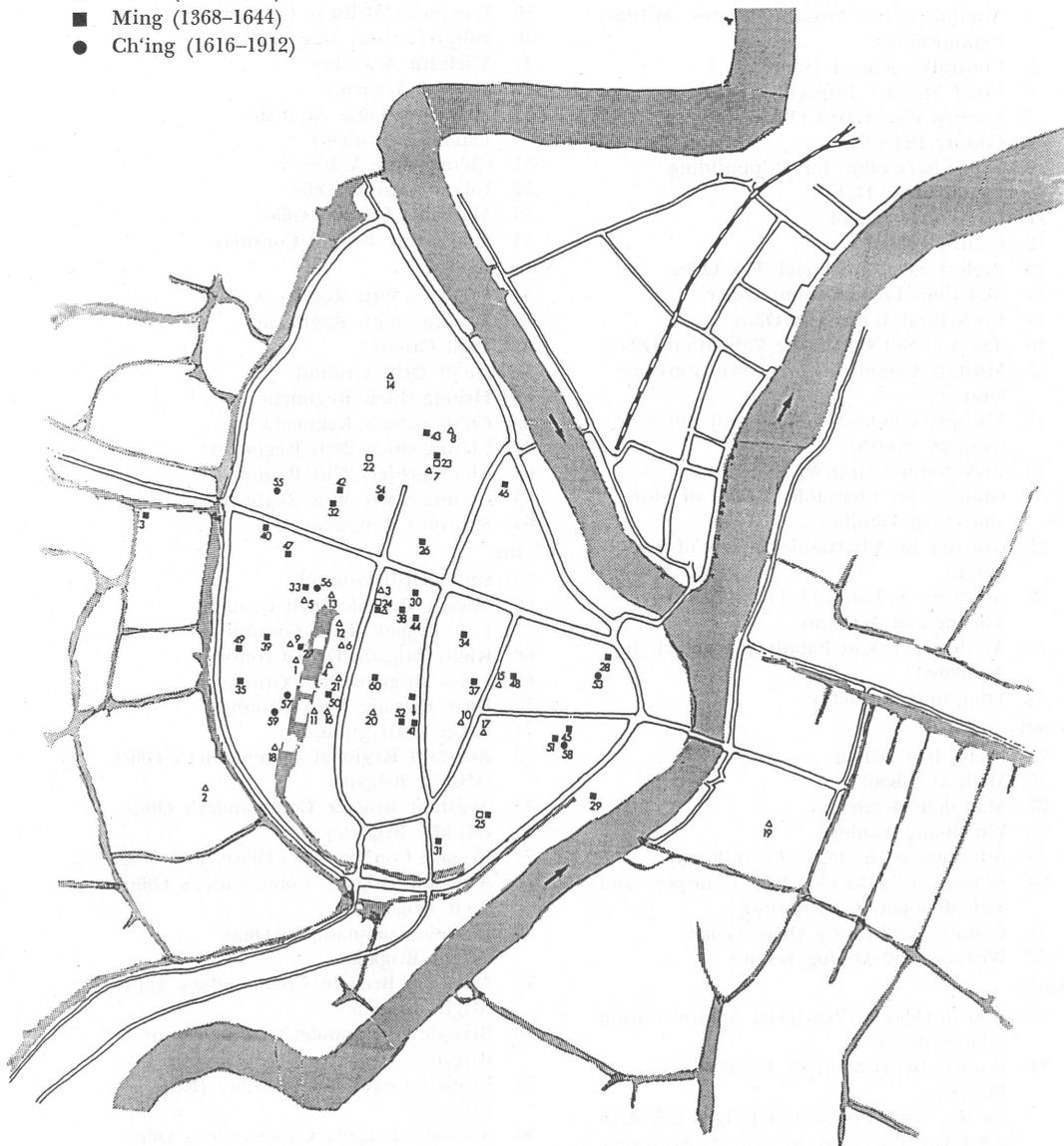
1, 2, 3... Index Nos. (see Table in next page)

△ Sung (960-1279)

□ Yüan (1271-1368)

■ Ming (1368-1644)

● Ch'ing (1616-1912)



Names of Notables whose Residences Appeared in Map 14

- | | |
|--|--|
| Sung | Ming |
| 1 Ch'ien I (Military Commissioner) | 26 Ch'en Chung (Advisor to Heir Apparent) |
| 2 Feng Chi (Minister of Works) | 27 Li K'ang-hsien (Minister of Rites) |
| 3 Tsang Chung-li (Physician to Hui-tsung's Empress) | 28 Ts'ung Chih-tao (Associate Commander) |
| 4 Feng Chan (Vice-Campaign Commander of Palace Armies) | 29 Hsieh Sheng (Censor) |
| 5 Imperial Clan (Descendant of Ying-tsung's Express) | 30 Chang K'ai (Censor-in-chief) |
| 6 Shih Hao (Grand Councilor) | 31 Yang Shou-chih (Minister of Personnel) |
| 7 Yüan Fu (Provisional Minister of War) | 32 Tung Lin (Censor) |
| 8 Yao Ying (Principal Graduate) | 33 Yang Shou-sui (Minister of Works) |
| 9 Shih-Mi-yüan (Grand Councilor) | 34 Li T'ang (Vice Minister of Works) |
| 10 Chao Shan-hsiang (Senior Academician of the Kuan-wen Hall) | 35 Wen Yüan (Minister of Personnel) |
| 11 Hsüan Tseng (Assistant Executive of the Secretariat-Chancellory) | 36 Wang T'ao (Censor) |
| 12 Shih Mi-ta (Vice-Minister of Rites) | 37 Wan Wan-piao (Assistant Commander-in-chief) |
| 13 Shih Mi-chien (Metropolitan Prefect of Lin-an-fu) | 38 Chang Yüan (Provincial Administration Commissioner), in Yüan & early Ming, Fang Kuo-ying and Chang K'ai's residence |
| 14 Chao Yü-kuan (Vice Minister of Finance) | 39 Fan Ch'in (Vice Minister of War) |
| 15 Shih-Chai-chih (Coadministrator of the Bureau of Military Affairs) | 40 Chao Ts'an-lu (Minister of Justice) |
| 16 Ku Ch'eng-hui (Fiscal Intendant) | 41 Kao Tou-shu (Censor-in-chief) |
| 17 Wang Ying-lin (Minister of Rites) | 42 Wan Pang (Commander-in-chief) |
| 18 Chao Yen-yü (Minister of Works, Military Commissioner of Ssu-ch'uan Circuit) | 43 Chang Huang (Minister) |
| 19 Shih Mi-kung (Judicial Intendant of Chiang-nan-tung Circuit) | 44 Tung Chih-ning (Supervisory Secretary) |
| 20 Wang Ying-lin's Reading Room | 45 Hua Hsia (Examining Editor) |
| 21 Chai Wang (Executive Inspector of Prefecture) | 46 Ch'en Liang-mo (Censor) |
| Yüan | 47 Wang Tsuang-chüeh (Assistant Provincial Surveillance Commissioner) |
| 22 Fang Kuo-chen (Left Assistant Director of Chiang-che Province) | 48 Wang Ch'iu (Case Reviewer) |
| 23 Fang Kuo-chang (Kuo-chen's brother), in early Ming, Wang Chung (Commander) | 49 Lu Yü-ting (Martyr) |
| 24 Fang Kuo-ying (Kuo-chen's brother), in early Ming, Li Ling (Commander), then, T'u Ta-shan (Minister of Works) | 50 Shih Pang-chieh (Martyr) |
| 25 Fang Kuo-Min (Kuo-chen's brother), in Ming, Huang Shou (Assistant Provincial Surveillance Commissione | 51 Chao Ching-lin (Martyr) |
| | 52 Kao Yü-t'ai (Minister of War) |
| | Ch'ing |
| | 53 Li Yeh-ssu (Scholar) |
| | 54 T'u Ts'ui-chung (Minister of War) |
| | 55 Tung P'ang (Prefect of Yung-ch'ang, Yünnan) |
| | 56 Hu Te-mai (Censor of Chiang-nan Circuit) |
| | 57 Ch'üan Tsu-wang (Hanlin Bachelor) |
| | 58 Lu Chih (Secretary) |
| | 59 Hsü Shih-tung (Secretary) |
| | Ming |
| | 60 Shen I-kuan (Grand Academician) |

Map 15. Distribution of Land Prices in the Urban Sector: 1913

