Print, Profit, and Perception

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Print, Profit, and Perception

Ideas, Information and Knowledge in Chinese Societies, 1895–1949

Edited by

Pei-yin Lin and Weipin Tsai

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Introduction

Pei-yin Lin & Weipin Tsai

The essays collected in this book survey a critical dimension of modern Chinese history: the dramatic expansion in the production, dissemination and consumption of texts, which both reinforced and deepened the dynamic processes associated with globalization. By exploring a variety of genres, from historical narratives and fictional writing to travelogues, expressed in media as disparate as newspapers, textbooks, woodcut prints, and literary and geographical journals, the critical interdisciplinary and empirically grounded case studies it contains examine the massive cultural exchanges going on in China and Taiwan from the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895 to the mid-twentieth century.

The selection of this specific period, bounded by critical events in Chinese history, gives the volume a particular clarity of frame that enables fruitful study. Both China and Taiwan during this period witnessed linked, dynamic but sometimes contrasting cultural transformations, accelerated by drastic political upheaval, all of which found widespread expression in print media.[1] Bringing together a widely dispersed group of scholars, our volume engages with the existing literature on perceptual exchange, textual dissemination and print culture.

It places particular emphasis on three areas. First, it explores how individuals and particular groups in both China and Taiwan selectively appropriated foreign discourses and transformed them to meet the needs of their local contexts. Some chapters in this book discuss the transnational flows that were in play by taking into account intra-Asian cultural encounters, while others trace various competing forces (whether Anglo-American, Japanese, or Chinese) that contemporaries encountered. In one way or another, all the chapters address the interaction of processes of globalization and localization in greater Chinese society.

Second, this project highlights personal networks, as distinct from governmental and institutional structures. We regard certain individuals and social groups as important cultural agents, and approach the issues on a micro level

1 Due to limits of space, we have not included studies of Hong Kong and Macao, though we fully acknowledge that during this period dynamic exchanges with China and Taiwan were occurring in both places. Please also note the convention of this volume that mainland names are Romanized in Pinyin, while Taiwanese names are in whatever Romanization was customarily used by each individual.

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by examining personal interactions and the roles that particular intellectuals, travelers, writers, scholars and editors played in individual cultural encounters and their participation in conceptual exchanges. We scrutinize the various tactics employed by these actors as they pursued their divergent and sometimes conflicting agendas.

While acknowledging the important role technological advancements played in making print capitalism possible, we are more curious about the personal involvements. How important was the profit motive? How did it express itself? How exactly did commercial issues have an impact on the individuals and social groups involved? What strategies were used to build popularity or influence for a particular journal? Several chapters examine commercial perspectives that remain relatively understudied, notably the financial imperatives which brought together writers, editors, publishers and their readers in profit-driven networks across all of the geographies under discussion.

Finally, this project brings Taiwan into the discussion, and adopts an interdisciplinary approach which combines literary analysis with historical study. We are thus able to explore the importance of Taiwan in the process of Chinese modernization, as well as Taiwan's response to changes on the mainland in areas that go beyond trade. This dynamic is complicated by the impact of Japanese colonialism, providing a distinct contrast with several articles in the volume that focus on Western colonial influences on the Chinese world.

Chinese Modernities Revisited: Globalization and Localization

Scholarship surrounding the concept of globalization can provide us with an analytical framework to evaluate Chinese and world history. Kenneth Pomeranz, for instance, placed Chinese history side by side with that of Europe, tracing the very diverse experiences of North West Europe and East Asia across the centuries.[2] In this volume, we use the word "globalization" to refer to a phenomenon whereby texts, commodities and people were exchanged in an unprecedentedly rapid way across cultures and continents.

It would be naïve, however, to suggest new discourses and ideas might automatically or unreservedly be accepted by any given community. Localization is therefore seen by us as a natural prism through which to examine novelty, and at the same time to articulate cultural practices which reinforced iden-

2 See Kenneth Pomeranz. 2001. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, and Pomeranz. 2002. "Political Economy and Ecology on the Eve of Industrialization: Europe, China, and the Global Conjuncture," *American Historical Review* 107 no. 2: 425–46.

tities at a local level, often through comparison and contrast with other cultures.[3] Equally, the feedback generated through localization became critical reinforcement for the expanding waves of globalization. We see this process in various communications between China and Western countries in trade, military training, and science; we also find it in Taiwanese society under Japanese colonial rule, a point we will explore in the coming chapters.

Following military defeat in the Opium Wars, China was forced to open many ports to foreign trade, and its hitherto aloof relationship with the world began to change radically. Foreign consulates were established, Western powers became involved in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, and the Chinese government started to send students abroad. Socio-cultural, technological and economic interactions between larger Chinese society (the term we use in this book to refer to China and Taiwan in the period under discussion) and foreign countries took place at an unprecedented speed. Across the Taiwan Strait, cross-cultural exchange was also vibrant. The fifty years of Japanese rule on the island of Taiwan saw an unprecedented increase in the numbers of overseas students, the creation of new schools where Japanese was taught, and the eventual decline of traditional educational models.[4] Growing literacy (notably in the Japanese language) in urban areas of Taiwan drove the growth of a thriving print culture, in which popular journals co-existed with elite-oriented publications, and readers could choose between Japanese, Chinese, and bilingual journals, as well as between semi-official and non-official newspapers.[5]

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3 Alfonso Gumucio-Dagron and Thomas Tufte, eds. 2006. *Communication for Social Change Anthology: Historical and Contemporary Readings*. South Orange, NJ: Communication for Social Change Consortium, p. 686.

4 Many earlier overseas students went abroad to study medicine. Well-known figures include Tu Tsung-ming 杜聰明 and Tsai A-hsin 蔡阿信. See Chu Jen-yih 朱真一. 2004. *Taiwan zaoqi liuxue oumei de yijie renshi* 台灣早期留學歐美的醫界人士 (Medical People Who were Early Overseas Students in Europe and America). Taipei: Wangchunfeng. Due to Japanese colonialism, Japan was a popular destination, though some people studied in Europe or the United States. For instance, Hsieh Hsüeh-hung 謝雪紅 and Lin Mu-shun 林木順 studied in Russia, and both Chen Hsin 陳炘 and Huang Chao-chin 黃朝琴 studied in the United States after studying in Japan.

5 Print culture during Taiwan's Japanese period has a rich history, and can be dated back to the early years of Japanese rule. *Taiwan shimpō* 臺灣新報 (Taiwan News) and *Taiwan nippo* 臺灣日報 (Taiwan Daily) were founded in 1896 and 1897 respectively, before merging in 1898 into *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 (Taiwan Daily News), the largest and most long-lasting semi-official newspaper in colonial Taiwan. In addition to the Taibei-based *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō*, there were also the Tainan-based *Tainan shimpō* 臺南新報, founded in 1898, and the Taizhong-based *Taiwan shimbun* 臺灣新聞, founded in 1899. Despite their relatively small scale, these three newspapers created the foundation of a modern news media during Taiwan's colonial period.

The proliferation in publishing, education, and the promotion of a vernacular language were all significant factors during Taiwan's colonial period.[6]

While paying attention to the global flows of texts and discourses, we should also allow for the specific context in which such flows took place. This was a period in which China felt the impact of imperialist maneuverings and Taiwan fell under the rule of Japanese colonizers. These events continue to resonate today, and as a result scholarship easily becomes partisan. For example, studies related to Japan's colonial legacy in Taiwan are frequently tinged with radical anti-Japanese or with Japanophile judgments. But giving in to the temptation to construct emotionally charged accounts not only presents us with a narrow picture of the period, but also leads toward the pitfall of simply reproducing unproductive nationalist discourses which are likewise a feature of the era.

By presenting the constant negotiations in which the Chinese were engaged for their cultural and political identities through exchanges with non-Chinese cultures and influences, this volume provides individual stories to exemplify the processes of globalization and localization at work in people's daily lives. Appadurai has argued that we should "think beyond the nation", in order to better grasp the reality of a world increasingly hybridized through the global flow of images, finance, and technology. He has also reminded us that the trappings of modernity are unevenly experienced. The global situation is multidimensional, and it has never been dominated by a single perspective or rationale.[7] Each chapter thus lays emphasis on local perspectives. We are fully aware that there are inevitable constraints such as the acute power asymmetry between colonizer and colonized. However, taken together, the chapters

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6 Some previous discussions of print culture and education in China and Taiwan during this period include Patricia Tsurumi. 1977. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Paul Bailey. 1993. *Reform the People: Changing the Attitudes towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-century China*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 44–8; Christopher Reed. 2004. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism*, 1876–1937. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, pp. 203–56; and Robert Culp. 2008. "Textbook Publishing and the Production of Vernacular Language and a New Literary Canon in Early Twentieth-Century China," *Twentieth-Century China* 34 no. 1: 4–41.

7 Arjun Appadurai. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Public Culture* 2: 1–23; Appadurai. 1995. "The Production of Locality," in Richard Fardon, ed. *Counterworks*: *Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*. London: Routledge, pp. 205–225; Appadurai. 1996a. "Sovereignty Without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography," in P. Yaeger, ed. *The Geography of Identity*. Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, pp. 40–58; Appadurai. 1996b. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Modernity*. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

demonstrate that China and Taiwan were never passive recipients, but took an active role in the transmission and assimilation of a wide variety of new texts and discourses in this period.

Fluid Modernity and Ideas

Lydia H. Liu has explored several intriguing aspects of Chinese modernity in her book *Translingual Practice*. First, Liu portrays an inevitable "loss" or "misunderstanding" of original meanings through translation and adoption in the process of cultural exchanges. Second, she recognizes an element of psychological "darkness" and hesitation in the minds of Chinese intellectuals when they encountered foreign ideas and foreigners either overseas or at treaty ports in China, which then produced a reaction of overcompensation. Third, she explores the characteristic of unpredictability inherent in a situation where two or more cultures clash, adding a degree of uncertainty and instability into any interaction.[8] As Liu's analysis highlights the fundamental role of contingency and uncertainty, her perspective is relevant to this volume's view of the fluid characteristics of Chinese modernity.

We attempt to extend this perspective across the larger Chinese community by recognizing that what was exchanged, accepted, rejected and retained in this period goes far beyond any framework, system or set of predictions. However, despite the volatile nature of cross-cultural encounters and wide-ranging cases of textual transmission, the profit motive remained common and crucial. Through the study of commercial interests and networks across those engaged in print-related activity, we can gain valuable insight into patterns around the exchange of knowledge and human relationships previously not transparent in historical discourse.

In one of his series of publications on material life in modern China, Frank Dikötter shows that the exchange and acceptance of foreign goods and ideas was not restricted to one class of people, but a pervasive feature of life in different social groups in the major cities. The complex channels through which commodities, printed goods, and ideas were transmitted were the means by which China began to enter the ambit of globalization. The penetration of the "new"—ideas as much as objects—went deep below the surface. Beside the acceptance of the mass-produced commodities of material life, political and social concepts passed into common currency, even for the working classes,

8 Liu H. Lydia. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

through the newspapers they picked up and the publications they purchased and read. All this is clearly evidenced in the campaigns and boycotts which became a feature of public life as the period progressed.[9]

Exploring things from a more "local" perspective, the research of Bryna Goodman, Zhongping Chen and Karl Gerth on the history of chambers of commerce, native place associations, and associated activities for the promotion of Chinese native products, describes how from the late nineteenth century onward China developed a set of mechanisms to cope with its socio-economic transformation which reflected the new social conditions accompanying increased urbanization and industrialization.[10] Together these works illuminate the role personal and professional networks played in managing human activities.

Multiple layers of social networks made possible the mobility of people, commodities, finance, and ideas within and outside China, crossing geographical boundaries and different legal systems. Henrietta Harrison's work on Catholicism in rural China over the last four centuries successfully demonstrates how localization was possible at the intersection of religion, intellect, and daily life. Harrison shows, on the one hand, how Catholicism converted Chinese locals to its beliefs and practices through engagement in a variety of ways with people of different social and educational backgrounds; but also, on the other hand, how it was itself "converted" in the way it became combined with Chinese traditional elements in order to be more accessible to its new followers.[11]

A similar fluidity in many aspects of daily life can be traced back at least to the Dutch colonial period. Tonio Andrade's research on the "symbiotic colonialism" of European and Chinese rule in seventeenth century Taiwan stresses the co-existence of neo-colonialism and de-colonialism. He analyzes how the process of "co-colonization" under Dutch rule benefited from a steady stream of Chinese immigrants, and how the social status of Taiwanese aborigines

9 Frank Dikötter. 2008. *The Age of Openness: China before Mao*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 73–75. See also Dikötter. 2006. *Exotic Commodities: Modern Objects and Everyday Life in China*. New York: Columbia University Press.

10 Bryna Goodman. 1995. *Native Place, City and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Zhongping Chen. 2011. *Modern China's Network Revolution: Chambers of Commerce and Sociopolitical Change in the Early Twentieth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Karl Gerth. 2004. *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

11 Henrietta Harrison. 2013. *The Missionary's Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* Berkeley: University of California Press.

was raised after they assisted Dutch suppression of a Chinese revolt caused by heavy taxation in 1652.[12] As to more recent centries, multiple exchanges with mainland China, Japan, and the West have reinforced the fluid quality of Taiwanese history. One important idea that has facilitated this type of inquiry into Taiwan's role in the global stage is the concept of "Oceanic Taiwan," with which T'sao Yung-he 曹永和 is often credited due to his research on the Dutch and Spanish colonial eras.[13] This approach not only extends the usual China-Japan axes to a global perspective in delineating Taiwanese history, but also enables us to examine the multiplicity of cross-cultural encounters that took place on the island as an independent site. Several subsequent scholarly works have expanded T'sao's interest in Taiwan's interactions and communications with the world. For example, Lin Man-houng 林滿紅 in her research on trading, communications, and migration between the 1860s and 1945 in larger Chinese society successfully provides evidence for active exchanges in all of these areas.[14] Lin Yu-ju's 林玉茹 study of the junk trade between Lugang 鹿港, a port on the east coast of central Taiwan, and several native ports in Fujian Province during the late Qing period, tells a story of the multiplicity of interactions on a local scale typically based on personal trust, in contrast to the larger-scale international trade conducted in the treaty ports.[15]

While commodities, ideas, and people moved about, the intellectuals who reflected on this process were both transmitters and producers of texts and ideas. Lee Chun-sheng's 李春生 (1838–1924) trajectory was one of the most interesting. His multiple roles as a comprador working for the British in Amoy and Tamsui, as a self-made Dadaocheng 大稻埕 tea tycoon, and as a pious Christian and critic of evolutionary theory, illustrate that cultural transmission

12 Tonio Andrade. 2008. *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.

13 See T'sao Yung-he's collaboration with Leonard Blussé et al. 1986–2000. *De dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629–1662*. 4 vols. Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis.

14 Lin Man-houng. 1997. *Cha, tang, zhangnao ye yu Taiwan zhi shehui jingji bianqian 1860–1895* 茶，糖，樟腦業與台灣之社會經濟變遷 (Tea, Sugar, Camphor and the Economic Change of Taiwanese Society). Taipei: Lianjing; Lin Man-houng. 2010. "Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Pacific, 1895–1945," *Modern Asian Studies* 44.5: 1053–1080.

15 Lin Yu-ju. 2007. "Shangye wangluo yu weituo maoyi zhidu de xingcheng: shijiu shijimo Lugang Quanjiao shangren yu Zhongguo neidi and fanchuan maoyi 商業網絡與委託貿易制度的形成：十九世紀末鹿港泉郊商人與中國內地的帆船貿易 (Commercial Networks and the Formation of a Cooperative Commissioning System: The Traditional Junk Trade between Lugang Quan Guild Merchants and Mainland China during the Late Nineteenth Century)," *Xin shixue* 新史學 (New History) 18.2: 61–103.

could go hand in hand with personal business pursuits.[16] Other intellectuals with multi-cultural experiences who were active in the process of textual and conceptual transmission are also worth mentioning. Lin Hsien-tang 林獻堂 (1881–1956), for instance, met Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873–1929) in Nara of Japan in 1907, and later traveled extensively to Europe and America, during which he mediated Taiwan's social condition against the Western references.[17] We can also trace the steps of the celebrity writer Liu Na'ou 劉吶鷗 (1905–40) who was born in Taiwan, educated in Taiwan, Japan and Shanghai, learned French, made a name for himself in all three places, and was assassinated in Shanghai. Or we could follow Yang Kui's 楊逵 (1906–85) travels from Taiwan to Japan and back, and explore his engagement with Russian novels, Chinese left-wing literature, and the thought of the Japanese proletariat, before he became devoted to Taiwan's post-war cultural reconstruction.[18] These intellectuals in many ways embraced more than one culture, as the chapter on Li Shizeng demonstrates, and thus prod us to think about issues surrounding identity. What we see is not simply their interactions with phenomenon of globalization, but also the challenges they faced as a result of the necessities of localization.

Leo T. S. Ching has also addressed Taiwan's multiplicity of cultural constituents. In his study on the formation of Taiwanese political and cultural identities under Japanese rule, Ching highlights the complex psychological and

16 Lee Chun-sheng's embrace of the Christian tenets of love and peace to argue against the Darwinian competition-centred "survival of the fittest" theory were promoted by Yan Fu's 嚴復 translation work.

17 The encounter with Liang helped Lin develop his nationalist ideas. See Ye Rongzhong 葉榮鐘, ed. 1960. *Lin Xiantang xiansheng jinian ji* 林獻堂先生紀念集 (A Commemorative Volume for Mr Lin Xiantang). Taizhong: Lin Xiantang Commemorative Volume Compilation Committee. While abroad (May 1927–April 1928), Lin kept a record of his travel experiences in which he compared Taiwan to Europe and America. The travelogue was serialized in *Taiwan minpō* 臺灣民報, and later published as *Huanqiu youji* 環球遊記 (My Travels around the World), thus publicizing Lin's reformist ideas. Other travelogues in a similar style, mixing cultural commentary and personal observations, include Lian Heng's 連橫 *Dalu youji* 大陸遊記 (My Travels to China) and Wu Zhuoliu's 吳濁流 *Nanjing zagan* 南京雜感 (Random Thoughts on Nanjing). Lian's travelogue was compiled in *Lian Yatang xiansheng quanji* 連雅堂先生全集 (Complete Works of Mr Lian Yatang), and published by Taiwan Historica 臺灣省文獻委員會 in 1992. For Wu's travelogue, see Zhang Liangze 張良澤, trans. 1993. *Nanjing zagan*. Taipei: Yuanxing.

18 Peng Hsiao-yen 彭小妍. 2006. "Colonialism and the Predicament of Identity: Liu Na'ou and Yang Kui as Men of the World," in Liao Ping-hui 廖炳惠 and David Der-wei Wang 王德威, eds. *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

cultural forces that the Han Chinese population in Taiwan experienced during the colonial period. He explains the reason behind the tremendous dilemmas of Taiwanese consciousness past and present, pointing out that "despite the historical and cultural affinity to China, the particular condition of Taiwan as a formally colonized space can neither be sublated into a universal Chinese consciousness nor reduced to a particularistic Taiwanese consciousness."[19]

Likewise, Mei-e Huang 黃美娥 proposes that life in colonial Taiwan went beyond the dualist conception of colonized and colonizer, and formed a much more complicated "hybridity."[20] By rejecting Edward Said's simple conceptual dualism, and instead applying Homi K. Bhabha's idea of the "third space," a result of the many conflicts, rejections, negotiations, attractions, and creations experienced by the colonized and colonizers alike, Huang gives an account of how Taiwanese people formed their identities through a process which pulled individuals in different directions both internally and externally. Her employment of Bhabha's "third space" in interpreting modern Taiwan allowed essential element of fluidity in Taiwanese society to come through. This element is also stressed in several chapters in this volume, helping us appreciate at first hand the complicated process of shifting perceptions being crystallized and finding expression through print.

Print, Profit and Perception

Existing scholarship has set out three interrelated perspectives on the complex trajectories of exchange discussed so far in the history of Chinese modernization. The first, exemplified by Robert Bickers's recent book *The Scramble for China*, focuses on the Opium Wars, the treaty port system, colonial

19 See Leo T. S. Ching. 2001. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, p. 79.

20 See Mei-e Huang. 2006. "Chayi/jiaohun, duihua/duiyi: Rizhi shiqi Taiwan chuantong wenren de shenti jingyan yu xin guomin xiangxing 差異/交混、對話/對譯：日治時期台灣傳統文人的身體經驗與新國民想像 (Difference/Hybridity, Dialogue/Intertranslation: Body Experience and New Citizen Imagination of Taiwan's Traditional Literati from the Japanese Period)," in *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy) 28: 81–119. See also Chen Kuan-hsing 陳光興. 2006. *Qu diguo: Yazhou zuowei fangfa* 去帝國: 亞洲作爲方法 (Toward De-Imperialization: Asia as Method). Taipei: Flâneur Culture Lab.

influence, and the presence of foreigners, particularly the British.[21] The second draws attention to the introduction of technologies and infrastructure, social science, and the social and political reforms used in the building of the modern state at both local and central levels.[22] The third concentrates on exchanges of ideas and the process of cultural translation, especially through printed material—this of course includes those topics referenced in categories one and two.[23]

When examining conceptual exchange and the formation of perceptions in print culture during this period, it is necessary to address the rise and development in China both of printing techniques and a wider book culture.[24]

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21 Robert Bickers. 2012. *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832–1914*. London: Penguin Books; James L. Hevia. 2003. *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China. Durham*. N.C.: Duke University Press; John Fairbank. 1953. *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports 1842–1854*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Barbara Brooks. 2000. *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy, Consuls, Treaty Ports and War in China, 1895–1938*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press; Bryna Goodman and David Goodman, eds. 2012. *Twentieth-century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday and the World*. London and New York: Routledge.

22 David Wright. 2000. *Translating Science: The Transmission of Western Chemistry into Late Imperial China, 1840–1900*. Leiden: Brill; David Pong. 1994. *Shen Pao-Chen and China's Modernization in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Paul A Cohen. 1987. *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in late Ching China*. Harvard East Asian Monographs; 133. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press; Kristin Stapleton. 2000. *Civilizing Chengdu: Chinese Urban Reform, 1895–1937*. Harvard East Asian Monographs, vol. 186. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

23 See Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung, and Joachim Kurtz, eds. 2001. *New Terms for New Ideas Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*. Leiden: Brill; Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff, eds. 2004. *Mapping Meanings: The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China*. Leiden: Brill; and Tze-ki Hon and Robert J. Culp, eds. 2007. *The Politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Republican China*. Leiden: Brill; Peter Zarrow, ed. 2006. *Creating Chinese Modernity: Knowledge and Everyday Life, 1900–1940*. New York: Peter Lang; Madeleine Yue Dong and Joshua Goldstein, eds. 2006. *Everyday Modernity in China*. Seattle: Washington University Press; and James St André and Peng Hsiao-yen, eds. 2012. *China and Its Others: Knowledge Transfer through Translation, 1829–2010*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. Some scholarship is particularly concerned with Shanghai as a site for literary and cultural practices in late Qing and Republican China. See for example Denise Gimpel. 2001. *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context*. Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, and Alexander Des Forges. 2007. *Media Sphere Shanghai: The Aesthetics of Cultural Production*. Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i Press.

24 See Christopher Reed. 2004. *Gutenberg in Shanghai*; Xiantao Zhang. 2007. *The Origins of the Modern Chinese Press: The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing*

Some who have written on these topics are more concerned with print culture and its impact on Chinese society than with the relationship between the press and readers in the public realm.[25] These studies emphasize Western influence on the expansion of the Chinese printing industry in the major treaty ports. But another relevant topic is the growth of material culture during the late Imperial and early Republican periods, and the importance of advertising and consumerist concerns.[26] Building on both of these areas of scholarship, this volume emphasizes intellectual and commercial networks, and the fluid characteristics of Chinese modernity as it was shaped by the processes of both globalization and localization.[27]

In his study of print culture in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain, William St Clair shows the close connection between the growth in popularity of romantic literature and the existence of a network of writers, publishers, editors and their various literary publications, review journals and newspapers, as well as bookstores, libraries, and readers. From his analysis of the commercial elements associated with the production of romantic literature, we understand the technology and commercial reasons that lay behind bringing the pleasures of reading to the general public. For example, the publishers of such bestselling writers as Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron and Jane Austen had to carefully calculate their print and promotional budgets and estimated sales, before they decided on print runs, paper grades, and the selection of a promotional mix to drive sales in cities, town and villages.[28] Even in those

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China. London: Routledge; and Lucille Chia. 2003. *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center.

25 Examples include Kai-wing Chow. 2004. *Publishing, Culture, and Power and Early Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, eds. 2005. *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: California University Press; Rudolph Wagner ed. *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870–1910*. New York: SUNY Press. There are also books focusing on specific newspapers such as *Shenbao*. See Joan Judge. 1996. *Print and Politics: Shibao and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press; Barbara Mittler. 2004. *A Newspaper for China: Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872–1912*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center.

26 Weipin Tsai. 2009. *Reading Shenbao: Nationalism, Consumerism and Individuality in China 1919–37*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

27 Although we did not take the idea of fluid Chinese modernity from Zygmunt Bauman's idea of "liquid modernity," we found it particularly relevant to this project. See Zygmunt Bauman. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 6–8.

28 William St Clair. 2004. *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, especially chapters 9–11.

far-off times, publishing was seldom anything other than a focused commercial undertaking.

Many of St Clair's observations on the commercial realities underpinning an emerging but rapidly maturing market for publications are valid for China during the Ming and Qing periods. Li Bozhong's 李伯重 study of the printing and publishing business in the lower Yangtze River area points out that the expansion of privately owned printing in the mid-Ming and particularly the Qing period shows the demand for publications across different social groups. That is, it was spreading beyond the typical intellectual class.[29]

There are several important developments in Chinese publishing history. First, the improvement in movable metal type and introduction of colored printing technology improved the quality of books and attracted private collectors. Second, the genre of titles was expanded to encompass a much broader arrange of material, such as popular novels, Chinese opera, religious texts, and calendars for the general public, classic texts for children, and business encyclopedias for the growing number of merchants. Third, the ties between literati and publishers became closer, as the former were invited to write for the latter. The literati were often drawn from those who did not do well enough in the official exam system to become officials but who nevertheless possessed good writing skills. It is in the collaborations between literati and merchants that we can most clearly detect the shifting perceptions of the merchant class in Chinese society from Ming period onward.[30]

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29 Li Bozhong 李伯重. 2001. "Mingqing Jiangnan de chuban yinshuaye 明清江南的出版印刷業 (Publishing and Printing Industry in the South of Yangtze River during the Ming and Qing Dynasties)," *Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiu* 中國經濟史研究 (Researches in Chinese Economic History) 3: 94–107.

30 Yu Ying-shih 余英時. 1987. *Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen* 中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神 (The Modern Chinese Religious Ethic and the Spirit of Merchants). Taipei: Lianjing, pp. 104–108; see also Liu Tianzhen 劉天振. 2011. *Mingqing Jiangnan chengshi shangye chuban yu wenhua chuanbo* 明清江南城市商業出版與文化傳播 (Commercial Press and Cultural Dissemination of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in the Cities South of Yangtze River). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, p. 142; Zhang Haiyin 張海英. 2005. "Mingqing shehui bianqian yu shangren yishixingtai—Yi Mingqing shangshu wei zhongxin 明清社會變遷與商人意識形態—以明清商書爲中心 (Social Change and Businessmen's Ideology of the Ming and Qing Dynasties—A Case Study on the Commercial Books of the Ming and Qing Dynasties)," *Fudan shixue jikan* 復旦史學集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Fudan University), vol. 1 on "Gudai Zhongguo: Chuantong yu biange 古代中國：傳統與變革 (Ancient China: Traditions and Transformations)": 145–165.

Similarly, Cynthia Brokaw's observations on Chinese book printers (many of whom were also booksellers themselves) in the mountainous Sibao 四堡 region of Fujian province in the Qing and early Republican periods, paint a picture of the multi-layered structures that supported book publishing in that period. In her close examination of the activities of two large Hakka family-run book printers, Brokaw's study shows clear parallels with the situation a century or so earlier in Britain. The economic mind was very much intertwined with the production of texts. The Sibao publisher-booksellers, situated in a relatively isolated mountain area in Fujian province and working on tight budgets, had to make sure their books would sell through careful selection of titles and accessible pricing to attract the maximum number of customers. Through careful selection of materials, the Sibao book-printers also set different price points for different titles targeting specific groups of customers, in order to suit the pockets of customers with different income levels.[31]

The Sibao publishers promoted local writers' works, although most of these were for local consumption.[32] However, similar to the publishing market in Li's study mentioned above, the largest part of business was classical texts and universally popular titles including popular novels and household reference books. Sales were made through a number of permanent family-run bookstores (related to the Sibao families who ran the publishing and printing operation), itinerant booksellers who traveled around neighboring towns and provinces, and also through attendance at town markets in the nearby provinces. In this way, the Sibao book-printers built up their market through extensive networks of resellers. The two most important factors behind the building of their networks were accessibility of transport routes, and family connections outside their hometown. The former was essential to ensure the widest possible distribution, and the latter was important for building up local communication and relationships with customers.[33]

Building on these complicated exchanges across a wide range of fields of human activity since the late nineteenth century, this volume collects nine essays to explore the collective phenomena created by the forces that were at work in shaping print, profit, and perceptions. Our first chapter, Paul Bailey's "Cultural Connections in a New Global Space: Li Shizeng and the Chinese Francophile Project in the Early Twentieth Century" examines how Li Shizeng 李石曾 and a larger Chinese Francophile "lobby" shaped China's cultural and

31 Cynthia J. Brokaw. 2007. *Commerce in Culture: the Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Period*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 513–33.

32 Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture*, p. 557.

33 Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture*, pp. 191–211.

intellectual exchange with the West. Bailey traces Li's Francophilia, expressed in his innovative transnational educational projects in China and France. Li established a France-based work-study program for Chinese students; his compatriots used print media to promote cross-cultural understanding as well as their anarchist beliefs, and in the process made significant financial gains. Through Li's journey and works, Bailey demonstrates the complicated interaction of culture and material networks across different continents.

The second chapter, "Health and Hygiene in Late Qing China as Seen Through the Eyes of Japanese Travelers" by Che-chia Chang, divides Japanese visitors to China into ten categories according to their backgrounds and motivations. Taken together, these travelers exemplify the rich political, cultural and commercial environment in Japan after the Meiji restoration. An increasingly literate and print-hungry public was eager for the works these travelers produced, and their writings illustrate new Japanese perceptions of China. In the past, Japan had looked to China for cultural leadership, but this was now changing. In focusing particularly on the areas of medicine and hygiene, Chang demonstrates how travelers' impressions were communicated through highly developed publishing networks.

In the third chapter, "Modernity through Experimentation: Lu Xun and the Modern Chinese Woodcut Movement," Elizabeth Emrich studies the theoretical, stylistic, and technical impact on Chinese artists of woodcut artworks arriving in China from Europe, America, Russia and Japan. Focusing mainly on Shanghai and using the literature and woodcut artworks introduced and promoted by Lu Xun 魯迅 and his circle of publishers, bookshop owners, artists and writers, the chapter approaches Chinese modernity through artmaking and dissemination between the 1920s and 1940s. Emrich highlights Lu Xun's work as a translator and publisher of many foreign works, as well as his help for young artists and art groups financially through holding exhibitions and managing journals. His efforts connected the Chinese woodcut art world with international trends. Comparing various European woodcut images and their corresponding Chinese "versions," Emrich demonstrates how Chinese artists took Western socialist concepts and interpreted them for a home audience.

The fourth chapter, Tze-ki Hon's "Technology, Markets, and Social Change: Print Capitalism in Early Twentieth-Century China," emphasizes regional and local factors in the growth of the Chinese print industry. He underlines its relationship with the spread of Chinese nationalism, particularly after the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895. By investigating the topics commonly addressed in the *Journal of National Essence* (*Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報) and the *Journal of Geographical Studies* (*Dixue zazhi* 地學雜誌), as well as the promotional methods used by their respective publishers, Hon highlights the relationship

between commercial interests, publishers and intellectuals. While global-local cultural exchanges inevitably generated new perceptions, they also created financial opportunities. Hon also demonstrates how the networks associated with these two journals became involved in the development of educational systems and textbooks in the last few years of the Qing Empire and into the Republican era.

For the fifth chapter, "Medical Advertising and Cultural Translation: The Case of the *Shenbao* in Early Twentieth-Century China," Max Ko-wu Huang builds on his previous work on *Shenbao*'s 申報 medical advertisements. He examines how Western medical products were localized for Chinese consumers by advertising firms. China is placed in a global context, connected with America, Britain, Australia, Singapore, and Japan through the marketing and sale of branded medical products. Comparing advertisements for the same products in different countries, Huang points out that in order to generate sales, flexible (and often bogus) advertising strategies were employed to lure Chinese customers. Local advertisers worked out that the best method was often to combine appeals to consumers' knowledge of traditional Chinese medical principles with new Western medical concepts. Consequently, while advertisements employed some traditional Chinese medical terminology that allowed a Chinese audience to find a familiar cultural reference point, they also featured scientific-sounding "Western" terms to spark the imagination of potential customers.

The sixth chapter, entitled "Planet in Print: The Scientific Imagination in Zheng Kunwu's 鄭坤五 Fiction during Taiwan's Colonial Period," is by Mei-e Huang. By analyzing Zheng's unpublished novel on Mars and Martians, and the reports of the *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 (Taiwan Daily News) from the 1910s to the 1920s, Huang sheds light on how perceptions of science and cosmology were transmitted to Taiwanese audiences through works translated from a variety of languages. In his attempt at writing the first futuristic Taiwanese novel, Zheng Kunwu placed himself in the context of a larger discourse about the universe which required a new vocabulary and new concepts. Though his story of interactions between Mars and the Earth ended up being a somewhat confused mélange of science fiction and the more traditional detective genre, it preserves a contemporary view both of current affairs and early twentieth-century hopes for humankind's future as seen from Taiwan.

In the seventh chapter, entitled "Shaping Perception of the Second World War: A Study of Textbooks in Taiwan in the 1940s," Shi-chi Mike Lan studies the localization strategies employed by the Japanese colonial regime and the Chinese nationalist government in Taiwan. This chapter shows how the Second World War was represented in textbooks produced, first by the Japanese

colonial government, and then by the Chinese Nationalist government after 1945. Lan demonstrates how both sets of texts were produced with the aim of shaping young minds to accept each regime's narrative of the Second World War. He points out that although both the Japanese colonial authorities and the postwar Chinese nationalist government pursued political gains in the form of military advancement and enhancement of their legitimacy, they adopted different methods with respect to the localization process. For the former, Taiwan was repeatedly portrayed as an integral part of the Japanese Empire, whereas for the latter, Taiwan's separateness was strategically disregarded in order to foster a "Chinese identity" among the Taiwanese population.

The eighth chapter is Pei-yin Lin's "Envisioning the Reading Public: Profit Motives of a Chinese-Language Tabloid in Wartime Taiwan." Lin uses the journal *Fengyue bao* 風月報 as a case study to illustrate how print culture in the late years of Taiwan's Japanese period was shaped not only by the colonizer's political agenda but also by the editors' commercial sensibility and sociocultural considerations. She shows how *Fengyue bao*'s content struck a balance between "popular" local tastes in art and literature and global influences, including China's tabloid press, mass culture in interwar Japan, and miscellaneous information from the West. Lin explains how the editorial strategies drew upon topical subjects, such as freedom to love and the role of woman in society, to increase circulation. Through a close reading of selected stories and columns of the journal, Lin demonstrates the editors' creative role as information mediators and how commercial strategy and social instruction complement each other through their ambivalence toward modernity.

The final chapter, "The First Casualty: Truth, Lies and Commercial Opportunism in Chinese Newspapers during the First Sino-Japanese War," is by Weipin Tsai. Tsai looks at the commercial competition between *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* 新聞報 during the First Sino-Japanese War between 1894 and 1895, and shows how these two foreign-owned Chinese newspapers tried to report war-time news in a way that would be acceptable to their readers, while always seeking to maximize profits. *Shenbao* was already well established before the war, but *Xinwenbao*, founded only in 1893, exploited it as an opportunity to grow. Like many of the previous chapters, this essay concentrates on the relationship between readers, publishers and commercial interests. The chapter places the tactics used by these newspapers in a global context, but also attends closely to what their reporting can tell us about the needs of native audiences.

CHAPTER 1

Cultural Connections in a New Global Space: Li Shizeng and the Chinese Francophile Project in the Early Twentieth Century

Paul J. Bailey

In the early decades of the twentieth century a remarkable Francophile Chinese anarchist, Li Shizeng 李石曾 (1881–1973), and a group of like-minded Chinese activists sought to forge educational, cultural and social links with France as part of their wider agenda to reform Chinese society. Focusing on the thought and activities of Li Shizeng, who very much saw himself as an *active* and *contributing member* of a global radical community, illuminates an alternative way of perceiving China's cultural and intellectual interactions with the West. Rather than viewing China as always the passive imbiber of "superior" Western knowledge—paralleling China's geopolitical status as a "semi-colony" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a result of unequal treaties and the establishment of foreign "concession" areas in China that impinged on Chinese sovereignty—the initiatives energetically taken by Li Shizeng and his Chinese Francophile "lobby" suggest that Sino-Western interaction was not always unidirectional but could constitute a dynamic two-way process. In implementing his agenda, Li Shizeng was able to create new global networks that were both personal and institutional. Furthermore, the wide variety of French officials, academics and businessmen with whom he cultivated personal ties themselves valorized and promoted Sino-French "connections" on the basis of purported shared cultural, intellectual and social values.

This chapter explores the origins of Li Shizeng's Francophilia and the nature of his transnational educational projects in China and France, perhaps the first of their kind in China's modern history. The latter included the championing of Chinese overseas study in France and the establishment of colleges in China whose graduates would be recruited for a higher education institution in France (the Sino-French Institute in Lyon). At the same time Li was an active promoter of Chinese worker education, while his "work-study" (*qingong jianxue* 勤工儉學) project in France for Chinese students (again in collaboration with French officials and educators) was a core element of his radical new vision of a future Chinese society in which educational elitism would be eliminated and the barriers between mental and manual labor removed.

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The chapter also highlights Li's intriguing effort to influence Western dietary culture with his creation in 1908 of a soybean processing plant just outside Paris whose employees were Chinese workers Li recruited from his home district in north China. Long before the English publication in 1945 of the celebrated Chinese cookery book that introduced Chinese cuisine to a domestic American audience, *How to Cook and Eat in Chinese* by Chao Yang Buwei 趙楊步偉,[1] Li Shizeng was advertising to a French audience the sustaining and medicinal virtues of bean curd (*doufu* 豆腐), symbolic in his view of China's healthy and prudent nutritional regime.

Early Years in France

Li Shizeng came from a distinguished line of imperial officials. His father, Li Hongzao 李鴻藻 (1820–1897), was a Grand Councilor and one-time tutor to the Tongzhi Emperor (r.1861–1874).[2] His paternal great-grandfather had passed the metropolitan degree examination (*jinshi* 進士) in 1767, and became an editor in the Hanlin Academy, educational commissioner in Guangxi province, provincial governor of Anhui and Fujian provinces, and, eventually, Governor-General of Zhejiang and Fujian. Li later reminisced that as a child important government officials such as Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830–1904) and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909) had been frequent visitors to the Li household.[3] Li also remembered that his father discouraged him from taking the traditional civil service examinations; Li Hongzao's ambivalence concern-

1 Chao Yang Buwei (1889–1981) trained as a medical doctor in Japan during the early years of the twentieth century. In the 1930s she moved to the United States with her husband, the linguist Chao Yuenren 趙元任.

2 On Li Shizeng, see Howard Boorman and Richard Howard, eds. 1967. *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2: 319–321. For a more detailed account of Li's life, see Yang Kailing 楊愷齡, comp. 1980. *Minguo Li Shizeng xiansheng Yuying nianpu* 民國李石曾先生煜瀛年譜 (Chronological Biography of Li Shizeng). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan. On Li Hongzao, see Arthur Hummel, ed. 1943–1944. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1: 471–472.

3 *Shizeng biji* 石曾筆記 (Notes by Li Shizeng). 1961. Taipei: Zhongguo guoji wenzi xuekanshe, 15, reprinted in *Li Shizeng xiansheng wenji* 李石曾先生文集 (Collected Writings of Li Shizeng). 1980. Taipei: Dangshi weiyuanhui, 2: 1–226. Weng Tonghe had also been a tutor to the Tongzhi Emperor and was a member of the Grand Council in the 1880s. Zhang Zhidong served as viceroy (Governor-General) of Huguang (Hunan and Hubei), Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi), and Liangjiang (Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui) in the 1880s and 1890s.

ing the merits of government service was perhaps the result of his traumatic experience in the mid-1880s, when his uncompromising advocacy of military resistance to French encroachment in Annam and Tonkin (a policy not favored by the court) led to his dismissal as Grand Councilor and several years of virtual disgrace.[4]

In fact, Li Shizeng never did take the civil service examinations, nor was he ever to aspire to government office either in the late Qing or early Republican periods. Rather, from an early age he was introduced to "Western learning" by his tutor, Qi Xiting 齊禊亭, a friend of his father's and Secretary of the Board of Revenue.[5] From the beginning, therefore, Li Shizeng embarked upon an unconventional intellectual trajectory while firmly remaining within official circles and enjoying official patronage. Keen to study abroad in the West, Li was able to take advantage of official regulations in 1890 that required Chinese Ministers to Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States to take with them two "embassy students" (*suiyuan xuesheng* 隨員學生) to study foreign languages.[6] Thus in 1902 Li accompanied Sun Baoqi 孫寶琦 (1867–1931), the newly appointed Minister to France, as an embassy student; again, family connections proved useful, since Sun Baoqi's family had been neighbors of the Li household in Beijing.[7]

Li's decision to study in France was a relatively bold one for the time. Although overseas study had begun during the latter half of the nineteenth century when Chinese students went to the United States and Europe primarily

4 Marianne Bastid. 1988. "Li Yuying (1881–1973) and the Image of France in China," in Tilemann Grimm, Peter Kuhfus, and Gudrun Wacker, eds., *Collected Papers of the XXIXth Congress of Chinese Studies*. Tubingen: Attempto Verlag, pp. 1–6.

5 Notes by Li Shizeng, pp. 77, 148.

6 Shu Xincheng 舒新城. 1927. *Jindai Zhongguo liuxue shi* 近代中國留學史 (A History of Overseas Study in Modern China). Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, p. 21, and Qu Lihe 瞿立鶴. 1973. *Qingmo liuxue jiaoyu* 清末留學教育 (Chinese Overseas Education in the Late Qing). Taipei: Sanmin shuju, p. 116. In 1895 the number was increased to four. Wu Zhihui 吳稚暉, another member of the Chinese Francophile "lobby," noted that such "embassy students" were expected to work in the embassy most of the time and were poorly paid. For further details, see Wu Zhihui. 1968. *Wu Zhihui xiansheng wencui* 吳稚暉先生文萃 (Principal Writings of Wu Zhihui). Taipei: Huawen shuju, 2: 58–60.

7 *Collected Writings of Li Shizeng* 2: 19. Sun Baoqi later became foreign minister (1914–1915), Minister of Finance (1916) and Premier (1924) in the new Chinese Republic. Boorman and Howard, *Biographical Dictionary* 3: 169–170. In 1926 Sun became director of the Sino-French University in Beijing that Li had helped to create (see later). Another student accompanying Sun Baoqi's mission, and who would prove to be a useful future contact for Li, was Chen Lü 陳籙 (1877–1939), who later became the Chinese Minister to France (1920–1927).

for technical or military training, by the turn of the twentieth century the most significant and popular destination for Chinese overseas students was Japan, viewed by many progressive Chinese officials as an ideal model for China because of its seemingly successful modernization drive while retaining its own cultural identity; numbers there increased from about 400 in 1902 to nearly 9,000 in 1906.

France, on the other hand, was very much identified in the Chinese official mind of the time with subversive radicalism and chronic political instability; Li later recalled in the 1920s that anyone wishing to study in France at the turn of the century was thought to be risking unnecessary exposure to "dangerous extremism" (*hongshui mengshou* 洪水猛獸, literally "fierce floods and savage beasts").[8] Going to France thus bucked a trend; furthermore, Li's agenda was to immerse himself in a new culture and its values rather than simply acquire a technical training, the primary agenda hitherto for most overseas study missions to Europe and the United States.

Years later, Sun Baoqi reminisced that Li had been a "diligent" student and that he had given him permission not to come into the embassy so often in order that he could study more.[9] Li must have done more than this, however, since shortly after arriving in France he enrolled in an agricultural college (*Ecole Pratique de Chesnoy*) in Montargis, sixty miles south of Paris (and an area known for its strong anticlericalism). Later, in 1905, he studied chemistry, biology and bacteriology at the Institut Pasteur in Paris. While at the Institut Pasteur Li began reading anarchist works by Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876) and Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921); he became especially inspired by French utopian or anarchist thinkers such as Charles Fourier (1772–1837), Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) and the geographer Elisée Reclus (1830–1905), whose nephew (Paul Reclus) Li met in Paris.[10] Li translated parts of Reclus' last completed work, the six-volume *L'Homme et la Terre* (Man and the Earth) into Chinese, and many of Reclus' ideas found an echo in Li's own preoccupations and concerns.

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8 Li. 1925. "Zhongfa jiaoyu wenti 中法教育問題 (The Question of Sino-French Education)," *Zhongfa daxue banyuekan* 中法大學半月刊 (Bulletin Bimensuel de l'Université Franco-Chinoise) 1: 5–6. The author of a 1920s portrait of Li Shizeng also noted that Li's parents were reluctant to see him study in France, since the country at the time, he observed, was perceived to be as dangerous as "Bolshevik Russia today". See *Annales Franco-Chinoises*, 1927, 2: 27–30.

9 *Zhongfa jiaoyujie* 中法教育界 (L'education Franco-Chinoise), 1926, 2: 49.

10 Paul Reclus (1847–1914) was a surgeon and professor at the Paris University medical faculty. Shao Kelü 邵可侶 (Jacques Reclus). 1984. "Wosuo renshi de Li Yuying xiansheng 我所認識的李煜瀛先生 (The Li Shizeng I Knew)," *Zhuanji wenxue* 傳記文學 (Biographical Literature) 45.3: 87–88. Jacques Reclus was the son of Paul Reclus.

Reclus' faith, for example, in the power of science and education to dissolve all social prejudice and his stress on gradual and peaceful evolutionary change in the creation of a new (world) community in which all humans would recognize their common membership of the planet (prompting a recent study to hail Reclus as an "early prophet of globalization")[11] were to inspire Li's promotion of Chinese worker education and the ideal of work-study, which for Li would contribute to the elimination of all distinctions between intellectual and worker and the birth of a radically new society. Li was equally influenced by Reclus' vision of a society that comprised self-sufficient but mutually supporting associations that would ultimately lead to a "federative republic of the entire world."[12]

In his later memoirs published in 1961, Li noted that the greatest "truth" (*daoli* 道理) he had discovered while in France was the principle of peaceful "federation" (*lianhe* 聯合), a principle he thought France currently embodied with its championing of the European Economic Community on the one hand, and its desire to form a mutually beneficial and equal economic association with Francophone African states on the other.[13] Moreover, Li Shizeng became a passionate admirer of French culture, and in the journals he published in France such as *Lü'ou zazhi* 旅歐雜誌 (Journal of Chinese Students in Europe) in 1916–1917 (see later) he often contrasted the ideals of the French secular republic, which he identified as "freedom," "creativity," and "pacifism," with the apparently more "brutal" German ideals of "autocracy," "utilitarianism," and "militarism."

During these early years in France Li was joined by other future members of the Francophile "lobby," the most prominent of whom were Zhang Jingjiang 張靜江 (1877–1950), Wu Zhihui 吳稚暉 (1864–1953) and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940). Zhang, who came from a family of wealthy silk merchants, had also accompanied Sun Baoqi's 1902 mission to France and later served as

11 John Clark and Camille Martin. 2004. *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, p. 4. Little has been written on Reclus in English. For an earlier study, see Gary Dunbar. 1978. *Elisée Reclus: Historian of Nature*. Hamden, Conn: Archon Books. See also Marie Fleming. 1979. *The Anarchist Way to Socialism: Elisée Reclus and Nineteenth Century European Anarchism*. London: Croom Helm. Reclus' influence on Li Shizeng is generally overlooked in earlier English-language studies of Chinese anarchism such as Robert Scalapino and George Yu. 1961. *The Chinese Anarchist Movement*. Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, or Martin Bernal. 1976. *Chinese Socialism to* 1907. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, and is only mentioned fleetingly in more recent studies. See, for example Arif Dirlik. 1991. *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 25, 81, and 94.

12 Fleming, *The Anarchist Way to Socialism*, pp. 70–71.

13 *Notes by Li Shizeng*, pp. 105–108.

a commercial attaché at the Chinese consulate in Paris.[14] In 1904 he set up an export-import business in Paris (4, Place de la Madeleine, with branch shops also located in Rue de la Chausée d'Antin and Rue du Faubourg-Montmartre in the 8th and 9th *arrondissements*) catering to the tastes of a well-off clientele keen to purchase silk, ceramics, furniture and carpets; he also opened a (short-lived) teashop in Rue d'Italie.[15]

Like Li, Zhang cultivated a wide network of contacts amongst French intellectuals and politicians; in 1907, for example, he was listed as a member of the editorial committee of the Bulletin published by the Association Amicale Franco-Chinoise (Sino-French Friendship Association).[16] The honorary president of the Association was Stéphen Pichon, a senator and Foreign Minister 1906–1911, while the president was Georges Dubail, a former French Minister to China. Other notables belonging to the Association included Mr. Guillain, a former Minister of the Colonies, and Mr. Moret, director of the Bank of Paris.

Wu Zhihui, from a scholar family in Jiangsu, had known Li since 1898 and arrived in Paris in 1906 after spending two years studying in Britain.[17] Cai Yuanpei, a metropolitan degree-holder, was to become in 1912 the first Minister of Education in the new Republic and later (in 1916) the Chancellor of Beijing University. He visited Paris on his way to study in Germany during the years 1907–1911. Other figures in France at this time who also embraced French anarchist thought were Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883–1944), a future leader of the Guomindang's "civilian" wing who established a pro-Japanese regime in Nanjing during WWII (Wang joined Li Shizeng in Paris after 1912); Chu Minyi 褚民誼 (1884–1946), Wang Jingwei's brother-in-law and later a martial arts

14 Boorman & Howard, *Biographical Dictionary* 1: 73–77. See also Feng Ziyou 馮自由. 1969. *Geming yishi* 革命逸史 (An Unofficial History of the Revolution). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan 2: 223–226.

15 *Notes by Li Shizeng*, pp. 92–93; Live Yu-sion. 1992. "Les chinois de Paris depuis le début du siècle: présence urbaine et activités économiques," *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 8, no. 3: 158–159. Later Chinese businesses in the 1920s and 1930s spread to the more "down market" 12th *arrondissement* (near Gare du Lyon), selling cheaper articles such as artificial pearls, fans, and bracelets (many of which were made in Japan). Some Chinese workers recruited during World War One (see later) also stayed on after 1918 and opened pedicure businesses (of which there were twenty by the end of the 1930s).

16 The Association was founded in 1907, and the Bulletin published between 1907 and 1916. The first issue of the Bulletin referred to a certain "négociant" (businessman) by the name of Tsang (French Romanization for Zhang) as a member of the committee. This almost certainly refers to Zhang Jingjiang.

17 Boorman and Howard, *Biographical Dictionary* 3: 416–419; Notes by Li Shizeng, p. 87.

master and promoter who combined modern calisthenics with more traditional *taijiquan* 太極拳 before joining Wang Jingwei's wartime government;[18] and Zhang Ji 張繼 (Zhang Puquan 張溥泉, 1882–1947), an early member of Sun Yat-sen's anti-Manchu organization, the Tongmenghui 同盟會 (Alliance League) and later a prominent representative of the Guomindang's right wing faction.[19]

In many ways, this Chinese Francophile lobby resembled an "epistemic community"—recently defined as "a group of individuals who share certain fundamental interests, values and beliefs . . . and who work on consequences of these presuppositions"[20]—and hence very different, for example, from a group of Francophile writers and aesthetes whose publishing house in the French Concession area of Shanghai in the 1920s sought to create the ambiance of a French-style *salon*.[21] As an "epistemic community," Li and his colleagues were to embrace a specific cultural and educational agenda that they were prepared to promote politically.

In 1906 Li Shizeng, Wu Zhihui and Zhang Jingjiang opened a cultural and publishing house in Paris, known as the *Shijie she* 世界社 (World Society), which produced a pictorial giving information on world famous scientists and philosophers. One year later they began publishing an anarchist journal, *Xin shiji* 新世紀 (New Century), which shared a building (at 4, Rue Broca) housing the offices of the French anarchist newspaper, *Les temps nouveaux* (and from which it borrowed its name). In the second issue of the journal, Li, lauding recent anti-militarist protests and army mutinies in France, publicized his brand of anarchism.[22]

In contrast to the other Chinese anarchist group that emerged at this time in Tokyo, Li did not advocate a return to an idealized rural past uncorrupted by modern life, and rejected any idea that present-day anarchism echoed certain ideals of China's ancient past such as the Mencian well-field system (*jingtian* 井田) or the Daoist imperative of non-action/non-interference (*wuwei* 無爲), but rather unreservedly identified modern science and education with "true"

18 On Chu Minyi, see Boorman & Howard, *Biographical Dictionary* 3: 467–469; and Andrew Morris. 2004. *Marrow of the Nation: A History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China.* Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 223–227.

19 Boorman and Howard, *Biographical Dictionary* 1: 15–20.

20 Alison Assiter. 1995. *Enlightened Women: Modernist Feminism in a Postmodern Age*. London: Taylor & Francis, p. 82.

21 Lee, Leo Ou-fan. 1999. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China* 1930–1945. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, pp. 19–20.

22 Li. 1907. "Jinri falanxi geming fengchao 今日法蘭西革命風潮 (The Recent Revolutionary Tide in France)," in *Collected Writings of Li Shizeng* 1: 1–3.

civilization and progress (Li was also keen to point out that anarchists were not "hermit recluses").[23] In another 1907 article, Li justified his enthusiasm for Western anarchism by insisting that he would, as a matter of principle, engage with, and utilize, any intellectual and ideological trend if it was both "morally correct" (*zhengdang* 正當) and "practically appropriate" (*shiyi* 適宜). He continued:

> It certainly is not necessary to enquire whether [such] intellectual or ideological trends] are pioneered by Chinese or westerners. It is simply a question of what is universal truth (*gongli* 公理), and certainly not one of just worshipping what foreigners say.[24]

Interestingly, although Li (as well as Wu Zhihui and Zhang Jingjiang) had all formally joined Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary anti-Qing movement by this time, Li made it clear in 1907 that he was not in favor of establishing any kind of "tutelage" (civilian or military) over the people (a concept enunciated by Sun Yat-sen himself), neither was he enthusiastic about the prospect of a centralized republican government replacing the monarchy; clearly influenced by his reading of Proudhon (1809–1865), he envisaged a new society comprised of autonomous cooperatives (*ziyou xiehe zuzhi* 自由協和組織).

Between June 1907 and May 1910, 121 issues of *Xin shiji* were published. In addition to attacking the "backwardness" and corruption of the Qing monarchy, it introduced its Chinese readers to the anarchist thought of William Godwin (1756–1836), Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin. Li himself translated into Chinese excerpts from Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* (*Mianbao luequ* 麵包略取) and *Mutual Aid* (*Huzhu lun* 互助論); the former (originally published in 1892 and with a preface by Elisée Reclus) extolled the virtues of a decentralized economic system based on voluntary cooperation, while the latter (published in 1902) took issue with social-Darwinist assumptions and insisted that cooperation and mutual aid were more significant than strife or competition in the evolution of living species.[25]

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23 In fact, Li in this article elevated science as a universal guarantor of truth and the public interest, anticipating the "scientism" (extreme faith in the benefits and possibilities of science) that gripped Chinese intellectuals in the 1920s. See Daniel Kwok. 1965. *Scientism in Chinese Thought* 1900–1950. New Haven: Yale University Press.

24 Li. 1907. "Da Chee shi 答 CHEE 氏 (In Reply to Mr Chee)," in *Collected Writings of Li Shizeng* 1: 3–7.

25 Li's translation of *Mutual Aid* is in *Collected Writings of Li Shizeng* 1: 101–173, while his translation of *The Conquest of Bread* is in *Xin shiji*, nos. 58–62 (1908).

Another of Li Shizeng's projects in France was the opening of a soybean-processing plant (Usine de la Caseo-Sojaine) in Garenne-Colombes just outside Paris in 1908 (Li had recently converted to vegetarianism). Its sales outlet was located in Rue du Renard in the fashionable Marais district (4th *arrondissement*).[26] In order to secure funds for his project, Li returned to China in 1908, gaining an interview with the Governor-General of Zhili, Yang Lianfu 楊蓮甫 (1860–1909), thanks to the fact that Yang's secretary was Li's nephew (it also helped that the Governor-general had been an acquaintance of Li's father).[27] Yang was apparently enthusiastic and agreed to contribute funds—clearly, too, Yang had a keen eye for potential financial benefits. The encounter between a top provincial official appointed by the Qing court and a self-declared anarchist, anti-Qing revolutionary, and entrepreneur was an extraordinary illustration of how Li Shizeng was able to operate in very different (and potentially conflicting) political and social circles, while also advancing different agendas at the same time.

The plant was part of Li's anarchist-inspired vision (as well as a potentially profitable business venture) of changing the eating habits of Europeans by promoting the consumption of bean curd as a substitute for meat; in 1912 he published a pamphlet (in French) extolling bean curd's medicinal benefits, which included the alleviation of diabetes and arthritis.[28] Ever the entrepreneur as well as the anarchist visionary, Li had arranged for excerpts from the as yet unpublished pamphlet to be distributed amongst the crowds visiting the Brussels' Universal Exhibition in 1910 (as well as at an exhibition on bean curd held by the Salon d'Alimentation in the Grand Palais, Paris).[29] In addition to soybean milk, Li's plant produced a wide variety of soybean-based foodstuffs for the French market such as bean curd jam, eggs and cheese (which Parisians apparently were not too fond of), as well as bean curd flour and biscuits (which *did* sell well).[30]

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26 A contemporary French report on the plant noted that it used modern machines and hence produced better quality bean curd than in China. *Bulletin de L'association Amicale Franco-Chinoise*, 1910. 2.1: 62.

27 *Notes by Li Shizeng*, p. 78; Li Shuhua 李書華. 1974. "Xinhai geming qianhou de Li Shizeng xiansheng' 辛亥革命前後的李石曾先生 (Mr Li Shizeng before and after the 1911 Revolution)," *Zhuanji wenxue* 24.2: 44; Yang. 1980. *Chronological Biography of Li Shizeng*, p. 21.

28 Li. 1912. *Le Soja: Sa Culture, ses Usages Alimentaires, Théraupeutiques, Agricoles et Industrielles.* Paris: Augustin Challand.

29 *Bulletin de L'association Amicale Franco-Chinoise*. 1910. 2, no. 4: 336–346.

30 "Le Soja," *Asie Française*. 1914, 158: 196–198.

With the help of Qi Zhushan 齊竺山, the son of Qi Xiting, and manager of the soybean processing plant, Li recruited thirty Chinese workers—all from his native district of Gaoyang (in Zhili, later to be known as Hebei, province).[31] It was amongst these workers that Li first began to put into practice his ideal of work-study. He opened a school at the plant that taught Chinese, French and general science; the workers were expected to adhere to a strict regimen (no smoking, gambling or alcohol), and to devote as much of their spare time as possible to study.[32]

For Li, work-study had both a moral and educational function, transforming "ignorant" and "superstitious" workers into knowledgeable, hard-working and morally upright citizens. Furthermore, Li believed it was the most effective means to heal the deep division between scholars and manual workers that he insisted had always characterized Chinese society; only such a scenario, in Li's anarchist-inspired vision, would bring about the desired cooperation, mutual assistance, and equality in society.[33]

In the aftermath of World War One, a 1919 report in the prominent Chinese current affairs journal, *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 (The Eastern Miscellany), hailed Li's soybean-processing plant as the most important Chinese enterprise in France.[34] By this time it had expanded its operations, as soybean milk became a popular substitute for increasingly expensive cow's milk. Li was also adept at publicizing both the economic and educational functions of the enterprise, inviting important personages such as the Chinese Minister to France Hu Weide 胡惟德 to visit the site and meet the workers. The workforce now totaled seventy (all from Gaoyang), and each maintained a small garden plot outside their living quarters which adjoined the processing plant. According to the 1919 report most of the workers had a basic knowledge of Chinese

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31 Sheng Cheng 盛成. 1932. *Haiwai gongdu shinian jishi* 海外工讀十年紀實 (Mon Odyssée en Europe). Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, p. 44. The Qi family also came from Gaoyang. According to Sheng's testimony, the family names of the workers were all either Li or Qi.

32 *Lü'ou jiaoyu yundong* 旅歐教育運動 (The Educational Movement in Europe). 1916. Tours: n.p., p. 50, republished 1996, Academia Sinica, Taipei. Li also discussed his bean curd plant and the education of its Chinese workers in a letter: see Li to Wu Zhihui, 5 June, 1915, *Collected Writings of Li Shizeng* 2: 305–311.

33 Li's project of moral and educational "uplift" amongst workers in his bean curd plant has intriguing parallels with that of Robert Owen (1771–1856), the British philanthropist and social reformer who devised similar educational schemes for employees of the New Lanark cotton mills (in south Lanarkshire, Scotland) in the 1810s and 1820s.

34 "Bali huaren doufu gongsi canguan ji 巴黎華人豆腐公司參觀記 (Record of a Visit to the Chinese-run Paris Bean Curd Plant)," *Dongfang zazhi* (The Eastern Miscellany) 1919. 16.9: 214–215.

(*guowen* 國文) and French, with a few even studying to enter technical school. Another significant feature of the plant was its employment of French (male and female) workers.[35]

Sino-French Cultural Interaction

As a passionate Francophile, Li also believed that France—as a republic *par excellence* free from the "baneful" influences of monarchy and religion—was an ideal environment in which to work and study. On returning to China in 1912 shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic, he and other members of the Francophile lobby founded the Association for Frugal Study in France (*Liufa jianxuehui* 留法儉學會) to encourage Chinese students to go to France. Wang Jingwei, for example, later claimed in 1917 that France was a more appropriate destination for Chinese overseas students than even the US, since revolution in the former had been more thorough than in the latter and had thus brought about a more complete renewal of politics, culture and society.[36] The Association for Frugal Study in France, in fact, was only one of several organizations founded during the first year of the Republic promoting Sino-French cultural interaction and exchanges. These included the Sino-French Association (Cercle Sino-Français/*Huafa xiehui* 華法協會), which had a Chinese president and a French vice-president, and the Sino-French Union (Union Sino-Française/*Huafa lianjinhui* 華法聯進會), of which Li Shizeng and Paul Painlevé (1863–1933), the French mathematician and politician, were co-presidents.[37]

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35 The report also noted that two of the Chinese workers were married to French women, although it is not clear whether the latter were employees of the plant or not.

36 Wang Jingwei. 1917. "Liufa jianxuehui jiangyanhui yanshuo 留法儉學會講演會演說 (Talk at the Lecture Society of the Frugal Study Association)," *The Eastern Miscellany* 14.9: 178–179. Wang admitted that France's colonial record in Indochina was poor, but insisted this should not overly influence views on French culture in general. Of course, the Chinese Francophile 'lobby' at times had to contend with more negative representations of France in the Chinese periodical press (often via foreign translations). A 1914 article translated from the London *Times*, for example, declared that France of all the powers in China was solely motivated by "wild ambition" (*yexin* 野心) in its desire to create an Asian empire (referring specifically to French railway investment in Yunnan province). See "Faren tunbing Yunnan zhi yexin 法人吞併雲南之野心 (France's Wild Ambition to Swallow up Yunnan)," *The Eastern Miscellany*, 1914. 10.11: 29–30.

37 *Bulletin de L'association Amicale Franco-Chinoise*. 1913. 5.1: 33–36. Painlevé was to serve as prime minister on two brief occasions in 1917 and 1925.

A preparatory school was opened by the Frugal Study Association in Beijing to provide potential overseas students with some basic French; under the direction of Qi Rushan 齊如山 (1877–1962), the younger brother of Qi Zhushan who was later to become the first Chinese scholar to carry out extensive research on traditional Chinese drama,[38] the school (through the offices of Cai Yuanpei, then Minister of Education) was allowed to occupy rooms in the former Imperial Academy (*Guozijian* 國子監), China's highest institute of learning in existence since the late thirteenth century (and which now houses the Capital Library). In November 1912 Li was back in France, where he was able to utilize his contacts and the fact that he had studied there in the early years of the twentieth century to meet with the mayor of Montargis (Thierry Falour) and arrange for the reception of Chinese "frugal study" students in schools and colleges in the area. By the end of 1913 there were seventy "frugal study" students in Montargis.

Municipal authorities were pleased with the arrangement, which once again demonstrated Li Shizeng's ability to combine pragmatic business concerns with a more altruistic agenda of cultural interaction. A revealing insight into Li's *modus operandi* can be gleaned from an open letter addressed to the local residents of Montargis by Mayor Falour thanking Li Shizeng for choosing the town as the destination for Chinese students. The letter clearly suggests that Li had convinced Falour of the potential economic benefits of the scheme for the town:

> We must thank Mr Li Shizeng for having thought of benefitting our town materially, which will be taken advantage of by our businessmen as well as the town itself, since these Chinese students will pay the same amount of college fees as the existing ones. The college will be the next location for fifty or so young men and women coming from well-off families and who will add a picturesque and unexpected ambiance to the charm of our town.[39]

During the First World War, when the French government began recruiting Chinese labor in 1916 for war-related work in France to make up for domestic

38 Both brothers had studied French at the Beijing Tongwenguan, China's first modern language school (established in 1862).

39 Cited in Annie Kriegel. 1978. *Communismes au Miroir Français*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974, p. 78. Most of the "frugal study" Chinese students who went to France in 1913–1914 were indeed from "well-off families," in contrast to many of the Chinese "work-study" students who went to France in 1919–1920 (see later).

labor shortages (in 1917 Britain also decided to recruit Chinese workers for war-related work in France),[40] Li Shizeng welcomed the opportunity to both extend his work-study program and further enhance Sino-French cultural interaction. Li confidently predicted that Chinese workers coming to France, exposed to new values and enjoying access to education, would become truly "civilized;" on their return to China, he enthused, they would form the vanguard of an educated workforce contributing to the diffusion of industrial skills and the reform of society.[41] He and Cai Yuanpei, along with French scholars and politicians, created the Sino-French Education Association (*Huafa jiaoyuhui* 華法教育會) in 1916 as an umbrella organization to promote the expansion of Sino-French cultural relations and part-time education for the soon-to-be arriving Chinese workers (branch associations were also set up in a number of Chinese cities such as Shanghai, Guangzhou and Chengdu).

At the opening meeting of the Association, the co-chairmen (Cai Yuanpei and the French historian, Alphonse Aulard) called attention to the affinities between French and Chinese cultures, remarking that the humanist philosophy of Confucius anticipated the ideals of the French Revolution. French officials, politicians and scholars in the early twentieth century, in fact, were as equally admiring of Chinese culture as the Chinese Francophiles were of French culture. Often positing a *complementarity* between French and Chinese cultures, they argued, for example, that in its respect for learning and intellectual endeavor, *joie de vivre*, and aversion to war, French culture had much in common with Chinese civilization.[42] A decade later, in a 1925 article, Li Shizeng again highlighted the intricate intellectual ties binding Chinese and French cultures when he observed that Voltaire's praise of China in the eighteenth century as a humanist paradise had been reciprocated by early twentieth century Chinese revolutionaries who had derived inspiration from the thought of Montesquieu and Rousseau.[43]

One year before the founding of the Sino-French Education Association, Li created the Diligent Work and Frugal Study Association (*Qingong jianxuehui*

40 On this, see Bailey. 2009. "Chinese Contract Workers in World War One: The Larger Context," in *Chinese Laborers and the First World War*, ed. Zhang Jianguo. Jinan: Shandong University Press, 2009, pp. 3–18, and Bailey. 2011. "'An Army of Workers': Chinese Indentured Labor in World War One France," in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 35–52.

41 *Lü'ou jiaoyu yundong*. 82–83. For another article Li wrote on the same theme, see *Collected Writings of Li Shizeng* 1: 220–225.

42 For more on this, see Bailey. 1992. "Voltaire and Confucius: French Attitudes towards China in the Early Twentieth Century," *History of European Ideas* 14.6: 817–837.

43 See note 8, Li, "Zhongfa jiaoyu wenti."

勤工儉學會) to promote and oversee education amongst Chinese workers in France; in 1916 he also opened a Chinese workers' school in Paris. Cai Yuanpei gave a series of lectures at the school drawing attention to the "unseemly" habits of ordinary Chinese folk such as extravagance, lack of hygiene, cursing in public and adherence to superstitious beliefs, while emphasizing the need for Chinese workers to adopt "civilized" Western ways such as politeness, decorum (which included standing up for women on public transport), a love of animals, and concern for the public welfare.[44] A contributor to one of the journals Li Shizeng published in France, *Huagong zazhi* 華工雜誌 (Chinese Workers Journal), likewise prescribed a detailed set of behavioral rules for Chinese workers in France designed to make them more "civilized" and thus less likely to damage China's status and reputation in the world. Such rules included wiping shoes before entering a building, not to spit or shout in public, and not to pick a fight if pushed or shoved in a crowd.[45] For Cai Yuanpei and Li Shizeng also, it was essential that Chinese workers in France be suitably "civilized" so that they would avoid the fate of Chinese migrants in the US, who had frequently been the target of contempt and abuse.

After World War One, Li expanded his work-study program to include Chinese students, all of whom, he confidently believed, would benefit from living, working and studying in France. Between March 1919 and December 1920 seventeen groups of Chinese work-study students left for France, totaling nearly 1,600.[46] As testimony to Li's vision of using the scheme to widen opportunities in China for overseas study, many of these work-study students, whose ages ranged from 16 to 42, came from the inland provinces of Sichuan and Hunan—in noticeable contrast to the earlier predominance of students from the relatively more wealthy coastal provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang amongst those who went to Japan earlier in the century (in imperial times, too, Jiangsu and Zhejiang had always supplied the largest number of civil service degree holders). The large numbers of work-study students were also due to the minimal tuition fees charged for the preparatory schools opened in China (in Beijing, Baoding, and Chengdu) by Li and Cai Yuanpei to prepare students (who needed only to have a basic knowledge of Chinese) for their sojourn in France; many of those who went to France, in fact, had the equivalent of a middle school education or less. The scheme, however, soon ended in failure

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44 Cai Yuanpei. 1968. *Cai Yuanpei xiansheng quanji* 蔡元培先生全集 (Collected Works of Cai Yuanpei). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, pp. 197, 202–205, 210–220.

45 Xu Haifan. 1917. "Huagong xuzhi 華工須知 (What Chinese Workers Should Know)," *Huagong zazhi* 華工雜誌 (Chinese Workers Journal) 2: 18–21; 3: 21–23.

46 On the work-study movement, see Bailey. 1988. "The Chinese Work-Study Movement in France," *China Quarterly* 115: 441–461.

as the post-World War One economic depression in France reduced opportunities for work; impoverished work-study students angrily protested their plight (much to the annoyance of the French government, which eventually deported many of them) and, in some cases, became eager converts to Marxism. Future Chinese Communist Party leaders and officials (Zhou Enlai 周恩來; Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平; Chen Yi 陳儀; Li Fuchun 李富春 and Li Lisan 李立三) began their apprenticeships in radical politics as work-study students.

The work-study scheme, however, was just one component of the Chinese Francophile lobby's much larger agenda of deepening Sino-French educational links. In 1920 Li was involved in the establishment of the Sino-French University (*Zhongfa daxue* 中法大學), a system of interlocking higher and lower schools (four colleges and four secondary schools with attached primary classes) in Beijing and Guangzhou.[47] For Li and others involved in the project, the new institution would be a catalyst in introducing to China the French idea of the university.[48] The Sino-French University was also meant to constitute an element of a transnational university arrangement since it was envisaged that students graduating from the Sino-French University would be eligible to enroll in a new higher education institution in France, the Sino-French Institute, which was founded in 1921 (and of which Chu Minyi was to be vice-president) and attached to the University of Lyon.

In fact, Li and his colleagues had been in negotiation with their French interlocutors since 1919, when the rector of Lyon University, M. Joubin, had visited Beijing. Li was keenly aware of Lyon's history as one of the most energetic French cities in seeking to promote closer economic ties with China; the city's Chamber of Commerce had sent an investigative commission to China in 1895–1897 to explore business opportunities, while in 1913 municipal authorities had actually provided funds to enable Lyon University to create a Chair in Chinese, which was to be held by Maurice Courant.[49] Li was also personally acquainted with the mayor of Lyon, Edouard Herriot (1872–1957), who later went on to become prime minister on three occasions (in 1924–1925, 1926, and 1932). In a 1922 article Li passionately supported the idea of Sino-French cultural interaction and the enhancement of French cultural influence in China; such a scenario was essential, Li warned, if China was not to be completely dominated by

47 On the Sino-French University, see. "L'Association universitaire franco-chinoise," *Annales Franco-Chinoises*, 1930, 15: 25–37.

48 Ruth Hayhoe. 1985. "A Comparative Approach to the Cultural Dynamics of Sino-Western Educational Co-operation," *China Quarterly* 104: 677–699.

49 On Courant's role in establishing the Sino-French Institute, see Daniel Bouchez. 1983. "Un défricheur méconnu des études extrême-orientales: Maurice Courant (1865–1935)," *Journal Asiatique* 271, nos. 1–2: 43–138.

Anglo-American culture (if English achieved a monopoly in China, Li added, the country would be "cut off" from other cultures in the world).[50]

Although the work-study scheme collapsed in 1921, the Sino-French University in Beijing and the Sino-French Institute remained viable educational institutions until the 1940s. By 1934, for example, the Sino-French University had graduated 208 students, and in 1934 alone 187 students were registered at the University's three colleges; furthermore, between 1921 and 1946 a total of 475 Chinese students passed through the doors of the Sino-French Institute in Lyon.[51]

Li Shizeng's Philosophy of Work-Study

Li's championing of work-study was underpinned by his anarchist-derived belief that mutual aid and coexistence were the logical end products of evolutionary progress (and not violent struggle and competition). In a series of articles on anarchism published in *Xin shiji* before 1911, Li declared that *only* an "anarchist revolution" (by which he meant a radically new kind of education aimed at bringing about social equality and harmony as opposed to state or government-controlled education that simply legitimized militarism, an oppressive legal system, and obscurantist religion) would sweep away all "classes;" typical of many of his contemporaries, Li defined "class" as the division between rich and poor on the one hand, and between the "knowledgeable" and "ignorant" on the other, while insisting that the latter was simply a consequence of the former.[52] Thus for Li it was *not* a "natural" law of evolution that the "educated and worthy" exercise hegemony over the "uneducated." Such differences only came about because of disparities in wealth.[53]

Significantly, Li suggested that workers were in fact more hardworking and potentially more intelligent than the educated, since they constantly had to use their wits in a daily struggle for survival, whereas the educated rich—with

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50 Li. 1980. "Faguo jiaoyu yu wo guojia jiaoyu qiantu zhi guanxi 法國教育與我國家教育前途之關係 (The Relationship between French Education and the Future of our Country's Education)," *Collected Writings of Li Shizeng* 2: 231–236.

51 Hayhoe, "A Comparative Approach to the Cultural Dynamics of Sino-Western Educational Co-operation,": 692 n. 82, 695–696.

52 Zhang Nan and Wang Renzhi, comp. 1977. *Xinhai geming qian shinianjian shilun xuanji* 辛亥革命前十年間時論選集 (Selection of Journal Editorials from the Ten Years before the 1911 Revolution). Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 3, pp. 133–179.

53 Ibid.

no challenges to exercise their ingenuity—spent their entire lives in idleness (Chu Minyi in 1909 highlighted the positive example of French trade unions to demonstrate the fact that the "lower classes" were more "civilized" than the upper classes because their representatives in the trade unions were genuinely concerned with the public, and not private or selfish, interests).[54]

In the journals Li published in France aimed at Chinese students and workers such as *Chinese Workers Journal* and *Lü'ou zhoukan* 旅歐週刊 (Chinese Students in Europe Weekly) other members of the Chinese Francophile lobby likewise condemned the social inequality brought about by the division between intellectual and manual labor. Wang Jingwei, for example, referred in 1916 to a "dictatorship of scholarship" (*xueshu zhi zhuanzhi* 學術之專制) to describe what he called a "class system" in which an educated elite exercised unjustifiable hegemony over the rest of the population.[55] In the same year, Wu Zhihui argued that as long as such a division remained the vestiges of imperial and official power would remain, and hence would bolster the authority of the "rich capitalists" who were taking over from more traditional elites.[56] A contributor to *Lü'ou zazhi* also declared that the widespread education of workers would smash the "monopoly of knowledge" held by a few, and thereby in the future would prevent "capitalists" from hoodwinking and deceiving their workers.[57]

As mentioned earlier, Li was confident that Chinese workers coming to France would derive enormous benefits from their sojourn. In particular, he claimed that they would be exposed to the "civilized" habits of French workers, such as the proclivity to "save and accumulate money" (*chuji* 儲積) and the willingness to join a trade union.[58] While it is true that much of Li's discourse pertaining to workers bordered on the patronizing and condescending (typical of Chinese intellectuals), it is highly significant that in 1920 his Diligent Work and Frugal Study Association, planning for the arrival in France of large

54 *Xin shiji* 82 (1909). Chu Minyi was from the same village as Zhang Jingjiang, and worked for the latter's Paris business before 1912. Significantly, at the Chinese workers' school Li Shizeng opened in Paris in 1916, one of the subjects taught was trade union organization.

55 Wang Jingwei. 1916. "Wuren duiyu Zhongguo zhi zeren 吾人對於中國之責任 (Our Responsibility toward China)," *Lü'ou zazhi* 4: 1–7.

56 *The Educational Movement in Europe*, pp. 78–79.

57 Yu Gong. 1919. "Jinri gongren suo xuyao de shi shenme 今日工人所需要的是什麼 (What do Workers Need Today?)," *Lü'ou zhoukan* 4.

58 In 1914 President Yuan Shikai had banned all trade union activity in China. Zhao Qin 趙親. 1959. "Xinhai geminghou de Zhongguo gongren yundong 辛亥革命後的中國工人運動 (The Chinese Workers' Movement after the 1911 Revolution)," *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (Historical Research) 2: 1–16.

numbers of Chinese students looking for employment in order to fund their future studies, suggested that all those students employed in factories and who were found to be lacking manual skills or French language ability should be "assigned" to an "experienced" Chinese worker for instruction. Once the student had learnt the ropes, the Association declared, the worker might be transferred to another plant to perform a similar mentoring task for other Chinese students.[59] Both symbolically and practically, such an arrangement represented a subversion of traditional hierarchies and a questioning of entrenched assumptions in Chinese culture about the superiority of the scholar/intellectual *vis-à-vis* the rest of society.[60] In a remarkable article written a year earlier, Li Shizeng described Chinese workers in France as a "new force" whose potential would be realized through education. The conventional social hierarchy in China—that of scholar, farmer, artisan, merchant (*shinong gongshang* 士農工商)—Li argued, was now redundant since the times demanded that *everyone* be a worker (*gongren* 工人), in both the literal and metaphorical sense.[61]

Li Shizeng very much perceived himself as an active participant in a *global* utopian discourse of work-study. Thus in his journal *Lü'ou zazhi* (Journal of Chinese Students in Europe) Li cited past and present work-study exemplars with whom he identified. Two historical pioneers Li praised were Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) and Charles Fourier (1772–1837). Franklin, despite lowly class origins, went on to become a world-class scientist because of his diligence

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59 *Lü'ou zhoukan* 1920, no. 10. While most Chinese workers recruited by Britain during the war had been repatriated by 1920, many of those recruited by France stayed on.

60 Wu Zhihui advanced a similarly radical idea in 1916 when he suggested that a new *rural* order should be created in China based on the unity of peasants and students. Long before the experimental rural schools and rural reconstruction movements championed by educational reformers Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 and Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Wu advocated the widespread establishment of agricultural schools, which would serve as the focal point of social and economic change in the village. Student labor alongside that of the peasants would help cultivate the crops that would guarantee the school's self-sufficiency as well as symbolize the close living and working relationship between the previously urban-based students and the peasants. Such a relationship, Wu added, would be further strengthened by affiliating newly-created peasant associations (*nonghui* 農會) with the schools. Wu Zhihui. 1916. "Tongxun 通訊 (Newsletter)," *Lü'ou zazhi* 2: 1–4.

61 Li Shizeng 1919. "Huagong 華工 (Chinese Overseas Workers)," *Chinese Workers Journal* 39: 3–11. In France, Li reminded his audience, even teachers and state functionaries were known as 'workers' because they all belonged to trade unions (*gonghui* 工會). For Li, the growth of trade union power was not to be feared since, in his view, it would automatically lead to the creation of a world community (*datong* 大同). See Li Shizeng 1919. "Huagong," *Chinese Workers Journal* 41: 1–7.

and application, Li enthused. Yet Franklin was just one example, Li continued, of potentially millions of similar disadvantaged workers who could achieve equal success.[62] (Li wrote a similar article on Jean-Jacques Rousseau, again highlighting his lower class background and claiming that there had to be hundreds of "potential Rousseaus" within the ranks of the laboring class).[63] In praising Charles Fourier as a pioneer of work-study, Li expressed his admiration for Fourier's philosophy of the "mutual assistance society" (*xieshe zhuyi* 協社主義) in which everyone would perform different tasks at different times; there would therefore be no one group of people with a monopoly of knowledge or skills, and competition would be replaced by harmony.[64] Li often spoke of Fourier and Proudhon in the same breath, contrasting their advocacy of decentralization and local community cooperation with Marx's supposed stress on "state centralization and dictatorship over the people."[65]

A more contemporary work-study pioneer Li wrote about in his journal was the Spanish educator, Francisco Ferrer (1859–1909).[66] Ferrer, who came from peasant origins, was a Catalan freethinker and anarchist who had been exiled to Paris in 1885. On his return to Spain he established a school in Barcelona (the Escuela Moderna) that banned religious instruction and made manual labor an important component of the curriculum; he was later a founder member of the International League for a Rational Education of Children before being executed in 1909 on trumped-up charges of treason following clashes between

62 Li Shizeng. 1916. "Fenkelin zhuan 焚克林傳 (Biography of Benjamin Franklin)," *Journal of Chinese Students in Europe* 旅歐雜誌 1: 1–6. A frontispiece portrait of Franklin in this opening issue described him as a "magnificent diligent worker and frugal study student."

63 Li Shizeng. 1916. "Lusuo zhuan 蘆梭傳 (Biography of Rousseau)," *Journal of Chinese Students in Europe* 4: 1–2; 5: 1–3.

64 Li Shizeng. 1916–17. "Fuye zhuan 符業傳 (Biography of Fourier)," *Journal of Chinese Students in Europe* 8: 1–3; 9: 1–2; 10: 1–2; 11: 1–2; 12: 1–2. On Charles Fourier, see David Zeldin. 1969. *The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier* (1772–1837). London: Cass, esp. pp. 21–26, 32–34, 108–109.

65 Li Shizeng. 1919. "Defa xueshu zhi yitong 德法學術之異同 (Differences in German and French scholarship)," *Lü'ou zhoukan* 旅歐週刊 (Chinese Students in Europe Weekly) no. 2; Li Shizeng. 1919. "Zhongfa deri zhi bijiao 中法德日之比較 (A comparison of China, France, Germany and Japan)," *Chinese Students in Europe Weekly* no. 3. Curiously, Li used Proudhon and Marx (whom Li identified as the champions of decentralization and centralization respectively) to represent France and Germany.

66 Li Shizeng. 1916. "Fulai zhuan 傅來傳 (Biography of Ferrer)," *Journal of Chinese Students in Europe* 7: 1–5.

workers and the army in several Catalan cities.[67] In his article, Li also claimed to have actually met and exchanged ideas with Ferrer in Paris. Whether he did or not (Ferrer apparently returned to Spain in 1901, while Li did not arrive in Paris until 1902), what is significant is that Li's almost casual reference to his meeting with Ferrer was meant to indicate his role within a *global community* of like-minded radical thinkers and activists.

Conclusion

The Chinese Francophile project culminated with the attempt by Li Shizeng and Cai Yuanpei—who by 1924 had become senior members of the Guomindang (as elected members of the party's Central Supervisory Committee)[68]—to implement the French educational model in China with the creation of a University Council (*Daxueyuan* 大學院), which was to be the first step in the establishment of a French-style university district system (in which Li himself would have been "rector" of the Beijing university district).[69] The initiative, however, soon fell victim to an increasingly strident nationalism espoused by Guomindang ideologues who insisted that education had to be tightly controlled and directed by the party through a highly centralized Education Ministry.[70] Another key feature of the Chinese Francophile lobby's project at this time was the creation in 1927 of the Labor University in Shanghai (modeled on the socialist university for laborers in Charleroi, Belgium, established in 1902), with the aim dear to the hearts of work-study champions such as Li Shizeng of training both a new kind of labor leader and a new kind of

67 On Ferrer's educational thought and practice, see Émile Chanel. 1975. *Pédagogie et Éducateurs Socialistes: Les Hommes, les Idées, les Réalisations*. Paris: Editions du Centurion, pp. 38–42.

68 Wu Zhihui and Zhang Jingjiang likewise became members of the Central Supervisory Committee; together, they were referred to as the "four elders" (*silao* 四老) of the Guomindang. Li and his anarchist colleagues formally joined the Guomindang as the result of their fierce opposition to the Chinese Communist Party and its policy of class revolution on the one hand, and because of personal ties to Sun Yat-sen dating from the early years of the century on the other.

69 The attempt by Li and Cai to introduce the French model of education in 1927 was part of a wider effort by anarchists to acquire influence within the Guomindang and channel it in a direction that accorded with anarchist goals. See Arif Dirlik. 1989. "The Revolution That Never Was: Anarchism in the Guomindang," *Modern China* 15.4: 433–440.

70 Allen Linden. 1968. "Politics and Education in Nationalist China: The Case of the University Council 1927–1928," *Journal of Asian Studies* 27.4: 763–776.

intellectual (i.e. an intellectual laborer and a laboring intellectual).[71] The curriculum, for example, prescribed three hours of manual labor daily. After 1930, however, once it had been decided by Guomindang leaders to replace the decentralized and regionally-based university district system with a more centralized system under firm Guomindang control, the Labor University's access to funds and resources was curtailed and it eventually closed down in 1932 (in any event, virtually all anarchist activity within the Guomindang had been suppressed by 1929).[72]

For a long time thereafter the extraordinary intellectual and cultural role played by Li Shizeng and the Chinese Francophile lobby was virtually ignored, not helped by the fact that two members of the group (Wang Jingwei and Chu Minyi) became *persona non grata* because of their collaboration with the Japanese during World War Two (Chu was to be executed in 1946 by the returning Guomindang government). As far as post-1949 Chinese Communist historiography was concerned, Li Shizeng and his closest associates (Wu Zhihui, Zhang Jingjiang, Zhang Ji) were associated with the virulently anti-communist right-wing faction of the Guomindang, and hence were condemned as irredeemable reactionaries. For a time in the 1950s and 1960s Li Shizeng was even regarded with suspicion by non-communist Chinese observers. Li Huang 李璜 (1895–1991), who had studied in France during the early 1920s (not as a work-study student) and helped found in 1923 the anti-communist China Youth party (*Zhongguo qingniandang* 中國青年黨), wrote a series of articles in 1969 castigating Li Shizeng and the work-study movement for encouraging impressionistic and gullible Chinese youth to go to France, where many of them became radicalized and converted to Marxism.[73]

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71 The Committee of Overseers for the university included Li Shizeng, Cai Yuanpei, Wu Zhihui and Zhang Jingjiang. Significantly, one of the foreign anarchists invited to teach at the university was Jacques Reclus, grandnephew of Elisée Reclus. On the Labor University, see Chan Ming and Arif Dirlik. 1991. *Schools into Fields and Factories: Anarchists, the Guomindang and the National Labor University in Shanghai* 1927–1932. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

72 See Dirlik 1989, note 69. Dirlik argues that the anarchist position was fatally undermined by the contradiction in their outlook between the practical pursuit of the cause of workers and peasants and their opposition to "class struggle" as an expression of "selfish" interests that hindered the realization of a humane society. Given the fact that "class struggle" in the twentieth century often led to the creation of states that paid scant attention to the interests of workers and peasants, the anarchist stance may not have been so contradictory after all.

73 Li Huang. 1969. "Liufa qingong jianxue yu Zhongguo gongchandang 留法勤工儉學與中國共產黨 (The Work-study Movement in France and the Chinese Communist Party)," *Mingbao yuekan* 明報月刊 (Mingbao Monthly) 45: 2–8; 46: 10–16; 47: 10–16; 48: 22–28.

There has been a revival of interest in recent years, however. In Taiwan, for example, Li Shizeng's collected writings were published in 1980, while in France since the 1990s Li's role in Sino-French cultural interaction, as well as the presence of Chinese workers and students in France in the early twentieth century (hitherto eliciting very little interest), have been highlighted by officials, municipal authorities and businesses keen to attract Chinese tourist money. A street sign, for example, near the school in Montargis which Li attended at the turn of the twentieth century has been re-designated "Carrefour Li Yu Ying [Li Shizeng], Etudiant Chinois 1904;" both it and the Town Hall (Hotel Druzy), where Li met the mayor in 1912 to discuss arrangements for the reception of Chinese frugal study students, have become popular tourist sites for the growing numbers of visitors from mainland China (especially also as work-study students and future CCP leaders such as Cai Hesen 蔡和森 were based in Montargis).[74] Li's activities in France and China during the early twentieth century, nevertheless, deserve to be remembered for more than just as a "novelty" attracting tourist cash. In terms of educational thought, Li was an innovative pioneer in the promotion of Chinese worker education, a fact often ignored due to the credit conventionally attributed to the efforts of the Chinese National YMCA and, in particular, the American-educated James Yen (1890–1990) during the early 1920s to promote mass education in China.[75] Perhaps more intriguingly than this, however, Li Shizeng in many ways symbolized a new and very modern kind of Chinese intellectual, one who, far from being the passive "subject" of a "semi-colonized" polity, saw himself *as an active and equal member of a global community* of visionary thinkers and activists, building on a global tradition of utopian educational thought and directly contributing to its further development. As a cultural entrepreneur and broker—including his entrepreneurial activities promoting the consumption of bean

74 In recent years local authorities in Montargis have created a "Chinese tourist trail" for those interested in exploring the "role" of the town in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. "French town lures Chinese tourists to 'revolution road'," *China Daily*, 11 September 2012: 11.

75 A pioneering role that J. Yen was not inhibited from attributing to himself. See Pearl Buck. 1945. *Tell the People: Talks with James Yen about the Mass Education Movement*. New York: John Day Co. Later studies of Yan's Mass Education Movement similarly ignore the thought and practice of Li Shizeng. See, for example, Charles Hayford. 1990. *To the People: James Yen and Village China*. New York: Columbia University Press. A recent article exploring an "alternative revolutionary path" by CCP activists in the early 1920s that focused more on worker education programs than on fomenting violent class struggle likewise totally overlooks Li Shizeng's pioneering role in worker education. See Elizabeth Perry. 2008. "Reclaiming the Chinese Revolution," *Journal of Asian Studies* 67.4: 1147–1164.

curd in France and his publication of Chinese-language journals in France—Li's involvement in the creation of several Sino-French cultural organizations and institutions represented an extraordinary episode in transnational educational interaction. In the final analysis, Li's ability to work and operate in different milieus and contexts (both in China and in France) truly mark him out as an intellectual personality of a globalizing future.

CHAPTER 2

Health and Hygiene in Late Qing China as Seen Through the Eyes of Japanese Travelers[1]

Che-chia Chang

Arriving by boat in Shanghai in 1862, a group of Japanese travelers, the first substantial delegation to China since foreign travel was banned in the seventeenth century at the start of the Edo period, found themselves assaulted by terrible smells. The smells came as a shock. In the words of Nōtomi Kaijirō 納富介次郎 (1843–1918):

> Shanghai's roads were dirty. When I walked in lanes, they were so filled with dust and excreta that I could not find a place to step on. The people also wouldn't clean them up.[2]

Such observations would have been typical of Westerners visiting China. But Japan had looked up to China for many centuries, and Japanese literary and medical culture, as well as notions of hygiene, essentially had their roots in China. Most homes in both countries at that time were without toilets. For a visiting Japanese to express such criticism reflected significant changes in thinking and attitudes.

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2 Nōtomi Kaijirō 納富介次郎. 1862. "*Shanhai zakki* 上海雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of Shanghai)," in Kojima Shinji 小島晉治, ed. 1997. *Bakumatsu Meiji Chūgoku kenbunroku shūsei* 幕末明治中國見聞錄集成 (Collections of Voyages in China in the Late Edo and Meiji Period). 20 Vols. Tokyo: Yumani shobō (Hereafter BMCKS), 1: 15.

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As an island country, Japan benefited over many centuries from importing knowledge as well as commodities from China. From the standpoint of national security, it was long essential for Japan to keep up with the political situation there. From the seventh century on, it sent official envoys, monks, and students to China to learn various kinds of knowledge.[3] Those who visited foreign countries were often part of the intellectual elite, and therefore usually keen to spot information worth recording and bringing home; so began a long tradition of Japanese travel writing. These travel writings were first-hand sources for Japanese of the time to gain a better understanding not just of China, but also of other external influences in the pre-modern era.

Examination of the networks of writers and readers engaged in this activity provides helpful insights into various aspects of the cultural interactions between Japan and China.[4] This chapter explores how the travel genre exerted its influence in the transitional period from the traditional to the modern era, namely the late Shogunate and Meiji periods in Japan and the corresponding years in late Qing China, with particular reference to medical culture. This exploration is set in the context of the emergence of new social and technological factors, notably the development of print media.

To cultural historians of medicine, travel accounts are rich not only because they provide external observations of beliefs, behaviors and practices that could go unremarked by native people themselves, but also because they reveal much about the foreign observers' sense of self and their cultural evaluations of the other. An eminent example is the twelfth century Zen monk Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215). He reported that Chinese people were living longer and were in better health than the Japanese because they regularly drank tea. Therefore he promoted drinking tea as a basic activity of Zen culture.

Along with the network linking Zen monks and the *samurai* group, Eisai's efforts became one of the important origins of the tea-drinking tradition in Japan's upper class.[5] His major concern was the inferior state of Japanese hygiene in comparison to that of China, and how a change in lifestyle could

3 From the seventh to ninth centuries, the visits of students and monks were official. Later, Japanese Zen monks visited China to study without government support. See Mōzai Torao 茂在寅男. 1987. *Kentō-shi kenkyū to shiryō* 遣唐使研究と史料 (Japanese Missions to Tang China Studies and Historical Materials). Hadano: Tōkai daigaku shuppankai.

4 Joshua A. Fogel. 1996. *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862–1945.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

5 Liao Yuqun 廖育群. 2006. "*Chi cha yangsheng ji*—yige zongjiao yixue dianxing anli de jiexi 《吃茶養生記》——一個宗教醫學典型案例的解析 (An Analysis of the *Kissa yōjōki*: A Typical Case of Religious Medicine)," *Zhongguo kejishi zazhi* 中國科技史雜誌 (The Chinese Journal for the History of Science and Technology) 1: 32–43.

potentially strengthen the Japanese constitution. Eisai's case shows that even in the medieval period, a traveler's report could influence Japanese society, although the process was slow and the scope was limited to a specific circle.

Japanese interest in foreign medicine continued, but under the isolationist policy of the Edo period, Japanese were not permitted to go abroad, much less produce travel accounts. To overcome this difficulty, a method was devised to capture information from foreign visitors' voyages. Using the practice of the *hitsudan* 筆談 (pen-conversation), Edo physicians invited visiting aliens, mostly from Korea, to "have a conversation" in written Chinese and thus exchange information about medicine. Pen-conversations had been commonly used among those literate in Chinese for a long time for exchanges on many different topics. However, pen-conversations concerning medicine constituted a new genre, developed in the Edo period.

In these conversations, the Japanese party usually inquired about Korean herbal or marine products, and would express curiosity about preparatory methods for ginseng. Furthermore, physicians at this stage considered themselves to be in competition with their Korean counterparts, and would not hesitate to challenge their guests. These cases show that Edo physicians' major concern was that Japanese herbs were inferior to Korean, and their interest was primarily in making up the difference in quality by improving their preparation methods.

Today there are at least eighteen instances of such medical conversations surviving in libraries in Japan.[6] Although scholars are not clear through which kinds of networks these records circulated, these pen-conversations were printed rather than merely reproduced via written transcriptions, suggesting that a sufficient number of readers were interested in the information to justify the cost.

So far we have mentioned the Zen monk traveler's attention to Japanese hygiene, and Edo pen-conversationalists' curiosity about herbal medicine, both from earlier periods. But what can today's historians learn about the *zeitgeist* of Japanese medical practice in travel writings of the modern period? One critical difference is the scale of distribution: while Eisai's influence was limited to the Zen sacerdotal network and the *samurai* group that was his immediate audience, and that of the Edo period pen-conversationalists was limited to small-scale printing, the travelers of the Meiji period had modern media, such as printed newspapers, journals and books, at their disposal.

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6 Liang Yongxuan 梁永宣. 2004. "Cangyu Riben de Chao-Ri yijia bitan 藏於日本的朝日醫家筆談 (Japan-oriented Written Talk of Korean and Japanese Doctors)," *Yi guwen zhishi* 醫古文知識 (Knowledge of Ancient Medical Literature) 3: 24–27.

This chapter concentrates on Chinese hygiene as seen through the eyes of Japanese travelers, and key to this is to identifying the networks of people who created the narratives on this subject and those read and consumed them. In the interest of focus, this paper will concentrate on the years 1862–1912, since 1911–12 marks a milestone as the end of both the Qing Dynasty and the Meiji period. In 1997, Kojima Shinji 小島晋治 compiled twenty volumes of the reports of selected voyages from this period.[7] This set of voyages forms this paper's main body of primary sources. Some Chinese translations of Japanese voyages of the Meiji period are included to round out the source material.

What catches our attention here is that despite their diverse backgrounds, many individual travelers continued the Edo tradition and paid close attention to the details of medical affairs. This raises some interesting questions: in the context of the energetic contemporary trend of Westernization, to what extent did the Japanese maintain their ancestors' admiration for all things Chinese? Did they follow increasingly globalized perspectives on hygiene originating in Europe, or did they write from a specifically Japanese viewpoint? Through examining the content and the publishing networks of these voyages, this paper will attempt to answer these questions, exploring Japanese perceptions of Chinese medicine and hygiene in individual travel accounts.

Networks of Travelers

Traditionally, only special classes of Japanese, such as the aristocracy or Buddhist monks, had the opportunity as well as the capacity to write travel reports. This situation changed dramatically in the modern period. The social standing of travelers now became quite varied. Consequently, the purposes of writing cannot be easily simplified. Nevertheless, the first group of travelers after the end of the isolationist period, not counting occasional victims of shipwrecks, was an official delegation dispatched by the Edo government.

In 1862, the Shogunate decided to abandon its isolationist policy. It chose Shanghai as the first spot to seek trade opportunities, as well as to investigate the current situation on the Chinese mainland. The composition of this delegation was quite senior, consisting of representatives of the central government as well as selected feudal domains. The Japanese would later import Chinese guidebooks in order to gather information, but at that time they relied on the Dutch to arrange tour guides when viewing the city. However, tradition was re-asserted when the team members sought Chinese people willing to have

7 Kojima. 1997. "Introduction," in BMCKS, 1: page number separated.

pen-conversations with them in order to collect information regarding their individual interests.[8]

Because some of the members of the Japanese delegation were required to report their observations to their respective superiors, they wrote travel diaries as memoranda.[9] All the memos written by the first trade team existed only in manuscript form for quite a long time, possibly because they were originally intended only for internal reference. Indeed, the first known print version of these records was as late as 1919.[10] In Kojima's compilation, five authors were members of this delegation. *Daily Records Overseas* by Nakura Atona 名倉予何人 (?–1901) and Mine Kiyoshi's 峰潔 *A Journey in Shanghai in the Qing Dynasty* and *Daily Account on Board* were first printed in the 1920s,[11] whereas the other three, Matsudaya Banichi's 松田屋伴吉 *Diaries of the Ocean Crossing Trip to China*, Nōtomi's *Miscellaneous Records of Shanghai* and Hibino Kikan's 日比野輝寛 *Surplus Records*, were printed in the 1940s.[12] Consequently, it is clear that these first Japanese travelers' accounts did not serve as guidebooks for general use by other Japanese visitors.

Soon after the visit of this Shanghai delegation, the Meiji government overthrew the Shogunate, but the open policy continued. It signed the Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty with China in 1871, which formally opened a new stage in these two countries' interactions. The Meiji government sent not only a permanent diplomatic delegation, but also students and agents to carry on espionage. In addition to these traditional groups, large numbers of private Japanese travelers began to arrive in China, with varied purposes. Thus their network of readership was no longer as straightforward as Eisai's

8 Aizawa Kuniei 相沢邦衛. 2007. *Takasugi Shinsaku Shanhai kō: Jōi kara kaikoku he no kakusei* 高杉晋作上海行: 攘夷から開国への覚醒 (Takasugi Shinsaku's Shanghai Trip: Awakening from Exclusionism to Opening the Country). Tokyo: Sōbunsha, p. 115.

9 The voyages of Nōtomi Kaijirō and Hibino Kikan, who were official members of the delegation, and Okada Kōsho 岡田篁所, who traveled as a private tourist, will be discussed in this paper.

10 Shi Xiaojun 石曉軍. 1992. *Zhongri liangguo xianghu renshi de bianqian* 中日兩國相互認識的變遷 (The Changes in Mutual Recognition between China and Japan). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, p. 162.

11 Mine Kiyoshi 峰潔. *Shinkoku Shanghai kenbunroku* 清國上海見聞録 (Witness in Shanghai of the Qing), in BMCKS 11. For Mine Kiyoshi's *Senchū nichiroku* 船中日録 (Daily Records on Board) see also BMCKS 11. These two pieces were both written in 1862.

12 The official online bibliography of the Japanese National Institute of Informatics, Webcat Plus, keeps records of the surviving bibliographical information. See http://webcatplus.nii.ac.jp.

link to the Zen sacerdotal group, or the Chinese-styled physicians' circles in the Edo period.

Instead, it is necessary to identify various categories of readership. Although not all of these can be distinctly grouped, some are clear enough to enable a fruitful understanding of their contexts and routes of influences. Including traditional categories such as officials or students, these travelers have been organized into ten categories, based on their networks of potential readers. For this chapter, one or two representatives have been selected for deeper discussion from each network.[13]

Categories of Traveler

(1) **Diplomats or officials:** Takezoe Shinichirō 竹添進一郎 (1842–1917) was one of the earliest professional diplomats in the Meiji government. He served as a secretary in the Embassy in China from 1875. In 1876, Takezoe went on an extensive trip around China, launching his journey in Beijing. His first priority was to see the ancient capitals in central China. He then traveled south to Sichuan and sailed down along the Yangzi River, eventually returning to Japan from Shanghai. As an excellent sinologist, or *Kangaku* 漢學 scholar, he used beautiful Classical Chinese to record this journey, and after attaching his Chinese poems, he published his travelogue under the elegant title *San'un kyōu nikki* 棧雲峽雨日記 (A Diary of Clouds Hanging between the Mountains and Rain in the Ravines, 1879).

Over forty celebrities contributed to this publication, including prestigious Chinese and Japanese figures such as Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901) and Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909), who contributed epigraphs for this book. In a sense, Takezoe Shinichirō's voyage served well as a token of friendship between the two countries. This impression lingered for many decades afterward: when a Chinese media delegation visited Japan in 1981, the Japanese host presented a copy of Takezoe's voyages to the delegation as his official

13 Joshua Fogel's *Rediscovery of China* also divides these writers into several groups, but their classification here is different. For example, the first author mentioned, Takezoe, was at the same time a Sinologist and a diplomat. In *Rediscovery of China* he was identified as a Sinologist, whereas in this chapter, due to the social connections reflected in the prefaces to his book and its symbolic utilization in later twentieth century diplomacy, he is classified as "political."

present.[14] Moreover, the voyage was a model for others to follow in several ways. Takezoe was the first Japanese to explore inner China in the modern era, and his book included valuable information about historical sites, products, customs, and political affairs. As an excellent Sinologist, Takezoe's Classical Chinese and poems were both ornate. This book became the most well-regarded account of a voyage in China written in Classical Chinese in Japan. Its first edition of 1879 is still available today in the used book market at a relatively low price, which suggests that reprinted copies were quite plentiful.[15] According to the catalogue of the Diet Library, there were further editions in 1893 and 1944, demonstrating its enduring importance and popularity.

Thirty-two years after Takezoe's journey, another official, Matano Taku 股野琢 (1838–1921), then Director of the Imperial Museum, followed his steps to tour China and write about his voyage in Classical Chinese. His plan was to examine antiques, especially the imperial collections in Seoul, Shenyang, and Beijing. As a high-ranking official in the central government, Matano enjoyed courteous receptions by Japanese envoys and the Chinese government during the whole trip. Some signs suggest that Matano considered Takezoe as a model: in the record of his voyage, *Ikō yūki* 葦杭遊記 (Travelogue by Small Boat, 1909), he mentions that Takezoe was his colleague and friend.[16]

(2) **Soldiers:** Navy second lieutenant Sone Toshitora 曾根俊虎 (1846–1910) was first sent to Shanghai to serve as a quartermaster in 1874. Two years later he was sent to China again as a secret agent. His *Kita Chūgoku kikō* 北中國紀行 (Travelogue of North China, 1875) and *Shinkoku manyū shi* 清國漫遊誌 (Chronicle of Travels in China, 1883) recorded his investigations of North China's sea coasts and the lower Yangzi delta between 1874 and 1876. These books gave detailed reports on the military status of these areas. More impressively, Sone illustrated more than two hundred landscapes. Although there is no evidence as to whether these voyages became best sellers, at least Sone

14 Zhong Shuhe 鍾叔河. 1982. "Cengjing canghai fangyan quanqiu: Wang Tao haiwai zhi you yu qi sixiang de fazhan 曾經滄海放眼全球：王韜海外之遊與其思想的發展 (Wang Tao's Overseas Travel and the Development of His Thought)," in Wang Tao. *Manyou suilu Fusang youji* 漫遊隨錄・扶桑遊記 (Voyages of Japan). Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, p. 24.

15 Zhang Mingjie 張明杰 trans. 2007. *Zhanyun xiayu riji & Weihang youji* 棧雲峽雨日記・葦杭遊記 (A Diary of Clouds Hanging between the Mountains and Rain in the Ravines & Travelogue by Small Boat). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, p. 13.

16 Matano Taku 股野琢. 1909. *Ikō yūki* 葦杭遊記 (Travelogue by Small Boat), in BMCKS 1: 380.

gained honor beyond monetary rewards: the Meiji Emperor granted him an audience for the military contribution of his books.[17]

(3) **Invited instructors:** After the first Sino-Japanese War, it became fashionable for the Chinese to invite Japanese teachers to serve as drill instructors in their military school. As a shortcut to learning from the West, many Japanese teachers in various fields were also invited to instruct modern courses. For instance, Takase Toshitoku 高瀬敏徳 who taught at the Beijing Japanese Society wrote *Hokushin kenbunroku* 北清見聞録 (Records of Travel Observations in the North of China, 1904). Another example is Nakano Kozan 中野孤山, who taught in Chengdu. Nakano's accounts of Sichuan were even more detailed than Takezoe's.

(4) **Businessmen:** China's natural resources and markets were strong incentives for Japanese to travel in China in order to investigate commercial opportunities. For instance, Agawa Tarō 阿川太良 (?–1900) was an enthusiastic merchant who visited various places in China and Indochina; *Shina jitsukenroku* 支那実見錄 (A Record of Observations in China, 1910) is his account of travels in China.

(5) **Buddhist monks:** Like commercial affairs, cultural links were also developing, notably between Buddhist organizations with their long history in both countries. However, instead of following the traditional tendency of seeking to learn from China, in the late Qing period Japanese monks arrived in China to establish missions. The first and most representative travel account was written by Ogurisu Kōchō 小栗栖香頂 (1830–1905) from the Monastery Higashi Honganji 東本願寺. He first visited Beijing to investigate and establish missions in 1873. Later he returned to Beijing to study.

Ogurisu's travel accounts *Pekin kiyū* 北京紀遊 (Travels in Beijing) and *Pekin kiji* 北京紀事 (Records in Beijing, 1873) are interesting regarding linguistics, since he planned to create a language reader for future Buddhist missionaries. Using his own pen-conversation records as the materials, he begged his *guru* to translate them from Classical Chinese to the Beijing colloquial language, so that the reader could learn some practical language through studying his accounts. In other words, they were both narratives of his voyages and language textbooks. Although Ogurisu's voyages would have had a very clear target readership, he unfortunately never got the chance to publish them.[18]

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17 Fan Jianming 范建明, trans. 2007. *Bei Zhongguo jixing* & *Qingguo manyou zhi* 北中國紀行 · 清國漫遊志 (Travelogue of North China & Chronicle of Travels in China). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, page excluded.

18 Chen Jidong 陳繼東 and Chen Liwei 陳力衛, comps. 2008. *Beijing jishi; Beijing jiyou* 北京紀事・北京紀遊 (Records in Beijing and Travels in Beijing). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, p. 17.

(6) **Traditional physicians:** The Chinese-styled physician, Okada Kōsho 岡田篁所 (1820–1903) wrote *Ko Gō nikki* 滬吳日記 (Diaries of Shanghai and Suzhou, 1890) as a record of his two months of travel in the lower Yangzi delta in 1872. Although in appearance the book is in the format of diary, the essential contents are his pen-conversations with Chinese physicians about local information on diseases, famous doctors, and medical literature. This voyage revived the Edo "medical pen-conversation" tradition. Okada published it in 1891, perhaps resulting in its circulation within a small circle of people who practiced traditional Chinese medicine.[19]

(7) **Sinologists:** Overlapping with Japan's Chinese-style physicians, the traditional category of "Sinologist" encompassed those with a deep appreciation for China. The representative figure is Oka Senjin 岡千仞 (1883–1914). He made intimate friendships with several Chinese diplomatic figures in Tokyo, and based on this diplomatic network, Oka had opportunities to expand his connections to important people in China. In 1884, at the invitation of Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–1897), Oka came to China for a trip of nearly one year, during which time he met many famous people, such as Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1844–1916), Li Ciming 李慈銘 (1830–1895), and Li Hongzhang.[20] Oka liked to discuss politics and he proposed many suggestions for strengthening China. Like Takezoe, he wrote his voyages in flowery Classical Chinese. However, as a private visitor, he was more daring in his discussions of politics and made straightforward suggestions for China's future. Oka's records of these discussions also contained the opinions of the Chinese intellectual elite and thus became a useful reference for the Japanese to better understand China. As a result, these records won a broader readership and the attention of historians; his voyages continue to be reprinted and researched today.[21]

(8) **Academic professionals:** Uno Tetsuto 宇野哲人 (1875–1974), who wrote *Shina bunmeiki* 支那文明記 (Records of Chinese Civilization, 1912), and Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲蔵 (1871–1931), who wrote *Kōshi yūki* 考史遊記

19 Liang Yongxuan. 2002. "Riben *Hu-Wu riji* suozai Qingmo Zhongguo zhongyi shiliao yanjiu 日本《滬吳日記》所載清末中國中醫史料研究 (Research on Historical Materials about Late Qing China Collected in a Japanese Journal *Diary of Shanghai and Suzhou*)," *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 中國科技史料 (China Historical Materials of Science and Technology) 2: 139–148.

20 Oka Senjin 岡千仞. 1892. *Kankō kiyū* 觀光記遊 (Recording My Travels), in BMCKS 20: 150; 160; 205.

21 For example, Chen Hua 陳華. 2010. "Cong *Guanguang jiyou* kan Gang Qianren yanli de Zhongguo 從《觀光紀遊》看岡千仞眼裡的中國 (Chinese Impressions in Oka Senjin's Eyes from his *Sightseeing Notes*)," *Chuxiong Shifan xueyuan xuebao* 楚雄師範學院學報 (Journal of Chuxiong Normal University) 25 no. 7: 73–78.

(Voyages Examining History, 1946), are representatives of academy professionals writing in the voyage format. Uno and Kuwabara later both became professors at the Imperial University. Both made several trips to examine the most important spots in Chinese culture, including Chang'an 長安, Luoyang 洛陽, Qufu 曲阜, and the lower Yangzi delta. However, because Kuwabara was interested in the history of cross-cultural communications, he carried out an additional trip to Eastern Mongolia.

According to Uno's preface, he polished his travel notes every night and then sent them home as letters. Thus the first readers of his voyages were his parents and wife. Later he gathered these notes together and published them as a book. Uno explained that he found some of his fellow compatriots hated the Chinese, so he thought the publication of his personal records would be of some help to the development of friendship and mutual understanding between the two cultures. Unlike Uno, Kuwabara only kept simple jottings on the trip. However, he later organized his notes into a formal report to Ministry of Education, his sponsor, which then published his paper in the academic journal *Historical Geography*.

As a result, Kuwabara's readership received information more rapidly than Uno's. Compared to Uno's account, Kuwabara's writing style looks technical, but its great advantage was the inclusion of many photos. Kuwabara did not gather his voyages to be published. It wasn't until after his death that his pupils organized his manuscripts and published them as a book in 1942. This first edition became quite famous and was soon out of print. In 2001, the Iwanami Publishing Company republished the book in a pocket edition, and again this edition sold out within a short time.[22]

(9) **Journalists:** Kuwabara's later colleague in Kyoto Imperial University, Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 (1866–1934), also traveled in China and published an account of his voyage. When Naitō first traveled in China, he was working as a reporter for the newspaper *Yorozu chōhō* 萬朝報 (Everything Morning News), which at its peak was the most popular newspaper in Tokyo selling 90,000 issues per day. It was renowned for advocating socialist reformism and mocking the upper class. Unsurprisingly, then, the lower classes formed a considerable proportion of its readership.[23]

Naitō's travel notes were not only records of his personal travel experiences, but also of the social and cultural conditions of China as he observed them.

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22 Zhang Mingjie, trans. 2007. *Kaoshi youji* 考史遊記 (Voyages Examining History). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, pp. 1–2.

23 Shimonaka Hiroshi 下中弘. 1994. *Nihonshi daijiten* 日本史大事典 (Cyclopedia of Japanese History). 7 Vols. Tokyo: Hebonsha, 6: 1069.

He wrote a dozen essays discussing serious issues such as China's politics, civil management, and Sino-Japanese relations. These writings all appeared in the newspaper after he returned to Japan. Later Naitō added some contents and published the whole as a book entitled *Shina manyū Enzan Sosui* 支那漫遊燕山楚水 (Wandering in China, Mountain Yan and Rivers of the Chu Area, 1900). Naitō eventually became a giant in academic circles, with his book becoming a must-have for the younger generation of travelers.[24]

Another prominent journalistic traveler was Tokutomi Iichirō 徳富猪一郎 (1863–1957). An activist journalist deeply involved in politics, he founded Japan's first general news magazine *Kokumin no tomo* 国民の友 (People's Friend) in 1890 to advocate his ideals. His political opinions were published in several newspapers and magazines issued in Japan and Korea, including the influential newspaper *Kokumin shimbun* 国民新聞 (People's News).

The first voyage Tokutomi undertook in China was in 1906. The purpose was to observe the conditions in Korea, Manchuria, and China after the Russo-Japanese War. Since Tokutomi was submitting daily reports to a newspaper, he did not wait to reorganize his records to be published later. Instead, every night, no matter how inconvenient the circumstances or how tired he was feeling that day, he wrote up the day's travel notes and submitted them so that they be published each day in his *Kokumin shimbun*. Eleven years later he made another trip, following a similar route and using similar methods of writing and submission for publication. During this second trip he paid visits to more celebrities such as Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873–1929). The book collecting his newspaper writings was wildly popular, and enjoyed its first reprint only two weeks after publication. One year later, a third edition was released.[25] Tokutomi's sustained interest in his China voyages clearly reflected the interest of his readers.

(10) **Invited columnists:** The great writer Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916) was able to visit Manchuria at the invitation of Nakamura Yoshikoto 中村是公 (1867–1927), Chairman of the South Manchurian Railway. On the surface, this was a personal visit on the part of Natsume to his friend Nakamura. However, according to Natsume's wife, the underlying purpose was to advertise

24 Wu Weifeng 吳衛峰 trans. 2007. *Yanshan Chushui* 燕山楚水 (Mountain Yan and Rivers of the Chu area). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, pp. 2–3.

25 Zhang Mingjie. 2008. "Jindai Ribenren Zhongguo youji zongxu 近代日本人中國遊記總序 (The General Preface of *Japanese People's Voyages of China in the Modern Period*)," in Liu Hong 劉紅 trans. *Zhongguo manyou ji* 中國漫遊記 (Wanderings in China) & *Qishiba ri youji* 七十八日遊記 (Seventy-eight Days' Voyage). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, pp. 9–10.

the achievements of his Railway Company.[26] In 1907, when Natsume was named the most celebrated writer in Japan, Nakamura called Natsume to come to Manchuria to help run a newspaper company. Natsume did not take up the offer, but agreed to go to Manchuria to "take a look." Natsume first landed in the harbor at Dalian. From there he traveled along the route of the South Manchuria Railways, then crossed the Yalü River and traveled in Korea, before returning to Tokyo.

Just four days after Natsume returned, he started publishing his travel notes serially in the *Asahi shimbun* 朝日新聞 (Asahi News) under the title *Man Kan manyū* 満韓漫遊 (A Leisurely Tour of Manchuria and Korea). However, this serial eventually only covered the Manchurian trip. After Itō Hirobumi was assassinated by a Korean patriot, the Korean issue became too sensitive for such a series. However, in the published material, his praise of the activities of the South Manchurian Railway Company must have fulfilled his friend's intention of enhancing the company's image, because from then on, inviting a cultured person for a visit became a regular practice.[27]

As described above, the types of travelers in the Meiji period were quite different from earlier travelers, with more varied backgrounds and a more complicated social status, often involving the mass media and corporate public relations. Their observations about hygiene and health will be used to examine what Japanese travelers would comment on in China at this time.

First Impressions: Dirty! Dirty! Dirty!

The most common routes for Japanese travelers to China at this time were either by land through Manchuria, or via Shanghai by water transportation. Before the advent of Japanese control over Korea, the traditional passage was via boat, as chosen by the 1862 trade team. Consequently, Japanese visitors' first impression of China usually involved muddy river water. As mentioned in the introduction to the paper, the 1862 team was welcomed on its arrival in Shanghai by a foul-smelling breeze. Walking through the city, they soon found the source of the odor. As noted by Nōtomi Kaijirō, it was caused by excrement littering the streets.

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26 Natsume Kyōko 夏目鏡子. 1994. *Sōseki no omoide* 漱石の思い出 (Memories of Sōseki). Tokyo: Bunge Shunjū, pp. 223–226.

27 Wang Cheng 王成, trans. 2007. *Man Han manyou* 滿韓漫遊 (Leisurely Tours of Manchuria & Korea). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, p. 144.

Nōtomi's surprise and disgust was echoed by many later visitors, and not just to Shanghai. North China was equally bad. Matano commented on the unusual odors that pervaded the roads of Shenyang.[28] The situation described by Nōtomi was not the worst: scholar Oka Senjin even found beggars' corpses abandoned near the bridge, because nobody had bothered to remove them and clean the street.[29]

Why were there feces everywhere?[30] Other than wandering animals, human beings were the largest source. In those days, most Chinese houses were not equipped with a lavatory.[31] Another 1862 team member, Nakura Anato, said that he never saw a single lavatory in China.[32] But of course there were some. Takezoe reported that after a long journey he finally found the first one in a major city Xi'an.[33] Nōtomi's fellow traveler Hibino Kikan considered it to be a problem and reported how the common Chinese household dealt with excrement: they used commodes at home and then discarded their contents somewhere outside.[34]

As Nakano Kozan observed, public lavatories existed in cities, but were uncommon.[35] The bad news was that even though they existed their management was poor.[36] People didn't need to bother to find one because they could discharge anywhere on the streets at will without offending anyone.[37] Similar descriptions can be found in Chinese sources even in the Ming Dynasty.[38]

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28 Matano. 1909. *Travelogue by Small Boat*, in BMCKS 20: 356.

29 Oka. 1892. *Recording My Travels*, in BMCKS 20: 53.

30 See Chou Chun-yen 周春燕. 2006. "Shanghai Gongbuju yiguan zao weisheng qingce: yifen yanjiu jindai Shanghai de zhongyao shiliao 上海工部局醫官造衛生清冊：一份研究近代上海的重要史料 (Shanghai Municipal Council Health Department Annual Report: Research on Important Historical Data about Public Health in Modern Shanghai). *Zhengda shicui* 政大史粹 (Collectanea of History NCCU) 11 (December): 179–204.

31 Oka. 1892. *Recording My Travels*, in BMCKS, 20: 51.

32 Nakura Anato 名倉予何人. 1862. *Kaigai nichiroku* 海外日録 (Overseas Daily Records), in BMCKS 11: 121.

33 Takezoe Shinichirō. 1879. *San'un kyōu nikki* 棧雲峽雨日記 (A Diary of Clouds Hanging Between the Mountains and Rain in the Ravines), in BMCKS 19: 74–75.

34 Hibino Kikan 日比野輝寛. 1862. *Zuiyūroku* 贅肬録 (Surplus Records), in BMCKS 1: 38.

35 Nakano Kozan 中野孤山. 1913. *Shina dairiku ōdan yū Shoku zassō* 支那大陸横斷遊蜀雜俎 (Miscellaneous Records of the Cross-Continental Trip to Visit Sichuan), in BMCKS 17: 37.

36 Agawa Tarō 阿川太良. 1910. *Shina jitsuken roku* 支那実見録 (A Record of Observations in China), in BMCKS 13: 144.

37 Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continental Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 104.

38 Chiu Chung-lin 邱仲麟. 2004. "Fengchen, jierang yu qiwei: Ming-Qing Beijing de huanjing yu shiren de didu yinxiang 風塵、街壤與氣味：明清北京的生活環境與士

Women couldn't be as free as men, but they brought mobile commodes along when they went out.[39]

It might be difficult for readers today to imagine how households could survive in an environment without sewage systems. Then how did people handle the dirt at that time? The answer was to regularly clean their commodes in a nearby river. For example, in the case of Shanghai, this was done in the Huangpu River.[40] So the "muddy waves" which were observed by the Shanghai travel team were partly made up of sewage. Unfortunately, given that there were only six or seven wells within the Shanghai city walls, clearly not sufficient to supply drinking water for the city, the Huangpu River was also the primary source for drinking water.[41] It was common to see "the commode cleaner and drinking-water dipper working side by side beneath the shore."[42]

Worse, the same water was also the source for cooking needs. Some tourists remarked on witnessing scary scenes of "cooking with muddy water";[43] some others even mentioned that rice cooked with this water "smelled anomalously."[44] Japanese visitors' attitudes toward the water were greatly different from their Chinese peers. One tourist recorded:

> My Chinese friend told me that my sufferings were merely because I hadn't yet gotten used to the locality. But it was nothing to do with the so-called "local *qi* (*diqi* 地氣)," but the results of all the muddy water![45]

Since the local people felt there was little wrong with their environment and that one would become used to it over time, bothering to clean up seemed unnecessary to the hotel hosts. However, to some Japanese visitors, "everything in the lodge was intolerable."[46] The normal facilities lodges provided for

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人的帝都印象 (Dust, Street, and Smell: Beijing's Environment and Gentry's Impressions of the Imperial Capital in the Ming-Qing periods)," *Bulletin of the Tsing-hua University* 1: 181–225.

39 Ōtori Keisuke 大鳥圭介. 1894. *Chōjō yūki* 長城遊記 (Travel Accounts of the Great Wall), in BMCKS 13: 40.

40 Hibino. 1862. *Surplus Records*, in BMCKS 1: 38.

41 Nakura. 1862. *Overseas Daily Records*, in BMCKS 11: 106. Similar situation appeared in Chengdu. See Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 225.

42 Oka. 1892. *Recording My Travels*, in BMCKS 20: 149.

43 Uno Tetsuto 宇野哲人. 1912. *Shina bunmeiki* 支那文明記 (Records of Chinese Civilization), in BMCKS 8: 22.

44 Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 54.

45 Hibino. 1862. *Surplus Records*, in BMCKS 1: 78.

46 Agawa. 1910. *Observations in China*, in BMCKS 13: 157.

customers included no more than a bed.[47] Everything else, including bedding, firewood, and provisions were the tourists' own responsibility to acquire, not to mention cleaning supplies or even baths.[48] Moreover, the quality of the beds was bad.[49] The most common complaint was that lodgers wanted a bed but not bedbugs.[50] The frequency of bedbugs was so overwhelming that the Japanese called them "Nanjing worms."[51] Other tiny visitors, including mosquitoes, flies, and cockroaches, often plagued these Japanese travelers.[52] One of them even joked that Chinese lodges were the best location to "study the species of spiders."[53]

Even worse, travelers might encounter larger animals on their journey. Often the guesthouses were mixed with animal pens and corrals. Once a traveler heard strange sounds under his bed, and discovered a whole family of pigs as his roommates.[54] Why did the inn keep pigs in the guestrooms? Takezoe's report might provide the answer. Before he found the first lavatory in Xi'an, whenever he had to discharge, he was harassed by pigs gathering around his hips. It was because the farmers in North China often fed pigs with human feces. When the pigs detected that he was about to have a bowel movement, they came to get their food.[55] Just like private households, there were no lavatories in the inns, and lodge-owners hardly cared whether their customers discharged indoors or outdoors.[56]

Mine Kiyoshi used his background in science to formulate his comments on China's circumstances. He said that one could understand the whole

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47 Satō Senjirō 佐藤善治郎. 1911. *Nan Shin kikō* 南清紀行 (Records of My Trip of South China), in BMCKS 18: 320.

48 Takase Toshitoku 高瀬敏徳. 1904. *Hoku Shin kenbunroku* 北清見聞録 (Records of Travel Observations in the North China), in BMCKS 15: 78; Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 179, 292.

49 Agawa. 1910. *Observations in China*, in BMCKS 13: 157.

50 Harada Tōichirō 原田藤一郎. 1894. *Ajia tairiku ryokō nisshi narabini Shin Kan Ro sangoku hyōron* 亞細亞大陸旅行日誌並清韓露三国評論 (Travel Daily Records of the Asian Continent, Attached with Comments to China, Korea, and Russia), in BMCKS 12: 93.

51 Toda Hirohito 戸水寛人. 1899. *Tōa ryokōdan* 東亞旅行談 (Jottings about Travels in East Asia), in BMCKS 14: 586.

52 Satō. 1911. *South China*, in BMCKS 18: 253; Harada. 1894. *Asian Continent*, in BMCKS 12: 97; Agawa. 1910. *Observations in China*, in BMCKS 13: 144.

53 Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 170.

54 Ibid.: 173.

55 Takezoe. 1879. *Clouds Hanging Between the Mountains and Rain*, in BMCKS 19: 75.

56 Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 169.

body's situation by taking the patient's pulse. Thus, the dirtiness of Shanghai revealed the general situation of China.[57] His opinions were shared by visitors to other Chinese locations, including Manchuria, the North, Canton, or inner lands.[58] Despite the fact that some individual cities or individuals impressed the Japanese tourists with their cleanliness, they were exceptional and usually highlighted for comparison. Chengdu, Changsha, and Yuezhou were praised by their visitors for being relatively clean.[59] A traveler noted that he understood why Hangzhou was considered to be a paradise on earth, since it was much cleaner than northern cities such as Tianjin.[60]

In general, the environments they experienced during their Chinese journeys made Japanese travelers at that time warn each other that this was a country in danger of suffering sickness, and indeed their fears were confirmed on many counts.[61] Becoming sick and tolerating dirtiness were a shared nightmare for these foreign travelers.[62]

Understanding the Japanese Viewpoint

Although the Chinese and Japanese sometimes had contradictory ideas about their environment, we should not infer that they disagreed with each other in every respect. For example, drinking water was a frequent concern for both groups, although in different ways. Like the Japanese, the Chinese thought muddy water was not suitable for drinking, but they thought this problem was solvable. One just needed to use alunite or calcium sulfate to filter the water,

57 Mine. 1862. *Shinkoku Shanhai kenbunroku*, in BMCKS 11: 30.

58 Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 151; Hiroshima kōtō shihan gakko 広島高等師範学校. 1907. *Man Kan shūgaku ryokō kinenroku* 満韓修学旅行記念録 (Memorial Records of the School Excursion), in BMCKS 9: 61; Harada. 1894. *Asian Continent*, in BMCKS 12: 84; Andō Fujio 安東不二雄. 1892. *Shina manyū jitsuki* 支那漫遊実記 (True Records of Wanderings in China), in BMCKS 11: 421; Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 104.

59 Uno. 1912. *Records of Chinese Civilization*, in BMCKS 8: 165; Yasui Masatarō 安井正太郎. 1905. *Kōnan* 湖南 (Hunan), in BMCKS 16: 63; Harada. 1894. *Asian Continent*, in BMCKS 12: 74.

60 Sone Toshitora 曾根俊虎. 1883. *Shinkoku manyū shi* 清国漫遊誌 (Chronicle of travels in China), in BMCKS 1: 226.

61 Mine. 1862a. *Senchū nichiroku*, in BMCKS 11: 28.

62 Yamakawa Sōsui 山川早水. 1909. *Hashoku* 巴蜀 (Sichuan), in BMCKS 7: 199.

which made it look clear enough to drink.[63] They were serious about this process: unless the water appeared to be clean by their definition, many Chinese refused to drink cold water because they thought it would harm their health.[64]

Another critical step the Chinese used to protect their health from drinking harmful water was to make sure the water had been boiled. The traditional *materia medica* warned that alunite was poisonous unless it was boiled, and alunite was often used for filtering drinking water, therefore the Chinese "warned each other never to drink water that wasn't boiled."[65] The Chinese custom of drinking boiled water had nothing to do with caution against germs, but stemmed instead from fear of the harm caused by alunite. To be thorough, Chinese people took cool tea as their favorite drink in the summer, since they felt sure that the water used for making tea must have been boiled.[66] This custom made the Japanese, who liked to eat ice in the summer, interested, and was not a cause for criticism.[67] Similarly, Japanese recorders showed more empathy with Chinese customs than Western visitors at the same time. For example, Oka Senjin claimed that living without a lavatory was simply another style of living; it was unfair to discriminate just for this reason.[68]

Nevertheless, Japanese travelers' evaluations of Chinese hygiene were generally closer to the Western view. Some of them thought traditional Chinese medicine was senseless.[69] In the 1862 Shanghai trade team, one patient accepted Chinese physicians' treatments, but after the patient died, the rest of the travel group relied only on Western-style medicine.[70] In fact, the comparative effects of Chinese and Western style medicine had already been an issue in these travelers' minds. For example, Yamakawa Sōsui 山川早水 witnessed that missionary medicine was doing quite well in China.[71] He also stated that in Chengdu, anyone belonging to the middle class would definitely choose Western medicine for his or her own healthcare.[72]

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63 Mine. 1862a. *Records in the Ship*, in BMCKS 11: 28; Hibino. 1862. *Surplus Records*, in BMCKS 1: 38.

64 Oka. 1892. *Recording My Travels*, in BMCKS 20: 149.

65 Ibid.

66 Satō. 1911. *South China*, in BMCKS 18: 229.

67 Mine. 1862a. *Records in the Ship*, in BMCKS 11: 20.

68 Oka. 1892. *Recording My Travels*, in BMCKS 20: 51.

69 Yonaiyama Tsuneo 米内山庸夫. 1926. *Unnan Shisen tōsaki* 雲南四川踏査記 (Records of Practical Investigation of Yunnan and Sichuan), in BMCKS 10: 102.

70 Matsudaya Bankichi 松田屋伴吉. 1942. *Tōkoku tokai nikki* 唐国渡海日記 (Diaries of the Ocean Crossing Trip to China), in BMCKS 11: 60.

71 Yamakawa. 1909. *Sichuan*, in BMCKS 7: 112.

72 Yamakawa. 1909. *Sichuan*, in BMCKS 7: 547–8.

As a result, Japanese travelers attempted to expand Japanese medical influence in China. Compared to China, Japan was better modernized and indeed consciously tried to increase its influence over China in the form of medical businesses.[73] Some noted that Japanese medicine was a commodity welcomed by Chinese customers, and furthermore, a well-accepted occupation for a Japanese emigrant was that of physician.[74] Kobayashi Aiyū 小林愛雄 (1881–1946) therefore suggested that "the hidden market for the demand for female doctors was a possibility we could develop better."[75]

However, the majority of observations reported that the Chinese were conservative and backward.[76] Smallpox vaccinations were still rare in inner China.[77] Many people were conservative, and would rather have a local quack treat their illness, instead of asking for a capable physician from further afield.[78] Even those who already acknowledged the excellence of Western medicine still stuck to tradition and the use of Chinese remedies.[79] As a sickly land with a poor healthcare system, no wonder China was called "the Sick man of East Asia" at that time. If Japanese visitors with advanced hygienic knowledge were so vulnerable to sickness, how had Chinese people continued to survive?

Health was a topic for attention since the first travels. When Nōtomi Kaijirō arrived in Shanghai in 1862, he concluded that the Chinese people "in general have a frail body, but those who experienced battlefields were not so weak."[80] Aside from the sickly physical environment, many travelers attributed Chinese people's weakness to their use of opium.[81] Many of China's friends, such as Oka Senjin, lamented that opium ruined the health of the Chinese elite, because those most likely to be agitated by China's powerlessness were anesthetizing themselves with drugs.[82] According to this discourse, the Chinese body's

73 Nagai Kyūichirō 永井久一郎. 1910. *Kankō shiki* 観光私記 (Private Tourist Records), in BMCKS 19: 324; 343.

74 Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 203; Satō. 1911. *South China*, in BMCKS 18: 167, 192.

75 Kobayashi Aiyū 小林愛雄. 1911. *Chūgoku inshōki* 中国印象記 (Impression of China), in BMCKS 6: 294.

76 Takase. 1904. *North China*, in BMCKS 15: 73.

77 Nakano. 1913. *Cross-Continent Trip*, in BMCKS 17: 234.

78 Miyauchi Isaburō 宮内猪三郎. 1895. *Shinkoku jijō tankenroku* 清国事情探検録 (Expeditions regarding the Circumstances of China), in BMCKS 11: 532.

79 Oka. 1892. *Recording My Travels*, in BMCKS 20: 311.

80 Nōtomi. 1862. *Miscellaneous Records*, in BMCKS 1: 29.

81 Nishijima Ryōji 西島良爾. 1899. *Jitsureki Shinkoku ichihan* 実歴清国一斑 (Some Records of a Practical Investigation of China), in BMCKS 13: 522.

82 Oka. 1892. *Recording My Travels*, in BMCKS 20: 30, 76.

weakness was the result of artificial causes. Other critics maintained that this reputation for sickness was China's own fault, since most Chinese had abandoned any hope of improving the country.[83] Therefore numerous discriminatory words were used in these writings to describe the Chinese such as "ants and pigs,"[84] or "animals' relatives."[85]

Perhaps surprisingly, a considerable number of the travelers described the Chinese body in the opposite way. Frequently these positive comments were about the Northerners' physique.[86] Takase Toshitoku complimented the Northerners' constitution by saying, "if someone trained them well, he could establish a marvelous troop . . . that's because their everyday meal is like Westerners' eating meat."[87] Such opinions challenged the prevailing "sick man image" of Chinese at that time.

Beyond the belief that peoples' bodies would be "diverse by locality," Japanese observers also evaluated southern Chinese men as strong in a different way to those in the north.[88] The Japanese were especially impressed by the strength of the coolies working in the treaty ports.[89] Coolies were remarkable for being able to "stand the most intolerable tasks."[90] Takase described his hard-working coolie as "having animals' fortitude."[91] He also mentioned the coolie's strength, and attributed it to their having "wild nature of beasts."[92] This comment expressed contempt for Chinese folk as a whole, but on the other hand he was impressed by the extraordinary stamina of the people.

Natsume Sōseki showed an attitude similar to Takase's in his Manchurian Railway voyages, where he strongly contrasted the advanced management of the company and the inferiority of the Chinese workers and common citizens. He rarely used positive words to describe the Chinese. Sharing the common opinions of other Japanese travelers, he mocked the smells of the laborers' bodies, the shops, and the inns. In his accounts, odor was everywhere.

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83 Agawa. 1910. *Observations in China*, in BMCKS 13: 144.

84 Harada. 1894. *Asian Continent*, in BMCKS 12: 42.

85 Satō. 1911. *South China*, in BMCKS 18: 277.

86 Uemura Yūtarō 植村雄太郎. 1903. *Manshū ryokō nikki* 満州旅行日記 (Diaries of Travels in Manchuria), in BMCKS 15: 190.

87 Takase Toshitoku. 1904. *North China*, in BMCKS 15: 67.

88 Miyauchi. 1895. *Expeditions regarding the Circumstances of China*, in BMCKS 11: 513; Yasui. 1905. *Hunan*, in BMCKS 16: 666.

89 Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰(aka Tokutomi Iichirō 徳富猪一郎). 1903. *Nanajūhachinichi yūki* 七十八日遊記 (Seventy-Eight Days' Voyage), in BMCKS 15: 637.

90 Andō. 1892. *True Records of Wanderings in China*, in BMCKS 11: 432.

91 Takase. 1904. *North China*, in BMCKS 15: 42.

92 Takase. 1904. *North China*, in BMCKS 15: 120.

He commented that the drinking water in the city was "sour and salty." Overall, China was "a dirty nation." In his account, the South Railway Manchurian Company could bring civilization to these inferior people and there were many things the Japanese could do there. However, once when he gazed at the naked body of a strong, hard-working coolie, an episode from Chinese history came to mind. He reflected, "the guy who humiliated the future Marshal Han Xin 韓信 (BC ?–196) must be someone like these fellows." Han Xin was the most capable general in the Chu-Han Contentions (BC 206–202). His victories were important in the foundation of the Han Dynasty (BC 206–220 AD), but he was physically weak in his youth and bullied by one of his brutal village contemporaries. With this historical reference, Natsume was making the point that relative to the small-bodied (but implicitly cleverer) Japanese, the Manchurian coolie was likely similar to the antagonist of Han Xin: stupid, but nevertheless impressive in physique and strength.

Similarly, Tokutomi Iichirō, in praising the coolie's endurance, warned his fellow countrymen that they should not dismiss the Chinese lightly.[93] Other than their "enormous propagatory power, just like animals,"[94] the general impression of their weakness should be reconsidered, too, because there was not only one way of being strong.[95] Because they saw the Chinese could survive and thrive despite their sickly physical environment, some Japanese observers came to an evaluation of the country's future that was completely different from those of their countrymen who simply dismissed it as diseased and filthy.

Conclusion

Japanese travel writing is an old genre, but in the Meiji or late Qing era it exercised its influence in an unprecedented way. In the past, travelers had recorded and published their writings for essentially private motives and at a very finite scale. Even if an account was put into print, the number of copies was usually limited. However, from the mid-nineteenth century, the situation changed. Of course, personal interests were still amongst the major reasons for writing, even if institutions supported or commissioned the work.

The change did not happen right away, but was nevertheless inexorable and substantial: none of the 1862 delegation's members thought of publishing their accounts, whereas by the end of the Meiji period, a businessman had the idea

93 Tokutomi. 1903. *Seventy-Eight Days*, in BMCKS 15: 637.

94 Tokutomi. 1903. *Seventy-Eight Days*, in BMCKS 15: 632.

95 Tokutomi. 1903. *Seventy-Eight Days*, in BMCKS 15: 657.

of paying for a writer to make and report on a voyage for the benefit of his railway company. In a relatively short space of time, profit became an important incentive for travel writing (though there remained some important non-profit activities, as the military or academic journals also commissioned and supported travel writing).

This paper has explored a number of Japanese accounts of voyages, containing observations on late Qing China written for various different circles. Among those for which we have some details on sales and distribution, Takezoe's account was limited to those who could read Chinese; Naitō's original readers were mainly from the working class, while Tokutomi's newspaper was had a more right-wing readership. But all were celebrated by their respective readership. Kuwabara's writings were initially directed to a small number of specialists, but when his pupils transformed the academic reports into a book, its level of sales proved that a general audience was equally interested. By contrast, Natsume's voyages appeared serially in the most influential newspaper *Asahi shimbun*, and this proved to be a successful and profitable model for all concerned—author, newspaper, and of course the South Manchuria Railway Company who sponsored the writer on the voyage.

Soon after, other media imitated this scheme. For example, in 1921, *Ōsaka mainichi shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞 (Osaka Daily News) invited the famous author Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927) to travel in China and to publish his voyage serially in the newspaper.[96] Major publishers soon became enthusiastic purveyors of travel writing focused on China, based on an appetite that transcended class and social background.

But why was the Japanese public interested in China? Tokutomi puts it straightforwardly: as an island country with scarce resources, Japan needed Chinese resources to meet some of its needs. Also, Japan desired to use China as a great market for its own products. Finally, as Asian nations, both countries also shared the experience of oppression by Western powers. A crucial issue concerning Japan's future was whether to join the Western powers' to encroach on China, or to ally with China against the West. All these factors fed the appetite for information about China.

Equally importantly, China had a deep cultural connection with Japan. It was a dream for many Japanese to visit the source of many important stories in their literary culture. Although in the Meiji era Japanese people had become free to visit foreign countries, most people still had to rely on others to provide

96 Qin Gang 秦剛. 2007. "Yizhe xu 譯者序 (Translator's Preface)," in Qin Gang trans. *Zhongguo youji* 中國遊記 (Voyages in China). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, page numbers separated.

information about foreign places. These first-hand accounts served those who could not travel abroad as a surrogate experience, and at the same time, provided those who planned to go to China with a guidebook.

Among the many things that Japanese travelers recorded, medicine is one area where reports differ drastically before and after the Meiji Restoration. Traditionally, Japan looked up to China as superior in its knowledge of traditional medicine. Before the late Qing, none of the Japanese travel accounts ever complained about China's hygiene. However, after Japan adopted Western medicine as its mainstream medical approach, evaluations of Chinese medicine turned upside down. Along with this, complaints about Chinese hygiene became widespread: almost everywhere was dirty, living circumstances were intolerable, and the customs were unhealthy.

Although by this later period, the Japanese had adopted broadly Western, globalized criteria in their evaluations of Chinese hygiene and medicine, they did retain something of a localized viewpoint, and showed some independence in their judgments. This point is reflected in Kobayashi's counter-criticism of some Western customs as "unhealthy," such as kissing.[97] Also, since Japan was a country lacking lavatories in the home and retaining use of human excrement as manure, Oka and Takezoe saw no problem in there being a similar situation in China.[98] Furthermore, since Japanese civilization had been deeply influenced by Chinese literature, they took the viewpoint of classical texts that strength was not to be evaluated by a single standard. In this sense, although Japan was Westernized to some degree, it still retained some perspectives that Western observers lacked. The late Edo and Meiji travelers' accounts were not entirely descended from the Edo tradition, but neither were they completely cut off from the past.

However, Japanese observations were often very close to those of Western observers, and condemnations of China's dirtiness did constitute the mainstream of opinion, starting even with the late Shogunate. Earlier, in the eighteenth century, Dutch traders in Nagasaki praised the Japanese for their remarkable custom of "loving cleanness."[99] However, by Western standards, Meiji Japan's degree of hygiene still had some flaws. For example, during the

97 Kobayashi. 1911. *Impression of China*, in BMCKS 6: 262.

98 Takezoe. 1879. *Clouds Hanging between the Mountains and Rain*, in BMCKS 19: 47.

99 Ono Yoshirō 小野芳朗. 1997. *Seiketsu no kindai* 清潔の近代 (The Modernity of Cleanness). Tokyo: Kodansha, pp. 42–43.

nineteenth century, Western travelers criticized the way Japanese used excrement as manure, writing that this was "harming hygiene."[100]

In the early Meiji period, it was still common for Tokyo citizens to discharge on the street. Tokyo was cleaner than the Chinese cities only because patrols attempted to ban this practice, while merchants would remove the excrement in order to sell it as manure. Even in the late Meiji period, flush toilets were not affordable to the majority of citizens, though the government had started to establish sewage facilities as a mark of a civilized country.[101] Japanese were sensitive that cleanness was a mark of their relative inferiority compared to Westerners.

It may well be that the general complaints about China were related to Japan's self-consciousness about being or wanting to be superior to China. The tone of travelers' accounts of Chinese hygiene suggests that these reports were not only made for practical reasons, but represented a judgment on China's level of civilization. Some Japanese may even have adopted the Western discourse on Chinese backwardness as psychological compensation for their own humiliation at being discriminated against by Westerners. Though first raised in the Edo period, over time the issue of hygiene allowed the Japanese to switch from acknowledging their traditionally inferior status to China to claiming a position of superiority. This is particularly obvious in Natsume's accounts, and this tendency becomes more explicit in later voyages once the authority of Western medicine had been fully established in Japan.[102]

Taking the only traditional physician traveler's account as the contrast, the national implications of the evaluation of cleanness were manifest. The Chinese-style physicians' silence on the topic of Chinese "dirtiness" reflects the fact that for traditional Chinese medicine, hygiene was a trivial consideration. Okada was the only traveler discussed in this paper who never complained about dirtiness or unhealthy factors. Even when he suffered disease in Shanghai, he only mentioned that it was partly because "the hotel was short of comforters" without saying anything else bad.[103] The lack of criticism over hygiene of this case is probably not coincidental.

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100 Rinoie Masafumi 李家正文. 1989. *Funnyō to seikatsu bunka* 糞尿と生活文化 (Excrements and Everyday Culture). Tokyo: Tairyusha, p. 219.

101 Kida Junichirō 紀田順一郎. 2000. *20 seiki mono katari* 20 世紀モノ語り (Stories of Things of the Twentieth Century). Tokyo: Sōgensha, p. 224.

102 Wang Cheng. 2007. "Translator's Preface," in Wang Cheng, trans. *Leisurely Tours of Manchuria & Korea*, pp. 147–150.

103 Okada Kōsho 岡田篁所. 1890. *Ko Gō nikki* 滬杗日記 (Diaries of Shanghai and Suzhou). Nagasaki: Okada Kōan, p. 14a.

While Okada's specialized training in traditional Chinese medicine stressed individual health care in the form of "guarding life," it lacked any sense of cleanliness, attentiveness to the public environment, or a discourse that applied to the nation as a whole.[104] Perhaps surprisingly, it was not only native Chinese physicians who were habituated to the environment and had no complaints: even their Japanese colleagues appear to have paid no attention to the existence of odors or uncleanness. While this omission doubtless stems in part from loyally maintaining the pen-conversation convention of talking only about civilized things, it also reveals that pre-modern period Chinese medical practitioners on both sides, Japanese and Chinese, simply did not discuss the issues of hygiene that later generations would find so noteworthy. This recognition is useful to bear in mind as we re-investigate medical history in early modern China.

104 Ruth Rogaski. 2004. *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*. Berkeley & London: University of California, pp. 26–27.

CHAPTER 3

Modernity through Experimentation: Lu Xun and the Modern Chinese Woodcut Movement

Elizabeth Emrich[1]

Print publications and their attendant imagery provided an unparalleled space for the melding of global and local influences in Shanghai during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Woodcuts, with their inherent reproducibility, were critical in conveying information to the reading public, and were routinely reproduced in newspapers, books, journals, and magazines during the 1920s and 1930s. This was so not only in Shanghai, but throughout China, reflecting patterns of travel and information flow.

Capitalizing upon this wide circulation of periodicals and books, the well-known writer Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936) published many examples of woodblock prints, both Chinese and foreign. Through his deliberate selection and presentation of woodcut images, and encouragement of students to experiment with different printing styles and subjects, Lu Xun tried to promote a socially-aware art form reflecting China's modernity. The exchange of information and materials through Lu Xun's personal network of students, friends, and colleagues, both inside and outside of China, was vitally important to the propagation of these modern prints, and books and periodical publications were equally essential to the dissemination of this artwork amongst the Chinese public.

Lu Xun not only provided funding and personal support to artist groups and individual artists, but also brought literature, ideas, and woodcuts from Europe, America, Russia, and Japan into China for translation and exhibition. As a leading figure of the May Fourth Movement, Lu Xun was active in the intellectual debates concerning China's social and political future. In the 1920s and after, he developed his own theory of how China should achieve modernity through experimentation with foreign literary, artistic, and cultural theories.

1 I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Anyi Pan for his encouragement and guidance, and to Dr. Weipin Tsai for her invaluable suggestions and incredible patience during the editing and revision of this chapter. Further thanks go to my colleagues Zhou Mi and Chu-Chiun Wei for their very kind assistance with translations.

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Rather than advocating a total rejection of Chinese traditional culture in favor of the adoption of Western modes of education and artistic practice, Lu Xun encouraged the study of Western theories (including Marxism) and their subsequent application as a tool for building a distinctly Chinese modern society. At the same time, Lu Xun identified areas of traditional Chinese cultural production for young Chinese artists and writers to exploit in their own work, for example the popular style known as New Year Pictures (*nianhua* 年畫) and traditional woodblock print illustrations such as those he published in 1933 and 1934.[2]

Through translations of Itagaki Takaho 板垣鷹穗 (1894–1966), Georgi Plekhanov (1857–1918), and Anatoly Lunarcharsky (1875–1933), as well as the exhibition and publication of specific types of woodblock prints, Lu Xun strove to provide examples of ideas and artworks for Chinese audiences as "an alternative socialist road to art."[3] He specifically chose images related to industrialization and the lives of the struggling proletariat—themes with which Chinese artists living in Shanghai could connect through personal experience. Caught up in China's struggles over Communist and Capitalist versions of modernity, and the quasi-colonial presence of foreign concessions in Shanghai, Lu Xun attempted to promote his own *alternative* modernity, a socialist modernity, through his choices and translations of Western literature and theories, as well as the introduction of foreign woodcuts.[4] Ultimately, Lu Xun's concept

2 Lu Xun also encouraged the study and assimilation of certain aspects of traditional painting from the Tang and Song dynasties: see Lu Xun. 1934. "On the Adoption of Old Forms," reprinted in Yang Xianyi 楊憲益 and Gladys Yang 戴乃迭, eds. 1980. *Lu Xun: Selected Works.* 4 vols. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 4, p. 38, and Lu Xun. 1981. *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 (The Complete Works of Lu Xun). 16 vols. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 6, pp. 22–25.

3 Shirley Sun. 1974. "Lu Hsün and the Chinese Woodcut Movement, 1929–1936." (PhD Thesis). Stanford, CA: Stanford University, p. 60.

4 I draw a line between Communist and socialist versions of modernity both temporally and spatially; Lu Xun's concept of modernity was contextually grounded by his urban experience in Shanghai during the late 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore, the use of "socialist" rather than "Communist" acknowledges the liminal political space that Lu Xun occupied during this time. While sympathetic to the Communist political and social agenda, Lu Xun was critical of what he saw as reactionary work by Chinese writers and artists. In conceptualizing "socialist modernity," I am drawing from Susan Greenhalgh. 2003. "Planned Births, Unplanned Persons: 'Population' in the Making of Chinese Modernity," *American Ethnologist* 30.2 (May): 196–215, at p. 198, where Greenhalgh describes China's planned socialist modernity as "indexed by a rapidly industrializing economy and an egalitarian socialist society." See also the discussion of socialist modernization efforts by Aihwa Ong. 1996. "Anthropology, China and Modernities: The Geopolitics of Cultural Knowledge," in Henrietta L. Moore, ed. *The Future of Anthropological Knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 60–92, especially p. 65.

of socialist modernity was given visual form in, and promoted through, the Chinese woodblock print media he so deeply influenced.[5]

Alternative Modernities and Lu Xun's "Grabism"

David Craven, in his discussion of alternative modernity in Latin American art, characterizes the concept by its "multiculturality and open-endedness," two characteristics we can readily see in Chinese modern woodblock prints, not only in their stylistic connection to modern Western prints, but also in their reaction to and visualization of the Chinese political context during the early twentieth century.[6] Craven describes "alternative modernism" as aiming "to salvage for progressive purposes whatever was still worthwhile in the various class and ethnic legacies to which we are all heirs."[7]

Craven argues that to completely discard that which is valuable and useful to a culture or society in the name of a pre-determined conception of modernity would be a mistake, and "reactionary" elements, often ill-considered and adopted capriciously, should be avoided. Rather, in constructing an "alternative modernity," the focus should be not only on reform or progress, but also on the cultural context in which that modernity is constructed, and how to productively combine the older cultural practice with new, potentially foreign, influence.

Lu Xun's construction of socialist modernity reflects Craven's idea of "alternative modernity" in his attempts to salvage specific aspects of Chinese traditional artistic forms while presenting a carefully selected group of Russian and European writers, theorists, and artists to a Chinese audience in Shanghai. While apparently not included in the exhibitions he organized, Lu Xun maintained an extensive collection of traditional Chinese woodblock prints

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5 This paper uses "socialist modernity" to refer specifically to Lu Xun's conceptual social and political goal for China during the 1920s and 1930s. For a looser usage which describes a temporal span of Chinese political history sometime after 1949 and stretching into the 1980s, often providing a counterpoint to the more recent economic liberalization of the country, see Arif Dirlik and Zhang Xudong. 1997. "Introduction: Postmodernism and China." *Boundary 2*, 24 no. 2: 8; Sheldon Lu. 2007. *Chinese Modernity and Global Biopolitics: Studies in Literature and Visual Culture*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, p. 16; Susan Greenhalgh. 2003. "Planned Births," 198; and Aihwa Ong. 1996. "Anthropology, China and Modernities," p. 65.

6 David Craven. 2002. "The Latin American Origins of 'Alternative Modernism'," in Rasheed Araeen, Sean Cubitt, and Ziauddin Sardar, eds. *The* Third Text *Reader on Art, Culture, and Theory*. London and New York: Continuum, p. 29.

7 Ibid., p. 34.

associated with Ming dynasty (1368–1644) books and painting manuals as well as folk art prints or *nianhua*. In a letter to the artist Li Hua 李樺 (1907–1994) in 1934, he remarked on their importance to the development of art in China.[8]

Furthermore, between 1933 and 1934, Lu Xun produced two publications of traditional woodblock illustrations, titled *Beiping Letter Papers* (*Beiping jianpu*北平箋譜, 1933) and *The Ten Bamboo Studio Letter Papers* (*Shizhuzhai jianpu* 十竹齋箋譜, 1934). Produced as meticulously crafted, and therefore expensive, luxury items, the books sold very well, necessitating a reprint of *The Ten Bamboo Studio Letter Papers* in December, 1934.[9] In October of 1932, Lu Xun wrote "A Defense of Serial-Picture Books," in which he states:

> Of course, [Chinese artists] should study the works of the European masters, but it is even more important to study the pictures in old Chinese books, old Chinese albums of paintings, and the new single-sheet popular paintings . . . I know the masses will welcome this work and will appreciate it.[10]

Lu Xun took care to choose those texts and images for translation and publication which he felt would best further his idea of socialist modernity. However, he was aware of how arbitrarily certain foreign literature could arrive in China, and specifically Shanghai, through its comparatively large foreign population of European, American, and Japanese citizens and the decisions of the city's book dealers.[11] Therefore, through his network of personal contacts, Lu Xun pursued specific images and artists' work, unavailable in local libraries of foreign art, to publish in magazines, books, and to present as gifts. He actively *chose* the materials, both foreign and Chinese, to reproduce and promote as a visualization of a new, socially-aware, modern art in China.

Denton, drawing from Lydia Liu in his analysis of writers from the Republican era, including Lu Xun, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879–1942), and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), discusses how the discourse of modernity

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8 Lu Xun to Li Hua, 4 November 1934. Reprinted in Xu Guangping 許廣平, ed. 1952. *Lu Xun shujian* 魯迅書簡 (Letters of Lu Xun). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, p. 902.

9 Editor's note in the second printing of *The Ten Bamboo Studio Letter Papers*, 23 December 1934, reprinted in *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* 8, p. 455.

10 Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang translate "*xin de danzhang de huazhi* 新的單張的花紙" as "new single sheet popular paintings," See Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang, *Selected Works* 3, pp. 195–196. Originally published as "Lianhuan tuhua bianhu 連環圖畫辯護 (In Defense of Serial-Picture Books)," *Wenxue yuebao* 文學月報 (Literature Monthly) (15 November 1932). Reprinted in *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* 4, pp. 445–450.

11 Sun. "Lu Hsün," p. 178 n. 23.

was "deployed" by Chinese intellectuals and "reinvented" in its new context.[12] Zhang Longxi 張隆溪 also addresses Lu Xun's "grabbing" of Western theories and discourses, and his appropriation of them, in opposition to the idea of Western theories "passively" traveling to China.[13] Here, Zhang highlights one of the most important facets of Lu Xun's philosophical approach to modern Chinese literature and art: the concept of "grabism."

First published in *China Daily* (*Zhonghua ribao* 中華日報) on 7 June 1934, "Grabism" (*nalai zhuyi* 拿來主義) argued passionately that Chinese people should deliberately choose which new or foreign elements they wanted in their society, and then either "use them, save them, or destroy them."[14] Through the purchase and collection of foreign woodblock prints from Europe, America, Japan, and Russia, Lu Xun was "grabbing" those images he felt would be most useful to Chinese woodcut artists in developing a visual vocabulary for his own concept of a socialist modernity for China. Notably, Lu Xun's grabism extended to his own political choices: he was never completely swayed by any one social ideology in particular, as he articulated throughout his career.[15]

Lu Xun's "humanistic moral ethos," as described by Leo Ou-fan Lee, was too great a stumbling block to permit a whole-hearted acceptance of either Guomindang or Communist ideology, and in fact led to strong criticism of both parties toward the end of his life.[16] While sympathetic to leftist writers and artists, he was also quite circumspect when it came to radical leftists' ideas concerning what qualified as revolutionary art and literature, as shown in his *contretemps* with the Creation Society (*Chuangzao she* 創造社) during the late 1920s. Lin Yu-sheng 林毓生 gracefully sums up this internal conflict:

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12 Kirk Denton, ed. 1996. *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature, 1893–1945*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p. 3.

13 Zhang Longxi. 1998. *Mighty Opposites: from Dichotomies to Differences in the Comparative Study of China.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p. 154.

14 Lu Xun. 1934. "Nalai zhuyi (Grabism)," *Zhonghua ribao*. Reprinted in *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* 6, pp. 38–40.

15 See Lu Xun's speech "Wenyi yu zhengzhi de qitu 文藝與政治的歧途 (The Divergence of Art and Politics)," given on December 21, 1927, reprinted in *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* 7, pp. 113–121. Also see "Introduction" to Lee Ou-fan Lee's edited volume *Lu Xun and His Legacy* for a nuanced discussion of Lu Xun's political self-identification (or lack thereof.)

16 Leo Ou-fan Lee. 1985. "Introduction," in Leo Ou-fan Lee, ed. *Lu Xun and His Legacy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. *xii*. and Merle Goldman. 1985. "The Political Use of Lu Xun in the Cultural Revolution and After," in Leo Ou-fan Lee, ed. *Lu Xun and His Legacy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. 180.

> Lu Xun's combination of totalistic iconoclasm as an ideological commitment with truthful, concrete understanding of some of the specifically positive elements of the Chinese tradition gave rise to agonizing intellectual contradictions and spiritual tensions in his consciousness.[17]

Ultimately, Lu Xun's work in translation and his promotion of woodblock prints embodied this tension, shared by many Chinese writers and theorists of this period, as they struggled to both uphold Chinese nationalism in the face of the Western imperialist threat, and commit to a philosophical break with the past.[18]

Lu Xun in Shanghai and His Translations on Art

Lu Xun first moved to Shanghai in October of 1927. Although an experienced writer of the May Fourth Movement, the political environment in Shanghai was quite different from what he had encountered in Beijing or Guangzhou. Roundly criticized by the Creation Society (a vehemently leftist group of writers) for being a "literati connoisseur," "petit-bourgeois," and old-fashioned, Lu Xun responded by voicing his skepticism of the effectiveness of the Creation Society's conception of revolutionary literature.[19]

Lu Xun later admitted that had he not been drawn into debate with the Creation Society, he might not have given so much attention to Marxist literary theory and historical materialism, a strong influence on his later writing and those woodblock prints he chose to promote.[20] As Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵 has argued, Shanghai was unique in China at the time for the richness of its visual media, boasting dozens of printed periodicals containing popular images and literature, which taken as a whole, were used to construct a new notion of the modern Chinese identity.[21] Lee connects Anderson's ideas of "imaginary community" through printed forms and Habermas' association of printed material and the "public sphere" in his theory that writers and publishers during this

17 Lin Yu-sheng. 1985. "The Morality of Mind and Immorality of Politics: Reflections on Lu Xun, the Intellectual," in Leo Ou-fan Lee, ed. *Lu Xun and His Legacy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. 108.

18 Denton, *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, p. 7.

19 Tang Xiaobing 唐小兵. 2008. *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde: The Modern Woodcut Movement*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. 78.

20 Ibid., p. 79.

21 Leo Ou-fan Lee. 1999. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 45.

time period in Shanghai "sought to imagine a new community of the nation as they tried to define a new reading public."[22]

Thus, the imagined Chinese nation was constructed not only by the intellectual elite, but also by the popular press.[23] Here I would like to draw a distinction between Lee's notion of the "popular press" and the group of publications I will discuss. Whereas Lee is using periodicals and publications with a broad reach such as *The Young Companion* (*Liangyou huabao* 良友畫報), *The Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌) and popular textbooks, my argument is much more limited in scope.

All of these popular publications had much larger print runs per issue than the shorter-lived literary and artistic journals containing examples of woodblock prints such as Lu Xun's *Current* (*Benliu* 本流), Yu Dafu's 郁達夫 (1896–1945) *Public Literature* (*Dazhong wenyi* 大眾文藝) or Shi Zhecun's 施蟄存 (1905–2003) *Modern Age* (*Xiandai* 現代, or *Les Contemporains*). These more specialized journals were directed toward a more specific audience of educated urbanites.

However, what these literary and artistic journals lacked in the size of their individual circulations, they at least partially made up for in sheer numbers when aggregated together. Tang Xiaobing notes the high level of sales competition between these smaller titles, and Lu Xun's concern in 1928 that the cover of his own journal, *Current*, be well-designed enough to attract a readership.[24]

Furthermore, the very particular readership of these journals was the key to their impact: politically active and culturally engaged, the audience for these smaller periodicals were the same individuals reading about and participating in the larger project of national image-making in China during the beginning of the twentieth century.[25] No wonder, then, that Lu Xun elected to publish the majority of his translations and reproductions of specifically chosen woodblock prints in journals which were both prevalent in the visual and intellectual culture of Shanghai and affordable by the young writers and artists he wished to reach.

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22 Ibid., p. 46.

23 Ibid.

24 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*, p. 80.

25 For a discussion of nationalism and Chinese art in the early twentieth century see Aida Yuen Wong. 2006. *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*. Honolulu, HI: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press; Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, eds. 1998. *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China.* New York: Guggenheim Museum.

Concerned over the lack of published literature and art of quality in journals and magazines, in 1927 Lu Xun contacted Li Xiaofeng 李曉峰 (1897–1971) at Northern Renaissance Press (Beixin shuju 北新書局) with the idea of publishing a translation of Itagaki Takaho's *Trends in the History of Modern Art* (*Jindai meishu shichao lun* 近代美術史潮論). Lu Xun felt this would be an important contribution toward the systematic understanding of the development of modern (Western) art because of its clear delineation of the subject and its numerous reproductions.[26] Furthermore, through this translation project, Lu Xun was introduced to Alois Reigl's concept of *Kunstwollen* (*yishu yiyu* 藝術意欲), which would prove extremely influential in his conceptualization of the importance of graphic arts in the construction of a socialist modernity in China.[27] The theory of *Kunstwollen* referred to the organic development of aesthetic norms as specific to their own historical period, or to the perception of the artist, as informed by their cultural and historical context. The *content* of art, specifically, was the marker of a particular *Kunstwollen*.[28]

Lu Xun wanted to encourage a medium in which Chinese artists could express, in style and content, their experience and perception of life in an urban, industrial environment. Through his efforts in publishing over the next few years, he would come to see the graphic arts, and specifically woodblock printing, as the answer to what that new artwork should be. The woodcut medium could combine contemporary international artistic influence while at the same time referencing traditional Chinese print forms, essentially following Brecht's advice of "use what you can."

The subject matter was not constrained by a traditional doctrine; rather, artists could present images of the city as it appeared to them, full of factory chimneys, rising buildings, and personal and political struggle. Ultimately, it is in this combination of international and Chinese artistic styles and subject matter that Lu Xun saw the possibility for a modern art form that would not only personify the Chinese *Kunstwollen*, but also present his own concept of China's socialist modernity.

In June 1928, Lu Xun and Yu Dafu were invited by the Northern Renaissance Press to edit a monthly periodical titled *The Current.* Quickly becoming Lu Xun's responsibility as Yu moved on to editing *Public Literature* in September, Lu Xun's translation of Russian theory and literature in this publication was

26 Lu Xun to Li Xiaofeng, 6 December 1927. *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* 11, p. 599.

27 Itagaki Takaho, tr. Lu Xun. 1929. *Jindai meishu shichao lun* 近代美術史潮論 (Trends in the History of Modern Art). Shanghai: Beixin Shuju, p. 1; Sun, "Lu Hsün," p. 63.

28 Margaret Iverson. 1993. *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*. Cambridge, MA and London, England: The MIT Press, p. 9.

in small part a rebuttal of his ultra-left critics. He focused mainly on writers whose works he felt were most valuable in delineating literary and art criticism based on historical materialism.[29] Most importantly for the purposes of this study, however, he began to reproduce foreign woodblock prints as illustrations to the Soviet and European writers' work.

Lu Xun's translations of literary and art criticism by Soviet writers such as Anatoly Lunacharsky and Georgi Plekhanov were published in a series entitled *Scientific Art Theory* (*Kexue de yishu lun* 科學的藝術論) during 1929 and 1930. Lu Xun's translations of Lunacharsky's Marxist art theories, as detailed through his collection of essays entitled *On Art* (*Yishu lun* 藝術論) were the first discussions of materialist aesthetics in China.[30] His translation of Plekhanov was also critically important for its investigation of the connection between art production and the psychology of a society.

In Plekhanov's view, in an "advanced society" art is a psychological expression of the "non-productive leisure class." Lu Xun later applied Plekhanov's argument concerning psychology and the class production of art when encouraging woodblock artists to draw from their personal experiences in illustrating social struggle, rather than attempting to create images from the perspective of the peasant class, with whom they had little contact, and to his later designs for the dissemination of woodblock print artistry. The artists Lu Xun was trying to reach were generally educated, politically active young urbanites who may have seen themselves as having more in common with the "non-productive leisure class" of the city than with the peasant class. However, these same artists often had few financial resources, and journals containing woodcut reproductions, rather than expensive monographs, were more likely to be within their budget.

Lu Xun and Woodcut Publications

Lu Xun supported woodblock prints as a viable art form for the visualization of a socialist modernity for several reasons. First of all, woodcuts were easily (and relatively inexpensively) reproducible through printing techniques already prevalent within China, as shown by the preponderance of journals and publications produced in Shanghai during this time.

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29 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*, p. 79.

30 Sun, "Lu Hsün," p. 64.

Secondly, the technique for creating woodblock prints was easily taught and then practiced by students without the need for expensive equipment. Although the materials for creating woodblock prints were not originally widely obtainable in Shanghai during the 1920s, this had changed dramatically by the 1930s through Chinese artists' interest in the medium and the assistance of Uchiyama Kanzō 内山完造 (1885–1959), a close friend and business partner of Lu Xun who owned the Uchiyama bookstore in the Japanese concession. The Uchiyama bookstore would prove to be valuable resource for artists and writers who were attempting to distribute their work through published materials.[31]

Finally, woodblock prints already had a long history in China, exemplified in early reproductions of illustrations of stories and novels or of paintings, (such as those published in Hu Zhengyan's 胡正言 *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* 十竹齋書畫譜 (A Manual of Calligraphy and Painting from the Ten Bamboo Studio) (See Fig. 3.1), as well as *nianhua* and other forms of popular prints that had already been produced for centuries and were used for decoration at the New Year in both rural and urban homes.[32]

These popular prints played an important role in establishing an easily-recognizable visual vocabulary for the general populace, and while their traditional subjects of deities and auspicious symbols are not the dominant themes found in modern Chinese woodcuts, there were some stylistic links between the two genres, most noticeably in the modern woodblock artists' use of color.[33] Although convinced enough of the importance of traditional Chinese woodcuts to plan an exhibition of them alongside modern Western woodcut prints, unfortunately, the project remained unrealized.[34]

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31 In a letter to Xi Di 西諦 (aka Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, 1898–1958) dated 7 October 1933, Lu Xun's co-editor for the *Ten Bamboo Studio Letter Papers* volume, Lu Xun mentions that he handed over some advertisements to Uchiyama bookstore for distribution because they would reach a wider audience than through his own network of acquaintances. See *Letters of Lu Xun*, p. 529.

32 Ellen Johnston Laing. 1988. *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. 8.

33 See the color plates of woodblock prints from Lu Xun's private collection at the end of each volume of 1991. *Banhua jicheng: Lu Xun cang Zhongguo xiandai muke quanji* 版畫紀程: 魯迅藏中國現代木刻全集 (Progress in Prints: Complete Modern Chinese Woodcuts Collected by Lu Xun). 5 vols. Shanghai: Lu Xun jinian guan; Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe.

34 Lu Xun to Xi Di. 7 October 1933. Reprinted in *Letters of Lu Xun*, p. 530.

FIGURE 3.1 *Hu Zhengyan,* Branch with Fruit *from* Shizhuzhai shuhuapu (*A Manual of Calligraphy and Painting from the Ten Bamboo Studio*), *seventeenth century, color woodcut. Collection of the British Museum. 1930, 1015, 0.8 AN91888.* (*c*) *Trustees of the British Museum.*

Lu Xun's involvement in and support of woodblock print societies started with the organization of the Morning Flowers Society (*Zhaohua she* 朝花社) in late 1928 with Rou Shi 柔石 (1902–1931), a contributor to *Current*. The Morning Flowers Society also produced a periodical, *Morning Flowers Weekly* (*Zhaohua zhoukan* 朝花周刊), in which the two editors published translations of Northern and Eastern European foreign literature and theory, along with woodblock prints and graphic arts as illustrations to the printed text, and as artwork in their own right.[35] Interested in bringing further examples of foreign woodblock prints to the attention of Chinese artists, in January 1929 Lu Xun published *Selection of Modern Woodcuts* (*Jindai muke xuanji* 近代木刻選集),

35 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*, p. 81.

the first in a series of volumes collectively titled *Morning Flowers in the Garden of Art* (*Yiyuan zhaohua* 藝苑朝花) in which he outlined the development of the modern woodcut in Europe and discussed the difference between a "creative print" and a print used merely for reproduction.[36] Describing creative woodcuts as "pure art," as opposed to "recarving" or "imitation," Lu Xun emphasized the individual artist's skill and style of execution as centrally important.[37]

This first volume of the series entitled *Morning Flowers in the Garden of Art*, mentioned above, was devoted to woodcuts and wood engravings by European and American artists. Significantly, the images Lu Xun reproduced in this first volume were not focused on the communication of social ills or the plight of the proletariat, but were chosen instead for their stylistic and technical quality. The same emphasis appears in the third volume, again devoted to European and American woodcut and wood engraving artists, but also including Russian and Japanese works. The fifth volume of the *Morning Flowers in the Garden of Art* series, entitled *New Russian Prints* (*Xin E hua xuan* 新俄畫選) and published in 1930, was to prove most important in Lu Xun's promotion of woodblock prints as a visualization of socialist modernity. Not only was this volume the first example of Soviet graphic art published in China, but in its preface Lu Xun specifically identified the unsuitability of Cubist (as typified by Paul Cézanne, 1839–1906) and Futurist (as typified by Vladimir Tatlin, 1885–1953) works to the project of producing socialist imagery in the Soviet Union.

According to Lu Xun, while Cubism and Futurism had been useful during the October Revolution as instruments for deconstructing the established schools of art, there was now a need for a more realist style.[38] Furthermore, in his reproduction of these Soviet prints, Lu Xun "became acutely aware of the use of the woodcut medium as a social weapon without sacrificing its technical excellence."[39] At this point Lu Xun started to solidify his conception of a socialist realism: it should concentrate on the human element in active industry, and the personal experience of the proletariat.

The prints reproduced in the Morning Flower Society's publications were not radically political, unlike those reproduced in contemporary left-wing publications, such as *Deluge* (*Hongshui* 洪水), which published issues from 1924

36 Ibid., p. 82.

37 Lu Xun, "Jindai muke xuanji xiaoyin 近代木刻選集小引 (Preface to *Selections of Modern Woodcuts*)," reprinted in *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* 7, pp. 319–320.

38 Lu Xun, "Xin E hua xuan xiaoyin 新俄畫選小引 (Preface to *New Russian Prints*)," reprinted in Zhang Wang 張望, ed. 1956. *Lu Xun lun meishu* 魯迅論美術 (Lu Xun on Art). Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, pp. 51–52.

39 Sun, "Lu Hsün," p. 57.

to 1927, and *Sun Monthly* (*Taiyang yuekan* 太陽月刊) which published issues only during 1928. These two journals, among others, had succeeded in associating graphic arts with left-wing political activity.[40] Here we find Lu Xun mediating between Shanghai's capitalist modern society and the need for socialist visual expression.

Lu Xun was aware of artists' financial constraints, even going so far as to offer money and hospitality to some individuals, and his publishing practices reflected this awareness. He published luxury editions of both the *Beiping Letter Papers* and the *Ten Bamboo Studio Letter Papers* in order to lessen the price of publications directed toward the artists he was trying to reach.[41]

Exhibitions were helpful in generating awareness of and interest in artists' work. In October 1930, Lu Xun held the first of three exhibitions of woodblock prints from his own collection, including Russian, German, and French prints, with an emphasis on the Russian works. The exhibit was extensively facilitated by Uchiyama Kanzō, who not only rented the exhibition space under his own name in the Japanese concession of Shanghai and contributed to the installation and framing of the works, but also published the exhibition catalogue, listing the seventy-plus prints. The Russian woodblock prints and German prints by Käthe Kollwitz were "kept company" by French landscape prints in order to offset their obvious political nature.[42]

The next two exhibitions of Lu Xun's personal collection, in late 1932 and late 1933 respectively, showed Soviet, French, German, Belgian, Portuguese, and American prints. While these three exhibitions attracted far fewer attendees than the *National Joint Woodcut Exhibition* held two years later, they nevertheless contributed significantly to the development of the woodcut movement in Shanghai, and the formation of the League of Left-Wing Artists in particular. The *National Joint Woodcut Exhibition*, held in Beiping (Beijing) for the first two weeks of 1935, and organized by the Beiping-Tianjin Woodcut Research Society (*Pingjin muke yanjiuhui* 平津木刻研究會) included six hundred prints and was attended by five thousand visitors on its opening day before traveling to cities including Tianjin, Jinan, Hankou, Taiyuan, and Shanghai.[43] Lu Xun wrote the preface to the exhibition's commemorative catalogue.[44]

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40 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*, p. 86.

41 Sun, "Lu Hsün," p. 151.

42 Lu Xun to Wu Bo 吳波, 6 December 1933. Reprinted in *Letters of Lu Xun*, pp. 590–591.

43 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*, p. 173.

44 See Lu Xun. 1935. "Xiaoyin 小引 (Preface)," in *Quanguo muke lianhe zhanlanhui zhuanji* 全國木刻聯合展覽會專輯 (National Joint Woodcut Exhibition Catalogue). Reprinted in Zhang Wang, ed. *Lu Xun on Art*, pp. 114–115.

Meanwhile, Lu Xun continued to acquire foreign woodblock prints for his own collection and for publication, including works by Russian artists such as Kravchenko and Favorsky, as well as those by Käthe Kollwitz, attempting to provide good quality examples of these artists' work for the education of Chinese artists. In 1931, Lu Xun wrote to his student, Cao Jinghua 曹靖華 (1897–1987) in Russia, asking him to purchase a group of Piskarev's woodcut illustrations to the story *Iron Flood* (*Tieliu* 鐵流).[45] In the process, Cao negotiated an exchange between Russian artists and Lu Xun, whereby Lu Xun would send Chinese paper, prized in Russia for its high quality, and Russian artists would send groups of woodcuts in return. At least two collections were duly delivered, including works by Piskarev, Kravchenko, Favorsky, Pavlinov, and Goncharov, amongst others.[46]

Humanism and Social Construction in Woodblock Prints

Lu Xun's choice of the Soviet artists' work was designed to highlight several themes he felt would be of use to Chinese artists. First, the work of Soviet artists, such as that of Alexei Kravchenko (See Fig. 3.2) illustrated the use of labor and social construction as subject matter, rather than decorative motifs.

Secondly, these works were technically quite advanced and grounded in the sort of realism that Lu Xun perceived as integral to the visualization of a fully-realized, societally-engaged socialist modernity. This view was in direct opposition to the kind of woodblock prints he regarded as simply blunt tools of leftist propaganda, depicting caricatures with exaggerated musculature, "mean-looking eyes," and "big fists," a pattern characterizing much of the proletarian art produced at this time.[47]

Finally, Lu Xun wanted to provide examples of artists who depicted similar subject matter in different ways, thereby avoiding the "slavish imitation" of other artists which he saw as a danger in some Chinese woodblock prints.[48] The linear realism seen in the Soviet artists' work, such as Pavlinov's *A Man Standing Guard* (1926; see Fig. 3.3), and the theme of social construction in Alexei Kravchenko's *Industrial Landscape* (1930s) became, through Lu Xun's promotion, influential in the work of Chinese artists. It is visible in the subject

45 Sun, "Lu Hsün," p. 117.

46 Ibid., p. 118.

47 Lu Xun to Xi Di, 2 June 1933. Reprinted in *Letters of Lu Xun*, p. 555.

48 Lu Xun. 1936. "Ji Sulian banhua zhanlanhui 記蘇聯版畫展覽會 (On the Soviet Woodcut Exhibition)," *Shenbao* (24 February). Reprinted in *The Complete Works of Lu Xun* 6, pp. 481–484.

matter of Chen Yanqiao's 陳烟橋 (1911–1970) *Going to Work*, (c.1934; see Fig. 3.4), and the cover of the publication *Woodcuts by the Unnamed Woodcut Society*, 1934, attributed to Huang Xinbo 黃新波 (1916–1980) (See Fig. 3.5). It is important to note, however, that Lu Xun's influence on these artists' woodcuts is apparent in the inclusion of human figures, grounding the image in the societal context. The works highlight the importance of industry to China's nascent capitalist economy, its human impact, and the experiences of the proletariat.

In September 1933, Frans Masereel's *Sufferings of a Man* (*Yigeren de shounan* 一個人的受難) was published, with an added introduction by Lu Xun, by Liangyou Press (Liangyou tushu gongsi 良友圖書公司), as a novel-in-pictures, made up of 25 wood engravings. It appeared just as Lu Xun was

FIGURE 3.2 *Alexey Ilyich Kravchenko*, Industrial Landscape, *1930s, linocut. Courtesy of the Russian State Library.*

FIGURE 3.3 *Pavel Pavlinov, illustration for* A Man Standing Guard *by Nikolay Leskov* (*Moscow-Leningrad: GIZ, 1926*), *linocut.*

FIGURE 3.4 *Chen Yanqiao,* Going to Work, *ca. 1934, woodcut. After* Banhua jicheng: Lu Xun cang Zhongguo xiandai muke quanji 版畫紀程：魯迅藏中國現代木刻全集 (*Progress in Prints: Complete Modern Chinese Woodcuts Collected by Lu Xun*) (*Shanghai: Lu Xun jinian guan; Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1991*). *Courtesy of the Lu Xun Museum, Shanghai.*

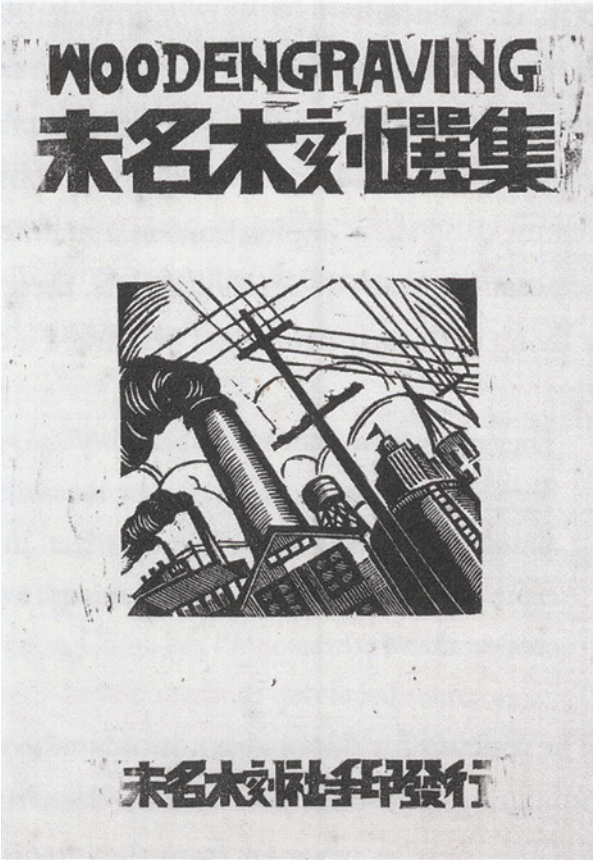

FIGURE 3.5 *Cover of* Woodcuts by the Unnamed Woodcut Society, *1934, woodcut attributed to Huang Xinbo. After* Banhua jicheng: Lu Xun cang Zhongguo xiandai muke quanji 版畫紀程：魯迅藏中國現代木刻全集 (*Progress in Prints: Complete Modern Chinese Woodcuts Collected by Lu Xun*) (*Shanghai: Lu Xun jinian guan; Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1991*).*Courtesy of the Lu Xun Museum, Shanghai.*

participating in a debate concerning the relative value of picture-books as fine art. With the publication of *Sufferings of a Man* Lu Xun highlighted the effect of the picture-books as similar to cinema, and emphasized Masereel's theme of the self-sacrifice of man.[49]

Sufferings of a Man was one of four of Masereel's narratives told through images, all produced by Liangyou Press over the course of 1933. In a letter to Zhao Jiabi 趙家璧 (1908–1997), then editor-in-chief of Liangyou Press, written

49 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*, p. 146.

in October 1933, Lu Xun noted the two-thousand-volume print run of these novels, an indication of their shared hope for a wide circulation.[50]

Again reflecting Lu Xun's emphasis on the socialist importance of depicting the lives of the public, as well as the importance of depicting scenes from the artist's own personal experience, Zhang Hui's 張惠 (dates unknown) woodcut *News* (1935; see Fig. 3.7) drew on specific stylistic elements from Masereel's depiction of the city, seen particularly in his representation of apartment buildings, as well as his own personal experience of Shanghai's chaotic political and social situation, illustrated in the dramatic scene placed around and behind the central figure. Particularly in his novel-in-pictures, *Die Stadt* (See Fig. 3.6), published in Europe in 1925, Masereel depicts the bewildering sense of the modern city, and its dehumanizing potential.

Finally, Lu Xun's introduction of Käthe Kollwitz's prints to a Chinese audience stemmed from his interest and emotional connection to her depiction of the suffering of the peasantry in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Germany. The connection between Lu Xun and Kollwitz was strengthened by shared experiences of being forced into hiding and shared hopes for the youth of their respective countries. Kollwitz and Lu Xun also had much in common philosophically, and it is not surprising that her work, as emotionally evocative and lyrical as it is, was widely embraced by Chinese artists with the encouragement of Lu Xun.

Particularly influential on Chinese artists was Kollwitz's etching *Weavers on the March*, part of the series *Weaver's Revolt* (1897; see Fig. 3.8). It depicts, in an especially emotionally affective style, the plight of weavers in Germany and their decision to stage a revolt. Here, the proletariat is portrayed from experience, and shown with sympathy through a realist interpretation. Jiang Feng's 江豐 (1910–1982) woodcut *Workers on the Wharf* (1932) shows a very similar group of marching workers, though in the modernist context of China, Jiang places the figures in the context of active industry (noted by smoke rising from the chimneys of the factories) and social construction.

Published with a review of a 1932 exhibition of German graphic art at the Zeitgeist bookstore in Shanghai, Jiang's depiction of the figures is most likely the first image of a group of Chinese workers in motion, a theme that would become particularly prevalent in modern Chinese woodcuts during the later 1930s and into the 1940s.[51] A slightly later print by Zheng Yefu 鄭野夫 (1909–1973), from the series *Flood* (1933; see Fig. 3.9), also borrows from Kollwitz's

50 Letter from Lu Xun to Zhao Jiabi, October 8, 1933, reprinted in *The Complete Works of Lu Xun*, vol. 12: 234–235.

51 Tang, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*, p. 122.

FIGURE 3.6 *Frans Masereel, illustration for the novel* Die Stadt, *1925, woodcut. © 2012 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.*

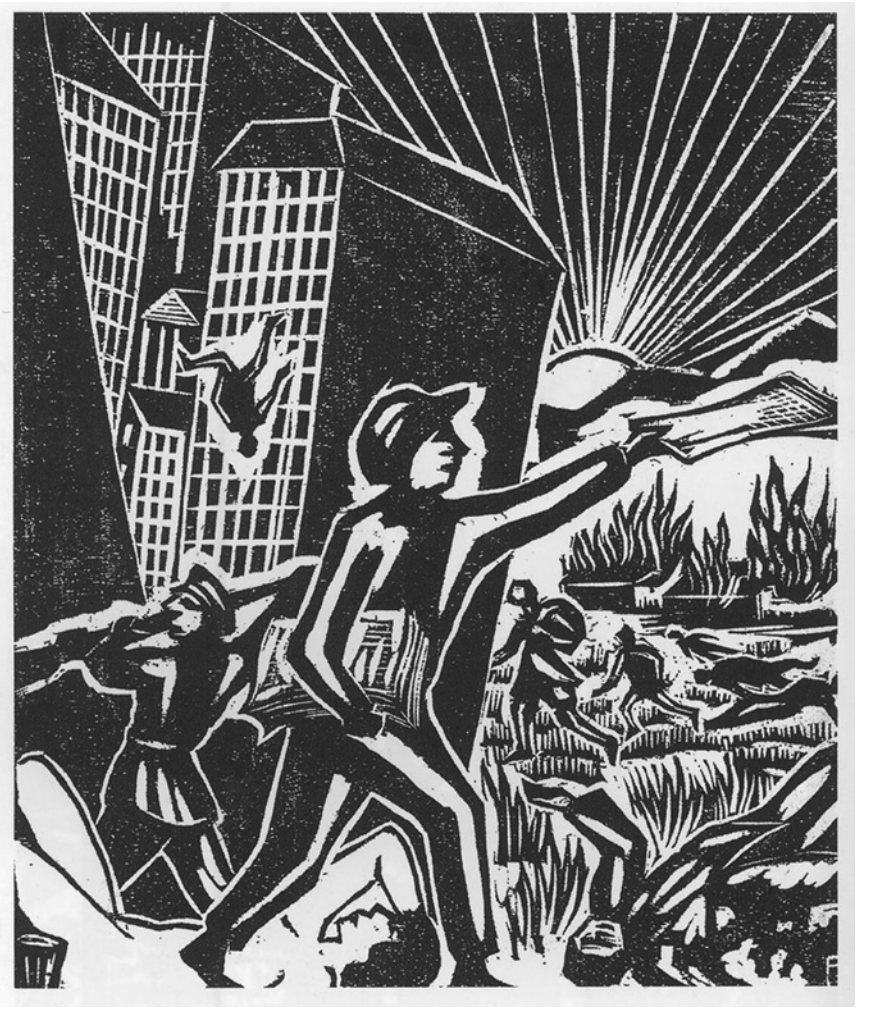

FIGURE 3.7 *Zhang Hui*, News, *1935, woodcut. After* Banhua jicheng: Lu Xun cang Zhongguo xiandai muke quanji 版畫紀程：魯迅藏中國現代木刻全集 (*Progress in Prints: Complete Modern Chinese Woodcuts Collected by Lu Xun*) (*Shanghai: Lu Xun jinian guan; Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1991*). *Courtesy of the Lu Xun Museum, Shanghai.*

image (and most likely Jiang's print as well) in his placement of the figures, though here Zheng depicts his figures in a characteristically rougher graphic style with stark areas of black and white, and a much more dramatic perspective. Zheng's *Flood* series was published as a story related through a sequence of woodcut images, most likely inspired by the recent publication of Masereel's works by Liangyou Press.[52]

52 Ibid., p. 147.

FIGURE 3.8 *Käthe Kollwitz,* Weberzug (Weavers on the March), *from the series* Ein Weberaufstand (Weaver's Revolt), *1897, etching. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/ Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY © 2012 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.*

FIGURE 3.9 *Zheng Yefu,* Untitled, *from the series* Flood *1933, woodcut. After* Banhua jicheng: Lu Xun cang Zhongguo xiandai muke quanji 版畫紀程：魯迅藏中國現代木刻全集 (*Progress in Prints: Complete Modern Chinese Woodcuts Collected by Lu Xun*) (*Shanghai: Lu Xun jinian guan; Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1991*). *Courtesy of the Lu Xun Museum, Shanghai.*

Lu Xun and Woodcut Print Societies

Aside from Lu Xun's collection and publication of foreign woodblock prints, his involvement with groups such as the League of Left-Wing Artists further supported the growth in popularity and production of modern Chinese woodcuts, and their stylistic development. Along with facilitating exhibitions, Lu Xun regularly wrote to artists providing suggestions on their subject matter, technique, and publication style.

Formed during the summer of 1930 in Shanghai, and based out of the Western Art Department of China Art Academy, the League of Left-Wing Artists (*Zuoyi meishujia lianmeng* 左翼美術家聯盟, or *Meilian* 美聯) was quite closely intertwined with the growth of woodcut societies around the country through their interactions with Lu Xun, and also connected ideologically by their self-identification as the Proletarian Art Movement.[53] Largely concerned with finding a medium of expression that would convey the tumultuous experience of life in China at that time, the League also sought a medium free from the associations and limitations of both traditional Chinese painting and Western academic painting.

Politically, these artists felt that art was necessarily connected to class and class-consciousness, and that it should reflect the societal and political revolution that the Leftists wished to foment. Not all the artists in the League identified themselves as Communist, but the Nationalist government's oppressive measures ultimately pushed many artists further to the left.[54] Lu Xun's promotion of woodcuts ultimately resulted in the medium's acceptance by those artists as an important form of expression, and through the League's adoption of woodblock printing and political cartoons, the woodcut technique became widely practiced.

The Eighteen Society (*Yiba yishe* 一八藝社) formed by artists at the Hangzhou Art Academy in 1929 was an important part of the League of Left-Wing Artists, and the first of the artist societies to concentrate on the production of woodblock prints (among other artistic forms such as oil painting and sculpture) as an alternative medium to both Chinese traditional painting and Western academic schools.[55]

As a result of their travels throughout the countryside and surrounding cities, the Eighteen Society artists began to create realist images of society in reaction to the concept of "art for art's sake" embodied by the Chinese and Western

53 Sun, "Lu Hsün," p. 69.

54 Ibid., p. 72.

55 Ibid., p. 76.

academic schools. During 1930, the organizers of the society, Hu Yichuan 胡一川 (1910–2000) and his wife Yao Fu 姚馥 (or Xia Peng 夏朋, 1911–1935) went to Shanghai, and joined the League of Left-Wing Artists. By 1931, a branch of the Eighteen Society had been established in Shanghai, and an exhibition of over 180 works by member artists was organized and put up by Hu Yichuan.

Ever willing to participate and support these artist groups, Lu Xun wrote the preface to their exhibition catalogue, in which he expressed his hope that this "new, young, forward-facing" society would continue to create meaningful work in the future, in counterpoint to his disdain for China's famous artists at the time, whom he characterized as being deceitful and self-aggrandizing.[56] By 1931, however, the Nationalist government had begun to crack down even further on perceived threats, including increasing numbers of raids, arrests, and banning of print materials. The government's reach extended to Hangzhou and the Eighteen Society, whose members were eventually expelled from Hangzhou Art Academy.

As Shirley Sun points out, however, far from eradicating these artists' activities, the expulsion simply encouraged these artists to move to different parts of China, where they started their own woodcut societies, thereby spreading the influence of the woodcut movement.[57] During the next few years, short-lived woodblock print societies sprang up in Shanghai, each taking the place of the last as the artists were arrested or forced to flee the city. As the Nationalist government's persecution of these groups became increasingly severe in Shanghai, artists began to move south to Guangdong, which was further removed from the government's control, and therefore a more fertile ground for the development of leftist-oriented woodcut societies during the mid-to-late 1930s.[58]

The last of the woodcut societies I will address is the vitally important Modern Woodcut Society (*Xiandai banhua hui* 現代版畫會), established by the artist Li Hua in 1934, and active until 1938. Between 1934 and 1936, the Modern Woodcut Society published eighteen volumes of *Modern Woodcut* (*Xiandai banhua* 現代版畫), a journal which the society faithfully sent to Lu Xun, who responded with suggestions and support.[59] During its production, *Modern Woodcut* would succeed in publishing, among many other significant

56 Lu Xun. 1931. "Yiba yishe xizuo zhanlanhui xiaoyin 一八藝社習作展覽會小引 (Preface to the Eighteen Society's Exhibition of Assignments) (2 May)." Reprinted in Zhang Wang, ed. *Lu Xun on Art*, p. 33.

57 Sun, "Lu Hsün," p. 91.

58 Andrews and Shen, *A Century in Crisis*, p. 217.

59 Facsimiles of all eighteen issues have since been produced. See *Banhua jicheng*.

prints, Li Hua's viscerally affecting *Roar, China!* (1935; see Fig. 3.10), which gave visual form to the artists' political distress in the face of the Nationalist government's authoritarian stance along with the political and military aggression of Japan, and illustrated the nationalistic reaction to economically and politically imperialist incursions into China.

One of the most prominent woodblock print artists to emerge during the early twentieth century, and one of the artists in whom Lu Xun saw the most promise, Li Hua was deeply influenced by Käthe Kollwitz.[60] His 1947 woodcut *Arise!* (See Fig. 3.11), for example, bears obvious resemblances to Kollwitz's etching *Outbreak* from the series *Peasants' Revolt* (See Fig. 3.12), not just compositionally, but also in its adaptation of Kollwitz's draftsmanship of human figures and dramatic depiction of emotion. Li Hua's work from the 1940s, however, is quite different in approach from earlier prints included in *Modern Woodcut*. In the shadow of the Sino-Japanese war and the following struggle for control over the Chinese nation, he took a more clearly nationalistic turn.

Shen Kuiyi 沈揆一, in his contribution to the 2004 exhibition catalogue *Shanghai Modern: 1919–1945*, points out the dramatic difference between prints created before and after the Japanese invasion of 1937.[61] Politically, woodcuts were associated with leftist movements during the 1930s, but they were not necessarily vehicles solely for the promotion of Communist propaganda and ideology, as they slowly became during the 1940s. Rather, they were complicated by stylistic and thematic influences from foreign woodcuts and domestic woodcut print traditions, as well as by the political situation of the time, which included a more directed anti-imperialist stream of thought, as exemplified to extraordinary effect in Li Hua's *Roar, China!* (See Fig. 3.10).[62]

In Li Hua's print, first circulated in *Modern Woodcut*, Lu Xun's conception of a Chinese *Kunstwollen* comes to life. The tortured figure represents not only the suffering of an individual but also of the Chinese nation at the hands of foreign imperialists and invaders, and is a stylistically innovative work, created by a Chinese artist responding to his context and cultural circumstances. Of course, Lu Xun's concept of a socialist modernity for China, and its visualization in woodblock prints, relied on journals and print publications for its dissemination. Literary and artistic journals, artist groups' publications, and exhibition catalogues were an affordable and effective way for images of these woodcuts to circulate, and Lu Xun's support and encouragement are clear both

60 Lu Xun to Jin Zhaoye 金照業, 18 December 1934. Reprinted in Xu Guangping, *Letters of Lu Xun*, pp. 892–893.

61 Shen, "Modernist Woodcut Movement," p. 265.

62 Ibid., p. 282.

FIGURE 3.10 *Li Hua,* Roar, China!*, 1935, woodcut. Courtesy of the Visual Resources Collections, Department of History of Art, University of Michigan.*

FIGURE 3.11 *Li Hua,* Arise!*, 1947, woodcut. Herman Collection, The Picker Art Gallery, Colgate University, 80.140. Courtesy of The Picker Art Gallery, Colgate University.*

FIGURE 3.12 *Käthe Kollwitz,* Losbruch (Outbreak), *from the* Bauernkrieg (Peasant War Cycle), *1903, aquatint and etching. University of Michigan Museum of Art, Museum Purchase 1957/1.106 © 2012 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.*

from the number of prefaces he was commissioned to write, and the number of publications he organized and shepherded through publication.

An international network of personal contacts supplied works from Europe, America, and Japan, and Lu Xun devoted himself to providing opportunities for artists and scholars to see these works, and those traditional Chinese prints he found valuable, in print and in exhibition. Crediting Lu Xun with his turn to woodcut printmaking in 1934, Li Hua's prints were clear inheritors of Lu Xun's efforts and influence, both in their politically- and socially-aware subject matter, and in the stylistic influence of Käthe Kollwitz.[63]

However, along with the advent of the Sino-Japanese war, I believe it is significant that Lu Xun's death coincided with the turn which woodblock print-

63 Hung Chang-tai 洪長泰. 1997. "Two Images of Socialism." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39.1: 35.

making took after 1937. Without Lu Xun's critical guidance and influence, it is notable that even after the international conflict of 1937–1945 had ended, the Chinese modern woodblock print movement forsook its experimental phase and settled into the lyrical realism exemplified by Li Hua's works from the 1940s.

Lu Xun's nuanced conception of a visualization of an alternative modernity for China was thus lost. In these later woodblock prints by Li Hua and other artists, Lu Xun's ideas of a socialist modernity, with their obvious emphasis on social construction through industry, their depiction of the experience of the worker or peasant or urban dweller, and their lack of pure ideological propaganda, were phased out in favor of more blatant Communist propaganda, albeit with exceptional technical skill.

Conclusion

Lu Xun's promotion of a socialist modernity for China through his support and guidance of the woodcut movement would not have been possible without China's print publication industry. It enabled the distribution of Lu Xun's translation of Itagaki Takaho's *Trends in the History of Modern Art*, as well as translations of Anatoly Lunacharsky's and Georgi Plekhanov's theories. Alois Reigl's concept of *Kunstwollen*, which Lu Xun seems to have first encountered through Itagaki Takaho's text, would become an important part of his conceptualization of woodblock prints as a truly invigorated, modern artwork for China.

At the same time, Lu Xun was careful to point out parts of traditional Chinese artistic culture that were valuable for contemporary artists to study, notably traditional woodcut illustrations, such as those from Hu Zhengyan's *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* and *nianhua*. His choice of these specific sources points to his own concept of "grabism," a national project he publicly endorsed, again through print media, in *China Daily* in June 1934. Furthermore, his publication of both Chinese and foreign artistic forms exemplifies one of the main tenets of an "alternative modernity" posited by David Craven: the adoption of that which is useful from one's own culture, as well as the application of elements from other cultures or societies, determined by their use. Through the production of publications such as *Beiping Letter Papers* and the *Ten Bamboo Studio Letter Papers*, as well as the *Morning Flowers in the Garden of Art* series, Lu Xun clearly promoted some aspects of traditional Chinese artistic styles as well as specific elements of foreign woodblock prints in order to encourage the development of a Chinese modern woodblock print movement that

could embody China's *Kunstwollen* at that time. The combination of Lu Xun's emphasis on the publication of translations of foreign, including Marxist, literature and theory; his collection, exhibition, and publication of European and Japanese prints, many of which highlighted themes of social justice and realist depictions of industry; and his ongoing relationships with artists and writers around the country and overseas coalesced in his efforts not only to promote woodblock prints as a socially-engaged, modern Chinese art, but also to visually promote his own concept of an alternative, socialist modernity for China.

CHAPTER 4

Technology, Markets, and Social Change: Print Capitalism in Early Twentieth-Century China

Tze-ki Hon

Ever since the 1500s, the technology of mechanized printing has been continuously revolutionizing the production of books, journals, magazines, pamphlets and newspapers in Europe. "The Gutenberg Revolution" expanded the circulation of information and helped to break down social barriers, connect peoples in difference places, and change the cultural landscape of the modern world.[1] For the purposes of this essay, we are particularly interested in the way in which its impact has been invoked to explain the spread of nationalism since the nineteenth century. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson famously argued that print technology is a driving force for the creation of modern national identity. Anderson's claim was that print capitalism—i.e., the mass production of print materials to satisfy a reader market for the purpose of making a profit—fostered a collective identity among people who consume the same cultural products. This collective identity is one of the fundamental foundations of the nation-state.[2]

As a foreign import, East Asian print capitalism was not simply a breakthrough in print technology. It was also result of negotiations between what was globally available and what was locally rooted—a process similar to the non-linear, multi-directional global knowledge flows discussed in the Introduction to this volume.[3] This intermixing of foreign and local elements was particularly clear in China where sophisticated forms of print technology, such as wood-block printing and movable-type printing, had been developed centuries ago. For the owners of printing presses in early twentieth-century China, the decision to adopt mechanized printing was made because it was profitable to produce a large quantity of products in a shorter time. The combination of the efficiency of a new technology and the demands of an expanding

1 See Joanne Mattern. 2003. *The Printing Press: An Information Revolution*. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., pp. 4–12; Samuel Williard Crompton. 2004. *The Printing Press*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publisher, pp. 34–93.

2 Benedict Anderson. 1996. *Imagined Communities*, revised edition. London: Verso, pp. 9–24, 36.

3 See the Introduction to this volume, p. 6.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004259119_006

readership market forced Chinese publishers to abandon the old print technology for a faster and more effective means of publishing.[4]

The spread of print capitalism in East Asia did not follow a straightforward pattern of direct transfer from "the home" of new technology in Europe to "the recipients" of new technology outside of Europe. On the contrary, new forms of print technology reached East Asia through a series of transnational networks that included diplomats, foreign communities, the missionaries, and migrant workers who clustered in ports, cities, and transportation hubs. The "travels" of technology transfer were, therefore, circuitous and multifarious, involving many stops, mediations, and formal and informal channels.[5]

These multifaceted "travels" were especially clear during what Douglas Reynolds calls "the Golden Decade" (1898–1912) of Sino-Japanese relations. The period was "golden" mainly because China and Japan were closely tied to a network of technology that strove to build an "East Asian modernity."[6] Driving this network was a belief that East Asia (encompassing China, Japan, and Korea) was a region with a unique culture that could achieve a kind of modernity equal to, and yet significantly different from, that of Europe and the United States. A distinctive feature of this network was that, unlike the old tributary system of imperial China, it was centered in Japan and directly challenged the Sino-centric order that had dominated East Asia for centuries.[7]

To examine these global-local mixings of Chinese print capitalism, I will compare two journals: the *Journal of National Essence* (*Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報, 1905–1911) and the *Journal of Geographical Studies* (*Dixue zazhi* 地學

4 See Christopher A. Reed. 2004. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1934*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 12–22, 161–202. See also Li Renyuan 李仁淵. 2005. *Wanqing de xinshi chuanbo meiti yu zhishi fenzi: Yi baokan chuban wei zhongxin de taolun* 晚清的新式傳播媒體與知識份子：以報刊出版爲中心的討論 (The Modern Mass Media in Late Qing and the Intellectuals: A Study of Newspaper Publishing). Taipei: Daoxiang chubenshe, pp. 1–19.

5 Regarding the "travel theory" of knowledge transfer in East Asia, see Lydian H. Liu. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1–44.

6 Douglas R. Reynolds. 1993. *China, 1898–1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Studies, Harvard University, pp. 1–14, 111–26.

7 For the structure of the tributary system and its significance in the East Asian networks of trade and cultural exchanges, see Takeshi Hamashita. 1994. "The Tribute Trade System and Modern Asia," in A.J.H. Lathem and Heita Kawakatsu, eds. *Japanese Industralization and the Asian Economy.* London: Routledge, pp. 91–107; Takeshi Hamashita. 1997. "The Intra-regional System in East Asia in Modern Times," in Peter J. Ketzenstein and Takeshi Shiraishi, eds. *Network Power: Japan and Asia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 113–135.

雜誌, 1910–1937). Founded after the abolition of the civil service examinations in 1905, these two journals targeted educated individuals who were both perplexed and enticed by the founding of the national school system. Replacing the civil service examinations that had defined the literati culture for centuries, the national school system provided modern professional training to tens of thousands of young students, and thereby created a huge market for textbooks and supplementary readings.[8]

With hundreds of copies circulating every month, the journals directly benefited from the new technology of mechanized printing and the existence of sprawling nation-wide distribution networks. They became a focus for what Joan Judge calls the "middle realm" in modern Chinese society—i.e., journalists, editors, columnists, academicians, and schoolteachers who became the new leaders of political discourse.[9] As such, the journals exemplified a momentous change in early twentieth-century Chinese society where the old literati (who served the imperial dynasty) gave way to a new generation of intellectuals (who competed in the cultural market).[10]

To highlight the complex relationship between print, profit, and perception in early twentieth century China, I will divide this chapter into three sections. In the first section, I will discuss the regional and local networks that introduced mechanized print technology into China. By emphasizing regional and local factors, I draw attention to the unique system of Chinese print capitalism that combined what was globally available with what was domestically rooted. In the second section, I will examine the impact of the national school system on the readership market. In particular, I will focus on the *Journal of National Essence* to illustrate how the school system gave some young scholars an opportunity to claim a leading role in national debates. In the third section, I will discuss how national crises, especially the perceived loss of Chinese territorial sovereignty, became a marketing ploy for journals. To support my argument, I will examine the strategies used by the editors of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* to provoke emotion during national events such as "the return of Lüshun 旅順 and Dalian 大連" in 1923. These three sections—

8 See the chapters by Peter Zarrow, May-bo Chang, and Tze-ki Hon in Tze-ki Hon and Robert J. Culp, eds. 2007. *The Politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Republican China*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 21–105.

9 Joan Judge. 1996. *Print and Culture: Shibao and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 17–31.

10 See Xu Jilin 許紀霖. 2005. *Ershi shiji Zhongguo zhishi fenzi shilun* 20世紀中國知識份子史論 (A Study of the History of 20th Century Chinese Intellectuals). Beijing: Xinxing chubanshe, pp. 1–4.

devoted to print technology, the print market, and the representations of national crises—underscore the confluence of print, profit, and perception in creating a public sphere in early twentieth-century China.

Local Initiatives and Domestic Factors in Technology Transfer

Until the late nineteenth century, printing in China was accomplished primarily by making impressions on paper from wood blocks. Also known as xylography, wood-block printing satisfied the needs for printing thousands of Chinese characters at a low cost.[11] Furthermore, the economy and flexibility of wood-block printing created a decentralized and unregulated printing industry that suited the loose structure of the Chinese imperial system.[12] While wood-block printing was the preferred method of printing in late imperial China, other printing technologies, including semi-mechanized printing based on movable-type fonts, were available for centuries in China. Even after European missionaries introduced mechanized printing into China in the early nineteenth century, it took half a century for the new print technology to spread.[13]

This half-century gap between the availability of mechanized print technology and its widespread use was due to the process by which technology was transferred from Europe to China. When the missionaries first introduced mechanized printing into China, they used it primarily to print the Bible and other religious publications.[14] Although some "foreign experts," such as John Fryer, Alexander Wylie and Young J. Allen, attempted to introduce mechanized printing to Chinese officials, it was only after former Chinese workers in missionary presses opened their own printing shops that mechanized printing began to spread in coastal cities such as Hong Kong and Shanghai. Only

11 Cynthia J. Brokaw. 2005. "Introduction: On the History of the Book in China," in Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, eds. *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 8–9.

12 Brokaw. *Printing and Book Culture*, pp. 9–10. For the rise of a new type of cultural businessman due to the expansion of the print market in late imperial China, see Kai-wing Chow. 2004. *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1–18, 241–51.

13 Bruce H. Billings. 1997. *China and the West: Information Technology Transfer from Printing Press to Computer Era*. Taipei: Standard Printing Corporation, pp. 17–68.

14 See Reed. 2004. *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 29–32; Billings. *China and the West*, p. 58; Joseph P. McDermott. 2006. *The Social History of the Book in China: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 14–15, 24.

when there was clear market demand for efficient and high-quality printing, particularly after the founding of the national school system in 1905, did Chinese businessmen begin to invest capital in the new print technology.[15] To gain access to the advanced print technology, some businessmen bought defunct missionary presses, while others formed partnership with foreign publishers. As a result, Western technology first gained a foothold in the foreign concessions on China's coast, and only gradually spread from the coast to the hinterland.[16]

A prime example of this local initiative in transferring print technology was the Commercial Press (*Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館). Established in 1897 by four former workers of missionary presses, the Commercial Press began as a small press that served the Protestant community in Shanghai by printing fliers and notices.[17] Later, the press expanded in size by incorporating a defunct Japanese press, the Press for Spreading Knowledge (*Guangwen shuguan* 廣文書館). Taking advantage of market demand for "Western learning" in the late 1890s, the press made its name by printing English dictionaries and English grammar books. It also profited by reprinting popular Chinese classical and historical texts. Equipped with the best printing machines of the time, the press could print thousands of copies of a text with stunning clarity at short notice.[18] Like many owners of small presses, the four founders of the Commercial Press were part of a growing number of Chinese skilled laborers who successfully made the transition from Bible printing to commercial printing.[19]

In the early 1900s, the Commercial Press was transformed from a small and peripheral press into a giant printing house with strong international connections. From 1903 to 1914, the Commercial Press formed a partnership with Kinkōdō 金港堂, a major Japanese textbook publisher. During the eleven-year partnership, the Commercial Press adopted advanced print technology and a modern management style from their Japanese partners.[20] First, the

15 See Li Renyuan. *Wanqing de xinshi chuanbo*, pp. 1–19, 213–287.

16 See Li Renyuan. *Wanqing de xinshi chuanbo*, pp. 213–287.

17 Li Jiaju 李家駒. 2005. *Shangwu yinshuguan yu jindai zhishi wenhua de chuanbo* 商務印書館與近代知識文化的傳播 (The Commercial Press and the Dissemination of Modern Knowledge and Culture). Beijing: Commercial Press, pp. 27–34.

18 Li Jiaju. 2005. *Shangwu yinshuguan*, pp. 43–44.

19 Dai Ren 戴仁 (Jean-Pierre Drege). 2000. *Shanghai Shangwu yinshuguan 1897–1949* 上海商務印書館 1897–1949 (The Shanghai Commercial Press 1897–1949). Beijing: Commercial Press, pp. 7–26.

20 Tarumoto Teruo 樽木照雄. 2000. *Shoki Shōmu inshokan kenkyū* 初期商務印書館研究 (A Study of the Early Commercial Press). Shiga-ken, ōtsu-shi: Shimatsu Shōsetsu kenkyū, pp. 148–201.

Commercial Press was transformed into a corporate company governed by a board of directors with hundreds of small investors. This was how it generated the financial resources needed to purchase advanced printing machines from Europe and Japan.[21] Second, the press followed in the footsteps of Kinkōdō by specializing in the textbook market. Through Kinkōdō, it brought Japanese specialists and craftsmen to Shanghai. Here they built one of the largest production units for the textbook market in the country.[22]

The company's decision to specialize in the textbook market came at the most opportune time. In 1905, just two years after forming a partnership with Kinkōdō, the Qing government announced the abolition of the civil service examinations and the founding of a national school system. With a strong editorial board and an experienced team of printing technicians, the Commercial Press quickly won a lion's share of the textbook market, ensuring a constant flow of income. With its success in printing textbooks, the Commercial Press quickly overshadowed its rivals.[23] Yet there was a drawback to international collaboration. As the Chinese became sensitive to Japanese imperialism in the early 1910s, the Commercial Press had difficulty justifying its partnership with a Japanese company. After several attempts, the board of directors of the Commercial Press finally bought back its shares from Kinkōdō in 1914 and ended the eleven-year partnership.[24]

In short, the success of the Commercial Press was a testimony to the expansion of the readership market in China at the turn of the twentieth century. The Commercial Press became a giant printing house when it monopolized the textbook market for the new national school system. Certainly the partnership with Kinkōdō gave the press the advanced printing technology and the editing skills to defeat its competitors. But it was the press's decision to enter the textbook market early that gave it an advantage, and its nation-wide distribution network that made it unbeatable.

Markets, Circulation and Profits

A smaller but equally significant local printing and publishing company was the one owned by the Association for the Preservation of National Learning (*Guoxue baocunhui* 國學保存會). The list of the association's publications

21 Li Jiaju. *Shangwu yinshuguan*, pp. 50–60.

22 Li Jiaju. *Shangwu yinshuguan*, pp. 38–39, 54–60.

23 Li Jiaju. *Shangwu yinshuguan*, pp. 54–60; Li Renyuan. *Wanqing de xinshi chuanbo*, pp. 281–84; Tarumoto Teruo. *Shoki Shōmu inshokan kenkyū*, pp. 237–72.

24 Li Jiaju. *Shangwu yinshuguan*, pp. 50–51.

was long and included the *Journal of National Essence*, the *Cathay Art Book* (*Shenzhou guoguang ji* 神州國光集, see Fig. 4.1), the *Collected Works of National Essence* (*Guocui congshu* 國粹叢書), the *Collected Works of the Pavilion of Wind and Rain* (*Fengyulou congshu* 風雨樓叢書), as well as many history and geography textbooks.

As the list of publications reveals, some publications were clearly intended to generate profit. For example, the *Cathay Art Book* sought wealthy and cultured customers who could afford to pay high prices for refined and exotic works.[25] It contained photo-reproductions of large-scale art works printed with the most advanced collotype print technology imported from Japan. In a 1909 advertisement, it was stated that the photo-reproductions in the *Cathay Art Book* were so "close to real" (*bizhen* 逼真) that those who bought it would feel like they possessed the original art work.[26] Partly selling commercial products and partly promoting fine art, the *Cathay Art Book* catered to high-end customers who wanted to boost their social status by owning a piece of art.

Another source of profit for the Association for the Preservation of National Learning was the publication of textbooks. From 1905 to 1907, the association published textbooks for seven provinces within China proper on subjects such as history, geography, literature, ethic, and classical studies.[27] Considering that there were only eighteen administrative provinces in China proper, the association published textbooks for more than one third of the Han region. More importantly, the association began publishing textbooks immediately after the Manchu government announced the plan to build a national school system in 1904. Due to its early entry into the textbook market, the association became a major player in supplying textbooks to the new school system. For a short time, it was able to compete with the Commercial Press.

Yet, as the list of publications also shows, not all of the publications of the association were profitable. For instance, the association clearly lost money by publishing the *Journal of National Essence*. During the first three years of the journal (1905–1908), the entire publishing cost was covered by its two

25 See the advertisements for the *Cathay Art Book* in the *Journal of National Essence* 41–70 (1908–1910). For some titles of reprinted texts, see the advertisements for the first volume of *Guocui congshu* in the *Journal of National Essence* 27 (1907) and the first volume of *Fengyu lou congshu* in the *Journal of National Essence* 69 (1910).

26 See the advertisement for the *Cathay Art Book* in the *Journal of National Essence* 52 (1909).

27 For the publication of school textbooks, see the advertisement in *Journal of National Essence* 28 (1907).

FIGURE 4.1 *Cover page of the first issue of the* Cathay Art Book (Shenzhou guoguang ji 神州國光集). *In the lower left-hand corner, the editors reminded their readers that the reproduction of paintings was sponsored by the Association for the Preservation of National Learning.*

chief editors: Deng Shi 鄧實 (1877–1951) and Huang Jie 黃節 (1873–1935).[28] Although the financial situation of the journal improved after 1908 because of an increase in subscriptions, the pair continued to donate their own resources (from 100 to 200 silver *yuan* annually) to support publication.

Nevertheless, a financial loss was offset by a gain in cultural capital—a kind of profit measured in social status, professional networks, and influence in national discourse.[29] The two chief editors gained prestige and contacts with politicians, businessmen, and cultural leaders. Combining classical scholarship with art connoisseurship, the *Journal of National Essence* stood out with its thoughtful discussion of national affairs and its high quality of printing. Furthermore, the journal was aimed at the educated people who were perplexed by the abolition of the civil service examinations in 1905—the same year that the journal was founded.

Distributing no more than 500 copies per month, the *Journal of National Essence* was a small publication when compared to popular publications such as *The Globe Magazine* (*Wangguo gongbao* 萬國公報),[30] but it enjoyed all the conveniences of Shanghai, especially the shipping networks and the railroad lines. Through the sprawling transportation and distribution networks centered in Shanghai, the *Journal of National Essence* reached those parts of the country accessible by steam ships, sailing junks, and trains. In 1908, the total cost of the annual subscription of the *Journal of National Essence* was three silver dollars. And if anyone in the country added half a dollar more for the

28 See Deng Shi. 1905. "*Guoxue baocunhui xiaoji xu* 國學保存會小集敍 (Resolutions from the First Meeting of the Association for the Preservation of National Learning)," *Journal of National Essence* 1: 1a–1b. The editors claimed that they had collected enough money from donations and other sources to fund the publication of the journal in the first three years, a total of thirty-six issues.

29 For the concept of cultural capital (or symbolic capital), see Pierre Bourdieu. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 112–23. For the significance of Pierre Bourdieu's concept, see Moishe Postone, Edward LiPuma, and Craig Calhoun. 1993. "Introduction: Bourdieu and Social Theory," in Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma, and Moishe Postone, eds. *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 1–13.

30 Published in Shanghai, *The Globe Magazine* enjoyed a high volume of circulation. At the height of its circulation in 1898, it sold 38,400 copies. For a discussion of publishing in Shanghai during the turn of the twentieth century, see Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之. 2002. "Yanjiang chengshi yu xixue chuanbo 沿江城市與西學傳播 (Cities along the Yangzi River and the Dissemination of Western Learning)," in Zhang Zhongli 張仲禮, Xiong Yuezhi and Shen Zuwei 沈祖煒, eds. *Changjiang yanjiang chengshi yu Zhongguo jindaihua* 長江沿江城市與中國近代化 (Cities along the Yangzi River and Chinese Modernization). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, pp. 653–707.


國粹學報

第三年丁未第十一號

（第三十六期）

光緒三十三年十一月二十日

本號目錄

大清郵政局特准掛號認爲新聞紙類

本館開設在上海四馬路老巡捕房東首惠福里底

發行

謹告代派諸君

戊申價目表

增加圖畫更定價目特別廣告

刊誤

FIGURE 4.2 *The title page* (*left*) *and the back cover page* (*right*) *of the* Journal of Chinese Essence *II* (*1908*). *Note the subscription prices at the bottom of the back cover page. At the top of the back cover page, bookstore owners were urged to clear their accounts at the end of the year.*

postage, he or she would receive a copy of the journal monthly. In most cities, the reader received copies of the journal from a specified bookstore where the storeowner received commissions for handling distribution.

To ensure control over the distribution chain, the chief editors of the *Journal of National Essence* developed a system whereby local distributors collected the subscription fees and forwarded them to the Shanghai headquarters. In return, every month the Shanghai headquarters would mail copies of the new issue of the journal to its distributors who took a small portion of the subscription fees as service charge. In most cases, the Shanghai headquarters was able to receive the subscriptions fees from its local distributions. But since the Shanghai headquarters had difficulty keeping tight control of its local distributors, some local distributors never turned in the subscription money (See Fig. 4.2).[31]

This haphazard arrangement between the Shanghai headquarters and its distributors revealed fundamental problems in management. Unlike the Commercial Press which built a nation-wide network with professional

31 See the back cover page of the *Journal of National Essence* 11 (1908).

managers in charge of distribution, finance and supply, the Association for the Preservation of National Essence remained amateurish, still relying on personal relationships and impromptu decisions. Nevertheless, the *Journal of National Essence* made its reputation not by being a profitable journal, but by being a high quality publication that addressed the anxieties and aspirations of the educated.

National Learning as Cultural Capital

Just as the *Journal of National Essence* served two groups of readers, two groups of writers contributed to it. The first group of writers were young scholars in their thirties, including the two chief editors (Deng Shi and Huang Jie) and major contributors such as Chen Qubing 陳去病 (1874–1933), Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884–1919), and Zhang Taiyan章太炎 (1869–1936). Measured by traditional standards, this group of young scholars belonged to a class of lower-level literati who were still competing to pass the civil service examinations.

Some, such as Chen Qubing, Deng Shi and Zhang Taiyan, never took the examinations, and saw the system as part of the Qing's co-option of the literati. Others, such as Huang Jie, failed them and were deeply frustrated by the system. For these young scholars, the abolition of the examinations provided them with an opportunity to criticize the imperial system. For this reason, writing for the journal gave them a forum to become leaders in national discourse.

By contrast, most of the irregular contributors to the journal were established scholars. Usually older and the holders of examination degrees, these established scholars were attracted to the journal because of its claim to preserve "national essence" (*guocui* 國粹) and "national learning" (*guoxue* 國學). These established scholars did not always agree with the editors' radical viewpoints, as evidenced by their anti-Manchuism and their opposition to absolute monarchy. Nevertheless, they were happy that they were a part of a collective enterprise intended to create a system of national learning based on classical scholarship. For them, in the wake of the abolition of the civil service examinations, the journal served an important function of keeping classical studies relevant to political discourse when they were no longer linked to the selection of government officials.

Uniting these two groups of writers was their anxiety about the fate of China in the modern Eurocentric and technologically driven global system. For both groups, China's repeated defeats in wars with foreigners clearly showed the country's backwardness in competing for wealth and power. For both groups, the railroads, electricity, telegraphs, stylized buildings, and public

parks that appeared in the foreign concessions and leased areas showed the Westerners' technological superiority and material progress. In short, the two groups were concerned with China's place in the modern global system of capital in which Europeans (from Genoa to Holland to Great Britain) competed to dominate the methods and networks of capital accumulation.[32]

In the language of the 1900s, to put this question about China's position in the Eurocentric global system was to ask how China would catch up with the West in its social evolution. Known to the Chinese through Yan Fu's 嚴復 (1853–1921) translation of Edward Jenks' *A History of Politics*, the scientific law of social evolution went like this: in terms of political institution, all human communities had to develop from tribal alliances through feudal empires to nation-states; in terms of economic structure, all human communities had to develop from hunters and gatherers through farmers to industrialists; in terms of social system, all human communities had to develop from tribes through patrilineal families to professional classes.[33]

Regarding social evolution, Europeans might have been slow at the beginning, but they became more advanced once they mastered the skills and knowledge needed to build a nation-state, an industrial economy, and a mobile society made up of professionals and specialists. By contrast, China's evolution had been rapid in ancient times, especially in practicing large-scale farming, adopting the patrilineal family structure, and founding a powerful land-based empire. Yet China had remained an agrarian empire for thousands of years, from the Qin dynasty (221–204 BCE) to the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). The closed nature of Chinese empire, especially to its neighbors, limited the incorporation of new ideas and technology and hence hampered the empire's evolutionary progress.

For the writers of the *Journal of National Essence*, the only way to save China was to develop "ancient learning" (*guxue* 古學). "Just as Europeans underwent their rebirth of ancient studies in the fifteenth century" to usher the West into the age of nation-states, Deng Shi wrote, "the Chinese experienced their rebirth of ancient studies in the twentieth century" to catch up with

32 For an account of the development of European capitalism, see Giovanni Arrighi. 2010. *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times*, new and updated edition. London: Verso. See also Fernand Braudel. 1992. *Civilization & Capitalism 15th–18th Century*, 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press; Immanuel Wallerstein. 1974–1991. *The World System*, 3 vols. New York: Academic Press.

33 Yan Fu. 1904 [1981]. *Shehui tongquan* 社會通詮 (Principles of Society). Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, p. x.

the West.[34] To make the comparison appear more compelling, Deng matched events in China with those in Europe, making sure that his readers would see a direct connection between the Renaissance in the fourteenth century and the Chinese revival of ancient studies in the 1900s. Through these comparisons, he showed that the history of early modern Europe offered important insights for the development of twentieth-century China. If indeed the key to the Renaissance humanists' success were their promotion of scientific and rational thinking through a recovery of ancient thought, the twentieth-century Chinese would achieve the same result if they recovered the cultural heritage of the Eastern Zhou period (770–221 BCE).[35]

To the writers of the *Journal of National Essence*, the Eastern Zhou was more a metaphor than a historical period. Known in history as a time when leaders of feudal states were politically powerful and men of letters were the custodians of truth, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* saw the Eastern Zhou as a historical precedent when local autonomy and independent thinking were valued. To drive home their point, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* focused on the "Hundred Schools" of the Eastern Zhou period such as the Confucians, the Daoists, the Legalists, the Militarists, and the Logicians. For them, the goal of studying the Hundred Schools was not to revive ancient thought. Rather, it was to prove that there had been a wide variety of intellectual resources available in ancient China and the educated people used to be dominant players in political discourse.

In effect, by repeatedly making reference to the Eastern Zhou, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* demanded a new sociopolitical order in their own times. On the one hand, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* anticipated a transfer of power in cultural affairs from the political authority to the learned community. In particular, they had high hopes in the founding of the national school system. They believed that they would play a leading role in running schools, designing curriculums, and shaping the hearts and minds of millions of young Chinese students.

On the other hand, like the Hundred Schools in ancient China, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* wanted to claim an autonomous realm that would be free from the control of the government. For them, the history of absolute monarchy in China showed that the rulers had been skillful in shaping the cultural field to increase their own power. To prevent that from happening once again, these writers wanted to have the right to express their

34 Deng Shi. 1905. "Guxue fuxing lun 古學復興論 (On Reviving the Ancient Learning)," *Journal of National Essence* 9: 1b.

35 Ibid.: 2b–3b.

views freely, to assemble on their own initiative, and to challenge the government if they so desired.

In making these demands, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* were not being unrealistic. Owning a printing and publishing company that could reproduce texts in large numbers at a stunning speed, they knew that they possessed the technology necessary to shape the cultural field. Publishing a journal that reached different parts of China, they felt empowered to speak for educated Chinese citizens, if not for the entire nation. More importantly, having witnessed the rapid expansion of the print market since the 1890s, they knew that the day would come when professional writers like themselves could earn a living by writing for the reading public. And judging by their success in publishing the journal for seven consecutive years, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* were correct in believing that there was demand for thoughtful discussions about China's fate in the modern world.[36]

Professional Geographers and Public Intellectuals

Whereas "national learning" was the main attraction of the *Journal of National Essence*, national crisis was the selling point of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* (See Fig. 4.3). Founded in 1910, the *Journal of Geographical Studies* was the flagship publication of the first Chinese association for geographers—the Chinese Geographical Society (*Zhongguo dixuehui* 中國地學會). Unlike the Association for the Preservation of National Essence, which was a private organization devoted to a broadly defined "national learning," the Chinese Geographical Society was a professional association aimed at promoting the interest of those who specialized in geographical studies.

Its goal was to improve the professional standards of geographers such that their members would be qualified to teach in schools, to engage in debates on public affairs, and to become members of government think tanks. As such, the Chinese Geographical Society represented an additional step in the transition from a learned community composed of traditional literati to one of modern intellectuals. Rather than a hybrid organization of the old literati and

36 The readers of *Journal of National Essence* were scattered around the country including far-flung areas in the countryside. For instance, a scholar in Hubei province, Zhu Zhisan 朱峙三 (1886–1967) confided his joy in reading the *Journal of National Essence* to his diary. He was impressed by the artistic beauty and academic quality of the journal. At the same time, he was surprised that the Qing government did not suppress the journal for its blatant anti-Manchuism. See Zhu Zhisan. 2010. *Zhu Zhisan riji* 朱峙三日記 (The Diary of Zhu Zhisan). Hubei: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, pp. 225, 245.

new intellectuals of the sort found in the Association for the Preservation for National Essence, the Chinese Geographical Society was a professional association dedicated to serving the new intellectuals.

At the same time, with its headquarters located in Beijing, the Chinese Geographical Society was far away from the publishing hub of Shanghai. Unlike the Association for the Preservation for National Essence, the Chinese Geographical Society did not own a printing plant. Instead, it depended on the major presses in Shanghai (particularly the Commercial Press) to print and distribute its journal. To a great extent, the reliance on the Shanghai printing works reflected an important change in the Chinese print market during the 1910s and 1920s. In stark contrast to the 1900s, when small printing houses could compete with major publishing companies, in the 1910s and 1920s, the print market was monopolized by what Christopher Reed calls "the three legs of the tripod"—the Commercial Press, Zhonghua Books, and World Books—each of which had their headquarters in Shanghai.[37]

While the editors of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* were eager to portray geographers as professional educators, they also enthusiastically presented themselves as public-minded intellectuals. Among the writers of the *Journal of Geographical Studies*, Bai Meichu 白眉初, also known as Bai Yueheng 白月恆 (1876–1940), was most active in participating in public debates. In 1912, for instance, Bai inserted himself into debates about revamping the administrative division of the new Republican government.[38] In the 1920s and 1930s, he wrote commentaries on Sun Yat-sen's plans for rebuilding China (*Jianguo dagang* 建國大綱)[39] and suggested the Guomindang leaders build the new capital in Beijing.[40]

To show that geographers were ready to oppose foreign aggressors, on two occasions both the editors and the writers adamantly protested against what they perceived to be injustices committed against China. The first occasion was the Versailles Settlement of 1919 when the Allied Powers, without consulting the Chinese government, allowed the Japanese to take over German colonies in the Shandong province. To direct readers' attention to the unfair treatment of China, from 1919 to 1923, the editors of the *Journal of Geographical Studies*

37 See Reed. *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 203–56.

38 Bai Meichu. 1912. "Liding xingzheng quyu beikao 釐定行政區域備考 (Suggestions on Reorganizing the Administrative Districts)," *Journal of Geographical Studies* 7–8: 1a–14b; 9–10: 8b–15b.

39 Bai Meichu. 1931. *Zuixin wuzhi jianshe jingjie* 最新物質建設精解 (The Newest Explanation of Material Construction). Beiping: Jianshe tushuguan.

40 Bai Meichu. 1933. "Luoyang yu Chang'an 洛陽與長安 (Luoyang and Chang'an)," *Journal of Geographical Studies*, no. 1: 1–9.

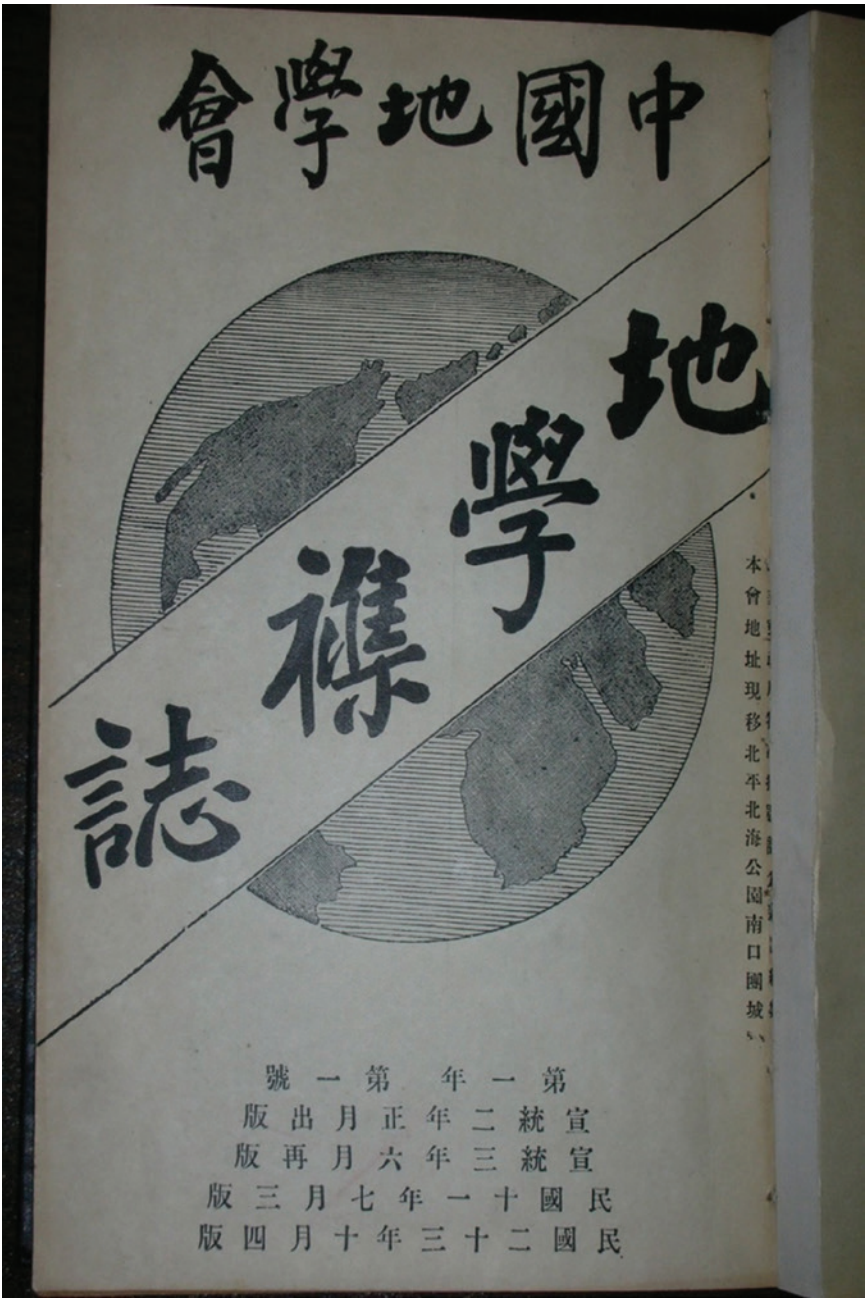

FIGURE 4.3 *The cover of the first issue of the* Journal of Geographical Studies *(1910).*

continuously published articles to urge the Chinese government to reclaim Qingdao (the major seaside city in Shandong) and to prevent the expansion of Japanese influence in the Shandong province.[41]

The second occasion was the return of Lüshun (Port Arthur) and Dalian from Russia to China in 1923. Deeply disturbed by the Japanese attempts to halt the return of the two port cities when the Russian lease expired, the editors of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* published "An Emergency Announcement from the Chinese Geographical Society" (本會緊要啓事) in the combined third and fourth issue of 1923. In the "Emergency Announcement," the editors of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* called on its readers to follow the event closely, making sure that the Chinese government would take the necessary measures to reclaim the two strategically located harbors. To highlight the urgency of the matter, the editors broke the rules of the journal by printing a full-page "Editors Advertisement" (編輯廣告) in the same issue. In the advertisement, the editors told readers "not to forget March 26th, 1923, the day when the Russian lease expired and we should claim back Lüshun and Dalian." (See Fig. 4.4).[42]

Despite intense market competition, the continuous publication of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* for more than two decades helped boost the professional image of geographers. Edited by its founder Zhang Xiangwen 張相文 (1867–1933), and later by his son Zhang Xinglang 張星烺 (1889–1951), the journal was published monthly based on donations and subscriptions. The most famous donors were the President of the Chinese Republic, Li Yuanhong 黎元洪, and the General of Jiangsu Province, Li Xieyuan 李燮元, who in 1923 gave the Chinese Geographical Society a large sum of money to purchase a piece of land in the Beihai district of Beijing to build the society's permanent headquarters.[43] The size of the available land was doubled when the head of

41 From 1919 to 1921, articles in *Journal of Geographical Studies* did not always carry bylines. See, for instance, "Qingdao zuijin guancha 青島最近觀察 (Recent Observations on Qingdao)," *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1919, nos. 9–10: 9a–10b; Tong Yi 通一. 1920. "Shandong zhi houhuan 山東之後患 (The Lingering Problems of Shandong)," *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1920, no. 7: 12–18; "Riben jingying Shandong neidi zhi diaocha 日本經營山東內地之調查 (An Investigation of the Japanese Investment in the Interior of Shandong)," *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1921, nos. 6–7: 67–89; "Zuijin Qingdao riren zhuanglue 最近青島日人狀略 (A Report on the Recent Activities of the Japanese in Qingdao)," *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1921, nos. 6–7: 89–91.

42 *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1923, nos. 3–4.

43 Zhang Xinglang 張星烺. 1933. "Siyang Zhang Dungu jushi nianpu 泗陽張沌谷居士年譜 (A Chronology of the Buddhist Layman Zhang Dungu [Zhang Xiangwen] from Xiyang)," *Journal of Geographical Studies* 2: 40.

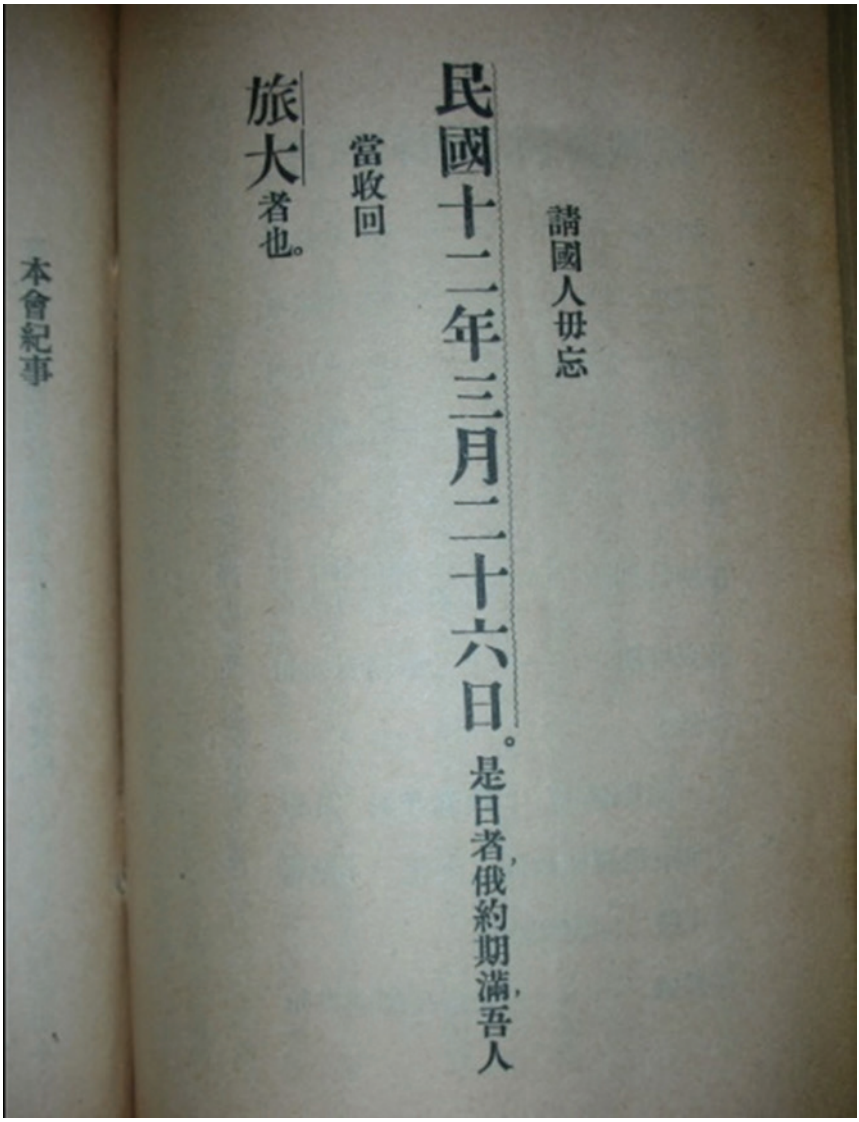

FIGURE 4.4 *The full-page "Editors' Advertisment" from the* Journal of Geographical Studies *on the return of Lüshun and Dalian. The editors started the advertisement with a plea urging "the people of our country not to forget (Lüshun and Dalian)."*

the Beijing army allowed the Chinese Geographical Society to use adjacent public land. Thus, by cultivating good relationships with national and local leaders, the journal built a firm foundation in the Beijing-Tianjin area.

In addition to donations, the journal made money by selling copies nationwide through subscriptions and a sprawling network of sale agents.

For instance, in 1928, after a four-year hiatus, copies of the revived journal were sold for $2.8 Mexican silver dollars for an annual subscription and $0.7 Mexican silver dollars for an individual issue.[44] Although there is no record of the number of subscribers, it is clear that as late as 1936, a year before the termination of the journal, the editors still viewed subscriptions as a major source of income, charging $2.0 Mexican silver dollars for an annual subscription, and $0.5 Mexican silver dollars for one issue.[45] Besides subscriptions delivered by mail, copies of the journal were sold in bookstores throughout China. In 1924, for instance, a reader could purchase a copy of the journal in many large cities in China, either at a major bookstore or at an academic institution.[46] With this extensive network to ensure a healthy circulation, writers in the *Journal of Geographical Studies* could be confident that their efforts would reach a wide audience.

Together, close connections with political leaders and a direct influence on general readers provided the writers of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* with an identity as public-opinion leaders. As specialists, they believed that they had the expertise and information needed to offer informed advice to the public. As scholars, they believed that they could offer independent analyses that were not tied to any political predisposition but rather serving the long-term interests of the country. As teachers, they believed that they could provide the training required by Chinese citizens to become productive and engaged members of the Chinese nation.[47]

To train Chinese citizens, the Chinese Geographical Society enthusiastically supported the educational reforms of the Chinese government, regardless of whether it was Manchu or Republican.[48] For example, the founder of the association, Zhang Xiangwen, made a reputation for himself by publishing a number of popular geography textbooks including *A Primary School Textbook for Chinese Geography* 蒙學中國地理教科書 (1902), *A Secondary*

44 See the back cover page of the *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1928, no. 1.

45 See the back cover page of the *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1936, no. 3.

46 See the back cover page of the *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 1924. Due to financial problems, only one issue of the *Journal of Geographical Studies* appeared in 1924.

47 For a study of the public persona of the Chinese Geographical Society, see Han Ziqi 韓子奇 (Tze-ki Hon). 2008. "Jinru shijie de cuozhe yu ziyou: Ershi shijichu de *Dixue zazhi* 進入世界的挫折與自由: 二十世紀初的《地學雜誌》(The Trials and Tribulations of Joining Global Capitalism: The *Journal of Geographical Studies* in Early Twentieth-Century China)," *Xin shixue* 新史學 (New History) 19: 2, 151–77.

48 For the publications of Zhang Xiangwen, see Zhang Xinglang 1933. "Siyang Zhang Dungu jushi nianpu," *Journal of Geographical Studies* 2: 13–19.

School Textbook for Geographical Studies 蒙學中國地理教科書 (1905), and *A Textbook for Geology* 地質學教科書 (1905). In addition, to better educate the nation's schoolteachers, the journal editors published large numbers of articles on cartography, geology, mineralogy, physical geography, urban planning, water control and irrigation.[49] Some articles even provided updated information about how geography was taught in Europe and the United States.[50]

Conclusion

In reviewing the developments of the two journals, it is clear that print, profit, and perception successively influenced the publishing industry. Whereas print technology gave an impetus to the growth of the print market, the rapid increase in the number of readers reinforced the need for faster and more efficient printing presses. Also fueling the expansion of the readership market were the national crises of China's failures in global competition, and the drastic political and social reforms that turned imperial subjects into citizens. In selling cultural products, national crises and national projects were lucrative assets because they drew immediate attention from the readers. Yet while print, profit, and perception each played a role in changing the Chinese publishing industry, at any given moment, it was always a combination of factors—cultural, economic, political, or technological—that shaped the players' decisions.

One difficult decision was readership. In the 1900s, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* found themselves in an awkward situation where they were neither "global" enough to be part of the transnational enterprises (such as the Commercial Press), nor "local" enough to specialize in serving the wealthy clients of the up-scale antique and bibliographic markets. This conundrum forced the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* to ponder different options. As the "middle realm" between the state and the people, should they serve

49 For geology, mineralogy and seismology see Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗. 1912. "Zhonghua dizhi diaocha siyi 中華地質調查私議 (My Personal Views on Chinese Geological Studies)," *Journal of Geographical Studies* 1: 1–15; Cun Wu 存吾. 1921. "Dizhen zhi yanjiu 地震之研究 (The Study of Earthquakes)," *Journal of Geographical Studies*, 4: 1–23. For physical and human geography see Sheng Jugong 盛聚功. 1923. "Dili zai renlei lishi zhong de qianshili 地理在人類歷史中的潛勢力 (Geography's Hidden Force on the History of Humankind)," *Journal of Geographical Studies* 3–4: 1–23.

50 See Cun Wu. 1921. "Jindai dili zhi qiyuan 近代地理之起源 (The Origins of Modern Geography)," *Journal of Geographical Studies* 3: 1–8; Yao Cunwu 姚存吾. 1922. "Dilixue zhi jieshi 地理學之解釋 (Explaining Geography)," *Journal of Geographical Studies* 1: 1–14.

the government by joining the propaganda regime, or should they continue to preserve their independence as "the voice of the people" in the print market? When the nation was under threat, should they focus on making profits by telling readers what they wanted to hear, or should they save the nation by writing what readers should know? Eventually, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* settled on the literati as their prime readers. They believed that the literati would be the cultural leaders of the new Chinese nation because of their deep knowledge of China's past and their self-sacrificing mission. Although the literati were small in number in the readership market, the writers of the *Journal of National Essence* believed that it was worthwhile to trade market share for a bigger impact on future national leaders.

Another difficult decision was how to present national crises. By the 1920s, many Chinese intellectuals realized that the nation-state system was not an open field for technology transfer and the flow of resources. Rather, it was a monopolistic network of appropriation and dispossession managed by a small group of European states.[51] If the Chinese wanted to enjoy the benefits of the global flow of capital and technology, they must first strengthen the Chinese nation. To do so, the Chinese intellectuals must give up their independence as "the voice of the people" in order to join the national regime of power to promote "anti-imperialistic nationalism." Ironically, as shown the writings in the *Journal of Geographical Studies*, the rise of "anti-imperialistic nationalism" did not imply a decrease in interest in the Eurocentric global system of exchange and communication. On the contrary, it signified an affirmation of the global system such that the strengthening of the Chinese nation became the prerequisite for fully participating in the system.

The third decision was how to use the school system to sell cultural products. Paradoxically, while it was the founding of the national school system in the first decade of the twentieth century that fuelled the enthusiasm of young scholars to enter into the print market, by the mid-1920s the national school system became part of the state apparatus, controlling intellectuals via faculty appointments, curriculum reforms, and approving licenses for publishing textbooks. Once a liberating force, intellectuals were no longer the middle realm

51 For the details of this change of perspective among Chinese intellectuals, see Xu Guoqi 徐國琦. 2005. *China and the Great Power*: *China's Pursuit of a New Identity and Internationalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 278–82. For a theoretical discussion of the transition from *laissez-faire* capitalism to state capitalism, see Frederick Pollock. 1989. "State Capitalism: Its Possibilities and Limitations," in Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas Mackay Kellner, eds. *Critical Theory and Society*. New York: Routledge, pp. 95–118.

linking the state with society. On the contrary, they became the "state nobility" with the responsibility for shaping the minds and hearts of young Chinese students.[52]

Overall, despite the challenge of making difficult decisions at trying times, players in the Chinese publishing industry had done well during the first three decades of twentieth century. As shown in the writings of the *Journal of National Essence* and the *Journal of Geographical Studies*, the authors realized that the Chinese publishing industry was a small part of the global system of exchange and circulation. They also knew that they were responding to both domestic and foreign forces when they looked for a niche in the reader market. Above all, they were fully aware that as cultural producers, they must compete and innovate constantly in order to succeed.

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52 For a discussion about how geographers were co-opted into the state apparatus to promote "anti-imperialistic nationalism," see Tze-ki Hon. 2011. "Marking the Boundaries: The Rise of Historical Geography in Republican China," in Brian Moloughney and Peter Zarrow, eds. *Transforming History: The Making of a Modern Academic Discipline in Twentieth-century China*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, pp. 303–33.

CHAPTER 5

Medical Advertising and Cultural Translation: The Case of *Shenbao* in Early Twentieth-Century China

Max K. W. Huang

Advertisements in *Shenbao*, one of the largest and most influential commercial newspapers in Republican Shanghai, have attracted much scholarly attention. Scholars have studied this material from diverse perspectives, attempting to understand the roles advertising played in this newspaper and what conceptual and socio-cultural phenomena were mirrored in these ads. Important new findings have emerged in recent scholarship on this topic. Wang Runian's 王儒年 monograph provides a comprehensive discussion of the cultural meaning of *Shenbao* advertising. He argues that the advertisements in *Shenbao* are evidence of the pervasiveness of consumerism in modern China. The ads promoted a hedonistic worldview, defined new gender roles, and shaped nationalistic and individual identities.[1]

Other scholars have echoed or supplemented this argument. Some have used the advertisements to demonstrate the spread of new ideas, the formation of new knowledge, and the shaping of new role models. For example, pen ads were used to examine the relationship between writing and identity building. Soap ads reflected the rise of the modern idea of hygiene and the introduction of new smells. Ads for clothes, daily necessities, and cosmetics helped to establish new ideals of the "modern girl," "modern housewife," and "ideal woman."[2] However, these ads did not necessarily make up a completely new

1 Wang Runian. 2007. *Yuwang de xiangxiang: 1920–1930 niandai Shenbao guanggao de wenhuashi yanjiu* 欲望的想像: 1920–1930 年代《申報》廣告的文化史研究 (Imagining the Desires: A Cultural History of *Shenbao* Advertising, 1920s–1930s). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.

2 Liao Peijun 廖佩君. 2010. *Qingjie, weisheng yu minguo shiqi de xiaofei wenhua* 清潔、衛生與民國時期的消費文化 (Cleanliness, Hygiene, and Consumer Culture in Republican China). MA dissertation. Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University; Tani E. Barlow. 2008. "Buying In: Advertising and the Sexy Modern Girl Icon in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s," in Alsy Eve Weinbaum et al., eds. *The Modern Girl Around the World*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 288–316. Weipin Tsai. 2010. *Reading Shenbao: Nationalism, Consumerism, and Individuality in China, 1919–37*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 71–102. Zhu Pingyi 祝平一.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004259119_007

world, but rather a world combining elements from China and the West, the new and the old, with "multiplicities in time, space, language, and imagery." For example, many advertisements juxtaposed images of China and the West in a fictional fashion "just as the city juxtaposed them in reality."[3]

Medical advertising in *Shenbao* in particular shows this tendency toward juxtaposition. *Shenbao* carried a wide variety of medical advertisements that created new knowledge of the human body by combining Chinese and Western elements. The medicines being advertised were basically of two types: all-purpose medicines claiming to cure all diseases, and medicine to cure specific diseases concerning, chiefly, the *shen* 腎 (kidney), *xue* 血 (blood) and *nao* 腦 (brain). Pharmaceutical companies in China skillfully utilized knowledge from both Western and Chinese medical traditions to promote their products, contributing to the establishment of a new narrative about the human body. This narrative had a far-flung influence in China beginning in the late Qing. Its importance may have exceeded the impact of "professional" medical knowledge circulated through professional medical journals and institutions. Practically speaking, this hybrid medical discourse effectively changed the image of both Chinese and Western medicine and increased their market value.[4]

Recent studies have further deepened our understanding of medical advertisements and their cultural context. For example, Sherman Cochran's *Chinese Medicine Men* shows how economic globalization affected Chinese medical markets. He suggests two distinct ways consumer culture developed, a "top-down process of homogenization" and a "bottom-up process of localization." Local entrepreneurs acted as brokers positioned between the two processes. The brokers transformed foreign goods into "domestic" goods and introduced new Western products to small inland towns and Chinese communities in South-East Asia. He emphasizes that medical advertisements played

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2001. "Sushen meirong, guanggao yu Taiwan jiuling niandai de shenti wenhua 塑身美容、廣告與臺灣九O年代的身體文化 (Cosmetics, Advertisements, and Body Culture in 1990s Taiwan)," in Lu Jianrong 盧建榮 ed. *Wenhua yu quanli: Taiwan xin wenhua shi* 文化與權力——臺灣新文化史 (Culture and Power: Taiwan's New Cultural History). Taiwan: Maitian, pp. 259–296.

3 Barbara Mittler. 2004. *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872–1912*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, pp. 318–321.

4 Huang Ko-wu 黃克武. 1988. "Cong *Shenbao* yiyao guanggao kan minchu Shanghai de yiliao wenhua yu shehui shenghuo, 1912–1926 從申報醫藥廣告看民初上海的醫療文化與社會生活, 1912–1926 (Medical Culture and Social Life in the Early Republican Shanghai Seen through Medical Advertisements in *Shenbao*)," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica) 17, pt. 2: 141–194.

an important role in the sale of new medicines. For example, Huang Chujiu 黃楚九, manager of the Great China-France Drugstores (*Zhongfa da yaofang* 中法大藥房), successfully sold new foreign drugs using creative advertising tactics.[5] Zhang Ning's 張寧 study of "Ailuo Brain Tonic" (*Ailuo bunao zhi* 艾羅補腦汁)—Huang Chujiu's brand product—echoes Cochran's argument. Zhang demonstrates that advertisements for this tonic simultaneously drew upon Western theories about the "brain" and the "nerves" and the Daoist concept of the "brain as the sea of marrow" (*nao wei sui hai* 腦爲髓海). The ad claimed that the "brain is the master of the whole body," and this medicine not only benefited the brain, but also cured diseases of other organs of the human body.[6]

Both Sherman Cochran and Zhang Ning have shown that the selling of Western medical products in China to some extent depended on tactics of localization. One tactic, for instance, was to make the content of foreign advertisements more understandable and acceptable to a Chinese audience. Wu Fangzheng's 吳方正 study of a *Shenbao* advertisement for the "electric belt" provides an excellent example. This product was imported from America and its original name was "Dr. Mclaughlin's electric belt." The American advertisements for the belt featured heroic images from Greek and Roman myths or figures from the Biblical tradition, such as Samson, to convey a sense of "strength." In *Shenbao*'s 1905 advertisement for the same product, the Western images of strong men were abandoned and replaced by an image of a late Qing Chinese man with a bald forehead and a queue.[7]

Interestingly, however, the Chinese advertisement still kept the naked body used in the American advertisement. Wu is suspicious of the efficiency of this advertising tactic which combined a Chinese head with a Western body, but he

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5 Sherman Cochran. 2006. *Chinese Medicine Men: Consumer Culture in China and Southeast Asia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 38–63.

6 Zhang Ning 張寧. 2012. "Nao wei yishen zhi zhu: cong Ailuo bunao zhi kan jindai Zhongguo shentiguan de bianhua 腦爲一身之主：從「艾羅補腦汁」看近代中國身體觀的變化 (Brain is the Master of the Whole body: Ailuo Brain Tonic and the Changing Concept of the Body in China)," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica) 74: 19–22.

7 Carl Crow, who was in the advertising business in Shanghai in the early Republican period, mentioned a similar idea in selling patent medicines. He said "Suppose we could tell you that the Samson-like strength of some living Chinese athlete was due to the use of the same tonic that, many centuries ago, helped Genghis Khan to become the ruler of the world! Wouldn't that be convincing? . . . I am sure that in the main it would be effective." Carl Crow. 1939. *Four Hundred Million Customers*. New York: Halcyon House, pp. 212–213.

argues that it heralded the coming of "nude paintings" in China.[8] Wu further compares the ads for the same product across different contexts and shows the importance of alteration, appropriation, and localization in advertising tactics in global markets. Wu's study opens up a new perspective for comparative studies of advertising. Applying this method to analyze medical advertising, we may better understand the ways in which the hybrid concept of the human body took shape in the early Republican period.

This chapter extends Wu's method by comparing several different advertisements for the same medicines that appeared in Republican China and in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Japan, and Taiwan. In keeping with the core concern of this book—local perceptions of global knowledge—the focus of the analysis is on the role of transnational "cultural translation" in medical advertising. By emphasizing advertising, a critical means of promoting products and introducing ideas, it directly engages another central tenet of this volume: the role of profit in knowledge transmission. "Translation" in this essay does not merely refer to the literal translation of advertising texts. Rather, it is understood as the hypothetical or metaphorical analogy between a "host language" and a "guest language" by way of interpretation, appropriation and allegory.

It is crucial to note that advertising's transnational translation operated in an ambiguous middle zone.[9] Chinese advertising agents and the Chinese branches of foreign pharmaceutical companies played the key role in filtering and re-fashioning the content of advertisements within this "middle zone." They added Chinese elements to original advertisements in order to boost sales. This commercial strategy of cultural translation is key to the emergence of new knowledge of the human body in the early-twentieth-century Chinese press.

Understanding the Human Body in Early Republican China

The typology of knowledge of the human body in the early Republican period was complicated. Generally speaking, there were three paradigms: a Chinese

8 Wu Fangzheng 吳方正. 2009. "Ershi shiji Zhongguo yiliao guanggao tuxiang yu shenti miaohui 二十世紀初中國醫療廣告圖像與身體描繪 (Medical Advertising Images and Depictions of the Body in Early Twentieth Century China)," *Yishuxue yanjiu* 藝術學研究 (Journal of Art Studies) 4: 87–151.

9 See Lydia Liu. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 40–41.

medical tradition centering on the concepts of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, and the theory of the five elements (*wuxing* 五行); Western medical knowledge resulting from modern scientific developments; and a hybrid paradigm combining ideas taken from both Chinese and Western fields of medical knowledge. The three paradigms coexisted in the early Republican period and still exist today in broadly defined Chinese communities in Mainland China, Taiwan, and abroad.

The Chinese medical tradition has a long history. In the early Republican period it remained a living tradition and had tremendous influence on people's daily lives. Yun Yuding 惲毓鼎 (1863–1918), a traditional Chinese doctor, is a good example of this living tradition. Yun, a native of Changzhou in Jiangsu province, received a *jinshi* degree in 1889 and soon became an officer in the Imperial Diary Office, a lecturer at the Hanlin Academy, and a Chief Editor at the Historiography Institute. After the 1911 revolution, Yun resided in Beijing as a Qing loyalist, earning a living by selling calligraphy and practicing medicine. According to his diary, he started learning traditional Chinese medicine in 1901 through self-study, applying the same method he used to study the Confucian classics. He was convinced that traditional medical books contained reliable knowledge and used this knowledge to treat his patients. Yun also called for the establishment of medical schools to teach traditional medicine in an institutionalized fashion instead of through the old method of apprenticeship.[10] Although Yun had studied Western medicine, his views and practices illustrate the sustaining power of the first paradigm.[11] There were numerous supporters of traditional medicine like Yun at the time. A foreigner in Shanghai observed in the early twentieth century that many people who attended modern schools still held an unshakable trust in traditional medicine and traditional doctors.[12] Throughout the 1930s, in spite of the ongoing debates between followers of Chinese and Western medicines, the traditional medical paradigm still thrived and gained support from social notables such as Chen Lifu 陳立夫 and Chen Guofu 陳果夫.[13] Its power even persisted in the 1950s under communist rule.

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10 Yun Yuding 惲毓鼎. 2004. *Yun Yuding chengzhai riji* 惲毓鼎澄齋日記 (The Diary of Yun Yuding). Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, p. 614.

11 Another example of a traditional doctor is Zhang Xichun 張錫純 (1860–1933). See Angelika C. Messner. 2004. "On Translating Western Psychiatry into the Chinese Context in Republican China," *Mapping Meanings*. Leiden: Brill, p. 650.

12 Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers*, p. 206.

13 Frederic Wakeman, Jr. 2007. "Occupied Shanghai: The Struggle between Chinese and Western Medicine," in Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel, eds., *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–45*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 265–287.

The second paradigm stemmed from the introduction of modern Western medical knowledge by missionaries and overseas students from the late Qing era onward. We can take Du Keming 杜克明 and Cheng Hanzhang 程瀚章, editors of a column called "Advice on Matters of Medicine and Hygiene" (*Yishi weisheng guwen* 醫事衛生顧問) in the *Ladies' Journal* (*Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌), as an example of how this new knowledge was accepted and circulated. Du Keming, a graduate of the Tongji Medical College in Shanghai, took charge of the column for three months in 1925. Cheng Hanzhang, who took over editorship of the column from Du in the same year, was born in 1895 and once worked at the Commercial Press, participating in the editing of many primary and middle school textbooks on hygiene. He also compiled medical dictionaries and published many books about sports medicine.

Both Du and Cheng were advocates of "modern medical concepts" while "criticizing superstitious traditional Chinese medicine." For them, Western medicine was based on science and could be verified by solid empirical evidence. Chinese medicine was based on the ideas of *yin*/*yang* and the five elements, which, to them, were "empty and deceitful." They criticized the use of Chinese herbs and traditional prescriptions and supported the use of "scientific" Western medicines.[14]

The third paradigm was a synthesis of both Chinese and Western concepts. Although Western medical knowledge had arrived in China in the late Ming Dynasty, traditional concepts of the human body remained dominant in Chinese society for centuries. During the Republican period, the "specter of the traditional view of the human body" became a major obstacle to Western doctors' medical practices. Sometimes the doctors had to resort to traditional concepts and terms, such as "fire in liver" (*ganhuo* 肝火) and "kidney deficiency" (*shenkui* 腎虧), in order to effectively communicate with their patients and gain their trust.[15] This vividly attests to the popularity of the hybrid paradigm. This paradigm has three features: First, it was an unsystematic synthesis of Western and Chinese medical knowledge, and was subject to external changes

14 Chang Che-chia 張哲嘉. 2004. "*Funü zazhi* zhongde yishi weisheng guwen《婦女雜誌》中的「醫事衛生顧問」(The "Medical Advisory Column" in the *Ladies' Journal*)," *Jindai Zhongguo funüshi yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究 (Research on Women in Modern Chinese History) 12: 145–168.

15 Chang Che-chia, "*Funü zazhi* zhongde yishi weisheng guwen," 157–158; Lei Hsiang-lin 雷祥麟. 2003. "Fu zeren de yisheng yu you xinyang de bingren: Zhongxiyi lunzheng yu yibing guanxi zai minguo shiqi de zhuanbian 負責任的醫生與有信仰的病人：中西醫論爭與醫病關係在民國時期的轉變 (Accountable Doctors and Loyal Patients: Transformation of Doctor-Patient Relationships in Republican Period)," *Xin Shixue* 新史學 (New History) 14: 45–96.

FIGURE 5.1 *Chinese woman image in Carl Crow's* Four Hundred Million Customers.

in situation and information. Second, criteria for accepting or refuting certain concepts came from medical practices. Third, mass media, especially medical advertisements, played a vital role in shaping and disseminating hybrid ideas of medicine and the human body.

To better comprehend this hybrid paradigm, we must trace how it was formed. Its establishment was the result of an interaction between intellectual and practical factors, the contestation and negotiation between systems of knowledge, notions of the body, and cultural power.[16] Mass media may have been the most immediate agent. News and advertising agencies, whose members formed the Advertising Club of Shanghai, took up the task of translating advertisements. For example, Carl Crow "found it profitable to handle advertising from American companies that need their advertising translated and placed in local newspapers." A caption in Crow's book stated: "We always redraw the picture in China." Here, redrawing meant creating an image of a

16 See Yang Nianqun 楊念群. 2006. *Zaizao bingren: zhongxi yi chongtu xia de kongjian zhengzhi* 再造病人：中西醫衝突下的空間政治 (1832–1985) (Reproducing the Patient: Geopolitics in Conflicts between Chinese and Western Medicines, 1832–1985). Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe.

Chinese woman familiar to Chinese readers (See Fig. 5.1).[17] Seen in this light, *Shenbao* advertising provides an excellent site for observing practices of transnational "cultural translation." The rest of the chapter examines several examples to illustrate how international cultural translation affected medical advertising as well as the typology of knowledge of the human body in China.

Medical Advertising and Cultural Translation

When medicines from the West and Japan flooded Chinese markets in the late Qing and early Republican periods, Chinese pharmaceutical companies created "new medicines" to compete with foreign products. "New medicines" was a name created in 1927 in Shanghai indicating a medicine containing the ingredients from China, Japan or Western countries. They were neither Chinese nor Western; therefore a new name was created accordingly. The new medicine makers even established an association for makers of new medicines (*xinyao gonghui* 新藥公會).[18] The competition between imported Western medicines and new medicines boosted medical advertising in the periodical press. Thus, medical advertisements occupied a significant portion of the ad pages in *Shenbao*, the *Ladies' Journal*, and the *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌), among others. As mentioned above, *Shenbao*'s medical advertising focused mainly on medicines for *shen* (kidney), *nao* (brain) and *xue* (blood). In the following section I will examine these three categories respectively.

1 *Kidney Pills*

Doan's Kidney Pills, sold by Foster-McClellan Company, is a good example of the strategy of transcultural translation in selling medicine. This medicine was invented by Canadian pharmacologist James Doan (1846–1916), whose biography is as follows:

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17 Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers*, p. 105; Paul French. 2006. *Carl Crow—A Tough Old China Hand: The Life, Times, and Adventures of an American in Shanghai*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 91–97.

18 Zhang Ning 張寧. 2008. "Asipiling zai Zhongguo: Minguo shiqi Zhongguo xinyaoye yu Deguo Bai'er yaochang de shangbiao zhengsong 阿司匹靈在中國－民國時期中國新藥業與德國拜耳藥廠問的商標爭訟 (Aspirin in China: Trade Mark Disputes between China's Pharmaceutical Industry and I.G. Farben, 1936–49)," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica) 59: 103.

> Mr. Doan was a graduate pharmacologist and operated his own business in Kingsville from 1867 to 1904. He was the original proprietor of "Doan's Kidney Pills" extensively sold throughout the North American continent. It is reported that during the introductory period, he exchanged his pills for pharmaceutical requirements with T. Milburn Co. of Toronto, Ont. Later due to increased demand, Mr. Doan sold the rights to T. Milburn Co. and the U.S. rights to Foster Milburn and the foreign rights to Foster-McClelland [*sic*] Co. These sales were completed about six years before his retirement from business in 1904.[19]

The company established branch offices in many places around the world, including New York, London, Sydney, and Shanghai. Evidence from guidebooks and other materials shows that the local offices of the Foster-McClellan Company in Shanghai (*Douanshi yaofang* 兜安氏藥房) were located in no. 9 Sijing Road in 1908, Henan Road in 1914, no. 5 Beijing Road from 1920–1925, and no. 71 Jiangxi Road in 1930.[20] These locations were all in the most bustling areas within the International Settlement and were only two or three blocks from the famous Huifangli brothel.

The Foster-McClellan Company's products included medicine or tonic for the kidney, the blood, the lungs, pain relief, and cholera. Among the most well-known were *Douanshi mizhi baoshenwan* 兜安氏秘製保腎丸 (Doan's Secretly Made Kidney Pills). The pill's ingredients included "oil of juniper and . . . potassium nitrate, together with a considerable proportion of resinous substance, and of powdered fenugreek seeds and wheat and maize starches."[21] The fenugreek seed deserves a special notice. Known in Chinese medicine as *huluba* 葫蘆巴, fenugreek was originally cultivated in the Mediterranean area and was introduced to China in the Tang or Song Dynasty. In traditional

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19 Alfred Alder Doane and Gilbert Jones Doane. 1961. *The Doane Family*. Boston: Gilbert Jones Doane, p. 32. The name of the company should be "Foster-McClellan." It seems that "Doan" is a variation of "Doane."

20 For these addresses see *The Straits Times* (Singapore), 19 November 1909, p. 10 col. 4; Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo 商務印書館編譯所 ed. 1914. *Shanghai zhinan* 上海指南 (The Shanghai Guidebook). Shanghai: Commercial Press, 6: 12; Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo 商務印書館編譯所編 ed. 1925 *Shanghai zhinan* 上海指南 (The Shanghai Guidebook). Shanghai: Commercial Press; Lin Zhen 林震 ed. 1930. *Shanghai zhinan* 上海指南 (The Shanghai Guidebook). Shanghai: Commercial Press.

21 See British Medical Association, ed. 1909. *Secret Remedies—What They Cost and What They Contain*. London: British Medical Association, pp. 67–69.

FIGURE 5.2 *Doan's Secretly Made Kidney Pills*, Shenbao, *17 March 1914*.

Chinese medicine, fenugreek seeds have been used to treat illness relating to *shen*, and have been also considered helpful to increase male sexuality.[22]

But in the early 1920s Doan's kidney pills were identified as a "nostrum" in the United States.[23] There was a definite tension between "scientific" Western medicine and Western quackery. On the one hand Chinese advertisements for this product drew upon traditional Chinese concepts such as *mizhi* 秘製 (secretly made) and *shenkui* or *shenxu* 腎虛 (kidney deficiency, or adrenal fatigue) (See Fig. 5.2). On the other hand, the text introduced the Western medical theory that the kidney's function is to filter urine and blood, and therefore the medicine could cure symptoms such as backache, edema, and problems with urination, rheumatism, and numbness (See Fig. 5.3).[24] This introductory

22 The function of fenugreek is described in Li Shizhen 李時珍, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目(Compendium of Materia Medica). See "Huluba de gongxiao ji laiyuan 葫蘆巴的功效及來源 (The Function and Origins of Fenugreek)," http://blog.yam.com/bsamsq/article/15176729, accessed 29 February 2012.

23 See American Medical Association. 1921. *Nostrums and Quackery: Articles on the Nostrum Evil and Quackery*. Reprinted from the Journal of the American Medical Association 2: 191.

24 Huang, "Cong *Shenbao* yiyao guanggao kan minchu Shanghai de yiliao wenhua yu shehui shenghuo, 1912–1926": 166–167.

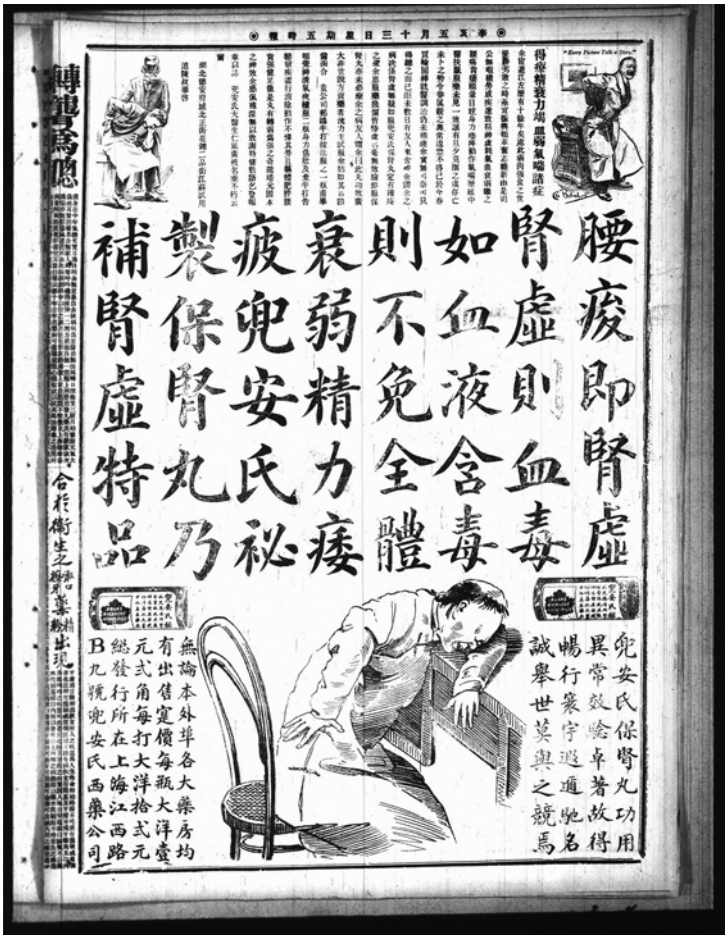


FIGURE 5.3 *Doan's Secretly Made Kidney Pills*, Shibao, *9 June 1911.*

text combined the Chinese idea of *shen* and the function of the kidney as an organ in the Western medical system. At the same time, the fact that the pill's ingredients included fenugreek seeds as a Chinese medicinal herb introduced from the West illustrates the hybrid characteristic of the medicine itself.

Doan's kidney pills were not sold in Japan and Taiwan, probably because of the Japanese restriction on the sale of certain patent medications.[25] In

25 In the early Meiji period, the Japanese government issued strict regulations on selling patent medicines. See Takagi Yohachirō 高木与八郎 and Koizumi Eijirō 小泉栄次郎 eds. 1897. *Baiyaku seizai bikō* 売薬製剤備考 (A Reference Book for Selling and Making Medicines). Tokyo: Eirandō, pp. 772–776.

FIGURE 5.4 *Doan's Backache Kidney Pills*, The Illustrated London News, *16 June 1914*.

FIGURE 5.5 The San Francisco Call, *10 April 1904*.

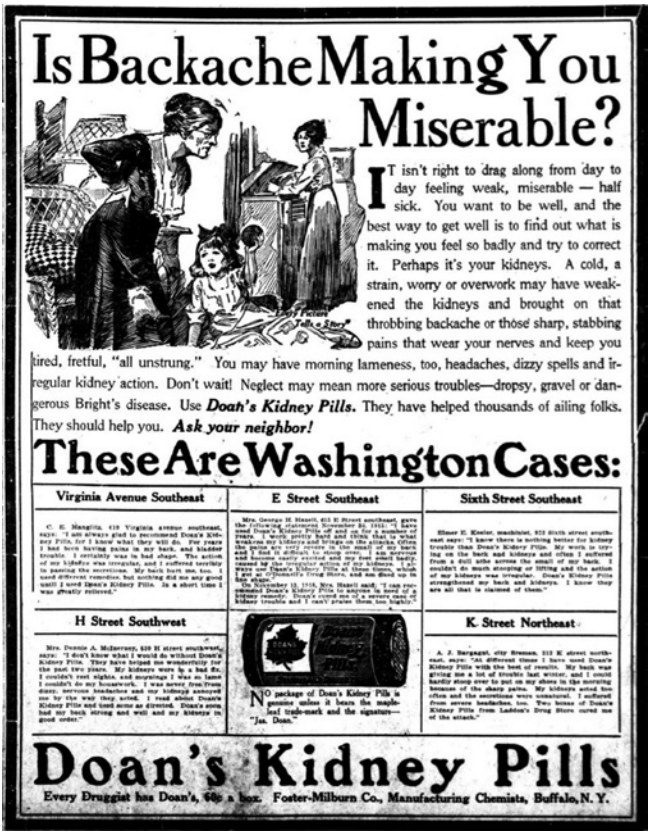


FIGURE 5.6 *Doan's Kidney Pills*, The Washington Herald, *1 January 1920*.

Singapore and other South-East Asian countries, however, similar "Sinicizing" strategies were adopted in ads for Doan's kidney pills in Chinese-language newspapers, whereas in English-language newspapers one could see ads for the same product identical to those appearing in England, Australia, New Zealand, and America (See Figs. 5.4–7).[26] If we compare the Chinese and English advertisements for this same product, we find that they are quite different. First, the ad's Chinese version attempted to associate the kidney (*shen*) mainly with fatigue in men; *shenkui*/kidney deficiency indicated weak sexual ability, even impotence. The ad's English version, however, emphasized the relationship between the kidney, blood, and backache. There was no reference to the function of curing impotence. Second, the English version

26 In the English newspaper in Singapore the tactics used to sell these kidney pills was the same as in other English advertisements. See the advertisement for "Doan's Backache Kidney Pills," *The Straits Times*, 1 July 1930.

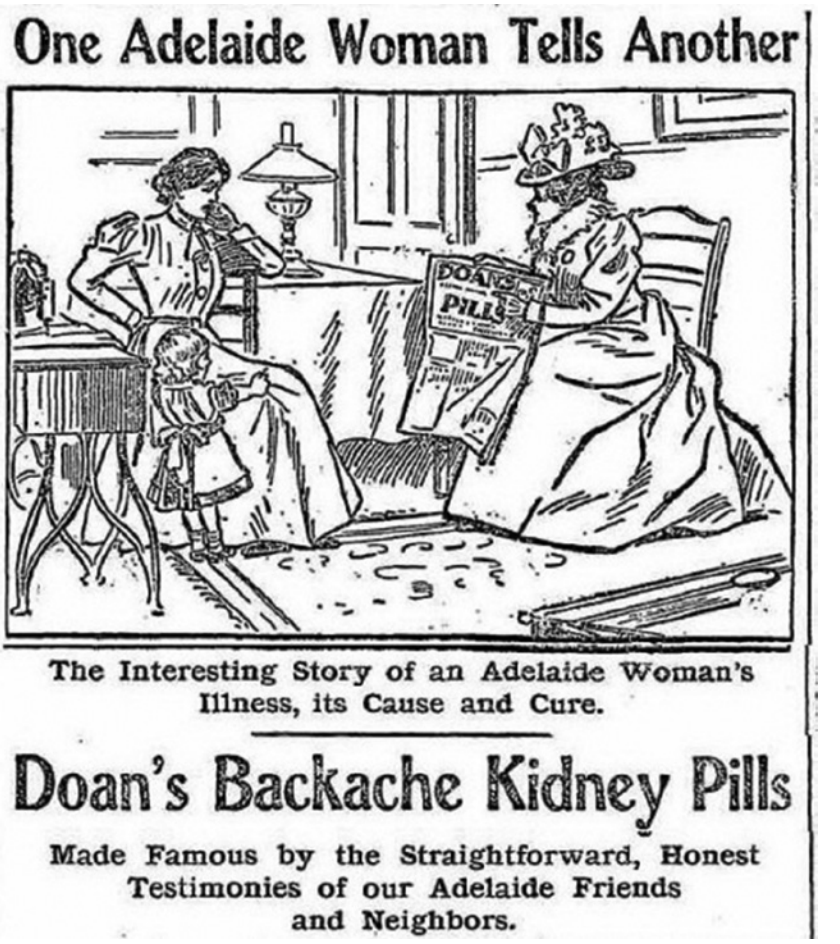
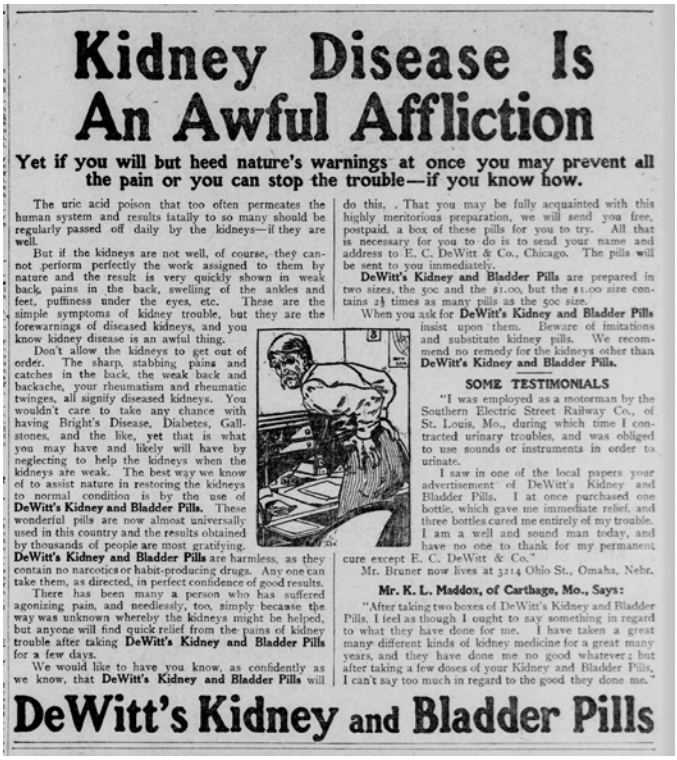


FIGURE 5.7 *Doan's Backache Kidney Pills*, The Advertiser (*Australia*), *5 January 1901.*

emphasized the pill's function in treating rheumatism and back pain in both sexes, while the Chinese ad was mainly targeted toward a male audience who had an obsessive fear of "kidney deficiency" and impotence.

"DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills" were marketed in a similar way. The English advertisement claimed that the medicine could alleviate backache and swelling caused by uric acid or malfunction of the kidney in filtering urine (See Fig. 5.8). But in the Chinese advertisement the same product was announced as a cure for nocturnal emissions (See Fig. 5.9).[27] A final example is provided by a Chinese newspaper in Singapore, in which "Lawson's Kidney Pills" were

27 *Shenbao*, 6 October 1923. Huang Ko-wu, "Cong *Shenbao* yiyao guanggao kan minchu Shanghai de yiliao wenhua yu shehui shenghuo, 1912–1926," 176.



Kidney Disease Is An Awful Affliction

Yet if you will but heed nature's warnings at once you may prevent all the pain or you can stop the trouble—if you know how.

The uric acid poison that too often permeates the human system and results fatally to so many should be regularly passed off daily by the kidneys—if they are well.

But if the kidneys are not well, of course, they cannot perform perfectly the work assigned to them by nature and the result is very quickly shown in weak back, pains in the back, swelling of the ankles and feet, puffiness under the eyes, etc. These are the simple symptoms of kidney trouble, but they are the forewarnings of diseased kidneys, and you know kidney disease is an awful thing.

Don't allow the kidneys to get out of order. The sharp, stabbing pains and catches in the back, the weak back and backache, your rheumatism and rheumatic twinges, all signify diseased kidneys. You wouldn't care to take any chance with having Bright's Disease, Diabetes, Gallstones, and the like, yet that is what you may have and likely will have by neglecting to help the kidneys when the kidneys are weak. The best way we know of to assist nature in restoring the kidneys to normal condition is by the use of **DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills.** These wonderful pills are now almost universally used in this country and the results obtained by thousands of people are most gratifying. **DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills** are harmless, as they contain no narcotics or habit-producing drugs. Any one can take them, as directed, in perfect confidence of good results.

There has been many a person who has suffered agonizing pain, and needlessly, too, simply because the way was unknown whereby the kidneys might be helped, but anyone will find quick relief from the pains of kidney trouble after taking **DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills** for a few days.

We would like to have you know, as confidently as we know, that **DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills** will do this, That you may be fully acquainted with this highly meritorious preparation, we will send you free, postpaid, a box of these pills for you to try. All that is necessary for you to do is to send your name and address to E. C. DeWitt & Co., Chicago. The pills will be sent to you immediately.

DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills are prepared in two sizes, the 50c and the $1.00, but the $1.00 size contains 2½ times as many pills as the 50c size.

When you ask for **DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills** insist upon them. Beware of imitations and substitute kidney pills. We recommend no remedy for the kidneys other than **DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills.**

SOME TESTIMONIALS

"I was employed as a motorman by the Southern Electric Street Railway Co., of St. Louis, Mo., during which time I contracted urinary troubles, and was obliged to use sounds or instruments in order to urinate.

I saw in one of the local papers your advertisement of DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills. I at once purchased one bottle, which gave me immediate relief, and three bottles cured me entirely of my trouble. I am a well and sound man today, and have no one to thank for my permanent cure except E. C. DeWitt & Co."

Mr. Bruner now lives at 3214 Ohio St., Omaha, Nebr.

Mr. K. L. Maddox, of Carthage, Mo., Says:

"After taking two boxes of DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills, I feel as though I ought to say something in regard to what they have done for me. I have taken a great many different kinds of kidney medicine for a great many years, and they have done me no good whatever; but after taking a few doses of your Kidney and Bladder Pills, I can't say too much in regard to the good they done me."

DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills

FIGURE 5.8 *DeWitt's Kidney and Bladder Pills*, The San Francisco Call, *9 January 1910*.

advertised in Chinese as "Pills for Strengthening Spermatozoa and Fortifying the Kidney made by Dr. Loushilu in London."[28]

2 *Brain Tonic*

Ailuo Brain Tonic was one of the most well-known brain tonics during the Republican period in China. The English name "Dr. T. C. Yale's Brain Tonic" was printed on the bottle, which gave buyers the impression that it was imported from the West. But it was entirely a domestic medicine, produced and sold by Huang Chujiu's Great China-France Drugstores since 1904. Its ingredients allegedly included phosphorus and protein.[29] Huang Chujiu seems to have taken inspiration from several imported brain tonics or brain and nerve tonics. The German medicine Sanatogen was one example of this type of medicine.

28 "Yingjing Loshilu dayisheng qiangjingbushenwan 英京羅士露大醫生強精補腎丸," *Lebao xinwenzhi* 叻報新聞紙 (Lat Pau, Singapore), 10 May 1915, p. 3.

29 Sherman Cochran, *Chinese Medicine Men*, pp. 39, 51–7.

FIGURE 5.9 *DeWitt's Kidney Pills to cure nocturnal emissions*, Shenbao, *6 October 1923*.

FIGURE 5.10 *Sanatogen, the food-tonic*, New York Daily Tribune, *1 October 1910*.

Invented by the Bauer Chemical Company in Germany in 1898, the brain tonic was sold worldwide. In America it was advertised as a "nerve revitalizer" and "the ideal up-builder—revitalizer—reorganizer of wearied bodies and worn nerves" (See Fig. 5.10).[30] The medicine was prohibited in Australia in 1915 because Germany was its enemy during World War I. A British-made substitute, named Sanagen, soon entered the Australian market in 1916. It was proclaimed to be "identical to Sanatogen" and was labeled as "the brain and nerve restorer."[31]

Sanatogen was sold in China under the Chinese name "*sanna tujin* 散那吐瑾." Its advertisement stressed its function in prolonging life and its suitability for busy people. It also claimed, as did its Western counterparts, that the medicine was good for people who had a weak *naojin* 腦筋 (brain or brain and nervous system) (See Fig. 5.11). A 1912 *Shenbao* advertisement for Sanatogen states: "Sanatogen is an excellent medicine which will benefit people with a weak brain (and nervous system) as well as bad circulation of blood." (See Fig. 5.12).[32]

A comparison between Sanatogen's 1912 *Shenbao* ad and its 1909 ad in *The Illustrated London News* demonstrates their derivative relationship. At the top of both ads is a similar image portraying a scene from Greek mythology (See Fig. 5.13). The catch-phrase "A Second Life" in the English ad was translated into Chinese as *zaisheng zhi de* 再生之德, a Chinese idiom which means "the benevolence of giving me a second life." Two changes occur in the image of the Chinese ad. First, the half-naked men in the English ad are given clothes, which may indicate the taboo against displaying nudes in public spaces in China. Second, the Western woman on the right hand side in the English ad is changed into a Chinese woman in Chinese-style dress. The three paragraphs of the advertising text in the Chinese ad are a quasi-literal translation from the English version, which is also divided into three subsections, "A Revitalizing Force"; "Tonic Food for the Brain and Nerves"; and "Medical Opinion." The difference is that there are no doctors' signatures in the Chinese ad. Another localizing strategy is an image added in the Chinese version, which portrays a Chinese middle-aged man in a traditional-style gown, healthy and slightly corpulent, standing in front of a door featuring a couplet which reads "Step into this door and be free from illness; take this medicine and stay healthy

30 *New York Daily Tribune*, 1 October 1910.

31 *Mercury* (Australia), 2 August 1916, p. 6.

32 *Shenbao*, 4 September 1912. Also quoted by Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?*, p. 321. The illustration in the upper part of this advert is adopted from the English version. See the advertisement for Sanatogen on 13 February 1909 in *The Illustrated London News*.

FIGURE 5.11 *Sanatogen medicine powder*, Shenbao, *2 December 1930*.

FIGURE 5.12 *Sanatogen medicine powder*, Shenbao, *4 September 1912*.

FIGURE 5.13 The Illustrated London News, *13 February 1909*.

and strong." This ad in short is exemplary with respect to the strategy of transnational cultural translation, which combines literal translation and localized adaptation.

References to *naojin* in these ads are especially worth noting. It is a new term that came into use at the turn of the century. In modern Chinese language it only means brain. But its etymology is the term *naoqijin* 腦氣筋, a translation of the English word "nerve" that emerged in the mid- to late nineteenth century in China.[33] Yan Fu 嚴復 disliked the term *naoqijin* and proposed in his book *Tianyanlun* 天演論 (1898) to transliterate the English term "nerve" as *niefu* 涅伏. Around 1910, the Japanese term *shinkei* 神經 replaced the two terms, *naoqijin* and *niefu*, and thereafter this became the standard Chinese translation for "nerve."[34] The term *naojin* (a shortened form of *naoqijin*) preserved the original Western idea of combining the brain and the nerves together.[35]

Sanatogen became a fashionable tonic at the time and won the favor of many renowned people. For example, Lu Xun wrote that he always put fish liver oil and Sanatogen out on his table so that they were ready to be taken. He added that taking Sanatogen was troublesome because both cold and hot water were needed to dissolve the powder.[36] Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 was also a Sanatogen user. In a letter to his wife, Lu Xiaoman 陸小曼, he reminded her to "take Sanatogen everyday without interruption." According to him, the Indian Nobel Prize winner Rabindranath Tagore (1961–1941) "relied almost entirely on Sanatogen to live" when he felt fatigued.[37]

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33 See Chen Wancheng 陳萬成. 2008. "Xiyi dongchanshi de yige cemian: naojin yici de laili 西醫東傳史的一個側面："腦筋"一詞的來歷 (An Aspect of the Dissemination of Western Medicine: The Origins of the Term *naojin*)," in *Zixi cudong: Zhongwai wenhua jiaoliu shi conggao chubian* 自西徂東：中外文化交流史叢稿初編 (From West to East: Collected Essays on the History of Cultural Communication between China and Other Countries, Part One). Hong Kong: Jiaye Tang, pp. 117–143.

34 According to Koos Kuiper, the Japanese term 神經 was a translation of the Dutch word "zenuw," which means divine and meridian, not the English "nerve."

35 Huang Ko-wu 黃克武. 2008. "Xinmingci zhizhan: Qingmo Yan Fu yiyu yu hezhi hanyu de jingsai 新名詞之戰：清末嚴復譯語與和製漢語的競賽 (The War of Neologisms: The Competition between the Newly Translated Terms Invented by Yan Fu and by the Japanese in the Late Qing)," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica) 62: 18. The term *naojin* does not exist in Japanese.

36 Lu Xun 魯迅. 1987. *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 11 (The Complete Works of Lu Xun, vol. 11). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, p. 189.

37 Xu Zhimo 徐志摩. 1992. *Xu Zhimo sanwen* 徐志摩散文 (Essays by Xu Zhimo). Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe, p. 242.

The invention and circulation of the term *shenjing* (nerve) in China gave birth to the name of a new disease: *shenjing shuairuo* 神經衰弱 (a translation of neurasthenia).[38] Medicine to cure this disease also became popular. The name of this disease first appeared in English in the 1830s and after 1870 it became widely known. In China, this disease did not become well-known until the late 1920s, and in the 1930s it gradually began to be featured in novels and autobiographies. For example, in an article written in the 1930s, the Japanese-trained Western doctor Wang Qizhang 汪企張 writes: "After savoring the taste of sexual pleasure, I developed a bad habit of masturbation, which caused my neurasthenia."[39] The spread of (the idea of) this disease required the introduction of medicine to cure it. For example, the Foster-McClellan Company promoted "Doan's Nerve Tonic Tablets" (*bushen yaopian* 補神藥片) in May 1930. The ad claimed that "This medicine will cure the neurasthenia of males and females . . . It is especially suitable for literary men and scholars who tend to overuse their brain and are susceptible to neurasthenia after middle age."[40]

3 *Blood Tonic*

The most famous blood tonic was "Man-Made Blood" (*renzao zilai xue* 人造自來血) produced and sold by the Great Five Continents Drugstores. Cochran analyzed this medicine at some length. He explains that its Western-style packaging plus heavy advertising campaigns in Chinese-language media made it possible to successfully distribute it in all Chinese macro-regions and overseas.[41] "Man-Made Blood" was probably an imitation of a Canadian blood-fortifying medicine: "Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People." This Canadian medicine was invented in the 1890s and was eventually sold in 82 countries around the globe.[42] Its target consumer was mainly female. The medicine's history is as follows:

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38 Hugh Shapiro, "Neurasthenia and the Assimilation of Nerves to China" (unpublished paper); Hsiao-yen Peng. 2010. *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity*. London: Routledge, pp. 181–182.

39 Quoted in Lei Xianglin 雷祥麟. 2004. "Weisheng weihe bushi baowei shengming? Minguo shiqi linglei de weisheng, ziwo yu jibing 衛生爲何不是保衛生命？民國時期另類的衛生、自我與疾病 (Why Hygiene is Not about Guarding Life? Alternative Conceptions of Hygiene, Self, and Illness in Republican China)," *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* 臺灣社會研究季刊 (Taiwan: a Radical Quarterly in Social Studies) 54: 43.

40 *Shenbao*, 13 May 1930.

41 Cochran, *Chinese Medicine Men*, pp. 71–73.

42 On the history of this company see Lori Loeb. 1999. "George Fulford and Victorian Patent Medicines: Quack Mercenaries or Smilesian Entrepreneurs?" *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 16: 125–145.

> Containing a combination of iron oxide and epsom salts, Dr. Williams' Pink Pills were touted to Civil War veterans with digestive problems, malaria, wounds, and emotional disturbances. Later advertisements claimed that the pink pills were a remedy for many female ailments and could restore the blood and nerves. In 1899, the pills were said to be a restorative for locomotor ataxia, partial paralysis, St. Vitus' dance, sciatica, neuralgia, rheumatism, nervous headache, the after effects of la grippe, palpitation of the heart, pale and sallow complexions, all forms of weakness either in male or female, and all diseases resulting from the vitiated humors in the blood.[43]

Many of these features were also mentioned in Chinese advertisements for the Pink Pills. Though this medicine also was primarily targeted at women in China, it was also claimed to be an all-purpose medicine that could even cure nocturnal emissions and help in opiate cessation.[44]

Comparing the Chinese and American versions of advertisements for the Pink Pills, both feature girls at the age of puberty. The picture in the Chinese ad describes a family setting where a Chinese girl dressed in traditional costume is sitting in a chair and the family patriarchs (her father and elder brother, perhaps) are discussing the girl's health (See Fig. 5.14).[45] It seems to indicate the importance of family values and the family members' care for her health. In the text surrounding the image it is explained that the time of a female's first menstrual period is crucial for her health. Menstrual bleeding may cause a woman to turn weak and pale. Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People was touted as an effective treatment for such problems. The American version features a fifteen year-old girl in Western dress sitting alone in a chair, whose face looks sickly (See Fig. 5.15). The explanatory text says that she is ill: "The rosy color in her cheeks gave way to paleness." After taking the pills, the text continues, "she is now entirely well and has not been sick a day since." Both ads also stressed the medicine's ability to treat "all forms of weakness in male and female."[46]

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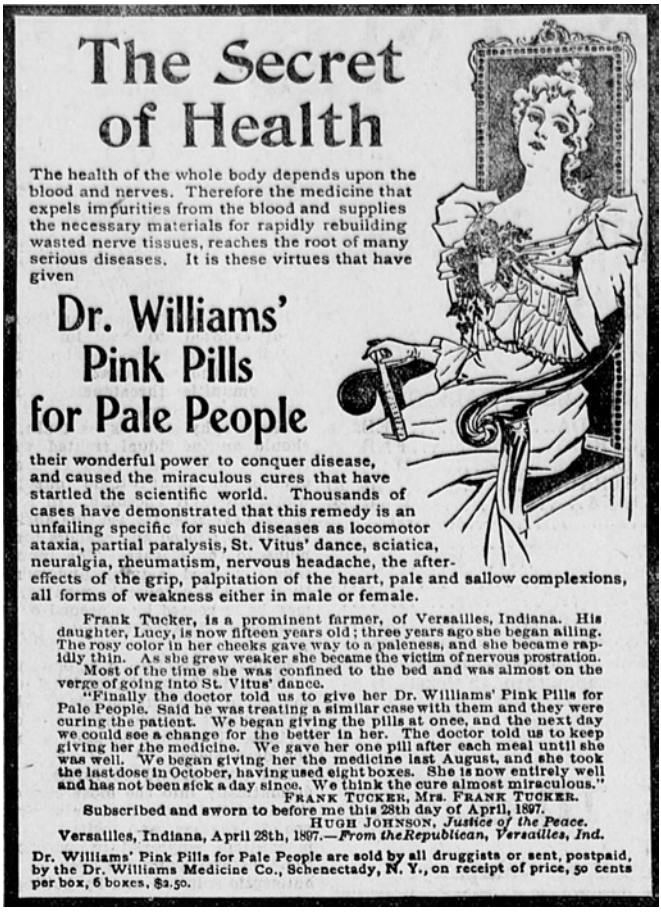
43 "Cool Things—Pink Pills for Pale People," http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/cool-things-pink-pills-for-pale-people/10240, accessed 1 August 2010.

44 See Chang Che-chia 張哲嘉. 2009. "Minchu baokanzhong Weilianshi yisheng hongse buwan mianmianguan 民初報刊中韋廉士醫生紅色補丸面面觀 (Various Aspects of "Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People" in Newspapers and Journals in the Republican Period)," unpublished lecture, 30 April 2009, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

45 See *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi*) 21: 24 (December 1924).

46 *The Independent* (Honolulu), 3 February 1900.

FIGURE 5.14 *Dr. Williams' Pink Pills*, Dongfang zazhi, *December 1924*.



The Secret of Health

The health of the whole body depends upon the blood and nerves. Therefore the medicine that expels impurities from the blood and supplies the necessary materials for rapidly rebuilding wasted nerve tissues, reaches the root of many serious diseases. It is these virtues that have given

Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People

their wonderful power to conquer disease, and caused the miraculous cures that have startled the scientific world. Thousands of cases have demonstrated that this remedy is an unfailing specific for such diseases as locomotor ataxia, partial paralysis, St. Vitus' dance, sciatica, neuralgia, rheumatism, nervous headache, the after-effects of the grip, palpitation of the heart, pale and sallow complexions, all forms of weakness either in male or female.

Frank Tucker, is a prominent farmer, of Versailles, Indiana. His daughter, Lucy, is now fifteen years old; three years ago she began ailing. The rosy color in her cheeks gave way to a paleness, and she became rapidly thin. As she grew weaker she became the victim of nervous prostration.

Most of the time she was confined to the bed and was almost on the verge of going into St. Vitus' dance.

"Finally the doctor told us to give her Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People. Said he was treating a similar case with them and they were curing the patient. We began giving the pills at once, and the next day we could see a change for the better in her. The doctor told us to keep giving her the medicine. We gave her one pill after each meal until she was well. We began giving her the medicine last August, and she took the last dose in October, having used eight boxes. She is now entirely well and has not been sick a day since. We think the cure almost miraculous."

FRANK TUCKER, Mrs. FRANK TUCKER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of April, 1897.

HUGH JOHNSON, *Justice of the Peace.*

Versailles, Indiana, April 28th, 1897.—*From the Republican, Versailles, Ind.*

Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People are sold by all druggists or sent, postpaid, by the Dr. Williams Medicine Co., Schenectady, N. Y., on receipt of price, 50 cents per box, 6 boxes, $2.50.

FIGURE 5.15 *Dr. Williams' Pink Pills*, The Independent, *3 February 1900*.

The American ad lists the following symptoms: Locomotor ataxia; partial paralysis; St. Vitus' dance (chorea); sciatica; neuralgia; rheumatism; nervous headache. The Chinese ad listed: *Xuebo qishuai* (insufficient blood and weak *qi*); *Naojin shuaican* (weak or damaged brain); *Shaonian zhoushang* (the diminution of sexual ability due to indulgence during youth); *Fengshi gutong* (rheumatism and pain in the bones); *Bikao suanchu* (pain in the arms and hips); *Wei bu xiaohua* (problems with digestion in the stomach); *Zhangli* and other hot diseases (epidemic and other diseases such as malaria).

Only rheumatism appears in both lists. The American list contains the exact names for specific diseases—especially diseases relating to bodily movement and pain. The Chinese list, however, only ambiguously names the symptoms relating to blood and *qi*, the brain and nerves, and sexual potency. These symptoms coincided with the three broad fields of diseases, as previously discussed. Associating blood with *qi* came from traditional Chinese medical theories.[47] Thus, the Western pill to tonify the blood was "transformed" into an all-purpose medicine in China. The difference between the two lists indicates that the Williams Medicine Company used localized terminology and medical concepts in order to sell their product in China.

Another blood-fortifying tonic advertised in *Shenbao* is "Blutose" (Chinese name: *Bu'er duoshou* 補爾多壽) (See Fig. 5.16).[48] Its advertising text reads: "This is a great medicine to tonify the blood and to strengthen spermatozoon . . . It specializes in curing all kinds of weakness, including anemia, neurasthenia, lack of stamina, lowness of spirit, back pain, feeble feet, tuberculosis, coughs."[49] The medicine was said to be a German product invented by a German doctor—Xiumituo boer 休米脫伯兒 ("Schmidt Böll" in German, perhaps). The German name was probably taken from a Taiwanese advertisement for this product. This 1928 ad appearing in a Taiwanese newspaper states that the medicine was invented by a German professor—Shiyumeideberuhi (シユメ

47 See Wu Zhang 吳章 (Bridie Andrews Mineham). 2009. " 'Xuezheng' yu Zhongguo yixueshi '血症'與中國醫學史 ('Blood Diseases' and Chinese Medical History)," in Yu Xinzhong 余新忠 ed., *Qing yilai de jibing yiliao he weisheng* 清以來的疾病、醫療和衛生 (Disease, Medical Treatments, and Hygiene from the Qing Period). Beijing: Sanlian shudian, pp. 162–163.

48 See *Shenbao*, 18 November 1930. For a similar ad, see Hsiao-yen Peng, *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity*, p. 185.

49 The translation is partly taken from Hsiao-yen Peng, *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity*, p. 182.

FIGURE 5.16 *Blutose/Bu'er duoshou blood-fortifying tonic*, Shenbao, *18 November 1930*.

ーデベルヒ)—who extracted the essence of mammal livers to make this medicine (See Fig. 17).[50]

Comparing the Japanese (Taiwanese) and Chinese versions, we can find the following differences (See Figs. 5.18, 5.19).[51] First, the Chinese version concealed the fact that this was actually a Japanese medicine sold by the Fujisawa Pharmaceutical Company, a retailer in Osaka founded in 1894. This concealment was probably due to the fact that Japanese products were boycotted in China after the Ji'nan incident of 1927.

Second, the visual representations are quite different. The Chinese version presents a big bottle of "Blutose" in the middle of the image, held by a big hand based on a building with two men's smiling faces at the top, while the Japanese version shows a small bottle on a table surrounded by a man and a woman. The Chinese one expresses powerfulness and muscularity while the Japanese one indicates an equal and peaceful relationship between the two sexes using the small bottle to link them. Third, the Japanese and Taiwanese versions stress the tonic's capacity "to fortify blood and to increase strength" (*hoketsu kyōsō* 補血強壯) as "the basis of peace and pleasure," whereas the Chinese version changed the wording to "fortify blood and to strengthen spermatozoon" (*buxue qiangjing* 補血強精). The insinuation of improved sexual potency only appears in the Chinese advertisement. Fourth, both Chinese and Taiwanese versions listed several diseases such as neurasthenia and the Taiwanese version even added syphilis and hunchback disorder, while the Japanese version did not give any specific names of diseases. This indicates that in China and in colonial Taiwan the company's local offices tried to create the image of an all-purpose medicine for "Blutose." This image is vividly expressed in its Chinese name, "Bu'er duoshou" (tonifying you and making you live longer). Other companies also adopted this naming strategy. For example, the ad for *Ci'er fuduo* 賜爾福多 (giving you lots of happiness) sold by the Huang Chujiu-managed Great China-French Drugstores shows a half-naked woman lying on a boat (See Fig. 5.20). This four-character name is similar to "Bu'er duoshou," but it is perhaps better since it can be read in reverse and still has the same meaning.[52] In addition, the medicine's name has a "subtitle"—*yannian yishou fen* 延年益壽粉 (longevity powder)—a strategy copied from Sanatogen.

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50 *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, 23 January 1928. On advertisements for "Blutose" in colonial Taiwan see Liang Liyin 梁璨尹. 2007. *Taiwan ririxin: lao yaoping de gushi* 臺灣日日新: 老藥品的故事 (*Taiwan Daily News*: The Story of Old Medicines). Taipei: Taiwan shufang, pp. 15–20.

51 For the Japanese versions see *Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo), 25 and 28 October 1928.

52 Cochran, *Chinese Medicine Men*, illustration 3.7 following page 60.

FIGURE 5.17 *Burutōze/Blutose blood-fortifying tonic*, Taiwan Riri xinbao, *23 January 1928*.

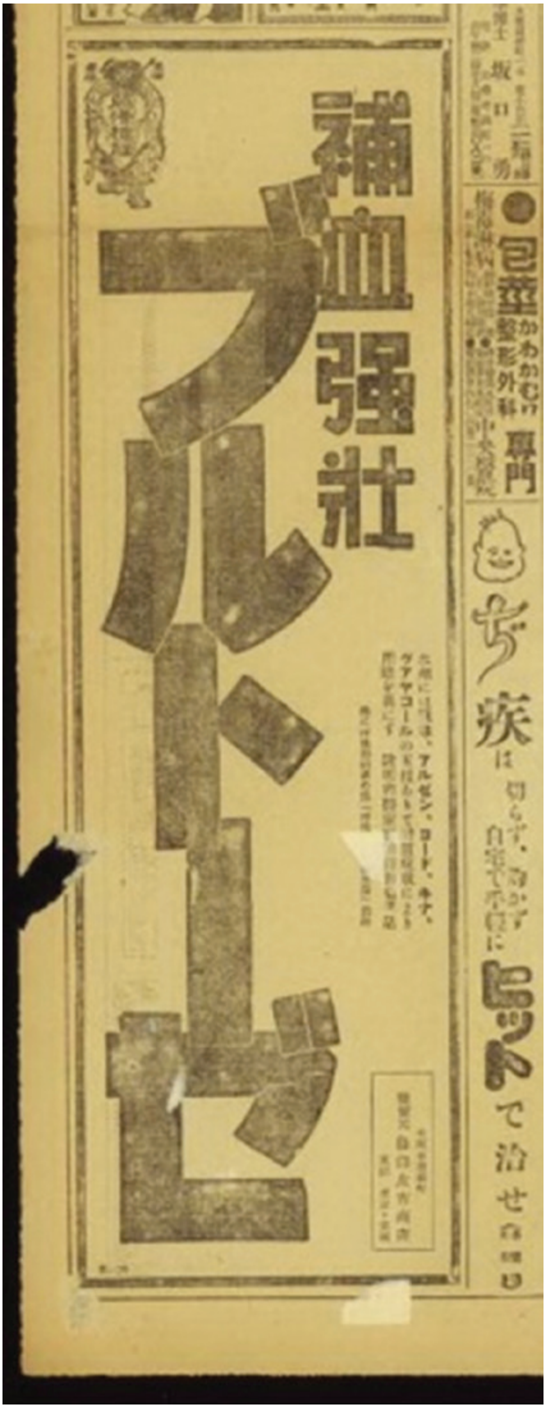
補血強壮
包莖
整形外科
專門
ヒットで治せ

FIGURE 5.18 & 5.19 *Burutōze/Blutose blood-fortifying tonic*, Asahi Shimbun (*Tokyo*), *28 October 1928 and 25 October 1928*.

Conclusion

In her book *Illness as Metaphor*, Susan Sontag analyzed various descriptions of tuberculosis, cancer and AIDS in literary works and historical materials in order to explore the social context of illness and argue that illness carries socio-cultural as well as moral and ethical meanings.[53] This web of meanings is historically formed. In China, illness also carried multi-layered meanings that accompanied drastic social changes and variegated historical experiences from the early twentieth century. Through analyses of *Shenbao's* medical advertising, this paper aims to shed some light on the relationships between the body, illness, medicine and their sociocultural contexts.

Most of the world's largest Western-based (and some Japanese-based) pharmaceutical companies had opened branch offices in Shanghai by the 1920s. In

53 Susan Sontag. 1991. *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors*. London: Penguin Books.

China, as in other places, these companies made extensive use of print media to promote their "scientific" patent medicines and pharmaceutical products to "four hundred million customers." This phenomenon reflects the larger trend of globalization. However, as Cochran has convincingly argued, the "homogenization" of commercial culture was accompanied by "localization" at the same time. In this process Chinese advertisement designers played an important role in localizing and circulating Western consumer culture.[54] Unfortunately we do not have much information about these Chinese designers. Yet their works still exist.

This chapter compared Chinese and Western advertisements for a selection of the same Western products, arguing that "homogenization" was a result of Chinese agents' marketing strategies that focused on methods of "localization" in advertising. In spite of these methods' originally mercenary motives, the tactics gave rise to an eclectic theory of the human body combining ideas and terms from both Chinese and Western medical traditions. To quote Tani Barlow, it was a "vernacular" account of the human body.[55] At the center of this eclectic theory was the traditional concept of the body. According to this theory, every part of the body is related to each other. It is probably one of the reasons that Western patent medicines, which originally had only specialized functions, had to be advertised as all-purpose medicines even including the enhancement of sexual ability.

At the same time, medicine sellers also felt it necessary to explain to Chinese consumers Western concepts about how their products worked. Thus, new knowledge about the kidneys, the blood and the brain were introduced to the Chinese audience. In selling medicine for the kidney, sellers introduced its function of filtering urine and blood. In promoting medicine for the brain, they stressed that it was "brain and nerve"—not *xin* 心 (mind and heart), as in traditional medical thinking—that ruled the body. With regard to blood, the concept of circulation was introduced. But traditional elements were never completely discarded. For instance, the concept of fortifying *shen* and its relationship with sexual ability was used to advertise "Doan's Kidney Backache Pills." The traditional linkage between *qi* 氣 and blood was deployed to advertise "Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People."[56] With regard to brain medicine, there was probably no traditional concept to appropriate. Advertisements emphasized the new idea of the brain and nervous system as well as the danger of

54 Cochran, *Chinese Medicine Men*, p. 4.

55 Barlow, "Buying In," pp. 288–290.

56 For example, Wang Qingren of the Qing Dynasty had proposed the concept of weak *qi* and extravasated blood. For Wang's theory, see Wu Zhang's article in n. 47, pp. 169–171.

weak nerves (neurasthenia) while also promoting their all-purpose functions including curing impotence, nocturnal emissions, and premature ejaculation. This eclecticism, a result of the commercial drive of foreign pharmaceutical companies and Chinese cultural translation, not only promoted new medical imports in China but also created a mixed discourse on the human body which still retains its influence in Chinese communities to the present day.

CHAPTER 6

Planet in Print: The Scientific Imagination in Zheng Kunwu's Fiction during Taiwan's Colonial Period

Mei-e Huang

On 11 April 1937, the *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 (Taiwan Daily News) announced that the film *Superman vs. Martians* (*Chaoren dui huoxingren* 超人對火星人) was to premiere at the International Theater, located in the present-day Ximending 西門町 district of Taipei.[1] Produced by Universal Studios, *Superman vs. Martians* was loosely based on graphic artist Alex Raymond's science fiction comic strip *Flash Gordon* (1934). The film revolves around the adventures of Superman and his girlfriend, and confrontations between Superman and the Martians. As science fiction was a relatively unfamiliar film genre for the Taiwanese audience of that time, one cannot help but wonder how the film was received, why Taiwanese people of the early twentieth century were interested in Mars and Martians, how they imagined the universe and the planets, and how this informed the construction of their world views.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, Taiwanese newspapers had shown a curiosity about Mars. Related predictions and observations from America, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and Switzerland were regularly being adopted into Taiwanese understandings of the universe. With these reports on extraterrestrial worlds and the shrinking distance between humanity and space, heated discussions on humanity, nature and aliens surfaced. Knowledge of and communication with aliens were particularly popular subjects. While science fiction novels about Mars had been published in Japan and China, none were published in Taiwan in this period.

Yet there is evidence that at least one author in colonial Taiwan was thinking along these lines; Zheng Kunwu 鄭坤五 (1885–1959), who authored *A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure* (*Huoxingjie tanxian qiwen* 火星界探險

1 See *Taiwan nichi nichi shimpō* 臺灣日日新報 (Taiwan Daily News), 11 April, 1937. The synopsis of the film was described as follows: "[Superman and his girlfriend] board a rocket in search of the Earth's salvation."

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奇聞).[2] Although this work was never published during his lifetime, Zheng's unusual attempt to write a science fiction work depicting humans' first contact with Mars makes a great case study to explore the global flow, local reception and remaking of ideas which is a major concern of this book.[3]

The universe had of course been a topic in traditional Chinese literature, but it had not been dealt with in a "scientific" way. In traditional Chinese works, the protagonists who travel "to the heavens" are generally gods or mythological creatures, such as Chang-e 嫦娥 flying to the moon, associated with the Mid-Autumn Festival, while in the sixteenth century novel *Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji* 西遊記) we see Sun Wukong 孫悟空, the monkey king, fly freely between Earth and heaven. Its use of unfamiliar concepts such as the far future sets Zheng's Martian tale apart from these traditional works.[4] By setting the story in 2015, Zheng's work demonstrates a modernist sensibility with a clearly scientific bent. In addition, his work makes use of the science fiction setting to reflect on the meaning of life in colonial Taiwan through the lens of imaginary interactions with Martians.

As the story progresses, there is a twist involving a pseudo-disappearance to outer space, which is later revealed as a murder case involving astronauts

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2 According to Zheng's draft, the text was self-evidently categorized as science fiction. Please see the image on the first page, also found in Zheng Kunwu, p. 229. The term "Science Fiction" has two referents in modern Chinese: one is "science fiction" (*kexue xiaoshuo* 科學小說), another is "science fantasy" (*kehuan xiaoshuo* 科幻小說), but at the time of writing the latter had not yet come into usage in colonial Taiwan.

3 "A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure" was never published and the exact date of composition remains unknown, but it was probably written in the 1920s, a decade during which Mars-related news reports peaked. The handwritten draft, discovered only about a decade ago, was later included in Lin Cuifeng 林翠鳳, ed. 2004. *Zheng Kunwu yanjiu* 鄭坤五研究 (Research on Zheng Kunwu). Taipei: Wenjin, pp. 211–228. This is the version on which this paper is based unless otherwise noted. I have made slight changes in punctuation. For more information on Zheng's life and works see Lin Cuifeng. 2005. *Zheng Kunwu jiqi wenxue yanjiu* 鄭坤五及其文學研究 (Research on Zheng Kunwu and His Works). Taipei: Wenjin.

4 *Frankenstein* (1818) by Mary Shelley (1797–1851) is usually considered the first work of science fiction. However, the connection between *Frankenstein* and Zheng's novella does not seem to be strong. See Lin Jianqun 林建群. 1998. *Wanqing kehuan xiaoshuo yanjiu* 晚清科幻小說研究 (A Study of Late Qing Science Fiction), Master's thesis, National Chung Cheng University, p. 11. Modern Chinese science fiction began in 1904, with the serialization of Huangjiang Diaosou 荒江釣叟's "*Yueqiu zhimindi xiaoshuo* 月球殖民地小說" (Tales of Moon Colonization) in *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* 繡像小說 (Illustrated Fiction, 1903–1906), although Xue Shaohui 薛紹徽 together with her husband had translated Jules Gabriel Verne's *Le Tour du Monde en Quatre-vingts Jours* (Around the World in Eighty Days) into literary Chinese in 1900.

and leading scientists from different counties on the Earth. With help from a quick-witted detective and some application of scientific methods, the case is solved. The combination of detective fiction and science fiction seems to suggest Zheng sought to appeal to public taste by combining the familiar with the unfamiliar, but the use of modern scientific concepts and techniques by the detective adds an individual twist that serves also to strengthen the scientific credentials of the work. To fully come to terms with Zheng's approach, this chapter will trace various sources relating to astronomy and other sciences. We will pay particular attention to Mars-related reports in the *Taiwan Daily News*, the most successful newspaper in Taiwan at the time, and examine how Zheng's work reflected readers' perceptions of Mars and Earth. Later in the chapter we will explore how Zheng's arrangement of the murder plot, involving several top scientists of different nationalities, mirrors his concerns for the future of humanity.

From Astronomical Reports to Fiction Writing

Zheng Kunwu was born in 1885 in southern Taiwan, but at ten he was brought back to the family home in Zhangzhou 漳州 in China's Fujian Province to avoid the end of the first Sino-Japanese War. Five years later he returned to Fengshan 鳳山 and received further education in a Japanese school. He later worked as a translator in the local court, and became a solicitor, eventually becoming the headman for his village. He was one of the founders of the Fenggang Poetry Recital/chanting Club 鳳崗吟社 in Gaoxiong 高雄, and became its director. He was also a member of Han Poetry Society 漢詩社 and took a big part in the debate over literature as a supporter of traditional styles. He was a regular writer for several journals, and became the editor for *Art and Literature in Taiwan* (*Taiwan yiyuan* 臺灣藝苑) in 1927. He collected and published Taiwanese folk songs, and also wrote poems, essays, and novels.[5]

By 1905, local Taiwanese writers, such as Xie Xueyu 謝雪漁 (1871–1953) and Wei Qingde 魏清德 (1886–1963), had already started to produce popular novels. Many more local writers were devoted to novel production in the 1920s, and the range of genres was by then very broad. Popular genres included legend, folklore, detective, romance, fantasy, historical fiction, and martial arts.[6]

5 Lin Cuifeng. "Zheng Kunwu 鄭坤五," http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=4530 (last accessed 28 October 2013).

6 See Mei-e Huang. 2004. *Chongceng xiandaixing jingxiang: Rizhi shidai Taiwan chuantong wenren de wenhua shiyu yu wenxue xiangxiang* 重層現代性鏡像：日治時代臺灣傳統文

From what we have seen already about his activities above, Zheng did not limit himself to a narrow range of topic or form in his writing, indeed the case could be made that his in attempt to write a science fiction novel about Mars, Zheng was seeking to introduce an entirely new genre.

Like many people in his circle, Zheng was a regular reader of the mainly Japanese language *Taiwan Daily News*, which later published several of his articles. The *Taiwan Daily News* was the largest and ultimately the longest lasting semi-official newspaper in colonial Taiwan, created by merging two previously existing Taiwanese titles.[7] When the newspaper was founded in 1898, Zheng was thirteen and was still living in China. It is reasonable to imagine that soon after he returned to Taiwan, he started to read this newspaper while he learned Japanese. It hired Taiwanese locals as journalists, and it also had several famous Chinese and Taiwanese intellectuals writing for it regularly, such as Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1868–1936), Lian Heng 連橫 (1878–1936), some of whom became staff members for a period.

Starting with six pages, the *Taiwan Daily News* was extended to eight pages in 1901 with two pages devoted to Chinese language. In order to communicate with the Taiwanese populace more efficiently, as most of the locals still did not have Japanese language, in July 1905, a separate title entitled the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News* (*Kanbun Taiwan nichinichi shimpō* 漢文臺灣日日新), written in Chinese, was established, with six pages daily. Although it was headed by a Japanese editor, the newspaper was well received. It covered current affairs in Taiwan, international news, and culture and arts activities. However due to financial difficulties, the newspaper closed in November 1911, and the two Chinese pages were re-incorporated by the *Taiwan Daily News*, though after 1st April 1937, the Chinese pages disappeared from this title completely.[8]

The stories of modern scientific discovery and invention regularly reported by the *Taiwan Daily News* seem to have provided inspiration for Zheng's *A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure*. A glance at the following news report illustrates the topicality of Mars at that time. In an article entitled "A Mark in the Stellar World" (*Xingjie yiban* 星界一斑), published in 1910 in the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*, Mars was placed in the context of modern scientific

人的文化視域與文學想像 (Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Vision and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati under Japanese Rule). Taipei: Maitian, p. 311.

7 For further details about *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, see Cai Jintang 蔡錦堂. "Taiwan nichinichi shimpō," http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=3829 (last accessed 26 October 2013).

8 Wang Tianbin 王天濱. 2003. *Taiwan baoyeshi* 臺灣報業史 (A History of Taiwan's Newspapers). Taipei: Yatai tushu, pp. 25–31.

research. The report noted that ever since the publication of Newton's theories, people had increasingly been exposed to scientific research.[9] The report went on to discuss the question many readers of were asking: whether there was life on Mars? This phenomenon was of course not restricted to Taiwan; China and Japan were also eager for news and knowledge about Mars.[10] From the headlines of the *Taiwan Daily News* and the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*, we see that topics related to Mars appeared very regularly during 1910s and 1920s.

During this period, we also see a steady growth in circulation by the *Taiwan Daily News*. In 1900 it sold 3,300 copies daily, 11,500 copies in 1909, 16,030 in 1915, 23,640 in 1921, 31,620 in 1927, and 41,600 in 1931.[11] As in China, where one copy of *Shenbao* was likely to be read by more than seven people, we can safely assume a copy of the *Taiwan Daily News* was read by more than one person.[12] The increasing number of reports on Mars in the *Taiwan Daily News*, which reached a peak in the 1920s, demonstrated a stable reader interest in this subject. In its reports, the *Taiwan Daily News* not only spent a substantial amount of effort speculating on characteristics of Mars and Martians and how the Earth might be able to communicate with them, but also regularly reported on the latest research from Europe.[13] Of particular importance was a

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9 Yunlin 雲林. "Xingjie yiban 星界一斑 (A Mark in the Stellar World)," *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*, 17 June 1910.

10 *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞 in Japan published almost 100 news items connected with Mars 1877–1943; newspapers in China, such as *Shenbao* and *Yishibao* 議事報, printed around fifty items.

11 Su Shuobin 蘇碩斌. 2006. "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan wenxue de duzhe xiangxiang—yinshua zibenzhuyi zuowei kongjian xiangxiang jizhi de lilun chutan日治時期臺灣文學的讀者想像—印刷資本主義作爲空間想像機制的理論初探 (The Implied Reader of Taiwan Literature under Japanese Rule: An Initial Exploration of Print Capitalism as a Mechanism of Spatial Imagination)," in *Kualingyu de Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 跨領域的台灣文學研究學術研討會論文集 (The Interdisciplinary Taiwan Literature Studies Conference Proceedings). Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan Literature, p. 99.

12 See Chapter Nine in this volume.

13 *Taiwan Daily News*' headlines were as follows: "Huoxing zhong youren zai 火星中有人在 (Mars Has Life)," 1 March 1920; "Huoxing tongxin shiyan 火星通信實驗 (Mars Communication Experiment)," 18 June 1922; "Huoxing xingwei shishi 火星興味實事 (True stories about Mars)," 13 August 1923; "Guancha huoxing zhi da wangyuanjing 觀察火星之大望遠鏡 (The large telescope observing Mars)," 27 February 1924; "Huoxingren you qizu 火星人有七足 (Martians are over Seven Feet)," 6 June 1924; "Kasei ni kaiyō? 火星に海洋? (Ocean on Mars)," 26 August 1924; "Roiweru tenmontai no kansoku ローウェル 天文臺の観測 (Lowell's Observatory's Predictions," 26 August 1924;

news report published in August 1924, when the fact that Mars was the closest planet to Earth became public knowledge in Taiwan. This "discovery" of Mars had people's attention, and newspapers in Taiwan quickly responded to the demand.[14]

As a result of scientific progress, reports about Mars became more specific and sophisticated throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Consequently, Taiwanese readers gradually acquired some basic knowledge about Mars. Mars was no longer an incomprehensible mystery or a supernatural fantasy, but a planet, a physical entity for which accurate and detailed information was both demanded and, to some extent, available. Although there remained occasional exaggerated reports about Mars, news reports on Mars during the 1930s and 1940s were relatively more factual and educational. While some reports debated whether there was life on Mars, others invited the public to look at Mars for themselves by providing information about the best dates and good venues for observation.[15]

"Ouzhou geguo guance huoxing 歐洲各國觀測火星 (European Nations' Observations of Mars," 27 August 1924; "Huoxing shang you yunhe 火星上有運河 (Canals on Mars)," 25 September 1925; "Ying boshi he huoxing tong dianyun qiede fudian 英博士和火星通電云且得覆電 (British Experts Communicating with Mars and Receiving Replies," 21 April 1927; "Kasei kara wa henji ga nai 火星からは返事がない (No Response from Mars)," 26 October 1928.

14 Although news reports on Mars peaked in the 1920s, Taiwanese people's curiosity about Mars began earlier. Previous reports in *Chinese Taiwan Daily News* included "Huoxing jiaotong 火星交通 (Connections to Mars)," 16 September 1909; "Qiuxing tongxin 球星通信 (Planetary Communications)," 16 September 1909; "Yu huoxing jiaotong zhi xince 與火星交通之新策 (New Strategies to Connect with Mars)," 25 April 1911; "Tianwen xuejia zhi huoxing tan 天文學家之火星談 (Astronomers' Discussion of Mars)," 31 May 1911.

15 Examples of debates about life on Mars include: "Kasei ni wa seibutsu waru nai 火星には生物はるない(No Living Things on Mars)," 6 September 1938; "Kasei no ondō, shimo no aru sekidō, seibutsu sonzaisetsu wa gimon 火星の溫度、霜の降る赤道、生物存在說は疑問 (Questions Concerning the Temperature, Frost-covered Equator and Life on Mars)," 5 February 1939; and "Ikiteiru kasei, 'midori no chitai ari, dōbutsu mo sumu' beikoku tenmon gakusha no shinsetsu 生きている火星、 '緑の地帯あり、動物も棲む' 米國天文學者の新説 (A Living Mars "Green Exists, Animals Dwell"—A New View of American Astronomers)," 13 July 1940. For informative reports on observing Mars, "Wadai no kasei o kansoku no chansu, myōseki kōkaidō okujō de 話題の火星を観測のチャンス、明夕公會堂屋上で (Topical Mars: Chance to Observe Mars Tomorrow Evening on Rooftop of Public Hall)," 6 July 1939, and "Saitan kyori no kasei o kansoku, itsuka kōkaidō okujō de 最短距離の火星を観測、五日公會堂屋上で (Shortest Distance to Observe Mars, Rooftop of Public Hall on the Fifth)," 5 October 1941, offer two good examples.

The news reports on Mars produced in colonial Taiwan naturally offered Zheng rich material. He had ample freedom to decide which reports to employ, weaving them carefully into his science fiction. While his story was set in a futuristic 2015, evidence of the connection between Zheng's novel and the newspaper reports on Mars is shown in the beginning of the second part of *A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure*:

> It was in 1910 in the Western calendar that wireless devices on Earth began to receive continuous signals from Mars. Many scholars devoted time to exploring methods of replying, for example by writing thousands of big characters in the desert attempting to communicate geometric calculations, or proposing the emission of very high frequency electric waves on the mountain peaks. They planned again and again without any success. It is only in the last fifty years that advances in wireless electricity have made replying to Mars entirely possible. So far, the communications between Mars and the Earth have exceeded ten in number.[16]

The above text lays the scientific foundation for this futuristic novel by incorporating the most contemporary reports about Mars. The stated "facts" include the premise of some initial exchanges between Mars and humans. This excerpt demonstrates that Zheng was very much aware of the popular proposition that Mars might have already sent signals to Earth. Zheng deliberately took the notion of communications from Mars for granted, developing his narrative along these lines, even though it is highly likely that he was also aware of various debates about the purported Mars-to-Earth communications.[17]

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16 *Research on Zheng Kunwu*, p. 211.

17 For example in "Huoxing yu wuxian dianxin queke shouxin bochang shiqiwan mitu 火星與無線電信確可受信波長十七萬米突 (Mars and Wireless Telecommunication Exceeds 170,000 Miles)," *Taiwan Daily News* (17 September 1921), New York reports on electricity were used to verify whether signals had been sent from Mars: "According to the report, Nigeria Telecommunications' Mr. Marconi (Makemai 馬克麥) in Italy 羅太利 talked about the possibility of Mars sending signals. According to his account, several months ago his organization suddenly received wireless correspondence from Mars . . . from this incident, indeed it seems Mars did send communications." Other reports doubting the communications are found in *Taiwan Daily News*, for example "Lun zi huoxing tongxin zhi buke zhixin 論自火星通信之不可置信 (On the Incredibility of Communications from Mars)," 19 September 1921; "Dongtian huanghuang zhi huoxing 東天煌煌之火星 (The Brilliant Eastern Sky of Mars)," 28 June 1922; and "Jiu yu huoxing tongxin eryan 就與火星通信而言 (Discussions Following Mars Correspondence)," 9 July 1922.

Zheng also borrowed Percival Lowell's (1855–1916) conception of the universe.[18] By the end of the nineteenth century, Lowell's work on Mars was already internationally recognized. Herbert George Wells' (1866–1946) *War of the Worlds* (1898) had drawn inspiration from Lowell's observations.[19] Thanks to the popularity of Wells' novel, Lowell's observations garnered even more public attention at the beginning of the twentieth century, even in Taiwan.[20] There was a consistent interest in Lowell's writings on Mars in the readership of both the *Taiwan Daily News* and the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*. The following example, entitled "New Strategies to Communicate with Mars," published in the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News* in 1911, provides a useful example of how Lowell's views influenced Zheng's novel through the newspaper:[21]

> Contemporary astronomers claim that among the eight planets, Mars has the most convincing traces of the existence of life forms. Amongst astronomers, Lowell, from Harvard University, has made the most informative argument. According to Lowell, the Earth has given birth to human beings because of its supply of water and plant life. Since Mars has the same supply, it can also give birth to human beings . . . With the current technological ability of human beings, we cannot build canals on such a large scale; therefore, the Martians must be practicing a higher level of engineering in comparison to ours. This can further lead us to deduce that Martians are more scientifically advanced . . . Since gravity is weak, the Martians must be much taller than humans; they may even have wings allowing them to fly. Since they are more intelligent than human beings, they must have bigger skulls, too . . . Since they are more intelligent, we can learn from them. It would be beneficial to us if we can establish communication with the Martians.

Most of Lowell's ideas in this report, such as the existence of canals for irrigation, Martians' advanced science, their attempts to make contact with

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18 In 1894, Lowell established his own observatory to study Mars and published his works on Mars the following year.

19 See Wang Du 王渡. 2005. "Zai juewang de shijie kanjian xiwang 在絕望的世界看見希望 (Finding Hope at the End of the World)," in *Shijie dazhan* 世界大戰 (War of the Worlds). Dai En 黛恩, trans. Taipei: Putian, p. 7.

20 See Yin Chuanhong 尹傳紅. "Huanxiang rang huoxing geng shenqi 幻想讓火星更神奇 (Imagination Makes Mars more Magical)," http://www.gmw.cn/01ds/2004-10/13/content_114902.htm (last accessed 25 October 2013).

21 *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*, 25 April 1911 (author's translation).

Earth, and the large head and awkward movements of Martians, are present in Zheng's novel. The main plot of *A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure* was focused on an adventure to Mars undertaken by a group called the "League of Nations Flying Team" (*Guoji lianmeng feixingdui* 國際聯盟飛行隊). Led by an American scientist, Dr. Haweishi 哈威士, this fourteen-person team was joined by Japanese Drs. Jōshin Masora 上新摩空 and Shina Tokumo 支那登雲, and other representatives from England, France, Italy, and Russia. Six members of the team took the journey to Mars while the rest stayed on Earth to provide support. Through the "witness account" of the main protagonist Dr. Haweishi, Lowell's theories on Mars and Martians make another appearance:

> At that time Dr. Ha 哈 [Haweishi] was anticipating that the Martians would appear similar to the way Lowell had described them in the 1900s. The Martians were over eight feet tall; they had huge heads with protruding foreheads and glistening eyes. Apart from those qualities, there was nothing different about them from human beings—their legs were quite short, their movements were energetic like sparrows. Each person carried a light aircraft and did not walk more than a hundred paces . . . They worked toward nature and planned for the benefit of all. Taking part in a large project together to open up the canals, they avoided a flood from the melting glaciers and used the water to nourish the land, to obtain today's peace.[22]

From the comparison of the above two excerpts, it is clear that although Zheng used Lowell to construct his story, he disagreed with the idea that Martian superiority was purely due to science. This was one of the major points where Zheng had reservations about Lowell's writing. Zheng argued that the rationale behind the Martians' supremacy was cultural; they had learned from previous conflicts and were able to unite.

H. G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* was another important source of inspiration for Zheng. Again, Zheng modified Wells' story and came up with his own version of Martian life. The difference between Wells and Zheng is most evident in the way that they depict Martians' relationships with humans. Wells' *War of the Worlds* is set in the late nineteenth century when Martians are attacking Britain as part of an attempt to conquer the Earth. Although Earth sends representatives to negotiate, the Martians disregard their pleas. Following several attacks, the earthlings are dwindling in number. It is only when the Martians advance on London and are exposed to the germs and pathogens on Earth that

22 *Research on Zheng Kunwu*, pp. 214–216.

they are defeated. Since they have no immunity to microbial infections, they die from their exposure and people are able to restart their lives. Nevertheless, the ending suggests that if people do not become more alert, there are likely to be similar invasions in the near future.

In contrast with *War of the Worlds*, Zheng portrayed rather friendly relations between the two races in *A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure.* Mars, in Zheng's novel, has reached a sustainable level of civilization and is affluent and peaceful. After passing through a "quality inspection machine," Martians are purified of any evil impulses. Martians are accommodating toward scientists from Earth, presenting the earthly government with rare and precious radium lasers.

Unfortunately, when a group of six Martians decide to visit the Earth, they die before landing due to the bacteria in the air. Eventually their bodies are put into large glass jars filled with preserving liquids and destined to be exhibited in public at the Shanghai Museum. Despite Zheng's portrayal of harmonious interactions between the two races, he closes off the possibility of Martian exploration of the Earth. In this respect the ending of *A Strange Tale* is similar to that of *War of the Worlds*.

Besides the fatal bacterial infections that kill Martians, there are other striking resemblances between the two novels. The mind-reading machines employed for communication instead of language and the wheelless vehicles trekking around Mars suggest Zheng may have borrowed from Wells after learning about his work through newspaper reports. In the "Science World" column of *Taiwan Daily News*, "Martians are over Seven Feet" (1924), Wells' depiction of Martians was quoted:

> Martians are as big as octopuses; their heads soft like jam, seven feet but boneless, like snake palms, like jellyfish, and like sea mice. If humans desire to move there, they would eject poisonous gases as a symbol of war and send large canons to communicate. Martians suck blood from living orgasms to survive.[23]

This report confirms that the Taiwanese media and its readers were aware of Wells' novel, even though there is insufficient evidence to verify the exact impact of Wells' work on Zheng's portrayal of Martians.

Along with reworkings of the abovementioned newspaper reports, Lowell's observations, and the astronomical facts embedded in Wells' novel, *A Strange Tale* also offered a fairly detailed description of the journey into space. For

23 See "Martians are over Seven Feet," *Taiwan Daily News*, 6 June 1924.

example, the take-off of the rocket, its temperature fluctuations when entering space, and the rocket's approach toward the sun and the moon, are all vividly portrayed. The novel, laced with believable astronomical references, illustrates the craze for science and space in early twentieth century Taiwan. Scientific knowledge enabled authors such as Zheng to explore new themes and formulate new perspectives in their literary endeavors.

Zheng's work not merely shows his incorporation of British astronomical discoveries: it also serves as a good example of global information flows and their local re-rendering. Even though the work was not published during Zheng's lifetime, it demonstrates how a novel could incorporate British knowledge of science and astronomy in mediated and fictionalized form. Zheng was successful in the sense that he synthesized various available sources (such as the news pieces and science writing in either Japanese or Chinese, Percival Lowell's ideas, and very likely Wells' *War of the Worlds*) into an entertaining yet meaningful narrative.

Scientific Fantasy and Humanistic Reality

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, people across the world increasingly adopted a science vision of the universe into their way of thinking.[24] Specialist knowledge affected humanity's commonsensical understanding of nature and humanity's relationship with the physical world. In turn, science fiction combined enlightenment, rationality, progress, and science. In Zheng's writing, a new conception of the universe, as well as an awareness of the new methods of observation and new scientific methodology, is discernible. *A Strange Tale* did not just incorporate widely accepted early twentieth-century astronomical discoveries and scientific observations: Zheng actually extended the existing boundaries of Taiwanese literature with his rich imagination.

The following passage in *A Strange Tale* is an example. During the ten-day journey, the Mars Exploration Team encounters several peculiar events. Each event demonstrates something of Zheng's understanding of science and the physical universe.

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24 See "Kexue: xin jiasuji 科學：新加速劑 (Science: The New Accelerator)," in *Banren banyu zhi shen: Cong Wei'ersi dao Haiyinlai'en* 半人半魚之神：從威爾斯到海因萊恩 (A God, Half Human, Half Fish: From Wells to Heinlein). This is a Chinese version of James Gunn's *The Road to Science Fiction 2: From Wells to Heinlein*, edited by Guo Jianzhong 郭建中. Beijing: Beijing University Press, p. 1.

> Flight 7 . . . After about 18 minutes . . . they had already left the Earth's atmosphere. Without air resistance, the speed gradually increased, and rapidly sped up to a speed ten times as fast . . . The hand of the clock inside the cabin pointed to two. Dr. Ha did not flinch, and quickly used wireless communication to speak with the other rockets. He gazed at Mars and used the celestial instrument to estimate the angle of travel. These measurements were to be used in case the Sun obstructed the view of Mars or in case of any other problem. No one present was as nervous as Dr. Ha, knowing the aircraft had no resistance and that it was moving extremely fast . . . Even at six o'clock in the evening, being far away from land and thousands of miles apart, the sun had not set. The sun was seen as a nail fastened in the sky—unmoving. It had returned from its journey around the Earth from west to east. Viewing its movement from west to east was like boarding a moving boat; it felt as though land was being pushed away and left behind. Now that the team had left the Earth, the Earth no longer sheltered the sun. And so naturally the sun was not perceived as on Earth where it rotated east and west . . . from then forward, evening never came.[25]

Exact calculations of travel time and velocity are never explicitly quoted, yet the author's considerations of the layers of the atmosphere; the distance between the Earth, Sun, Moon, and Mars; the rotation of the Earth; and the movements of Mars and the Sun are noteworthy. Zheng's understanding of the universe and celestial motion is indebted to the foundation laid by the scientific and technological thought of his time. His attention to flight duration and astronomical movements is not the only case in which the impact of science is discernible.

In addition to paying a great deal of attention to the accuracy of the scientific elements of the novel, Zheng also wove in a humane theme: harmony and friendship between Martians and humans. In the dialogue between Dr. Ha and the Martian leader Shilishi 士里士 we learn that the present state of peaceful relations on Mars is the result of great tragedy. A few centuries ago, Mars had been in an unlivable state. Murder and thievery were common. Martians also suffered greatly because of war, plagues, famine and disease. Conditions improved only when those who survived started to work together for the collective good. Shilishi comments that even though Martians had gone through difficult times, their sufferings had paid off; the implication is that it had been more worthwhile than humankind's wars.

25 *Research on Zheng Kunwu*, pp. 212–213.

The exchange between Ha and Shilishi not only highlights the contrast between the two leaders' learning and cultivation, but also showcases the differences between Martians and human beings, an issue that Zheng was keen to explore. In fact, a news reporter had touched upon the same subject prior to Zheng. In an article entitled "Astronomers' Discussion of Mars" (1911), the reporter concluded with a pessimistic view of Martians and human beings:

> Living things have been continuously competing with one another for survival. Even on Earth, it is a game of the survival of the fittest. Todd's 托勞二氏 attempts to establish communication with aliens is nevertheless unnecessary. This is an unachievable goal for our current technology in the twentieth century! However, if there are other sentient species living on other planets, they could come and conquer Earth, subordinating all human beings, disregarding our differences in skin colors or race. Instead of letting one race of human beings become dominant, it is much more pleasurable to let the heavens visit their cruelty on us! Looking up into the sky, I wish whoever is living out there in space would quickly come to Earth in their Zeppelins.[26]

The reporter's contemplation of the fate of humanity arguably draws on various international astronomic accounts of Mars. Zheng pondered the same issues regarding the possible collective fate of humanity surrounding the universe and the destiny of humankind through his fictional novel.

In discussing Mars and Martians, Zheng suggested that the universe has its own natural patterns and that the environment has power over history. This was not to say that all events stem from nature. Rather, he saw evolution as an important feature of the universe. In depicting the earlier self-destructiveness of the Martians and their ultimate unity that brings about a change of fate, a scientific progression develops into a cultural progression. Progress requires science, but science is not sufficient by itself; it demands that we abandon selfishness and build a humane society. A somewhat uncritical link between cultural and scientific advance is also evident in the idea of the "quality-checking machine." In order to facilitate peaceful relations, Martians have invented a machine to discern a child's level of self-discipline. They use injections to conquer the evil genes found in naughty children. It is an indication of the values of the times that this is seen as progressive rather than sinister.

In the novel, the nations on Earth are also connected more closely than was the case in Zheng's own time. For instance, the world learns about humans

26 See "Astronomers' Discussion of Mars," *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*, 31 May 1911.

landing on Mars at the same time through different media reports in different locations. The second team, led by French scientist Dr. Yuxishi 宇兮士, loses control of their rocket, and the scientists use a sign language invented by Polish optometrist Lazarus Ludwig Zamenhof (1859–1917) in 1887 to communicate about the incident. The appearance of this sign language demonstrates the goal of mutual understanding and exchange between nations.

Predictions about Mars in the novel disclose trepidations stirring about contemporary conflicts in the real world. Such anxieties lead Zheng to use the novel to provide a parable for humankind and to express his yearning for world peace. The multinational background of the team shows him imagining borderless international collaborations. It also hints that people from Earth need to complete missions to Mars to be victorious, just like the transnational group of scientists in his novel. On Earth, Zheng created a six-member team to travel to Mars, under the command of French Dr. Yuxishi. Regrettably, during the journey, Yuxishi is murdered by his relative Hailiqi 海利奇, Yushilian 愚士廉, and the two Russian McDuff 馬克夫 brothers, in order to avenge the homicide of a telecommunication technician, Babailei 巴百雷, in which Yuxishi was involved several years previously.

In the end, the case is solved and the murderers arrested, but Zheng's insertion of this homicide into his novel indicates that while human beings are capable of reaching outer space and solving certain problems, they are equally capable of causing damage to themselves. Zheng's reservations about humankind suggest his multinational scientific community dream was too utopian an ideal. By juxtaposing the success and failure of the two teams, Zheng revealed his concerns about morality as well as the scientific development of humankind. Given that the work was most likely written after the destructive First World War, Zheng's desire for peaceful international relations seems particularly understandable.

Between Science Fiction and Detective Story

Science fiction novels offer a means through which authors' worldviews can be communicated and explored. James Gunn (1923–), for example, claims that a work cannot be considered a science novel if it does not show concerns for all human beings, or if such concerns are insufficiently expressed.[27] Echoing the concerns of philosophers from the eighteenth century onward, Western

27 See James Gunn. 2008. "Yingwenban qianyan 英文版前言 (Preface to the English version of 'Science Acceleration')," in *Banren banyu zhi shen: Cong Wei'ersi dao Haiyinlai'en*, p. 5.

science fiction in the forty years of the genre's development had raised several problems and concerns that had never been conceived of before. Will humanity progress or regress, socially as well as technologically? What changes will society undergo? Can humankind continue to survive? These are some of the most common questions in the science fiction of the era.[28]

A Strange Tale shares Western authors' concerns about the survival and fate of humankind on Earth, and the rarity of science fiction in colonial Taiwan makes it rather innovative. But when compared with Western science fiction novels, Zheng's *A Strange Tale* seems to fall short, even though it shared the same preoccupation with the fate of humanity. Indeed, the latter half of the novel turns into a detective story, making it less obviously a "pure" science fiction novel. The sections describing the Martians' arrival in Taiwan and their death might have been developed into an entertaining detective story, but Zheng did not elaborate on them, and his effort in combining the two genres is ultimately less than successful.[29]

Detective fiction in colonial Taiwan was considered in some ways avant-garde, but also as something of a kitsch art form.[30] Its avant-gardism came from its hybridity with other popular genres such as romance, epic, fantasy, and historical fiction. Because detective narratives often featured urban crimes, in order to solve the case and put criminals behind bars they frequently made reference to science or to legal processes. But elements of detective narratives, such as kidnappings or cases of theft, were often found in different genres of fiction, giving rise to unexpected plot twists. Even though Taiwanese detective fiction was frequently combined with other genres and featured strange developments, the narrative of Zheng's *A Strange Tale* is somewhat flawed. Details such as who committed the crime, why and how, and how the case was solved, are not always clear, and sometimes the plot is forced. An amalgamation of genres could potentially result in an interesting and indeed profitable work, as it had the potential to attract a broader readership. However, the end result of Zheng's attempt at a hybrid of science and detective fiction seems to have been more limiting than innovative. The intrusion of the detective plot prevents the work from being recognized as a successful science fiction novel.

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28 Ibid.

29 Verne's *Le Tour* depicts detectives looking for robbers in London. However, it is a short interlude.

30 For the concept of kitsch, see Matei Călinescu. 1987. *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 225–264.

Despite being set in outer space, the story as a whole is not a complete science fiction narrative.

As such, how *A Strange Tale* should be categorized is debatable. Zheng wrote mostly romantic tales of knights-errant, and was not recognized as a science fiction writer. The conventions of science fiction were yet to be fully formed, which further added to the difficulty of establishing oneself as a writer in this genre during the colonial era. Zheng probably experimented with combining science fiction and the detective novel because he thought it would attract more readers, and detective stories at that time were popular. Perhaps he also wanted to imitate Jules Gabriel Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*, which contains elements of a detective story.

Conclusion

Science and technology became the main forces changing perceptions of the world during the late nineteenth century, revolutionizing everyday life. Technological change was breathtaking, and former ways of thinking were regarded as old-fashioned. Astronomical discoveries changed the relationships between humans, the natural universe, and distant planets. These changes could also be interpreted as containing warnings for humanity.

A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure offers a case study of how Taiwanese novelists approached the scientific explorations and discoveries of the early twentieth century. Through a close reading of Zheng Kunwu's unpublished novel, we gain insights into how ideas flowed from one part of the globe to another, especially how popular scientific writing facilitated the development of Taiwanese culture. Zheng's essential innovation was to use the new scientific vocabulary from newspaper reports and translated novels to create a Taiwanese novel which pushed the boundaries of literature at the time.

Popular literature during Taiwan's colonial period is still understudied today, and this chapter on Zheng's *A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure* attempts to provide a starting point for future studies. Although Taiwan was a Japanese colony for the most first half of the twentieth century, this did not prevent Taiwanese intellectuals from being exposed to knowledge from the world or having access to up-to-date scientific knowledge.[31]

31 Although Zheng wrote in Chinese, he could read Japanese and made use of the information acquired from Japanese-language newspapers. His Chinese works were composed mostly in easy to understand classical Chinese. Some of them, including *A Strange Tale of a Martian Adventure*, contained Japanese kanji vocabulary.

Zheng's case illustrates not only the reception of foreign knowledge from various sources, but also the process of adapting and remolding it into a literary work. Print media (newspaper reports in particular) played a significant role in facilitating his literary creativity. Indeed, newspapers and literary productions fed off each other. From newspaper reports to fictional writing, Zheng appears as an imaginative and selective reader. He both drew on and took issue with the views presented by Lowell and Wells. Although *A Strange Tale*, which straddles science fiction and detective fiction, remained unpublished, it is nevertheless a valuable piece of evidence for the history of Taiwanese fiction, partly because of its experimentation with a new genre, and partly because it bridges scientific fantasy and humanistic concerns.

CHAPTER 7

Shaping Perception of the Second World War: A Study of Textbooks in Taiwan in the 1940s

Shi-chi Mike Lan

Historiography, especially narration of a seminal event like the Second World War, plays a significant role in the formation of modern nation-states. It has been argued that "public commemoration of war" is one the few "honest ritual occasions during which nationhood, even if complex and disputed," can be brought into being and revalidated.[1] But in order to conduct "public commemoration of war" as a national event or "ritual," a particular set of perspectives on the war needs to be shared broadly across the society, so that the audience and participants—the citizens—can have a common conceptual foundation, providing the basis on which a public commemoration can be carried out.

This conceptual foundation not only helps citizens to shape the perception of their own culture and to define who they are, it also defines others, and in particular, it defines enemies. Creation or "production" of such perspectives within a society is arguably never neutral or objective. The agents involved in this activity always have their own agendas, targeted at and at the same time shaping particular audiences. This activity also brings certain kinds of benefits—political, economic, or other—to those engaged in it. Looking at the intersection of history and memory, this chapter sets out to explore and compare efforts at creating shared perceptions of the Second World War (hereafter "the War") in Taiwan.

By examining textbooks produced in different historical periods, this chapter will analyze how perspectives on the War were constructed and disseminated via the agency of different government authorities for the consumption of the Taiwanese public. When the War began in the 1930s, Taiwan had been under Japanese colonial rule for more than three decades. The island was particularly heavily involved in Japan's war effort from 1941 to 1945. At the end of the War, however, Japanese rule was terminated and Taiwan was handed over to the Chinese Nationalist government. As two opposing regimes in the War had ruled Taiwan one after another, perceptions of the War as constructed and

1 Hans J. van de Ven. 1996. "War in the Making of Modern China," *Modern Asian Studies* (Special Issue: War in Modern China) 30, no. 4: 751.

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disseminated in Taiwan by these two regimes showed a sharp contrast in their content. Such a contrast will help us to identify the agenda each regime was pursuing through their nationalistic and patriotic rhetoric.

To compare this activity under the two regimes each side of 1945, this chapter will firstly examine various textbooks published and adopted by the Taiwan Sōtokufu 臺灣總督府 (Taiwan Government-General), the highest Japanese colonial authority in Taiwan, and analyze what information was made known and presented to schoolchildren about the War while the War was still going on. Secondly, it will examine textbooks published and adopted by the Chinese authorities in the immediate postwar period, in order to compare them with narratives about the War produced and disseminated before 1945. In particular, this essay will examine how these two political regimes localized narratives about the War, and also explore the implications of these localizations in Taiwan for the consumption of the Taiwanese people.

Presentation of the War in Japanese Colonial Texts Before 1945

The Taiwan Government-General began to implement mandatory elementary education in 1943.[2] More than 65% of school-age Taiwanese children were enrolled in schools at that time. The enrolment rate rose to 71% in 1944, and by the end of the War it was reported at above 80%.[3] As school enrollment expanded and the proportion of the educated population rose at the height of the War, elementary school textbooks became a crucial vehicle in constructing and disseminating knowledge of the War. And in addition to textbooks used in regular schools, the Taiwan Government-General also published non-school texts—designed for the consumption of a wider Taiwanese audience who were not enrolled in school or beyond school age—such as *Taiwan seinen tokuhon* 臺灣青年讀本 (Reader for Taiwanese Youth).[4]

These school and non-school texts produced and circulated by the colonial authorities (hereafter referred to as "colonial texts") both played a significant role in shaping the Taiwanese knowledge of the War up to the end of the colonial rule in 1945. To provide a more comprehensive overview, this chapter will

2 Xu Peixian 許佩賢. 2005 *Zhimindi Taiwan de jindai xuexiao* 殖民地台灣的近代學校 (Modern Schools in Colonial Taiwan). Taipei: Yuanliu chuban gongsi, p. 179.

3 Cai Jintang 蔡錦堂. 2006. *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan* 戰爭體制下的台灣 (Taiwan under the War Mechanism). Taipei: Richuangshe, pp. 22, 193.

4 Taiwan Sōtokufu. 1943. *Taiwan seinen tokuhon* 臺灣青年讀本 (Reader for Taiwanese Youth). Taipei: Taiwan Education Association.

focus on various "colonial texts" from this period. The purpose of producing and disseminating these texts by the Japanese colonial authorities in Taiwan was simultaneously political and military. As the then Director of Education Bureau in Taiwan stated in the "Preface"—which served as an official endorsement to the text—to *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, the book was compiled to awaken the "imperial spirit" among the Taiwanese youth and to mobilize the Taiwanese young men and women to "devote themselves to the country."[5]

Youth was particularly important in the context of wartime mobilization: by 1943 Japan was running short of new recruits to the frontline, the mechanism of recruiting "volunteer soldiers" in colonies of Taiwan and Korea was at a new height, and the Government-General announced in July 1943 that conscription would soon be implemented in 1945.[6] To effectively mobilize society to support the war effort, the colonial authorities in Taiwan set up various institutions and organizations to "cultivate the body and mind, [in order] to foster loyal and obedient national subjects" in the form of young Taiwanese men and women. From 1938, existing Youth Corps (*seinen dan* 青年團) across the island were consolidated and further strengthened under the umbrella of the United Taiwan Youth Corps, in an attempt to better mobilize human resources through local organizations for the ongoing war's needs.

In addition, various facilities were established to provide military training and education in the "imperial spirit" to young men and women—mostly between the ages of sixteen and eighteen—who were not enrolled in regular schools.[7] Texts such as *Reader for Taiwanese Youth* were produced to serve this need. Similarly, the aforementioned implementation of compulsory education and the expansion of elementary education in Taiwan, as Xu Peixian 許佩賢 points out, was an integral part of Japan's wartime mobilization of colonial subjects, aiming to "mold" the future generations of "imperial subjects" who would be loyal to the Japanese Emperor and the Empire.[8] Zhou Wanyao 周婉窈 further argues that wartime textbooks played a role in enabling the "wartime generation" of Taiwanese to identify with the country of Japan.[9]

5 Ibid., "Preface."

6 Zhou Wanyao 周婉窈 ed. 2002. *Haixing xi de niandai: Riben zhimin tongzhi moqi Taiwanshi lunji* 海行兮的年代：日本殖民統治末期台灣史論集 (The Ocean-Going Era: Collection of Works on the History of the Final Stage of the Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan). Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, pp. 140–141.

7 Wang Jinque 王錦雀. 2005. *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan gongmin jiaoyu yu gongmin texing* 日治時期台灣公民教育與公民特性 (Civic Education and Characteristics of Taiwan under Japanese Rule). Taipei: Taiwan guji, pp. 225–226.

8 See Xu Peixian's book in note 2, p. 192.

9 Zhou Wanyao. *Haixing xi de niandai*, p. 278.

In this context, school textbooks and non-school texts such as *Reader for Taiwanese Youth* should be understood as the tools through which the Japanese authorities sought to create "imperial subjects" and bring about "imperialization" (*kōminka* 皇民化) in colonial Taiwan.

Discussions and descriptions of the War were commonly found in textbooks throughout this period under headings ranging from self-cultivation, to national language, to music. These colonial texts first defined the causes and aims of the War. The "Great East Asian War," as it was known to the Japanese as well as to the Taiwanese, was represented as a war started by "provocation" from America and Great Britain.[10] Japan's role in the War was represented as "preserving and defending" the Empire, saving the "people of Asia" from the "forceful and unjust America and Great Britain," and establishing the new order of Great East Asia and perpetual world peace. It was further emphasized that people in China and the South (i.e., modern South-east Asia) understood and appreciated Japan's guidance in pursuit of the Great East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere.[11]

Several military conflicts were identified in the colonial texts as significant markers of the War. The military conflict in northeastern China in 1931 came to be known as the "Manchuria Incident," and the outbreak of full-scale war between China and Japan in July 1937 was known as the "China Incident."[12] Together with the Japanese attack of the American Navy in Hawaii that started the "Great East Asian War" in 1941, these military conflicts were represented as acts of self-defense by Japan against the "anti-Japanese" movement across China and the "violent action" by America and Great Britain of freezing Japanese assets and imposing embargoes on exports of military necessity to Japan.[13] They were even portrayed as establishing "world peace," and protecting and enhancing the interest of the Japanese and "one billion Asian people" in general.[14] The War overall, as remembered through these colonial texts, was an effort by the Japanese Empire to promote the interests of people within the Japanese Empire as well to defend the people of Asia against Western aggressors.

Stories of battles and soldiers were another feature of colonial texts. Day-to-day accounts of battles (in the Pacific Ocean, China, and Southeast Asia),

10 "Emperor's Declaration," in *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*.

11 Ibid., pp. 5–6, 64–66.

12 Ibid., pp. 50–54, 56–58; Taiwan Sōtokufu. 1943. *Shotōka shūshin* 初等科修身 (Elementary Self-cultivation). Tokyo: Taiwan Sōtokufu, 2: 81.

13 *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, pp. 49–56, 63–65.

14 Ibid., p. 226.

of the lives of soldiers at the front, of Japanese casualties and struggles against the enemy's fierce attacks, of the devotion of Japan's soldiers to their Emperor, and descriptions of various troops, weapons, and military equipment were all commonly featured.[15] Even textbooks such as *Shotōka ongaku* 初等科音樂 (Elementary Music) featured stories of battles and soldiers.[16] Although most Taiwanese people did not experience the War at the front, these texts—and their accompanying photographs, pictures, and maps—effectively brought the War to the people of Taiwan who read them and, as Leo Ching argues, brought the "battlefield" (*senjō* 戰場) and the "everyday" (*nichijō* 日常) into "dialectic interrelations."[17] In doing so, these texts helped to strengthen the ongoing imperialization efforts in colonial Taiwan.

While Japan's military success was emphasized in these texts, it is worth noting that they also highlighted the role and the importance of Taiwan and the Taiwanese.[18] As represented in the colonial texts, the Taiwanese people were closely related to these military conflicts. First of all, because of its geographical location and weather, Taiwan in particular was considered as having a special "mission" to facilitate the Empire's development and interest in the South in light of these conflicts.[19] In addition to the more general description of the War and the Empire's role in the War, various colonial texts specifically and repeatedly stressed Taiwanese participation in the War. Several types of Taiwanese participation in the War, particularly those at the frontline, were represented and taught as model behavior.

For example, to enlist as a "volunteer soldier" or a "military servant," all selected from the local Youth Corp, was represented as a notable and respectable activity.[20] Taiwanese young men serving as "military servants" and "interpreters" in the Taiwan Army were represented as "active on the frontline." Their participation in the War was represented as an integral part of the Empire's

15 Taiwan Sōtokufu. 1944. *Shotōka kokugo* 初等科國語 (Elementary National Language). Tokyo: Taiwan Sōtokufu, 5: 38–58, 109–116, and *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, pp. 47–58, 60–71.

16 The War was conspicuously featured in songs like "The Spring of China," "Submarine," "Military Flags," and "Three Courageous Soldiers." See Taiwan Sōtokufu. 1943. *Shotōka ongaku* 初等科音樂 (Elementary Music). Osaka: Taiwan Sōtokufu, 1: 26–27, 50–51, 62–65, 66–69.

17 Leo T. S. Ching. 2001. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 90.

18 *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, pp. 66–71, 73; Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary Self-cultivation* 2: 53–54.

19 *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, p. 229; Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary Self-cultivation* 2: 84–85.

20 Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary Self-cultivation* 2: 21–25.

war efforts in China—following the military occupation of China's capital Nanjing and the navy blockade of China's entire coastline—and discussed side by side with "military glory" won by Japanese soldiers in various battlefields across China.[21]

Furthermore, colonial texts related a good number of stories of Taiwanese participation on the frontline as concrete examples to illustrate the Taiwanese contribution to the War. The Labor Contribution Group—which consisted of Taiwanese put in charge of logistics and transportation duties—and the Takasago Righteous Courageous Troop (also known as the Takasago Volunteer Army)[22]—which consisted of Taiwanese aborigines—working and fighting in battlefields in the Philippines were featured, with extensive description of their activities, achievements, and contributions to Japan's advancement in the War.[23] Specifically, these Taiwanese were praised as "the Mighty Taiwanese" who had lived up to the "reputation of Taiwan" and shown the "essence of Taiwan," and it was stressed that the people of Taiwan as well as the people of the entire country (of Japan) should show gratitude to these Taiwanese fighting on the frontline.[24]

Most Taiwanese served in the Japanese military under the designation of "military affiliates," while others served as "military servants," "volunteer soldiers," interpreters, nurses, and as members of the Labor Contribution Group or the Takasago Righteous Courageous Troop.[25] According to official statistics, during the Second World War more than two hundred thousand Taiwanese—known collectively as the Taiwanese-native Japanese soldiers—were recruited to serve in various capacities in the Japanese armed forces.[26] To place this figure in the context of the total population of Taiwan at the end of the War (estimated at around 6 million), about 3.3% of Taiwan's populace was recruited to

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21 *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, pp. 58–59.

22 Ching. *Becoming "Japanese"*, p. 168.

23 Laowu fenggongtuan 勞務奉公團 (Labor Contribution Group), and Gaosha yiyongdui 高砂義勇隊 (Takasago Righteous Courageous Troop), in *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, pp. 80–85.

24 Ibid, pp. 81–83, 85.

25 "Soldier's dependents," in Tang Xiyong 湯熙勇 and Chen Yiru 陳怡如, eds. 2001. *Taibeishi Taiji Ribenbing chafang zhuanji* 台北市台籍日兵查訪專輯 (Special Investigative Report on Taiwanese-native Japanese Soldiers in Taipei City). Taipei: Taipei City Archives Committee, pp. 23–24. It is worth noting that the colonial authorities formally began drafting the Taiwanese in January 1945, but the overall military mobilization ended soon in August 1945. See Cai Jintang. *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, pp. 115–117.

26 According to Japan's Ministry of Health in 1973. See Tang Xiyong and Chen Yiru. *Taibeishi Taiji Ribenbing chafang zhuanji*, p. 35.

serve in the war effort. Since these Taiwanese "soldiers" constituted a significant portion of the Taiwanese population, their experiences, as represented in the colonial texts, constituted an important part of Taiwanese perception of the War.

In addition to Taiwanese participation on the frontline, other Taiwanese activities contributing to the War also figured in the colonial texts. The daily activities of "boy workers" (*shōnen kō* 少年工) were taught, in great detail, to elementary-school students who were only a few years younger than those who were recruited as "boy workers."[27] Serving as a "boy worker" was represented as a rewarding experience and a significant contribution to the Empire that other Taiwanese students were encouraged to pursue; and the same was said about elementary-school students making donations to "patriotic saving."[28] Like stories of the Taiwanese serving on the frontline, stories of "boy soldiers" and "patriotic saving" taught Taiwanese students—as well as the Taiwanese in general—that Taiwan and the Taiwanese had played a significant role in the War and, more importantly, that their significance had been recognized by the colonial authorities as an integral part of the Japanese Empire.

Other aspects of Taiwanese daily life during the War were also represented. One notable example was the discussion of air raids and air raid protection drills. In *Shotōka shūshin* 初等科修身 (Elementary Self-cultivation, 1943), for example, an entire chapter was devoted to the topic. It was conspicuously presented as a critical issue because it was discussed side by side with other significant symbols of the Empire such as "Kimigayo" (the Emperor's Reign) and "Yasukuni jinjia" (Yasukuni Shrine). The text of the chapter covered details of the drill, what each student should do, and a teacher's explanation of the drill's significance in terms of dealing with real air raids.[29]

Air raids were a significant part of the Taiwanese wartime experience, as Taiwan was heavily bombed by the Allied air forces toward the end of the War. Between January and June 1945, for example, bombing by the Allied forces was conducted on an almost daily basis. In the month of April alone, more than 44,500 bombs were recorded as having been dropped all over Taiwan.[30] The heaviest bombing was on 1 May, which saw more than 10,000 bombs dropped

27 Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary National Language* 5: 58–64.

28 Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary Self-cultivation* 2: 55–59, 64.

29 Ibid., pp. 33–38.

30 "Statistics of Air Raids in Taiwan (1945)." 1945. *Dai tōa sensō: Okitai Taiwan tōan* 大東亞戰爭-沖台-臺灣檔案 (Great East Asian War Archive—Okinawa/Taiwan). Tokyo: the National Institute for Defense Studies Library.

in the city of Tainan alone, and another 8,700 in Kaohsiung. The total fatalities resulting from these six months of bombing topped 5,000.[31] Under the Allies' heavy bombing, evacuation to avoid air raids became a part of Taiwanese daily life as well as memories of the War, as testified by many Taiwanese in their post-war recollections.[32] During the air raid protection drills, the Taiwanese were taught by the colonial authorities to identify the "enemies' planes"—namely American, British, and Chinese (represented by the Chongqing Nationalist government) planes—by looking at the signs painted on the plane's wings and tail.[33]

In representing the air raid drill, the aforementioned texts established the air raids by the Allied forces as a shared wartime experience. The same could be said about other Taiwanese wartime experiences represented in the colonial texts, such as paying respect and gratitude to the "imperial soldiers."[34] By highlighting Taiwan's participation in the War, these texts presented Taiwanese wartime experiences as an integral part of the overall war mobilization of the Japanese Empire.

The Japanese colonial authorities indeed went further by producing a "localized" version of the wartime experiences in Taiwan. Besides emphasizing the daily experiences of Taiwanese people, stories of patriotic action—supposedly taken by ordinary Taiwanese—were common features of the texts produced by the colonial authorities. A notable story is "Sayon's Bell," which was based on a real event that took place in 1938.[35] As represented in the colonial textbook, Sayon was an Atayal girl trained at the education institute set up by the Japanese colonizers in her mountainous village. After graduation in 1935, she joined the local Women's Youth Corp and decided to devote herself to the Empire after the "China Incident."[36] When a Japanese teacher working at the education institute for her tribe was drafted to serve in the military after the battles in China intensified in 1938, Sayon volunteered to help carrying the teacher's luggage and accompanying the teacher from her tribal home to the reporting destination.

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31 Ibid.

32 Cai Jintang. *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, pp. 166–168.

33 Ibid., pp. 161–162.

34 Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary Self-cultivation* 2: 51–55.

35 For more discussion of the story and its implications, see Cai Jintang. *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, pp. 138–139; Zhou Wanyao. *Haixing xi de niandai*, pp. 13–31; and Ching. *Becoming "Japanese"*, pp. 161–167.

36 Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary National Language* 5: 96–98.

Before their departure, the weather suddenly deteriorated and the 35-kilometer trip crossing the mountain and treacherous streams was considered by many in Sayon's tribe as too risky to take. However, Sayon insisted on going to "pay gratitude to her beloved teacher" and to contribute to the Empire. Leaders of the tribe were moved by Sayon's determination and eventually allowed her to travel.[37] Unfortunately, during the trip Sayon fell off a bridge and consequently lost her life in a muddy stream. A bell was later dedicated by the Taiwanese Governor-General to commemorate Sayon, who was praised in the story as a "patriotic girl."[38]

Another notable "Taiwanese," or localizing, story featured in colonial texts is about the "Ka Wu Tribe Youth," supposedly also based on a true story. It depicted a group of young men from a local tribe in southern Taiwan who volunteered and risked their lives in treacherous streams to escort a Japanese police officer who had been drafted on his trip to report for service in the frontline.[39] Following the trip, the local police station sent some money as a token of appreciation to these tribal youths. On receiving the money, these young men donated it to the "national defense fund." Their action was reported in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in Japan, and a reader of the news, whose husband was a military officer killed in action, wrote a letter to the newspaper expressing her appreciation of these young men from Taiwan.[40]

The "Ka Wu Tribe Youth" story was strikingly similar to "Sayon's Bell;" the protagonists in both stories were Taiwanese aborigines (and Japanese policemen drafted to serve in the military) sacrificing themselves for the benefit of the Empire. While most Taiwanese experiences and stories of the War were not ethnically-specific, stories like "Sayon's Bell" and "Ka Wu Tribe Youth" are particularly significant, as the inclusion of these stories in textbooks clearly shows the colonial authorities aiming at mobilizing the minority aboriginal population of Taiwan and, as Zhou Wanyao points out, showcasing Japan's success in "civilizing" the aborigines of Taiwan.[41]

Furthermore, these two stories demonstrated an all-encompassing attempt by the colonial authorities at mobilizing the whole of Taiwanese society. Sayon's story, in which a young girl is featured, clearly makes an appeal both to female readers (to act like Sayon) and to male readers (to admire female compatriots

37 Ibid., pp. 98–102.

38 Ibid., pp. 107–109.

39 *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, pp. 104–106.

40 Ibid., pp. 106–109.

41 See Zhou Wanyao. *Haixing xi de niandai*, pp. 16–17.

like Sayon) in both Taiwan and Japan.[42] In comparison, the story of the Ka Wu Tribe Youth represented Taiwanese loyalty to the Empire and support for the War as collective (the story reported that "thirty-one Takasago young men" participated in the escort party) and continuous (from providing assistance to the drafted police officer to making a donation to support national defense).

More importantly, by highlighting the newspaper report published in the Japanese homeland as well as the reaction of a war widow from the Japanese homeland, the story of the Ka Wu Tribe Youth defined the War as a common endeavor of both the people of Taiwan and the people of the Japanese homeland and, subsequently, aimed to obscure the divide and establish a "bond"—to quote from Ernest Renan's classic statement on nation-formation, of "having suffered, enjoyed, and hoped together"—between Taiwan and Japan.[43]

The themes of "loyalty" and "bond" were also found in a well-known patriotic story from 1943, the "Kimigayo Boy," once more based on a true story.[44] The story was about a Taiwanese elementary-school student who was seriously injured in an earthquake in 1935. During his operation, the boy insisted on speaking only in Japanese—as the national language. Unfortunately, his injury turned out to be fatal and the boy passed away a few days afterward. Nevertheless, before the boy passed away, he gathered his strength and sung the Japanese national anthem *Kimigayo* in its entirety.[45] Although the story of "Kimigayo Boy" itself had little to do with the War, the fact that the story was featured in colonial texts at the height of the War in 1943 showed that the themes of "loyalty" and "bond" were considered critical by the colonial authorities in Taiwan. By emphasizing that all these loyal Taiwanese had devoted themselves to the Empire spontaneously, these stories represented the "loyalty" of the Taiwanese people and the "bond" between Taiwan and the Empire as genuine and unwavering.

In all three of the aforementioned stories of "patriotic Taiwanese," the Taiwanese were represented as dedicated subjects of the Emperor—just like people in the Japanese homeland should be. Conspicuously, these stories of

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42 I would like to thank Pei-yin Lin for this insight. For further discussion of the appeal of Sayon's story, see Zhou Wanyao. *Haixing xi de niandai*, pp. 16–26, and Pei-yin Lin. 2011. "Translating the Other: On the Re-circulations of the Tale *Sayon's Bell*," in James St. André and Peng Hsiao-yen, eds. *China and Its Others: Knowledge Transfer through Translation, 1829–2010*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 144–150.

43 Ernest Renan. 1996. "What Is a Nation?," in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds. *Becoming National: A Reader*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 53.

44 See Cai Jintang. *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, p. 137. For the transformation of the story into a patriotic myth, see Zhou Wanyao. *Haixing xi de niandai*, pp. 1–12.

45 Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary National Language* 3: 30–32.

"patriotic Taiwanese" were carefully crafted by the colonial authorities and disseminated through various colonial texts to mobilize Taiwanese support for the Empire and the on-going war. Exaggerated and polished by the colonial authorities, they served political and militaristic purposes.[46]

The War in Chinese Nationalist Texts After 1945

As soon as Japan relinquished control over Taiwan and handed it over to the Chinese Nationalist (Guomindang) government of the Republic of China (ROC) in 1945, the Nationalist government began to lay out specific goals for Taiwan's education. One of its goals was to diminish the colonial legacy in Taiwan by transforming the island from a Japanese "imperialized" Taiwan to a Chinese "motherland-like" Taiwan.[47] To do so, the Chinese Nationalist government was determined to eradicate the "poisonous element of Japan's enslaving education" rooted in the Taiwanese mind. A fundamental change in "curriculum and textbooks" was identified as a key measure.[48] Beginning in 1946, newly edited school textbooks were published by the Taiwanese provincial education authorities under the Chinese Nationalist government (hereafter referred to as "Chinese Nationalist texts") and adopted in elementary schools and middle schools throughout Taiwan.

Knowledge of the War, which had ended just months ago, was a critical component of the Chinese Nationalist texts. As the Chinese Nationalist government prepared to implement a fundamental change in "curriculum and textbooks" to eradicate the "poisonous element of Japan's enslaving education" in Taiwan, representations of the War in textbooks were consciously revised. In the 1946 editions of the elementary-school *History* textbook and the middle-school *History* textbook, the editorial authorities stated unequivocally that these textbooks were designed to "expel years of misleading Japanese

46 See Cai Jintang. *Zhanzheng tizhi xia de Taiwan*, p. 141; Zhou Wanyao. *Haixing xi de niandai*, pp. 11, 26.

47 Taiwansheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu jiaoyuchu 台灣省行政長官公署教育處 (Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, hereafter as TPAEO, Education Department). 1946. *Taiwan yi'nian lai zhi jiaoyu* 台灣一年來之教育 (Education in Taiwan in the Past Year). Taipei: Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office Propaganda Committee, p. 1.

48 Ibid., pp. 58, 96.

propaganda, [and] allow students to know the motherland . . . so as to inspire (Chinese) national consciousness."[49]

In subsequent years, these textbooks underwent further revision and editing. However, the aim of producing school textbooks in Taiwan remained to depict "glorious events" in the past and to delineate China's "glorious history" so as to inspire students' "patriotic spirit" and strengthen "national consciousness."[50] Many changes were made by the Chinese Nationalist texts. First, in defining the causes of the War, Chinese Nationalist texts attributed the War to Japan's "envy" of China's development, Japan's "provocation," Japan's "ambition" and "long-term conspiracy."[51] The War overall was defined as a war between the states of "fascist aggression"—namely Japan, Germany, and Italy—and the "anti-aggression" states of "democracy" such as China, America, and Great Britain.[52] Japan's military action in China and Southeast Asia was represented as an "invasion" and an act of "undermining world peace."[53] More specifically, the military conflict in northeastern China in 1931, now known as "9.18" (September 18, 1931) or the "9.18 Incident," was represented as Japan's prelude to a full-scale war against China and the beginning of the Second

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49 TPAEO, Education Department. 1946. "Bianji dayi 編輯大意 (Editorial Outline)," *Guomin xuexiao zhanyong lishi keben* 國民學校暫用歷史課本 (Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools). Taipei: TPAEO Education Department; and TPAEO Education Department. 1946. "Bianji fanli 編輯凡例 (Editorial Notes)," *Zhongdeng xuexiao zhanyong Zhongguo lishi keben* 中等學校暫用中國歷史課本 (Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools). Taipei: TPAEO Education Department.

50 Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館 (National Bureau of Compilation and Interpretation). 1949. "Bianji yaozhi 編輯要旨 (Editorial Purpose)," *Chuji zhongxue lishi* 初級中學歷史 (History for Junior Middle Schools). Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1: unpaginated; National Bureau of Compilation and Interpretation. 1950. "Bianji yaozhi 編輯要旨 (Editorial Purpose)," *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi keben* 高級小學歷史課本 (History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools). Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 3: unpaginated; and Dong Zuobin 董作賓 et al. eds. 1951. "Editorial Outline," *Zhonghua xinbian jiaokeshu chuzhong lishi* 中華新編教科書初中歷史 (History for Junior Middle Schools—New Zhonghua Edition Textbook). Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 5: unpaginated.

51 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, pp. 14–15, 17 and *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 36–37.

52 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, pp. 16–17, 20–21; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 44, 46–47.

53 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, p. 19; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, p. 44.

World War.[54] The escalation of conflict between China and Japan on 7 July 1937 was attributed to "provocation" by the Japanese forces, and the event was commemorated as the "7.7 Incident" or the "Lugouqiao (Marco Polo Bridge) Incident."[55] It was concluded that after Japan's further "provocation" and the attack of Shanghai on August 13 1937, China began a full-scale "war of resistance" to defend its "national survival and revival" against Japanese aggression.[56]

As in the Japanese colonial texts, stories of battles also featured prominently. The emphasis in the Chinese Nationalist texts, however, was on China's military success. China's "war of resistance" was divided into two phases: the first was from "7.7" to the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Wuhan in October 1938, and the second was from October 1938 till China's victory in 1945. The first phase, featuring China's "strategy of attrition," was represented as a "huge strategic success" in wearing down the Japanese forces and "defeating the enemy force again and again."[57] In spite of the withdrawal of Chinese forces from Shanghai, Xuzhou, and Wuhan by October 1938, it was asserted that in all these major battles during the first phase, the Chinese forces obtained "the greatest success" and "unprecedented victory" and had struck a "significant blow" to the enemy.[58] While a handful of textbooks recognized that China did suffer military defeats after "7.7" such as the withdrawal of Chinese forces from Wuhan and Guangzhou in 1938,[59] most textbooks emphasized China's

54 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, p. 14; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 36–38; National Bureau of Compilation and Interpretation. 1950. *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi keben* 高級小學歷史課本 (History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools). Taipei: Taiwan shengzhengfu jiaoyuting, 4:22–23; National Bureau of Compilation and Interpretation. 1949. *History for Junior Middle Schools*. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju 5: 53–56; and Dong Zuobin et al., eds. *History for Junior Middle Schools—New Zhonghua Edition* 5: 138.

55 *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools* 4: 24–25; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 70–72.

56 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, p. 15; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 41–42; and *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 72–73.

57 *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, p. 42; *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools* 4: 27.

58 *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, p. 42; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 78–81.

59 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, p. 19; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, p. 42; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 78, 82.

accomplishments and Japan's losses in the discussion of battles during the first phase.[60]

The same emphasis was also evident in the discussion of the second phase. "The more [the Chinese] fought, the stronger (they) became" during this period.[61] In all the "major battles" between the withdrawal from Wuhan in October 1938 to the end of the war in 1945, the Chinese forces had defeated the Japanese forces and achieved "huge military victor[ies]," particularly in the battle of Northern Xiang (Hunan province) in 1939, the battle of E-Yu (Hubei and Henan provinces) in 1940, and the battle on the border of Dian (Yunnan province) and Mian (Burma) in 1944.[62] The overall conclusion was that from the first phase to the second phase, Japan had suffered great military losses and failed to carry out its "conspiracy to force China into surrender."[63]

These textbooks offered a conspicuously different narrative of the War, in keeping with the Chinese Nationalist government's policy of correcting the spirit of "imperialist aggression,"[64] allegedly a result of Japan's colonial education, in Taiwan. In pre-1945 colonial texts, Japan's military actions were represented as establishing peace in the interests of the Japanese, Taiwanese, and Asian people in general. From 1931 onward Japanese troops had been victorious in one battle after another in China, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia. In contrast, in Chinese Nationalist texts after 1945, Japan's military actions from 1931 onward were condemned as conspiratorial acts of aggression against peace in China, Asia, and the world.

Furthermore, China was represented as the righteous and mighty force that withstood and defeated Japan's aggression in one battle after another, from 1937 all the way to the end of the War in 1945. Significant events of the War such as the "Manchuria Incident" and the "China Incident" were re-named according

60 While the issue of the "Nanjing massacre" has drawn much attention in the discussion of textbooks and memories of the War since the 1980s, the atrocities in Nanjing were not represented consistently in Chinese Nationalist texts published immediately after 1945. Some textbooks mentioned the battle in Nanjing, but no reference was made to the atrocities: see *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 79. Some textbooks did not mention the battle or atrocities in Nanjing at all: see *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*; *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*. Some textbooks did mention the atrocities in Nanjing, but the term "Nanjing massacre" was not used: see *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools* 4: 27.

61 *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, p. 43.

62 *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, p. 43, and *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 83–87.

63 *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools* 4: 27.

64 Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary National Language* 3: 96.

to their Chinese designations ("9.18 Incident" and "7.7 Incident" respectively). The "victory in the South" and the "Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" were re-described as Japan's evil plan to occupy and exploit Asian countries. Overall, these events were re-defined after 1945 as Japanese acts of aggression, instead of acts of self-defense and protecting Japanese (as well as Taiwanese) interests.

Another aspect of the War emphasized in the Chinese Nationalist textbooks was to do with battles outside China. In every Chinese Nationalist text, a great portion of the discussion of the War was devoted to conflicts in Europe, Japan's alliance with Germany and Italy, and the United States of America's role in the War.[65] Germany's conquest of Europe was described in great detail, with the names and sequence of each country invaded by Germany and the months or dates of Germany's conquest,[66] sometimes accompanied with maps of the German Army's route of advance and countries under German occupation.[67] The Allies' counter-attack, in Europe first and then in the Pacific, was also given significant attention. In particular, the emphasis was placed on the role played by the Soviet Union after the Germans attacked it in 1941 and the entry of the United States into the War after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.[68]

Interestingly, several Chinese Nationalist texts concluded that China's "war of resistance" was the "most important factor" preventing the "convergence" of Japan's and Germany's forces of aggression and consequently contributed to the victory of the worldwide "anti-aggression war." It was further concluded that in the War, China had demonstrated the "great strength" of the Chinese nation and made a "great contribution to the world." This conclusion was then followed by a discussion of the rise of China's international standing after the War, abolition of the "unequal treaties" during the War, and China's assumption of the role as one of the "Four Powers" (together with the United

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65 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, pp. 16–22; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 44–47; *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools* 4: 28–29, 31–32; and *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 89–98.

66 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, pp. 17–19; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 44–45; *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools*. Taipei: Taiwan shengzhengfu jiaoyuting, 4: 29, 31–32; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 89–93; Dong Zuobin, et al., eds. 1953. *History for Junior Middle Schools—New Zhonghua Edition Textbook*. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, pp. 55–60.

67 *History for Junior Middle Schools 5*: 91; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 6: 57.

68 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, pp. 19–23; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 45–46; *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools* 4: 32–34; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 93–98; Dong Zuobin, *History for Junior Middle Schools*, pp. 60–67.

States, Britain and the Soviet Union) in postwar international politics, all under the leadership of the Chinese Nationalist government.[69]

The sequence of the discussion in the Chinese Nationalist texts, first paying a good deal of attention to battles outside China (and their significance) and then asserting China's contribution to the world-wide conflict, helped to establish a positive image concerning the international leadership of the Chinese Nationalist government for Taiwanese readers of these texts. Considering that these texts were published mostly between 1946 and 1949 while the Chinese Nationalist government was fighting against Chinese Communist forces for control of newly-acquired Taiwan as well as the right to be considered the legitimate rulers of China, the favorable image of the Chinese Nationalist government as represented in these texts was particularly important.

At the same time, these texts also fulfilled the needs of the Chinese Nationalist government in erasing all "thought saturated with Japanese-flavor" in Taiwan.[70] Aside from depicting Japan's attacks against Chinese troops (and Allied forces) and Japan's military losses and eventual defeat, Chinese Nationalist texts paid very little attention to Japan. While pre-1945 colonial texts paid close attention to the Japanese Empire—its rulers, ordinary people, soldiers, and living conditions during the War, the Chinese Nationalist texts shifted the focus to conditions in China and Europe to highlight China's contribution to the worldwide conflict. Overall, in Chinese Nationalist texts, Japan played a limited (and usually negative) part. In stressing the important role and positive image of China and diminishing and demeaning the role of Japan in the War, the Chinese Nationalist government was pursuing a marked political agenda in producing and disseminating a new narrative of the War through school textbooks in postwar Taiwan.

Localizing the War in Textbooks: Before and After 1945

As mentioned, Taiwanese experiences were highlighted—selectively—in various texts produced before 1945 by the colonial authorities. Through the circulation of these texts by the colonial authorities, these selected experiences became (a part of) the Taiwanese perception of the War. In other words, in addition to the Emperor, soldiers, and enemies, the Taiwanese themselves—represented by selected Taiwanese experiences—were recognized and given

69 *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, pp. 46–47; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 98–99.

70 *Education in Taiwan in the Past Year*, p. 97.

a role to play in the War. As a matter of fact, the role of the Taiwanese in the War was defined as rather *significant* in the colonial texts. From the analytical perspective of localization, it can be further argued that in adopting and highlighting stories of "patriotic Taiwanese" such as Sayon and the Kimigayo Boy, the Japanese colonial authorities made great efforts to successfully localize the War for the Taiwanese audience. The colonial texts stressed Taiwan's geographical location and connection to the "South,"[71] and gave particular attention to Taiwanese participants in the War, including military servants and the Takasago Righteous Courageous Troops serving in the frontline, and boy workers and aborigines like Sayon and the Ka Wu Tribe youth in Taiwan.

The purpose was clearly political and military. On the one hand, the view of the War constructed by these colonial texts helped to establish the connection between the War at large and the people of Taiwan. On the other hand, such a construction established the connection—more specifically a "loyalty" and a "bond"—between the people of Taiwan and the people of the Empire. Furthermore, since these functions performed by the Taiwanese during the War were conspicuously defined vis-à-vis the Allied enemies they were fighting against—namely the United States, Great Britain, and China (led by the Nationalist government in Chongqing), the Taiwanese were defined against the Allies. Overall, by identifying the Taiwanese (and their experiences) as an integral part of the Empire and its ongoing war against the Allied nations, colonial authorities in Taiwan were in pursuit of political and military benefit by mobilizing their Taiwanese audience to support Japan's war efforts. Nevertheless, these texts did represent the role of Taiwan/Taiwanese in the War as important.

After 1945, while the roles of Japan and China were re-defined in the new textbooks of knowledge of the War, the role of the Taiwanese was also re-defined. As the Chinese Nationalist government strove to diminish and demean Japan for political gain, and because the Taiwanese wartime experiences were inextricably linked with the Japanese Empire, the Taiwanese were conspicuously absent in the Chinese Nationalist texts produced after 1945. As a result, common Taiwanese wartime experiences such as air raids and air raid protection, "patriotic saving," "volunteer soldiers" and "boy workers," and simply (accounts of) being a part of a country that was fighting a fierce war were nowhere to be found.

It is true that in the Chinese Nationalist texts produced after 1945, the War consisted of many battles. However, those battles were fought in places far away from Taiwan. While the Taiwanese were taught a great deal of detail

71 *Reader for Taiwanese Youth*, p. 229; Taiwan Sōtokufu. *Elementary Self-cultivation* 2: 84–85.

about the War in China and in Europe, their own experiences during the War were hardly present in the Chinese Nationalist texts. Most Chinese Nationalist texts published between 1946 and 1953 reviewed in this chapter made only one reference to Taiwan in their discussion of the War: the Allied leaders' decision at the Cairo Conference to let China take over Taiwan at the end of the War.[72]

From an analytical perspective, it can be further argued that these Chinese Nationalist texts erased—unintentionally, perhaps—the existence of Taiwan and the Taiwanese in the War. Consequently, the War as represented in post-war Chinese Nationalist texts became distant and detached from Taiwanese readers. In addition, it is critical to point out that at the time—1946 to 1953—language remained a challenge for the Chinese Nationalist government. After fifty years of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, the majority of Taiwan's population had adopted Japanese as their common language. In contrast, Mandarin Chinese—the official "national language" of ROC—was rather "alien" to most Taiwanese. The Chinese Nationalist government therefore was faced with a great disadvantage in terms of language as it attempted to disseminate its ideas in Taiwan.

It was reported that when the Chinese Nationalist government took over Taiwan, "among the intellectuals who are thirty years-old or above, [we] may find one or two out of a hundred who know how to read and write Chinese characters (*hanwen* in Chinese/*kanbun* in Japanese 漢文), [but] it will be difficult [to do so] among those who are below thirty."[73] It is thus easy to understand why the Chinese Nationalist government devoted a tremendous amount of effort to the promotion of Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan, such as the establishment of a National Language Promotion Commission (*Guoyu tuixing weiyuanhui* 國語推行委員會), shortly after its take-over in October 1945.[74]

Furthermore, across Taiwanese society, as a scholar of the Chinese language pointed out at the time, youths who had been educated almost entirely in

72 *Provisional History Textbook for Elementary Schools*, p. 20; *Provisional Chinese History Textbook for Middle Schools*, p. 21; *History Textbook for Senior Elementary Schools* 4: 34; *History for Junior Middle Schools* 5: 103, and Dong Zuobin, *History for Junior Middle Schools* 6: 70. The only other reference to Taiwan in these texts was not about the people of Taiwan but concerned the repatriation of the Japanese from Taiwan. See Dong Zuobin, *History for Junior Middle Schools* 6: 75.

73 Huang Yingzhe 黃英哲. 2007. *"Qu Ribenhua" "zai Zhongguohua": zhanhou Taiwan wenhua chongjian, 1945–1947* "去日本化" "再中國化"：戰後台灣文化重建 ("Uprooting Japan," "Implanting China": Cultural Reconstruction in Post-war Taiwan, 1945–1947). Taipei: Maitian, p. 38.

74 Huang Yingzhe. *"Uprooting Japan"*, pp. 41–64.

Japanese would have the most difficulty in un-learning the Japanese language.[75] Ironically, this group was also the main audience for Chinese Nationalist texts. While there are no reliable statistics showing the Mandarin Chinese literacy rate amongst Taiwanese youth at the time, observations like this indicate that language was a major challenge. Since neither the content nor the context was conducive to the transmission of its ideas, it would be fair to conclude that the Chinese Nationalist government had more difficulty than its Japanese colonial counterpart in getting its message across through school textbooks in Taiwan.

Conclusion

Through analyzing and comparing pre–1945 Japanese colonial texts and post–1945 Chinese Nationalist texts, this chapter shows how political considerations drove both regimes. Before 1945, in order to mobilize the Taiwanese people to support Japan's on-going war, colonial authorities in Taiwan defined the Taiwanese (and their experiences) as an integral part of the Empire and established the themes of "loyalty" and "bond" in textbooks through stories of "patriotic Taiwanese" such as "Sayon's Bell" and "Kimigayo Boy." After 1945, in order to fulfill its goal of inspiring students," "patriotic spirit," and strengthening "national consciousness" and erasing all "thought saturated with Japanese-flavor" in Taiwan, the Chinese Nationalist government changed the textbooks' focus to stressing the important role and positive image of China and diminishing the role of Japan in the War. While the perception of the Second World War as constructed by the political regime in Taiwan before 1945 was categorically different from the perceptions shaped by a different regime in Taiwan after 1945, the motives for the production of these textbooks under those two political regimes were identical.

However, analysis also shows that the content of the narratives each regime constructed was quite different, and often at least implicitly contradictory. The implications of these differences need to be further studied. The people of Taiwan experienced a rather dramatic change within a very short period of time. The same generation of Taiwanese was taught about the War as represented in the Japanese colonial texts before 1945 and then confronted with an entirely different narrative of the War in Chinese Nationalist texts after 1945. What were the consequences of this?

75 Comments made by Wu Shouli 吳守禮, then Associate Professor of the Department of Chinese Literature at the National Taiwan University, quoted in Huang Yingzhe. *"Uprooting Japan"*, pp. 41–42.

As Wulf Kansteiner reminds us, "reception" and "consciousness of the audience in the process of consumption" continue to pose a challenge.[76] More study of audiences or readers will be needed to fully understand the effects of the processes. It should be pointed out that during and after the War, many Taiwanese did try to write their own narratives of the War. For example, in his literary work *Orphan of Asia* (*Yaxiya de gu'er* 亞細亞的孤兒), Wu Zhuoliu 吳濁流 produced a perspective on the War which was rather critical of the state's role,[77] and presented an alternative understanding of Taiwan's past or what Ching calls "triple consciousness."[78] While the dissemination and circulation of some of these texts might have been much more limited than the texts produced by the state authorities, these different voices nevertheless contributed, especially in the long run, to a more pluralistic landscape in Taiwan.

In recent years, scholars from different disciplines have further analyzed the complex history of Taiwan and helped us to better appreciate the layering of different identities throughout Taiwan's history. They aim to show that to represent Taiwan as being exclusively either "Chinese" or "Japanese" is an oversimplification and that it actually belongs to something of a hybrid category.[79] We can add, based on the above analysis, that narratives of the Second World War, as well as of Taiwanese history (or more appropriately, histories), will continue to be sources of contention and controversy.

Focusing specifically on the history of the Second World War, for nearly half a century the history of more than two hundred thousand of the Taiwanese-native Japanese soldiers was hardly known in postwar Taiwan.[80] The history of

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76 Wulf Kansteiner. 2002. "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 41: 194.

77 Wu Zhuoliu. 1995. *Yaxiya de gu'er* 亞細亞的孤兒 (Orphan of Asia). Taipei: Caogen.

78 Ching. *Becoming "Japanese"*, p. 174.

79 For examples, see Ching. *Becoming "Japanese"*; Melissa Brown. 2004. *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*. Berkeley: University of California Press; and Tonio Andrade. 2008. *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.

80 Things finally started to change in the 1990s. Several volumes of oral history, conducted mostly by historians with former Taiwanese-native Japanese soldiers', were published in the 1990s. The first oral history project was done by Taiwan's Taipei County Government. See Zheng Liling 鄭麗玲. 1995. *Taiwanren Ribenbing de "zhanzheng jingyan"* 台灣人日本兵的"戰爭經驗" ("War Experiences" of Taiwanese-native Japanese Soldiers). Banqiao: Taipei County Cultural Center. Xinzhu County Government later conducted its own oral history project on Taiwanese veterans: see Pan Guozheng 潘國正. 1997. *Tianhuang bixia no chizi* 天皇陛下の赤子 (Loyal Sons of his Excellency the Tennō). Xinzhu: Xinzhu City

boy workers was virtually unheard of till a handful of reports emerged in very recent years.[81] And the history of the Allied air raids was only mentioned sporadically by the Taiwanese elders who had experienced it. However, since the mid-1990s, a new discourse of the War in Taiwan has emerged, alongside textbook reform starting after 1994 and the adoption of a new subject aptly titled "Knowing Taiwan" (*Renshi Taiwan* 認識台灣) in the revision of the secondary school curriculum implemented in 1997.[82] Most significantly, many once-forgotten histories of wartime Taiwan have become commonly featured in school textbooks.[83] Some textbooks have also begun to provide greater detail, such as the exact number of Taiwanese recruited to serve in the military and the post-war issue of the (lack of) compensation they received.[84]

As Stephane Corcuff points out, the new curriculum enabled textbooks in Taiwan to show, for the first time under the Guomindang regime, "the

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Cultural Affairs Bureau. Scholars at the Academia Sinica, a state-sponsored research institute, also conducted oral history projects and made significant contribution in bringing the history of the Taiwanese-native Japanese soldiers to light. See Zhou Wanyao, ed. 1997. *Taiji Ribenbing zuotanhui jilu bing xiangguan ziliao* 台籍日本兵座談會記錄并相關資料 (Records from the Roundtable Discussion by Taiwanese-native Japanese Soldiers and related materials). Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica; Tsai Hui-yu 蔡慧玉, ed. 1997. *Zouguo liangge shidai de ren: Taiji Ribenbing* 走過兩個時代的人：台籍日本兵 (The Lives and Times of Taiwanese Veterans). Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica. For further studies of the history of the Taiwanese-native Japanese soldiers, see Zhou Wanyao. *Haixing xi de niandai*, pp. 127–183.

81 No scholarly work has been devoted to the history of the "boy workers," but a memoir by a former boy worker is available. See Peng Bingyao 彭炳耀. 1996. *Zao feiji de rizi—Taiwan shaoniangong huiyilu* 造飛機的日子： 台灣少年工回憶錄 (Days of Building Airplanes—Memoir of a Taiwanese Boy Worker). Xinzhu shi: Xinzhu City Cultural Affairs Bureau. In 2006, Taiwanese filmmaker Guo Liangyin 郭亮吟 made a documentary, aptly titled "Shōnen kō 少年工" (Boy Workers), on the history of the Taiwanese boy workers.

82 Peng Minghui 彭明輝. 2004. "Taiwan's History Education and History Textbooks, 1945–2000," *Historiography East and West*, 2 no. 2:233–235.

83 Xu Xueji 許雪姬 and Liu Niling 劉妮玲, eds. 2000. *Gaoji zhongxue lishi: xia* 高級中學歷史：下 (History for Senior High Schools: Second Half). Taipei: Sanmin shuju, pp. 97–98; Nanyi Bookstore. 2006. *Guomin zhongxue Taiwan lishi pian* 國民中學台灣歷史篇 (Taiwanese History for Secondary Schools). Taipei: Nanyi Bookstore, pp. 70–71.

84 The exact number of Taiwanese recruited to serve in the military is given as 207,183, of whom 30,304 died. See Nanyi Bookstore. 2006. *Putong gaoji zhongxue lishi: diyi ce* 普通高級中學歷史：第一冊 (History for General Senior High Schools: Vol. One). Taipei: Nanyi Bookstore, 1: 119–120.

plurality of Taiwan's historical experiences."[85] However, this plurality has led to many unexpected situations. One example is the controversy surrounding the "Memorial of the Heroic Spirit of Takasago Volunteers" (*Gaosha yiyongdui yinghun bei* 高砂義勇隊英魂碑), which was established in 2006 in Taipei County. This memorial is particularly significant as it is dedicated to the minority group of Taiwanese aborigines, instead of soldiers of the Han origin, who died fighting during the War.

However, due to the dispute over its sponsorship (part of the money raised to construct the memorial was from the Japanese), its commemorative plaque (which includes a statement written in the Japanese language), and the ways in which commemorative ceremonies were conducted there (with the presence of the Japanese national flag), the memorial was criticized by some politicians and civilian groups.[86] There have been subsequent legal battles over its land permit with the Taipei County Government. The memorial was eventually taken over by the local authorities in 2007 and turned into the Gaosha Volunteers Commemorative Theme Park.[87]

Another example, also related to the Taiwanese aborigines, was the attempt by some bereaved families of aboriginal origin (as well as social activists and politicians) to ask Japan's Yasukuni Shrine to remove their deceased family members from its commemorative list of names. Their attempts and subsequent lawsuits against the Japanese government attracted a good deal of media attention and generated controversy over "where the Taiwanese deceased

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85 Stephane Corcuff. 2002. "The Symbolic Dimension of Democratization and the Transition of National Identity under Lee Teng-hui," in Stephane Corcuff, ed. *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, p. 86.

86 See the newspaper reports at http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2006/new/feb/7/today-life11.htm and http://tw.nextmedia.com/applenews/article/art_id/30676474/IssueID/20080621. To understand how controversial the Memorial has become, see http://www.tahr.org.tw/index.php/article/2007/10/05/566/, and http://www.abohome.org.tw/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=126 (accessed in October 2010).

87 According to announcement and press release by the Taipei County Government on its official website, see http://www.tpc.gov.tw/web/News?command=showDetail&postId=137093, http://www.tpc.gov.tw/web/News?command=showDetail&postId=147561, http://www.ipb.tpc.gov.tw/web/News?command=showDetail&postId=166892 (accessed October 2010).

belonged" throughout the 2000s.[88] The latest example of contention is Lee Teng-hui's 李登輝 visit to the Yasukuni Shrine in 2007.[89]

These recent developments testify to the point made by Ching and Mei-e Huang concerning colonial Taiwan: simple binary distinctions such as colonial/colonized and Chinese/Japanese do not properly describe or explain the complexity of colonial Taiwan, and a more complicated conceptual framework is needed.[90] In postwar Taiwan, the production of knowledge of the Second World War remains full of conflicts, rejections, and negotiations; as a result, no dichotomous view is possible. On the other hand, this chapter shows that the element of fluidity, which is a central concern of this edited volume, is rather significant. As Lydia H. Liu points out in her study of Chinese modernity, in a situation where two or more cultures clash, there is inherent unpredictability and instability.[91] Taiwan, within a rather short span of time before and after 1945, witnessed the clash of two cultures, as well as two conflicting narratives of the War. The uncertainty surrounding understanding of the War has continued until the present-day. In conclusion, this study further testifies to the elements of contingency and the fluid characteristics of Chinese modernity that Liu and this edited volume seek to highlight.

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88 These attempts started as early as 1979. See Kato Kunihiko 加藤邦彦. 1979. *Isshidōjin no hate: taiwanjin moto gunzoku no kyōgū* 一視同仁の果て: 台湾人元軍属の境遇 (Consequences of Assimilation: The Situation of Former Taiwanese Auxiliary Military personnel). Tokyo: Keisō shobō, pp. 231–240. Further action, including the lawsuit, was undertaken throughout the 2000's. see Nakajima Mitunori 中島光孝. 2006. *Kanga sorei: taiwan genjū minzoku to yasukuni jinja* 還我祖霊: 台湾原住民族と靖国神社 (Returning Our Ancestors' Spirit: Taiwanese Aborigines and the Yasukuni Shrine). Tokyo: Hakutakusha. See also information provided by an activist group at http://www.abohome.org.tw/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=51&Itemid=125 (accessed October 2010).

89 Lee paid tribute to his deceased brother at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo on 7 June 2007. See http://tw.news.yahoo.com/article/url/d/a/070607/17/fgkp.html (accessed in August 2007).

90 See Ching. *Becoming "Japanese",* pp. 79–80, and Mei-e Huang. 2006. "Chayi/jiaohun, duihua/duiyi: Rizhi shiqi Taiwan chuantong wenren de shenti jingyan yu xin guomin xiangxiang 差異/交混、對話/對譯: 日治時期台灣傳統文人的身體經驗與新國民想像 (Difference/hybridity, Dialogue/Intertranslation: The Taiwanese Traditional Literati's Experience of the Body and Imagination of the New Citizen in the Japanese Period)," in *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy) 28: 81–119.

91 Lydia H. Liu. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

CHAPTER 8

Envisioning the Reading Public: Profit Motives of a Chinese-Language Tabloid in Wartime Taiwan

Pei-yin Lin

The "modern" newsprint era in Taiwan was ushered in by the Japanese. Using moveable lead-type printing equipment brought from Japan, *Taiwan shimpō* 臺灣新報 (Taiwan News) was launched in Taiwan in June 1896, marking the arrival of the first "modern" newspaper on the island.[1] In the first period of their colonial rule, the Japanese monopolized the operation of newspapers in Taiwan. It was not until 1920 that Taiwanese publications expressing resistance to colonization began to appear. The first journal in Taiwanese history, *Taiwan seinen* 臺灣青年 (Taiwan Youth), was established by overseas students in Tokyo and published bilingually.

Despite its limited circulation, *Taiwan seinen* evolved into *Taiwan minpō* 臺灣民報 (Taiwan People's Journal), published in vernacular Chinese in Tokyo, in 1923. *Taiwan People's Journal* played a valuable role in introducing new ideas to Taiwan. Its articles usually reflected the public opinion of the Taiwanese population, and it was thus hailed as "the only mouthpiece for Taiwanese."[2] Regarding it a thorn in their flesh, the Japanese colonizers prevented the distribution of several issues of the journal and prohibited its direct production in Taiwan. On the condition that it increased the number of its Japanese-language columns, the Taiwan Government-General finally allowed the journal to be published in Taiwan in 1927.

1 *Taiwan News* was made the official newspaper of the Taiwan Government-General in July 1896. In 1897 it combined with *Taiwan nippō* 臺灣日報 to become *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, later the largest newspaper in Taiwan under Japanese rule. For a general discussion of colonial Taiwan's print culture, see Liao Ping-hui. 2006. "Print Culture and the Emergent Public Sphere in Colonial Taiwan, 1895–1945," in Liao Ping-hui and David Der-wei Wang, eds. *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule 1895–1945*, pp. 78–94.

2 The term "Taiwanese" here designates not only pre-1895 Chinese immigrants but also *hondōjin* 本島人—a term used in Japanese colonial discourse for the Han Chinese in Taiwan to differentiate them from the *naichijin* 內地人 (Japanese in Taiwan) under Japanese colonial rule.

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The development of print media and continual advances in printing technology facilitated social transformation in colonial Taiwan.[3] As a result of improved literacy, an educated reading public formed in the 1930s. This was also the decade in which the diversity in print media reached a fresh peak, Taiwan's new literature blossomed, and Chinese popular journals started to appear.[4] Although there were no authoritative statistics on the number and core interests of Chinese-language readers in colonial Taiwan, editors of Chinese-language journals clearly had an intuitive sense of their readership and made use of niche marketing.[5] They employed different strategies to increase their readership and appeal to diverse tastes and linguistic preferences.[6]

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3 According to Su Shuobin 蘇碩彬, Taiwan moved from wood block printing (xylography) to typography probably between 1915 and 1930. See Su Shuobin. 2006. "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan wenxue de duzhe xiangxiang—yinshua zibenzhuyi zuowei kongjian xiangxiang jizhi de lilun chutan 日治時期臺灣文學的讀者想像—印刷資本主義作爲空間想像機制的理論初探 (The Implied Reader of Taiwan Literature under Japanese Rule: An Initial Exploration of Print Capitalism as a Mechanism of Spatial Imagination)," in *Kualingyu de Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 跨領域的台灣文學研究學術研討會論文集 (The Interdisciplinary Taiwan Literature Studies Conference Proceedings). Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan Literature, p. 98.

4 According to Fujii Shōzō 藤井省三, Taiwan's Japanese-language readers reached 3.2 million people, accounting for 57% of the total population between the years 1937–1941. See Fujii Shōzō. 2004. "'Dadongya zhanzheng' shiqi de Taiwan huangmin wenxue—dushu shichang de chengshou yu Taiwan minzuzhuyi de xingcheng "大東亞戰爭"時期的臺灣皇民文學—讀書市場的成熟與臺灣民族主義的形成 (Taiwan's Imperial-Subject Literature during the "Greater East Asia War": The Maturity of Reading Market and the Formation of Taiwanese Nationalism)," in *Taiwan wenxue zhe yibainian* 台灣文學這一百年 (Taiwan Literature over the Past Century), trans. Zhang Jilin 張季琳. Taipei: Maitian, p. 46.

5 For the Chinese-language *Sanliujiu Tabloid*'s use of trivia and entertainment as a marketing strategy to compete with the mainstream media see Liu Shuqin. 柳書琴. 2004. "Tongsu zuowei yizhong weizhi: *Sanliujiu xiaobao* yu 1930 niandai Taiwan de dushu shichang 通俗作爲一種位置：《三六九小報》與1930年代臺灣的讀書市場 (Deploying Popular Literature in 1930s Taiwan: The Relationship between *San Liu Jiu Tabloid* and Taiwan's Reading Market in the 1930s)," in *Chung-wai Literary Monthly*, 33.7 (December): 19–55; Mao Wenfang 毛文芳. 2004. "Qingyu, suosui yu huixie—*Sanliujiu xiaobao* de shuxie shijie 情慾，瑣碎與詼諧—《三六九小報》的書寫視界 (Eroticism, Trifles, and Humor: Visions of the *San Liu Jiu Tabloid*)," in *Zhongyanyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中研院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica) 46 (December): 159–222.

6 Although vernacular Chinese became increasingly popular among Taiwanese writers around the mid-to-late 1920s, some educated people, especially the traditionally trained literati, still preferred to read and write in classical Chinese. *Fengyue bao* even had a Japanese section for a short period of time, hoping to gain support among Taiwan's Japanese-language readers.

When the Japanese colonial government banned all Chinese columns in newspapers and journals in April 1937, the survival of any Chinese journal became challenging.[7] *Fengyue bao* (1937–1941) was one of the few that survived.[8] According to the recollection of one of the main editors, Wu Mansha 吳漫沙 (1912–2005), *Fengyue bao* was tolerated because the Japanese authorities considered it a forum for "bored and self-styled scholars to continue indulging in sensual pleasures" and therefore unlikely to jeopardize their rule.[9] Launched by well-versed, traditionally trained writers, it began as *Fengyue* in order to provide a publication forum for the members of a gentleman's club known as the Fengyue Club. Its initial emphasis on leisure and entertainment, and particularly *yidan* 藝旦/藝妲 (*geisha* or *geidan*) performances, identified it as an extension of the Shanghai entertainment/tabloid culture.[10]

This culture dated back to Li Boyuan's 李伯元 *Youxi bao* 遊戲報 of 1897—itself inspired by newspapers circulating in Paris and Edo Japan.[11] In the

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7 The ban began in April 1937, but *Fengyue bao* resumed publication soon after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident that took place in July of the same year. *Shibao* 詩報 (Poetry News) also survived. A single issue of *Nanguo wenyi* 南國文藝 (Southern Literature) was published in December 1941. As the war with China unfolded, the Japanese colonizers recognized the usefulness of Chinese as a medium for political propaganda. Consequently, the ban was loosened. Fuzhou's 福州 *Minbao* 閩報, Amoy's *Quanmin xinribao* 全閩新日報, and Tianjin's 天津 *Yongbao* 庸報 were allowed to be imported to Taiwan. Some newspapers from Japan increased their Chinese columns to cater for the Chinese-language readership in Taiwan, and benefited financially from the ban

8 *Fengyue bao* was initially named *Fengyue*. It adopted the title *Fengyue bao* in July 1937, and was later renamed *Nanfang* 南方 (The South, issues 133–188) in 1941. In February 1944, it was renamed *Nanfang shiji* 南方詩集 (Southern Poetry), and published only two issues before it was totally suspended. These last two phases saw the journal become part of the Japanese wartime propaganda effort and thus are excluded from the present discussion.

9 Wu Mansha. 1982. "Chentong de huiyi 沈痛的回憶 (Grieving Memories)," *Taiwan wenyi* 台灣文藝 (Taiwan Literature and Art) 77 (October): 298.

10 Taiwanese geisha culture was a fusion of Chinese and Japanese elements. The geisha were young girls sold to entertainment venues to be trained in singing and literature. They had to reach certain standards in their musical training (mainly in styles from Shanghai) and develop sufficient literary talents to differentiate themselves from prostitutes. I use "geisha" instead of "courtesans" mainly because the term better matches with the Chinese term *yiji* 藝妓 used in *Fengyue bao*. The name *yidan* was not from Japanese geisha culture. It had appeared in Taiwan prior to Japanese rule.

11 According to Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程, Wu Ziyu 吳子瑜 was fond of appreciating geisha, so he imitated *Youxi bao* by establishing the Fengyue Club and funding *Fengyue bao* to create a forum for like-minded literati to publish works written for their beloved geisha. See Gong Pengcheng. 2001. "Taipei yu shanghai de huanchang wenhua 台北與上

Fengyue phase (issues 1–44), its geisha rankings bore a striking similarity to the "Flower Billboards" (*huabang* 花榜) common in Shanghai-based tabloids.[12] The way popular geisha were named also showed a Chinese influence. The titles of the top ranked geisha were "flower exemplars" (*hua zhuangyuan* 花狀元) and "flower eyes" (*hua bangyan* 花榜眼), imitating the ranks awarded by the imperial examination system.

Since print capitalism in colonial Taiwan developed as an integral part of the Japanese government's modernization project, *Fengyue bao* was shaped by the colonial context. Influences from the Japanese language were discernible. Geisha ranking activities, for example, were called "popularity votes" (*ninki tōhyō* 人氣投票) (See Fig. 8.1). Among the "categories" in which candidates competed were the newly defined professions of "cabaret hostessing" (*maijo* 舞女) and "café waitressing" (*jokyū* 女給), which had emerged with the growth of cafés in Taiwan—an institution imported from Japan.[13] Waitresses were listed under the specific cafés for which they worked. Candidates in the geisha category were listed under Chinese names, whereas those in the categories of *jokyū* and of *maijo* were listed under Japanese names. The geisha voting took place in certain restaurants or hotels around Dadaocheng 大稻埕—the boisterous entertainment center of Taipei at that time—adding a sense of locale to the activities.

Thanks to print technology, "private matters," such as the Taiwanese literati's involvement with geisha and anecdotes about those geisha, turned into relatively "public" affairs. Voting brought financial benefit to the literati

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海的歡場文化 (Cultures of Entertainment in Taipei and Shanghai)," *United Daily News* (August 15).

12 Zhao Xiaoxuan 趙孝萱 has pointed out that in addition to Shanghai, Guandong, Hong Kong and Singapore also witnessed an analogous boom in tabloid culture. *Guzi* 骨子 from Hong Kong and *Nanxun* 南薰 from Singapore both held similar voting activities to rank the popularity of female entertainers. See Zhao Xiaoxuan. 2004. "Hai'wai' cun zhiji, tianya ruo bilin: jindai xingzhou huawen xiaobao (1925–1949) de shanghai yinxiang 海"外"存知己,天涯若比鄰:近代星洲華文小報(1925–1949)的上海影響 (Resonance in Distant Lands: The Impact of Shanghai on the Chinese Tabloids of Modern Singapore (1925–1949))," http://www.fgu.edu.tw/~literary/chao1.htm, accessed 20 August 2013.

13 The first café in Japan was established during the Meiji period. It was modelled on cafés in Europe, especially Parisian designs. Taiwan's early café culture, introduced by the Japanese, was thus indirectly inspired by Europe. The first cafés in Taiwan were all owned by Japanese. The role of *jokyū* was eroticized during the late 1920s, and some of the cafés came to resemble cabarets more than classic coffee shops. At these cafés, the waitresses were not prostitutes, but they sat with their customers and physically interacted with them.

FIGURE 8.1 *Front cover of* Fengyue *issue 40, 9 January 1936. An announcement of the forthcoming popularity vote is shown in the middle, and a sample ballot is shown on the bottom left corner.*

who organized them, as "ballots" had to be purchased in order to cast a vote for a preferred geisha. The business of the cafés where "winning geisha" worked was reported to be "extraordinary with a continuous flow of customers every night" (issue 38). To maximize their financial gains and increase their circulation, *Fengyue bao* editors relied on their personal networks.[14] To facilitate the subscription, they appointed the nationwide agents for *Taiwan shinminpō* 臺灣新民報 (Taiwan New People's News) to act as their agents.[15] Its publisher Jian Hesheng 簡荷生 frequently traveled to the middle and southern parts of Taiwan to recruit members.[16] The editors were also keen to galvanize their (potential) readers and subscribers' interests, balancing artistic with commercial sensibilities.

Caught between colonial censorship and readers' tastes, the editors decided to keep the articles on the geisha and *jokyū*.[17] A Japanese section was added to *Fengyue bao* from August 1938 onward under Zhang Wenhuan's 張文環 (1909–1978) charge, in the hope of attracting Japanese readers. Unfortunately, the experiment was not as successful as anticipated. Readers of Japanese were dissatisfied with the small number of Japanese articles. Meanwhile, Chinese-language readers were divided into those who demanded more articles in classical Chinese and others who preferred more vernacular works. Zhang left *Fengyue bao* after only a few months and it returned to being a monolingual Chinese-language journal. Although the inclusion of the Japanese-language section failed, *Fengyue bao*'s other strategies worked. For example, including interesting tales about love and marriage proved very effective as many readers

14 *Fengyue bao*'s smooth running was subject to its members' cultural and economic capitals. Its editorial advisory board consisted largely of members of the poetry society Yingshe 瀛社, and its editorial consultants were mainly well-off local gentry-intellectuals.

15 See *Fengyue bao* 53 (December 1937): 28.

16 A Membership system was introduced from issue 57 onward. In addition to the membership fees, *Fengyue bao*'s income came from private sponsorship and advertisement charges (mostly medicine, hotel, and restaurant adverts).

17 In late 1937, Chen Shuitian 陳水田, *Fengyue bao*'s major patron and owner of the popular restaurant known as the Penglai Pavilion 蓬萊閣, invited Xu Kunquan 徐坤泉 to serve as its editor. Dissatisfied with the journal's predominance of "soft" articles, Chen insisted on changing the content. Accordingly, more aesthetically serious Chinese vernacular pieces appeared. The content change drew the attention of the Japanese authorities. Although it survived a ban following negotiations, *Fengyue bao*'s reforms came to a premature end as Xu left for Shanghai and Chen terminated his funding. The subsequent editor Wu Mansha was initially reluctant to publish soft pieces. Taking into consideration reader's interest, Wu compromised and eventually became a purveyor of love stories.

perceived them as relevant to their daily lives and used them to develop more "globally modern" attitudes.

Apart from Yang Yongbin's 楊永彬 very general introductory essay, previous scholarship on *Fengyue bao* has focused on the journal's literati culture, the relationship between colonial policy and Chinese-language writing, and its love and marriage stories.[18] In keeping with this volume's focus on profit and perception, as well as the agency of certain social groups in the production and transmission of ideas, this chapter asks two main questions: In what ways were *Fengyue bao*'s profit motives in tension with perceptions of the journal, and what can we learn from the survival of certain Chinese popular journals in wartime Taiwan?

Before answering these questions, I first analyze the context of Taiwan's print culture of the 1930s to explain the market at which Chinese tabloids were targeted. I then examine the major strategies employed by the editors to make *Fengyue bao* more appealing. Finally, I investigate these traditionally educated literati's visions of modernity, which tell us something of their perceptions toward changing (imported) attitudes surrounding love.

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18 For previous scholarship on *Fengyue bao* see Yang Yongbin. 2001. "Cong *Fengyue* dao *Nanfang*—lunxi yifen zhanzhengqi de zhongwen wenyi zazhi 從《風月》到《南方》—論析一份戰爭期的中文文藝雜誌 (From *Fengyue bao* to *The South*: On a Chinese Literary Journal during the Wartime)," in *Fengyue*, *Fengyue bao*, *Nanfang*, *Nanfang shiji zong mulu zhuanlun zhuzhe suoyin* 風月.風月報.南方.南方詩集總目錄專論著者索引 (Main Author Index to *Fengyue*, *Fengyue bao*, *The South*, and *Southern Poetry*). Taipei: Nantian, pp. 68–150; Gong Pengcheng. 2002. "Wenren fengyue chuantong de zuihou yipie 文人風月傳統的最後一瞥 (A Last Glimpse at Literati's Romantic Tradition)," *Unitas* 214 (August): 129–35; Zhao Xiaoxuan. 2002. "Taiwan *fengyue bao* zhong qinglou xiangxiang de shehui jiangou 台灣《風月報》中青樓想像的社會建構 (The Social Construction of the Idea of the Brothel in *Fengyue bao* from Taiwan)," http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_5d2d04f301010bbv.html, last modified 2 February 2012; Liu Shuqin. 2005. "Cong guanzhi dao minzhi—ziwo tongwen zhuyi yu xingya wenxue 從官製到民製—自我同文主義與興亞文學 (From Officially-made to Self-made: Same-culturalism and Asia-Promoting Literature)," in *Xiangxiang de benbang* 想像的本邦 (National Imageries), eds. Wang Dewei 王德威 and Huang Jinshu 黃錦樹. Taipei: Maitian, pp. 63–90; Guo Yijun 郭怡君. 2001. "*Fengyue bao* tongsuxing zhi chengxian《風月報》通俗性之呈現 (The Exhibition of *Fengyue bao*'s Popularity)," *Main Author Index to Fengyue, Fengyue bao, The South, and Southern Poetry*, pp. 151–73.

Positioning the Chinese-Language Tabloids in Colonial Taiwan

Beginning from the establishment of the Taiwan Cultural Association in 1923, Taiwanese intellectuals strove to reach their public through print media (such as the Association's official *Taiwan People's News*) as well as nationwide campaigns, talks, and drama performances. For the key figures of the Association, how to make literature and the arts more accessible to ordinary people was a question of paramount importance. It was also in the 1920s that vernacular Chinese replaced classical Chinese as the language of Taiwan's new literature.[19] As a result of the growing influence of Marxist theories of class, writers increasingly agreed that their works should serve the masses. This belief was later evident in the Taiwan Cultural Association's move leftward following a debate in the late 1920s, and also in the nativist literature arguments of the 1930s.[20] However, not everyone embraced this class-sensitive position. Some opted to pursue another method of popularizing literature. *Sanliujiu xiaobao* 三六九小報 (Three Six Nine Tabloid, 1930–1935) and *Fengyue bao* are cases in point. Both these tabloids offered amusing small talk that appealed to a niche market of urban dwellers who were better educated than general laborers, and as such provided alternative versions of what modernity and popular literature could be.

This division concerning the accessibility of literature was not unique to Taiwan. Under the influence of the proletarian literature movement of the Soviet Union, writers in China (especially those who were overseas students in Japan and Russia) had been promoting proletarian revolutionary literature since about 1928. This was reinforced in 1930 with the establishment of the League of Left-Wing Writers in Shanghai. In Japan, the proletarian movement began in 1921 when Komaki Ōmi 小牧近江 (1894–1978) launched the workers' journal *Tanemaku hito* 種蒔く人 (The Sowers). In interwar Japan, popular literature emerged concurrently with the development of proletarian literature.

19 The shift to the vernacular was accelerated by the debate surrounding old and new literature instigated by Zhang Wojun 張我軍, a writer inspired by the 1919 May Fourth movement in Beijing.

20 Huang Shihui's 黃石輝 "Zenyang butichang xiangtu wenxue 怎樣不提倡鄉土文學 (How Not to Advocate Nativist Literature?)," was a socialist call for writing that reflected Taiwan's unique circumstances. Huang's article was first published in *Wurenbao* 伍人報 (August 1930), vols. 9–11. See Liao Yuwen 廖毓文. 1995. "Taiwan wenzi gaige yundong shilue xia 台灣文字改革運動史略（下） (A Historical Outline of Taiwan's Language Reform, Part Two)," *Taipei wenwu* 台北文物 (Taipei Artefacts) 4.1 (May): 99.

There, the major publishers' focus on the general reading population emerged after the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923. Along with the reconstruction of industry, print culture boomed and publishing companies such as *Asahi* and *Mainichi* published high-circulation dailies. Serialized novels and comics developed into a very popular genre among Japanese middle-class subscribers. Journal publication also started to pick up. *King* (*Kingu*), published by Kōdansha 講談社, enjoyed high circulation mainly due to an American-inspired advertising campaign.[21] Kōdansha later launched magazines targeted at young men, young women, and middle-aged women.

In 1926, a one-*yen* (*enbon* 円本) paperback series appeared on the market. The first series consisted of fifty volumes under the title "The Complete Collection of Modern Chinese Literature." It was followed by another fifty-volume series—Shinchōsha's 新潮社 "The Complete Collection of World literature." The low price and aggressive advertising strategy greatly facilitated the mass distribution of serious literature.[22] The emergence of mass-produced reasonably priced books coincided with the appearance of *taishū bungaku* 大衆文学, a term used in the late Taishō 大正 and early Shōwa 昭和 periods to designate popular genres such as historical fiction. *Taishū bungaku* soon became associated with other generic terms such as *tsūzoku shōsetsu* 通俗小説 (popular fiction). This reflected a broader change in the 1920s, when another *taishū* 大衆 (the masses) discourse based on class movements began to gain currency among Japanese intellectuals.[23]

In Taiwan, intellectuals were also debating how to popularize literature and art. Competing definitions of "the masses" were put forward. In 1930, Huang Shihui 黃石輝 (1900–1945) for example, proposed that writers should write for "the laboring masses."[24] Inspired by Japan's interwar popular literature,

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21 Kōdansha was known for the publication of less serious journals in Japan's interwar period, in contrast with the publications of Iwanami Bookstore, which were intended for the elite.

22 Mass distribution made serious literature more accessible, but whether or not buyers actually read it remains unknown. Given that the percentage of white-collar workers with extra money to purchase available consumer goods at that time was relatively small, the consumers of *enbon* literature were likely to be predominantly white-collar workers and urbanites.

23 *Taishū bungaku* is translated sometimes as "mass literature" and sometimes as "popular literature." Socialists started to use the word *taishū* in the early 1920s to refer to the "people" or the "masses," a usage marked by a distinct sense of class difference. Here I consider *taishū bungaku* equivalent to *tsūzoku shōsetsu* in order to differentiate it from the class-oriented *taishū* discourse.

24 See Huang Shihui's essay in n. 20, above.

Ye Rongzhong 葉榮鐘 (1900–1978) offered his views on how to popularize literature. In his 1932 article entitled "Expectations for 'Mass-oriented Literature and Art'" (*"Dazhong wenyi" daiwang* "大眾文藝"待望), Ye urged Taiwanese writers to follow the *taishū* literature in Japan, and to compose for the masses. Unlike Huang Shihui who was an advocate of proletarian literature, Ye defined the masses as "ordinary people whose cultural level is relatively low."[25] In fact, Ye used the terms *taishū bungei* 大衆文藝 (mass-oriented literature and art) and *tsūzoku bungei* 通俗文藝 (popular literature and art) interchangeably. Ye's broad definition of the masses shied away from class struggle, and inevitably triggered criticism as a result. In 1934, Lin Kefu 林克夫 (1907–?) censured Ye for advocating a literature of leisure for the bourgeoisie. He also disapproved of Ye's "mass-oriented literature" as overly consumption oriented.[26]

Given this context, it was natural that Xu Kunquan 徐坤泉 (1907–1954), *Fengyue bao*'s major editor, was conscientious about his targeted readership. Xu's preface to *Star-crossed Lovers* expressed the views of a writer keen to produce works that could appeal to the general public. He admitted it was extremely difficult to compose a novel that could be deemed *dazhonghua* 大眾化 (mass-oriented) in Taiwan due to the fact that different readers preferred classical, colloquial, and vernacular styles. Xu confessed that he had decided to write in a hybrid style—not classical, colloquial, or vernacular—hoping to appeal to every reader (*pubian duzhe zhujun* 普遍讀者諸君).[27] Judging by the melodramatic content of *Star-crossed Lovers* and the prevalence of geisha-related articles in *Fengyue bao*, Xu's aim was not to popularize serious literature as the Japanese *enbon* culture had done. Nor did his book contain the class-oriented messages prevalent in left-wing journals such as *Hongshui bao* 洪水報 (Flood), *Taiwan zhanxian* 臺灣戰線 (Taiwan Frontline) and *Chidao* 赤道 (Equator). The concept of the reading public envisioned by Xu most closely resembled the market niche identified by the *Three Six Nine Tabloid* mentioned earlier.

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25 Ye Rongzhong (under the penname Qi 奇). 1932. "'Dazhong wenyi' daiwang "大眾文藝" 待望 (Expectations for "Mass-oriented Literature and Art")," preface to *Nanyin* 南音 (Southern Tone) 1.2.

26 Lin Kefu. 1934. "Qingsuan guoqu de wumiu: queli dazhonghua de genben wenti 清算過去的誤謬：確立大眾化的根本問題 (Examining the Pass Errors: Establishing the Fundamental Issues of Popularization)," *Taiwan wenyi* 臺灣文藝 (Taiwan Literature and Art) 2.1: 18–20. A similar debate on the definitions of *dazhong* 大眾 also took place between Zhang Shenqie 張深切 (1904–65) and Yang Kui. Zhang considered *dazhong* "commoners" whereas Yang regarded it as "the proletariat" specifically.

27 Xu Kunquan (aka A Qu zhidi 阿Q之弟). 1998. *Keai de chouren* 可愛的仇人 (Star-crossed Lovers). Taipei: Qianwei.

Having contextualized popular tabloid culture in Taiwan in the 1930s, another area that needs to be discussed is the language used. Xu's aforementioned preface offers a useful clue to the competing linguistic styles of the time. Chinese readers might have any one of at least three distinct linguistic preferences, namely classical Chinese, colloquial "Taiwanese," and vernacular Chinese. If the aim was to maximize readership, it was unwise to be perceived as a publisher of articles exclusively in one style. The colloquial style emerging in Taiwan—"my hand writes what my mouth speaks" (*woshou xie wokou* 我手寫我口)—was still in need of a standardized writing system, but *Fengyue bao* included both traditional and vernacular Chinese items to reach as many customers as possible.[28] Furthermore, the reading public's interest in geisha culture, as well as their hunger for the new or exotic and for items on topical subjects (e.g. changing and foreign attitudes toward love and marriage) had a great impact on *Fengyue bao*'s content. Inclusion of these different topics to improve the journal's circulation was a purely profit-driven tactic by the *Fengyue bao* editors.

Chinese Literati-Courtesan Connections and Western Exotica

Covering the "pleasure" category were columns such as "Tales of Famous Courtesans of River Qinhuai" (from issue 8) and "Amorous Histories of Beloved Mistresses of Famous Chinese Men" (from issue 32). The former introduced the stories of Liu Rushi 柳如是, Dong Xiaowan 董小宛, and others, and the latter related the life of Xiao Fengxian 小鳳仙 (1900–1954), a courtesan in Republican China known for her relationship with the Chinese revolutionary leader and warlord Cai E 蔡鍔 (1882–1916).

There were also poems in which the contributors used Chinese literary allusions to recount their relationships with their preferred geisha.[29] For example, in issue 118, an article entitled "Memories from the Beautiful Pavilion" (*Qilou yiyu* 綺樓憶語) starts with references to Yuan Zhen's 元稹 (779–831) *Dream of the West Chamber* (*Xixiang ji* 西廂記) and Du Guangting's 杜光庭 (850–933) *Life of the Man with Curly Sideburns* (*Qiu ranke zhuan* 虯髯客傳). The poet also

28 The phrase *woshou xie wokou* originally came from one of Huang Zunxian's 黃遵憲 (1848–1905) poems. In late Qing China, several proposals for language reform, mostly inspired by the *genbun itchi* 言文一致 (the unification of spoken and written language) movement of Meiji Japan, were put forward.

29 For the use of literary allusions in the geisha-related poems found in *Fengyue bao* see Zhao Xiaoxuan's essay cited in n. 18, above.

compared his relationship with his preferred geisha to that between the West Han poet Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 and Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君.

By linking themselves with the long tradition of courtesan-literati dalliances in classical rhetoric, contributors were able to sustain their lifestyles in the here and now. In a situation in which the use of Chinese was banned, the literati's obsession with the past appeared curiously political. The utilization of classical Chinese seemed to challenge the hegemony of the Japanese language as the only officially sanctioned writing system. Despite the potential political undertones of *Fengyue bao*, it was clear that the editors were more concerned about their readers' tastes than their personal political agenda. The popular but repetitive geisha-related articles formed a strong attraction to *Fengyue bao* for many, so for the sake of profit they had to be retained despite the editorial desire for the journal to be perceived as promoting new ideas.

For articles introducing new ideas, both China and the West served as significant sources. Some articles from China were reproduced in *Fengyue bao*, and articles about Shanghai life and culture were popular. From issues 75 to 84, an author called CT Sheng CT 生 serialized a story based on the life of leading Chinese actress Ruan Lingyu 阮玲玉 (1910–1935). Li Xianglan 李香蘭 (b. 1920), who was another well-known actress, also appeared in *Fengyue bao* articles at this time.[30] Various actresses were featured on the cover (See Fig. 8.2). There were also informative columns on Shanghai living. "Modern Life Seminars" (*Modeng shenghuoxue jiangzuo* 摩登生活學講座) by the then Shanghai-based illustrator Guo Jianying 郭建英 (1907–1979), as well as Jilong Sheng's 雞籠生 (1903–2000)[31] columns "Coffee House" (from issue 79) and "Great Shanghai" highlighted the many sides to life in the city. The "Coffee House" columns discussed Jewish refugees, prostitutes, the history of Nanjing Road, and the alleys in Caojiadu 曹家渡.

In addition to these columns, Jilong Sheng published several articles introducing the main theaters in Shanghai. He left a contact address in one of the articles, concluding that "those who would like to receive further information

30 There were other pieces on Shanghai's film industry. For instance, in issues 99 and 100, Jing Nan 荊南 published "An Overview of Shanghai Films," and in issue 108, Jilong Sheng wrote about Liu Na'ou's 劉吶鷗 death. Occasionally there are articles on Hollywood films. Jing Nan's article on Frank Capra's 1938 film "You Can't Take it With You" is an example. See Jing Nan. 1939. "*Wojia de leyuan* 我家的樂園 (My Happy Family)," *Fengyue bao* 93 (September): 17–18.

31 Also known as Chen Binghuang 陳炳煌, a Taiwanese cartoonist and essayist who studied in Fuzhou, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and later America. He held a Master's degree from New York University, and traveled extensively in Southeast Asia as a teenager.

FIGURE 8.2 *The child star Shirley Temple was featured on the cover of* Fengyue bao *issue 96, October 1939.*

about Shanghai please send in your inquiries and I shall respond to your questions wholeheartedly."[32] It is hard to estimate how many people actually traveled to Shanghai as a consequence of reading the journal. Nevertheless, the articles served as a handy guide for those who lived in or traveled to Shanghai, and evoked an image of Shanghai among Taiwanese readers.[33] Informative articles also covered other popular subjects such as coffee culture and cinema. As they were intimately linked with urban modernity, such pieces constituted *Fengyue bao*'s continuing links with the urban entertainment economy. The interest in female film stars' private lives was also an extension of the attention paid to the geisha, as both types of woman played an essential role in the male elite pursuit of a dilettante life.

Western exotica too, made good sources for *Fengyue bao*'s content. The topics covered were broad, but all belonged to one of the following two categories: marvels (*qi* 奇) or amusements (*qu* 趣). Apart from the various abridged translations from different publications (such as crime magazines and *Vanity Fair*), the section *Haiwai quwen* 海外趣聞 (Interesting News From Overseas, from issue 76) carried numerous articles about famous literary or political figures' epistolary habits and private lives. "The Love Letter of Bernard Shaw" in issue 51 (See Fig. 8.3), "The Love Letters of Famous Foreigners" in issue 75, and "The Diary of Washington" in issue 105 are all examples.

In issue 50 alone, there were translated pieces from Hiram Percy Maxim's (1869–1936) *A Genius in the Family* (1936), an abridged translation about a marvel in the deep sea from the *Los Angeles Times*, and pieces on the fashion trends in England from the women's weekly *Britannia and Eve*. These pieces may appear random and irrelevant. However, they constructed a world of wonder and materiality. Similar pieces were also found in other tabloids such as *Three Six Nine Tabloid*.[34] They all indicate the Taiwanese literati's curiosity

32 *Fengyue bao* 114 (August 1940): 10.

33 According to Xu Xueji 許雪姬, the number of Taiwanese sojourning in China around October 1941 was about 50,460. Most of them lived in Southern China (especially Amoy, Haikou, and Guangdong), and there were 3,847 Taiwanese people in Shanghai at that time. See Xu Xueji. 2008. "1937 zhi 1947 nian zai Beijing de Taiwanren 1937–1947 年在北京的台灣人 (Taiwanese People in Beijing, 1937-1947)," *Changgeng renwen shehui xuebao* 長庚人文社會學報 (Chang Gung Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences) 1.1: 46. It is worth-noticing that in Wu Mansha's literary work, such as "Chive Blossoms" (*Jiucaihua* 韭菜花), Shanghai often symbolizes modernity. Even Amoy is a fairly developed place.

34 See Mao Wenfang's essay in n. 5, above, especially pages 186 and 187. The piece about the underwater world resonated with the continued interest in Western scientific knowledge, usually referred to as "sound light chemistry electricity" (*sheng guang hua dian* 聲光化電), evident in the late Qing newspapers and journals.

蕭伯納情書

蕭伯納　你素來僅用甜言蜜語來誘惑我，今晚你得征服我，

愛蘭黛麗　你在我的思想中是一個這麼可愛的人！

蕭伯納　獃子！只要你不給一些傻瓜，蠢才，白癡，和頭腦跟木球一樣堅硬的人包圍着，你便可以成爲世界上最偉大的女伶了。

愛蘭黛麗　啊，你這十足有趣的人兒，你眞可愛！你的信跟我的冷鷄肉餅同在桌上做我的晚餐。

第一封信　蕭伯納給愛蘭黛麗

上帝祝福那個女人，這眞是太過份了。請問你，頂笨的傻子啊，你所得到的靈感可以保存多少時候呢？也許從上午九點到晚上十二點吧！靈感會一天來兩次嗎？當然不會的，那麼如果你在吃早餐時覺得準備好可以來演「伊摩眞」，到午餐後恐怕又覺得沒有準備了吧？還是祈求你的幸福在上臺的一刹那才來臨吧。誠心地祈求上帝吧。因爲禍是不變至的。

可是請你記住，不管有沒有靈感，你今晚無論如何非把「伊摩眞」的角色創造起來不可，下星期在我或任何別人看來都是無關重要的，「拿破崙」逛一星期也許會在「滑鐵盧」奏凱呢，你今晚沒有歡樂的份兒，你的任務是獲得勝利，凱旋而歸，你是否疲倦，驚惶，傷心，悲慘，那都沒有關係，如果你已有一星期沒合過眼，而且心碎了，絕望了，那也沒有關係，今晚永不會再來，你的敵人和他的敵人都會坐在正廳前排看你表演，如果你沒有把「中伯類」弄成功大禍其降於蘭心劇院及其傳統和聲譽！如果你的心臟給七十七柄利劍插住，我依然希望你會用盡全部的天才去表演，縱使說出口的每個字使一柄利劍插深一寸，那也不要緊，所以，使你的心像銅鐵那麼堅硬吧。愛蘭，溫柔而勇猛地爲你的自尊而戰鬥吧，明天是永遠不會來的，『明天不能』不是『今天必須』的答案啊，

歸根結底地說來，你以爲你覺得不快活時，你的表演便壞透了嗎？問々覩桑吧，他將告訴你說，你表演得更好呢，問々我吧，我將告訴你說，每種心情都有其價值，當你缺乏靈感的時候，我們五六個內行人也許會覺得有幾段對白失掉精彩，可是其餘的對白卻表現得更有力量，可是無論如何，你現在是不能脫身了，如果有人敢鼓勵你，弄得他垂頭喪氣吧。你是不需要鼓勵的，我要盡我的小責任，你也要盡你更大的責任啊。這重要的日子還未過

FIGURE 8.3 *A translation of Bernard Shaw's love letter to Ellen Terry*, Fengyue bao *51, November 1937.*

about foreign countries. It is precisely in such trivial and fragmentary pieces that the global vision of Taiwan's tabloid culture crystallized.

The transmission of foreign items was not always faultless. Scrutiny shows that typographical errors often crept in.[35] These suggest that the "translators" had limited proficiency in English. Indeed, they may not have known English at all; their texts suggest that they routinely took an existing Chinese version as their source and simply rephrased it for *Fengyue bao*. Strictly speaking, then, many of these "translated" works were "pseudo-translations." In addition to Maxim's novel, there were other literary works, such as Edith Wharton's (1862–1927) "Tales of Men and Ghosts" (issue 134) and Hector Malot's (1830–1907) *Sans Famille* (issue 184), that were selected and "translated" for publication. Despite their errors, these "translated" works demonstrate the editors' efforts to attract readers to *Fengyue bao* by providing interesting narratives based on internationally inspired content. In other words, the significance of these foreign news items lies more in what their presence in *Fengyue bao* represented to their audience, than in the individual pieces of information they conveyed.

A particularly amusing example for English readers is Wu Mansha's (under the penname Xiaofeng 曉風) "Adventure of a Chivalrous Woman" (*Xianü tanxianji* 俠女探險記), a short and incomplete rendering of one of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's (1859–1930) Sherlock Holmes stories.[36] There are some notable discrepancies between Wu's version and Doyle's original. For instance, in Wu's version, Sherlock Holmes no longer resides at Baker Street but has moved to live by the River Thames. When he invites Dr. Watson to move in with him to share his riverside view, Watson reflects that it is fortunate he has a car that he can use for his medical practice, a significant albeit anachronistic upgrade to the horse-drawn carriage he uses in Doyle's novels.[37]

As Wu had no knowledge of Japanese or English, he most likely relied on a classical Chinese translation of Doyle's story published in Republican China as his "source text." He then "modernized" it by rendering it in vernacular

35 For instance, *A Genius in the Family* became *A Cenius in the Family*. The Swire Deep became Swire Deeb, and Prime Minister Asquith became Asduith.

36 Xie Xueyue 謝雪漁 (1871–1953), Wei Qingde 魏清德 (1886–1963), and Li Yitao 李逸濤 (1897–1921) all experimented with detective story-writing using Chinese (or possibly Japanese) versions of Doyle's and Maurice Leblanc's novels. Usually they follow the original plotlines loosely. For example, although Wei Qingde's "Tooth Marks" (*Chihen* 齒痕) keeps the basic plot of Leblanc's "The Teeth of the Tiger," it places great emphasis on female chastity. See Chapter Six in this volume for a case study on a Taiwanese writer's experiment with science fiction.

37 I would like to thank Mei-e Huang for providing extra information on Wu Mansha's translation of Conan Doyle.

Chinese. In colonial Taiwan, this "double translation" was a common route for the transmission of ideas in which Chinese (particularly so for *Fengyue bao*) and Japanese remained major linguistic sources.

Appropriating and Speculating about Love

As mentioned earlier, even though the *Fengyue bao* editors were eager to publish more aesthetically mature literature, clichéd love and marriage stories and family or female tragedies still featured in light of their broad readership and the need to make a profit. Wu Mansha was himself one of the primary contributors of serialized romances. In issue 114, Wu explained that "although authors recognized that the dominance of romance novels is an abnormal phenomenon, they could not help but write such works to fulfill the demands of the majority of readers." In the preface to issue 81, Wu commented on the incompatibility of "making one's works popular in society" and "composing pieces that are full of life."

The social context in which concepts such as freedom to love were introduced into Taiwan as signs of modernity contributed to the topicality of love and marriage stories. In Meiji Japan, the idea of prioritizing the individual became fashionable among Japanese intellectuals, and was transmitted to the reading public through works such as Ozaki Kōyō's 尾崎紅葉 (1868–1903) *The Golden Demon* (*Konjiki yasha* 金色夜叉, 1902).[38] Taiwanese students in Japan gradually absorbed this "open" atmosphere and from the 1920s onward began to introduce it into the enlightenment-oriented *Taiwan People's News* through the likes of Swedish feminist Ellen Kay's (1849–1926) writings on love and marriage, and Kuriyagawa Hakuson's 厨川白村 (1880–1923) celebration of love. These writings emphasized marriage as the unification of spiritual and physical love between two individuals. Consequently, they challenged feudally arranged marriages and the conventional repression of female sexuality. When these new ideas gained momentum among Taiwanese intellectuals and caught public attention, stories tackling the changing concepts of love and marriage predictably became increasingly common—it would not have been commercially wise for print media such as *Fengyue bao* to ignore them.

Pandering to this popular appetite was effective and readers of *Fengyue bao* started to send in their comments after reading relationship stories published

38 In *Star-crossed Lovers*, the young couples go on a date either to see the film "The Golden Demon" or Ruan Lingyu's 阮玲玉 "Husband and Wife in Name" (*Guaming fuqi* 掛名夫妻). Ibsen's "Ghosts," Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, and Kikuchi Kan's 菊池寬 novels are also mentioned.

in the journal. Wu Mansha's "Hua feihua 花非花" (Flowers are Not Flowers), an account of the tragic love relationship between a teacher, Lu Jianping 陸劍萍, and his female student Cheng Henqing 程痕青, attracted considerable discussion. Doubtful about the concepts such as male-female equality and free love, Henqing's father prevents his daughter from attending school and plans to marry her to a man with a matching background. Distressed by this news, Lu dies heartbroken and Henqing then commits suicide. Many readers were touched by this tragic story and, through letters to the journal, came out in support of love-based marriages. Wu Mansha felt proud when a textile dealer wrote that he finally agreed to let his daughter marry an assistant at his boutique according to her wishes as he was deeply touched by the story.[39]

Additional essay topics submitted by readers included expressing love for another person, lamenting the death of one's beloved, and recollections of bygone love. Editors, after reading such essays, offered critical comments on the quality of the writing. Occasionally, they even acted as agony aunts, although comments such as "women after all are not reliable. Why are you so blind?" might not have been received as altogether helpful.[40] Nevertheless, *Fengyue bao* offered a quasi-public channel through which editors and readers could exchange views concerning the freedom to love whoever one wished.

Among the letters submitted to *Fengyue bao*, the polemic between Yao Yueqing 姚月清 and Xu Mofu 徐莫夫 over their soured relationship generated considerable attention. The verbal fight started with Yao Yueqing's article entitled "A Letter" in issue 102 (February 1, 1940) in which she recounted her unpleasant relationship with her anonymous ex-boyfriend, who had pretended to propose to her but was actually a brothel visitor interested only in sex. In issue 103, a person named Xu Mofu, self-identified as the addressee, submitted a reply accusing Yao of making herself into a victim and of betraying the relationship. In the following issues, Yao and Xu exchanged further accusations.

As the squabble continued, Wu Zuilian 吳醉蓮 sent in a letter volunteering to visit Yao to smooth things out. In the editor's epilogue, Lin Jingnan 林荊南 apologized for not being able to reveal who Yao and Xu were. A person named Zihua 紫華, who referred to himself as Wu's close friend, then published a letter addressed to Wu, commenting that Wu was not qualified as a negotiator and that external help was unnecessary. Another reader joined in by stating that Wu's peacemaking attempt resembled Wang Jingwei's promotion of friendship between Japan and China. In issue 111, Wu Zuilian responded that his attempt was far from that of Wang Jingwei, encouraging Zihua to step in to

39 Wu Mansha. 2000. "Yiwai shouhuo 意外收獲 (An Accidental Result)," *Zhuixi ji* 追昔集 (My Recollections), pp. 73–78.

40 *Fengyue bao* 116 (August 1940): 11.

resolve the Yao-Xu dispute. Also in issue 111, Yao mentioned that she had met Wu Mansha, who advised her not to continue the dispute. Nevertheless, the debate resumed in the subsequent issues. In issue 114, the editor indicated that Xu had stopped sending in letters, and that someone had helped end the dispute. However, in issue 116, a reader questioned why Xu had submitted to Yao, which Xu denied he had done in the following issue. The quarrel then turned to a verbal battle between Xu and the reader accusing him.

Retrospectively, Lin Jingnan's "reminding" the readers that he must not reveal the couple's true identity, and Wu's statement that he had met Yao, were somewhat strange. It is not implausible that they fabricated the whole scenario with a hope of increasing sales.[41] Indeed, several other articles in *Fengyue bao* imply that the editorial team was conscientious in its efforts to maintain readers' interest in love-related articles. For example, "Lectures on Modern Life" in issue 50 covered "must-knows for men and women" in relationships, and in issue 51, Wu Mansha published a piece called "Their Letters" that could easily be used as a template for love letters. Readers could also follow a Western example—entries from the correspondence between George Bernard Shaw and actress Ellen Terry were published in the same issue.

It seems that *Fengyue bao* editors cleverly appropriated issues surrounding love as the theme of their creative works, while also taking advantage of media speculation about these topics to keep readers subscribing. The major points covered in the Yao-Xu debate were loyalty and chastity in love. Both Yao and Xu (or rather Wu Mansha and Lin Jingnan) stressed the importance of being faithful in a relationship. If we consider them as Wu's and Lin's creations, then Yao is portrayed as a modern woman prepared to counter Xu's allegations. Yet the importance of chastity is simultaneously emphasized.

From Freedom of Love to Condemnation of Unrestrained Free Love

Yao's letters, suggesting that an ideal woman would be virtuous yet progressive, offer valuable insight into the diverse attitudes toward women in Taiwan in the 1930s. Numerous works published in *Fengyue bao* reveal the writers' ambiva-

41 Wu Yingzhen 吳瑩真 suggests that Wu Mansha was simply pretending to be Yao, and that Lin Jingnan was pretending to be Xu, in an attempt to get attention from readers, and thus enhance the "entertainment." See Wu Yingzhen. 2002. *Wu Mansha shengping jiqi rizhi shiqi dazhong xiaoshuo yanjiu* 吳漫沙生平及其日治時期大眾小說研究 (Research on Wu Mansha's Life and His Popular Works under Japanese Rule). Master's thesis, Nanhua University, p. 88.

lence and anxieties arising from changing gender roles. The writers did not embrace the concept of "freedom of love" unreservedly. In several serialized tragic-love stories like Wu Mansha's *Flowers are Not Flowers*, the idea of marriage based on love and freedom is celebrated and feudalistic arranged marriages are assailed. However, unrestrained free love was frowned upon. Feng Kunying 馮錕鎂 blamed the new thinking for preaching unbridled freedom, and disapproved of young people who pledged to marry without parental permission.[42] Wu Mansha and Zuilian 醉蓮 reproached "modern girls" (モダンガール, or モガ, in Japanese) for instigating males' unfaithfulness, social corruption and mammonism.[43]

This derogatory conceptualization of "modern girls"—either as the objects of male desire or as family destroyers—was not unique in colonial Taiwan. Republican China underwent similar debates surrounding the "woman question." "Modern girls" in Republican China were also seen as femmes fatales, though their search for subjectivity could be commendable.[44] In Japan, though the term gained currency around 1924 when life in the city gradually regained its vitality after the Great Earthquake,[45] it quickly fell out of favor in the 1930s, when Japanese nationalists prompted a return to the nineteenth century ideal of the "good wife and virtuous mother" (*ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母), a term coined (according to Sharon Sievers) by Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832–1891), an educator and enlightenment scholar sent by the Tokugawa shogunate to study in Great Britain during the early Meiji Japan period.[46]

Although "modern girls" remained a powerful symbol in print and intellectual discourse, this does not mean that such characters actually constituted a large portion of the female population in colonial Taiwan. As Barbara Sato has

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42 Feng Kunying. 1938. "*Fengsu gaishan* 風俗改善 (Improvements in Customs)," *Fengyue bao* 73 (October 1): 12.

43 Wu Mansha. 1938. "*Fangdiao modeng ba* 放掉摩登吧 (Abandon the Modern)," *Fengyue bao* 58 (February 15): 12; Zuilian. 1938. "*Modeng de jinbu* 摩登的進步 (Modern Progress)," *Fengyue bao* 62 (April 15): 8.

44 See Sarah E. Stevens. 2003. "Figuring Modernity: The New Woman and the Modern Girl in Republican China," *NWSA Journal* 15.3 (Autumn): 82–103.

45 The female protagonist in Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's 谷崎潤一郎 successful novel *Chijin no ai* 痴人の愛(Naomi, 1924) is usually considered a typical representation of the "modern girl." For the "modern girl," see Barbara Sato. 2003. *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*. Duke University Press, chapter 2.

46 Sharon L. Sievers. 1981. "Feminist Criticism in Japanese Politics in the 1880s: the Experience of Kishida Toshiko," *Signs: The Journal of Women and Culture in Society* 6.4: 604. For the evolution of the ideal of *ryōsai kenbo*, see Shizuko Koyama. 2012. *Ryōsai Kenbo: The Educational Ideal of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" in Modern Japan*. Leiden: Brill.

argued, the prevalence of discourse about "modern girls" in Japan since the mid-1920s was not because the majority of Japanese women at that time had turned into "modern girls," but because of "the possibilities for what all women could become."[47] Similarly, Taiwanese literati were anxious about the "morally-degraded" society if more and more women became "modern girls." They were not necessarily concerned about the roles of actually existing women, but rather, they appropriated the discourse on "modern girls" to fuel their gradualist and morally laden views of possible future developments.

The negative idea of "modern girls" in *Fengyue bao* coexisted with the reinforcement of the more traditional "virtuous wife and good mother" (*xianqi liangmu* 賢妻良母, the usual Chinese equivalent) ideal and the construction of youth discourse.[48] Originating in Japan in the late nineteenth century, "good wife and virtuous mother" later became a popular social and political slogan, as well as a core idea in women's education in modern Japan. Through overseas (female) students in Japan, this concept was introduced into China prior to the Xinhai Revolution of 1911.[49]

As Chen Zhengyuan 陳姃湲 has observed, this conceptualization of ideal (future) women was subtly different and had varied trajectories of dissemination in different East Asian countries.[50] Although it is difficult to trace the

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47 Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, p. 49.

48 "*Qingnian chenggong zhi lu* 青年成功之路 (Young People's Road to Success)" in issues 75–81 and "*Qingnian zhinan* 青年指南 (Guides for the Youth)" in issues 90–105 spelled out how young people were expected to "behave" in the new era. The former asked young people to set out their ambitions, cultivate themselves morally and physically, and remember to question themselves. The latter presented several traditional (Confucian) virtues such as moral cultivation and literary achievement (*liyan* 立言) as well as qualities such as compliance with the law and good personal hygiene that a modern youth should aim to achieve.

49 Joan Judge. 2003. "Beyond Nationalism: Gender and the Chinese Student Experience in Japan in the Early 20th Century," in *Wusheng zhi sheng* (*III*): *jindai Zhongguo de funü yu guojia* 無聲之聲 (III)：近代中國的婦女與國家 (Voices Amid Silence [III]: Women and Culture in Modern China [1600–1950]), eds. Luo Jiurong 羅久蓉 and Lü Miaofen 呂妙芬. Taipei: Institute for Modern History, Academia Sinica, pp. 359–393.

50 Constructed on the basis of Japanese *ryōsai kenbo* ideology, the discourse on women in colonial Korea was crystalized in the term *hyeonmo yangcheo* 賢母良妻. For further details, see Chen Zhengyuan. 2005. *Cong dongya kan jindai zhongguo funü jiaoyu—zhishi fenzi dui "xianqi liangmu" de gaizao* 從東亞看近代中國婦女教育－知識份子對"賢妻良母"的改造 (Examining Women's Education in Modern China from East Asia—The Intellectuals' Reform of the "Virtuous Wife and Good Mother"). Taipei: Daoxiang; Aida Yuen Wong, ed. 2012. *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

exact source(s) for this concept's diffusion in Taiwan, it is clear that Japanese popular women's magazines that emerged from the Taishō period (1912–1926), like *Women's Club* (*Fujin kulabu* 婦人倶楽部) and *Companion of Housewives* (*Shufu no tomo* 主婦之友), contributed to it. Articles in these magazines depicted and prescribed patterns of middle class urban family lifestyles and debated the "woman question" too.

Not coincidentally, the discussions of women's roles in *Fengyue bao* took place at the same time as discourses on Japanese family life were emerging in popular culture. In the serialized work *Inviolable Destiny* (*Sōhenu un* 争へぬ運) by Lin Huikun 林煇焜 (1902–1959), a novelist contemporaneous with Xu Kunquan, the female protagonist is described as a fan of Japanese films and popular magazines such as *King* and *Companion of Housewives*.[51] This provides an idea about the possible circulation of this construction of women's roles in Taiwan.

If "modern girls" were viewed negatively, the "new women" (*xinnüxing* 新女性) were role models Taiwanese women should aspire to. This redefinition of women's roles in Taiwan, as in Japan and China, was intertwined with nation building. In colonial Taiwan, it was an integral part of the Japanese government's wartime mobilization. In the preface to issue 117, Wu Mansha encouraged Taiwanese women to join the Association for Patriotic Women. He further urged them to become "new women," defining them as female fighters for their country, and to be a "virtuous wife and good mother" domestically. He continued that women should also "break with their dreams of vanity, throw away their make-up cases, long *cheongsam*, and high-heeled shoes, and . . . put on clothes with the color of national defence."

In issue 118, Wu carried on his criticism of materialistic women, condemning them as "men's playthings" (*wanwu* 玩物) and as "femmes fatales" (*huoshui* 禍水). He asked women not to sacrifice their moral beauty (*zhencaomei* 貞操美) for external beauty (*xingshimei* 形式美). Neither should they misunderstand the true meaning of "freedom" and "equality." He concluded that if they wished to "become the new women of the era" they ought to understand their responsibilities as mothers and wives. For Wu, women only received an education so that they could educate their children. As well as accentuating

51 See Lin Pei-yin 林姵吟. 2010. "'Wenming' de cuoshang: 1930 niandai Taiwan changpian tongsu xiaoshuo—yi Xu Kunquan, Lin Huikun zuopin weili "文明"的磋商：1930年代臺灣長篇通俗小說－以徐坤泉，林煇焜作品爲例 (Negotiating "Civilization": Popular Fiction from Taiwan in the 1930s—Taking Xu Kunquan's and Lin Huikun's Works as Examples)," *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu jikan* 臺灣文學研究集刊 (NTU Studies in Taiwan Literature) 8 (August): 20.

the concept of "motherly love" (*muxing'ai* 母性愛), Wu declared that women should also shoulder all the domestic affairs of East Asian society including performing "wife's duties" (*zhongkui zhi lao* 中饋之勞), "serving the husband and teach[ing] the children" (*xiangfu jiaozi* 相夫教子) and "cooking" (*jingjiu gengtang* 井臼羹湯). Wu ended his article with a Confucian notion of social norms—if every family were happy, then society would be harmonious, the country strong, and the world peaceful.

Wu's creative works are equally moralistic. "The Pride of Motherhood" (*Muxing zhi guang* 母性之光), serialized from February to June 1941, was written to promote motherly love. In an advance advert of the story, Wu specified the moral lesson of the story is twofold—to encourage his female friends to emulate the female protagonist's role as a virtuous wife and good mother, and to make his male friends understand the cause of their degeneration is modern women.[52] Furthermore, Wu used a rather feminine penname, Jingzi 靜子, to construct his vision of domestic virtuous housewives, as if speaking from a "female" perspective would make his arguments more convincing.[53]

Wu's prefaces reflect the ambivalent attitude toward women that the male editors of *Fengyue bao* harbored. Many of them used female characters in their fictive works to negotiate a path between traditional morality and modern thinking. They supported the concepts of freedom and liberation, promoting the idea that women should not resign themselves to destiny but should fight for their happiness. Yet they also condemned morally degraded women, expressing their profound concerns over the increasingly corrupt social atmosphere. This inevitably produced contradictions. On the one hand, the freedom they supported was restricted to the freedom to marry, and they retained the traditional view that men belonged to the social sphere and women to the inner quarters. On the other hand, women were expected to join the male-dominated social and national realms when needed in order to qualify as the "new women of the times." The male editors and writers' rather narrow (or idealistic) depictions of women indicate the apprehension caused by the notion of women becoming "modern" and the social change accompanying modernization.

By highlighting the opposition between the values of modernity and tradition and exalting the positive residual elements in traditional morality,

52 *Fengyue bao* 123 (February 1941): 22.

53 See Jingzi. 1941. "Xianliang de zhufu 賢良的主婦 (Virtuous Housewives)," *The South* 140 and 141 (November 5): 16, and Jingzi. 1942. "Nüzi zhinei 女子治內 (Women in Charge of Domesticity)," *The South* 146 (February 1): 8.

numerous pieces in *Fengyue bao* reinforced a moderate value system and a particular mode of social-ethical demeanor. This was especially significant in fast-changing Taiwanese society, as these kinds of publications functioned as semi-public conciliatory fora for readers to digest progressive thinking, adapt to modern practices, and possibly struggle through their personal problems. In other words, these works illustrated a certain degree of continuity with the past (some traditional moral conduct remained highly celebrated) and a gradualist transition toward modernization in which new ways of thinking and value-systems were revealed and negotiated at the same time.

Alternative Modernity and Re-Appropriation of Love

The emergence of *Fengyue bao* was closely related to the Shanghai tabloid culture, and its romance-dominated content was shaped by the new concepts introduced into Taiwan both via Japanese and by the contributors' Chinese experiences. Under commercial and political pressure, the editors were continuously navigating an ever-changing external reality to formulate their own instructive yet dubious vision of modernity. They were progressive in supporting freedom of love. Yet they appeared conservative when resorting to traditional values to endorse the "new woman" and reprimand "modern girls." Many of the *Fengyue bao* writers were born in or around the 1910s, and were thus part of a generation caught in a transition period not only linguistically (from Chinese classical education to the implementation of Japanese as the national language) but also stylistically (from classical Chinese writing to vernacular Chinese writing). Their vision also reflected the role the traditionally trained literati played in the making of Taiwan's literary production and knowledge formulation in the 1930s and 1940s. In short, *Fengyue bao* attested to the flexibility and ambitions of its core writers and editors, as they endeavored to strike a balance between readers' diverse tastes and their own literary ideas. It also demonstrated their ability to juggle multiple tasks as editors and businessmen, and to re-conceptualize a reliable and often less radical value system in the modernizing society.

But how to explain the emergence and development of the literati-geisha tabloid culture in colonial Taiwan when similar types of tabloid were hardly to be found in Shanghai by the late 1930s? The survival of *Fengyue bao* throughout most of the wartime era in Taiwan suggests that the number of gentry-literati remained fairly large. To justify and uphold their own amorous involvement with geisha, the traditionally trained literati had to reinvent themselves in an

extreme war-ridden context. Through their representation of these female entertainers, we discern their worldviews, ideologies, self-positioning, and temperaments. Their views concerning love and marriage, and their conditional acceptance of freedom of love, show that social instruction remained important for *Fengyue bao*'s main editors. They offered an alternative discourse on modernity—an in-between space not overly concerned with nationalist sentiments or class struggle, one which instead dwelt deliberately on the less "grand" issues of love and the predicaments of women.

Although later issues of *Fengyue bao* and its subsequent *The South* revealed support for Japan's expansionist national policy, topics related to women, family, and self-cultivation remained visible.[54] This demonstrates that providing a vehicle for social modernization was not necessarily incompatible with propelling the colonizer's national policy. The Chinese experience commonly shared among its major editors and contributors made *Fengyue bao* so moldable that its transition from an entertaining tabloid to a journal echoing policies such as "friendships between Japan and China" or "East Asia Co-prosperity" was nearly seamless. For instance, Jing Nan 荊南 stated the rationale behind his translation of Heno Ashihei's 火野葦平 (1907–1960) war novel *Wheat and Soldiers* (*Mugi to heitai* 麦と兵隊) was to urge the six-million Taiwanese people to help establish the new East-Asian order and accomplish the great cause of reviving Asia.[55]

Wu Mansha's novel "Spring of the Earth" (*Dadi zhi chun* 大地之春), initially submitted to the Chinese-language *Osaka Daily News* 華文大阪每日 for a writing contest in which it received a "special mention," and later published in *The South* in installments under the title "East Asia at Dawn" (*Liming le dongya* 黎明了東亞), provides another salient example.[56] Written entirely in vernacular Chinese, it was meant to help Taiwanese readers further improve their Chinese proficiency. With the male protagonist's condemnation of personal love and devotion to peace in East Asia, the work reiterates the imperial

54 Increasing numbers of Japanese articles espousing the "Great East Asia" concept were translated into Chinese. In issue 159, Huang Chunqing 黃純青 announced that the editorial goal of *The South* was to make it the best channel to assist the cultural development of the East-Asian co-prosperity sphere.

55 Jing Nan. 1940. "Xuezhan Sunqiancheng 血戰孫圩城 (The Bloody Battle in Sunqian Town)," translator's note, *Fengyue bao* 103 (February): 12.

56 *Osaka Daily News* was a fortnightly national policy journal launched in November 1938. Its circulation concentrated on areas occupied by Japan. It published articles in both Chinese vernacular and classical Chinese.

concept of co-prosperity. Likewise, the "modern" and well-educated female character decides not to follow the arranged marriage route, but to become a nurse in the frontier. The message shows Wu Mansha re-appropriating love for (Japan's) political profit, rather than for commercial considerations as during his *Fengyue bao* phase.[57] From personal love (the Yao-Xu correspondence) to a moderate version of the "dutiful wife and loving mother" concept, and finally to altruistic national love, Wu's works record the many faces with which "love" was endowed for different purposes.

In addition to Wu Mansha, a few other *Fengyue bao* contributors also submitted articles to the Chinese-language *Osaka Daily News*. The Osaka-based journal regularly reported on East Asian literature including news about *Fengyue bao*'s main editors, indicating the presence of Chinese-language inter-Asian literary and cultural interactions in wartime Taiwan. Shanghai also played a significant part in this inter-Asian exchange. Wu Mansha, for instance, won a composition contest in 1940 organized by Shanghai-based *Xingjian yuekan* 興建月刊 (Construction Monthly). In *The South*, the influence of Japanese national policy became even more evident. In issue 184, an article on loyalty and filial piety connected Chinese loyalists' stories with the Imperial Rescript on Education implemented by the Japanese Emperor in 1890 to elaborate on what loyalty and filial piety meant in wartime.[58] It again demonstrated that Taiwanese writers were highly flexible and creative in synthesizing different concepts to formulate their own "local" (but often hybrid) responses to the times in which they lived.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the continual efforts of *Fengyue bao* editors' to carve out a market niche and maximize their readership. At least three tactics—sustaining literati-geisha connections, introducing novel knowledge, and sensationalizing topical subjects—were deliberately adopted to make the journal more appealing to readers. Although the editors were not explicit in their intentions, the strategies employed to increase *Fengyue bao*'s circulation were

57 When Xu Kunquan's article appeared in *The South* (issue 152) in May 1942, he revealed his support for Wang Jingwei, echoing the colonizer's slogan of "friendships between Japan and China" like Wu.

58 Wang Zexiu 王則修. 1943. "Lun zhongxiao 論忠孝 (On Loyalty and Filial Piety)," *The South* 184 (October 15): 21.

strongly indicative of a tendency toward market-driven literary production. But as well as entertaining its readers, *Fengyue bao* attempted to shape behavior through its emphasis on female virtue and compliance with colonial policies. The "time-lag" between Shanghai's tabloid culture and Taiwan's *Fengyue bao* demonstrated how Taiwanese literati re-invented themselves in the wartime context. Through documenting their romances with talented geisha in verse, the *Fengyue bao* editors and writers were able to turn a "cultural profit"—in the form of symbolic capital in the literary field—and promote their visions of modernity. Other profit motives included upholding the literati-courtesan tradition and introducing new ideas from China and the West, with an attempt to entice as many different readers as possible. However, it was in the contributors' continued appropriations of love that *Fengyue bao*'s profit motive is most manifest.

The attitude toward rapidly modernizing Taiwanese society mediated through *Fengyue bao* is an ambivalent one, just like the modern-yet-traditional role the gentry-literati editors such as Xu Kunquan, Wu Mansha, and Jilong Sheng played in Taiwanese society at large in the late 1930s and 1940s. Linguistic capital (Chinese) in this case served as an identity marker.[59] It was also the last link between the present and the past, especially when the use of Chinese in print media was banned. During Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, the Japanese language and Chinese language were sometimes unable to coexist and at other times were symbiotic.[60] This made the *Fengyue bao* literati at times politically incorrect and ideologically ambiguous.

The information diffused in a process of cultural mediation is not necessarily true (the falsification of the Yao-Xu saga offers a prime example), just as translated work was not always intended to be faithful. What mattered was not whether the information of an individual article was accurate, but how the *Fengyue bao* contributors appropriated the various foreign sources to propagate their worldviews. The creative modifications of source texts and the rich imagination displayed in the process of the transmission (and translation) of ideas go far beyond the simplified model in which a single source (Japan, China, or the West) was the source and Taiwan the passive recipient.

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59 Paul Bailey's chapter in this book on early twentieth century Francophile Chinese intellectuals confirms the significance of the linguistic capabilities and cultural inclinations of the literati.

60 Competition between Japanese and Chinese culture also existed in film distribution in colonial Taiwan. Research shows that Taiwanese audiences had preferred Chinese films to Japanese ones since the 1920s, a concern for colonial officials. See Michael Baskett. *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan*, p. 18.

The multiple sources that shaped *Fengyue bao* included discourses on popularizing literature, the traditional *yidan* and literati connections, and exotica from the West. Its editors' and contributors' interest in debating the changing roles of women ran parallel to developments in Japan and China. From geisha-related articles to instructive columns (and Wu's fictional works), *Fengyue bao* writers continued to appropriate love and women for commercial and political purposes.

When the Japanese army made a southward advance and the journal became further intertwined with the imperialist propaganda (in *The South* phase), overseas Chinese communities (especially Chinese-reading populations in Southeast Asia) became the target readership.[61] Japan, China, and Manchuria were regular destinations for distribution, enabling an imagined Chinese-language community within all these locales of the Japanese empire.

In a wartime situation, despite the continuing existence of an inter-Asian flow of knowledge and human capital, a specifically Taiwanese identity could become perilous, and its survival was constantly contingent on the changing political situation. Political profit in the end was automatically prioritized before other forms of profit under wartime conditions. *Fengyue bao* inevitably turned into a politicized journal assisting the war effort. The editors tried to navigate colonial censorship while employing various reader-oriented strategies to boost *Fengyue bao*'s circulation. Overall, an examination of the journal provides a glimpse into print culture, the gentry-literati's creativity, and the place of an opulent urbanity in Taiwan during the later years of Japanese rule.

61 Issue 151 mentions that Ding Yinsheng's 丁寅生 "Kongzi yanyi 孔子演義 (Rendition of Confucius)" was to be distributed to Southeast Asia as a single volume.

CHAPTER 9

The First Casualty: Truth, Lies and Commercial Opportunism in Chinese Newspapers during the First Sino-Japanese War[1]

Weipin Tsai

The First Sino-Japanese War which took place during 1894 and 1895 was a dramatic moment in world events. Not only did it catch the attention of the West but, for as long as it lasted, it became a central focus of readers of newspapers in China in both English and Chinese. The Chinese public was extremely eager to read any news that could be gathered about the war, and newspaper proprietors grasped this opportunity to promote their businesses, competing to provide the latest information using wartime reporting practices already established in Britain and the United States. This chapter explores the competition between two commercial Chinese language newspapers, *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao*, in order to elucidate the relationships between patriotism, profit and readership during the First Sino-Japanese War. By comparing and contrasting how news of the war was reported in both publications, and how it was received by the public, we learn something of how these newspapers operated in gathering and publishing reports of tremendous national events, and gain insight into how commercial interests and readers' reactions to news events influenced editorial policy.

War Reporting in the West and in China in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

In 1853, war erupted in the Crimean peninsula. The conflict lasted for more than two years, and for many people in Britain, it was seen as a symbolic test of the spirit of British forces and a physical projection of British imperial ambitions; but it also functioned as a very real test of Britain's true military strength on the battlefield. Of course, news was in high demand at home, and

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thanks to the new technologies of railway and telegraph this was delivered with unprecedented speed and immediacy, though this development was not much appreciated by the British Government at that time.[2]

In London, *The Times* and *London Daily News* both managed to place their "Own Special Correspondent" with troops on the front line. Written in the style of war diaries, reports carried vivid and detailed descriptions about battlefield victories and defeats. But there was also an appetite for journalists' reflections on the war and in particular their observations on the conditions endured by the British soldiers.[3] William Howard Russell (1820–1907), a journalist for *The Times*, acclaimed in his day and later acknowledged as the first of a long line of celebrated British war correspondents, broke new ground for readers with his rapid dispatches from the front. Indeed, what reader wouldn't be moved when reading the following?

> October 25 . . . At 11.10 our Light Cavalry Brigade rushed to the front . . . The whole brigade scarcely made one effective regiment, according to the numbers of continental armies; and yet it was more than we could spare . . . At 11.35, not a British soldier, except the dead and dying, was left in front of these bloody Muscovite guns . . . 4PM. In our cavalry fight to-day we had 13 officers killed or missing, 156 men killed or missing, total 169; 21 officers wounded, 197 men wounded, total 218; total killed, wounded, and missing 387. Horses killed or missing, 394; horses wounded, 126; total 520.[4]

Russell's report on "The Operations of the Siege" was followed with more information relating to the medical care of wounded soldiers. As the war progressed, ever larger amounts of war-related material were rushed into print; from news to poem and novels, Britain seemed suddenly flooded with war literature.[5] Working closely with the railways, W. H. Smith managed a large volume of distribution of newspapers and journals in the mid-nineteenth century. The

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2 Trevor Royle. 1987. *War Report: The War Correspondent's View of Battle from the Crimea to the Falklands*. London: Billing & Sons, Ltd, pp. 18–19.

3 Philip Knightley. 2004. *First Casualty: The War Correspondent As Hero and Myth-maker From The Crimea To Iraq*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University, p. 6; Greg McLaughlin. 2002. *The War Correspondent*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 49–51.

4 "The Operations of the Siege (From Our Special Correspondent)," *The Times* 14 November 1854, p. 7.

5 Stefanie Markovits. 2008. "Rushing into Print: 'Participatory Journalism' during the Crimean War," *Victorian Studies* 50. 4: 559–586.

company applied a strict rule on Sunday rest, but this was suspended during the Crimean War as so many people wanted to read the latest lists of dead and wounded.[6] The public was caught up in war fever—not only were there massive commercial interests associated with the war, but the soldiers' families at home were eager to know about the latest developments. News from the front became a valuable commodity. The material provided by Russell and other correspondents was not sufficient to satisfy readers' demands for information, so *The Times* also accepted and published news from private letters sent by soldiers and others at the front lines.[7]

The mid-nineteenth century may seem a rather early period to exemplify wartime news reporting, but all the conditions are there to make it highly suitable for historical study. There are a number of reasons why this period is so rich in resources for scholars. First, journalism had become quite established as a profession by that time. Second, larger, more modern types of wars were taking place in what was a flourishing period for nationalist ideas and movements and also a time of conflict between established and emerging powers—so there is plenty of material. Third, the invention of the telegraph brought journalism into a new age of near-instant information, shrinking the world in terms of time and distance. Finally, there was a genuinely global interest in wartime news, which in turn created compelling financial and political incentives for media owners, commercial trading interests, and governments to meet the demand. The establishment in the period of international news agencies such as Havas and Reuters was the result of this new phenomenon.

Likewise in China the existence of the telegraph changed the way Chinese newspapers operated, just as it had in Europe, though the Chinese transformation occurred several decades later. An explosion in the demand for war news occurred in China during the Sino-French War of 1883–1884 which was focused on southern China. After debates that had lasted more than two decades, and just before the outbreak of the war, domestic telegraph lines had finally been set up beyond Fujian and in the southern part of China, complementing pre-existing lines further north. Other new links had also just come into service, such as the line between Tianjin and Shanghai constructed in 1881.[8] During the Sino-French War, the "instant" nature of communication made possible

6 Charles Wilson. 1985. *First with the News: The History of W.H. Smith, 1792–1972*. London: Jonathan Cape, p. 146.

7 Stefanie Markovits, ibid.

8 Erik Baark. 1997. *Lightning Wires: the Telegraph and China's Technological Modernization, 1860–1890*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, pp. 163–66; Sun Li 孫藜. 2007. *Wanqing dianbao jiqi chuanbo guannian 1860–1911* 晚清電報及其傳播觀念 1860–1911 (The Telegraph

by the telegraph added significantly to the degree of competition between rival titles in reporting the latest war news. From a news-gathering perspective, the impact on newspapers of the availability of the telegraph was very large. But the cost of transmitting news by telegraph placed a new and onerous financial burden on newspaper publishers. For example, the transmission of just seventy characters cost more than ten silver *Taels*—the equivalent of the revenue from half a month of five columns of advertisements.[9] As newspapers came to rely on the telegraph to transmit up-to-the-minute information, expenses increased; and publishers had to find ways to increase their circulations to offset this substantial cost.

On the outbreak of the Sino-French War, *Shenbao*, launched in 1872, was already the most well-established commercial newspaper in Shanghai, and circulated broadly in China.[10] It sent correspondents to Canton, Hong Kong, Fujian, and Taiwan to get first-hand news, and some reports were dispatched via telegraph to Shanghai. At the same time, *Hubao* 滬報 (the name was later changed to *Zilin hubao* 字林滬報), a new daily newspaper launched in May 1882 under the wing of the English language *North China Herald and North China Daily News*, was in a strong position to compete with *Shenbao*.[11] *Hubao* shared good facilities with the *North China Daily News*, both for news sent by telegraph from distant lands, and for information from foreign sources.[12] Although *Shenbao* and *Hubao* were Chinese language newspapers and run on a day-to-day basis by Chinese managers, they were both owned by British proprietors. To compete with the well-resourced *Hubao*, *Shenbao* had to

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and the Idea of Communication in the Late Qing, 1860–1911). Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, p. 53.

9 Sun Li, *Wanqing dianbao jiqi chuanbo guannian*, p. 96.

10 Barbara Mittler. 2004. *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872–1912*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. For a broader debate on Chinese newspapers and the public sphere in the late nineteenth century see Rudolf Wagner, ed. 2007. *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870–1910*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

11 "Summary of News," *North China Herald*, 19 May 1882. The predecessor of *Hubao*/*Zilin Hubao* was *Shanghai xinbao* 上海新報. They were both off-shoots of the *North China Herald* and *North China Daily News*. See also Lin Yutang 林語堂. 1936. *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*. Illinois: University of Chicago Press, pp. 81, 87.

12 Ma Guangren 馬光仁. 2001. *Shanghai dangdai xinwenshi* 上海當代新聞史 (The Contemporary History of Journalism in Shanghai). Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, pp. 87–9. For a short history of *Hubao*, see Roswell S. Britton. 1933. *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912*. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh; repr. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976, pp. 51, 55, 74.

extend its news resources by translating news from newspapers in Hong Kong, interviewing serving naval personnel, incorporating reports from news agencies, and soliciting information from private correspondents.[13]

To respond to public demand, *Shenbao* also printed extra editions from time to time to report the latest war news.[14] In this rivalry, *Shenbao* proved to be the victor. Despite a good start and high expectations, *Hubao* was not well managed from a commercial perspective, and it did not capitalize on its resource-rich position. By the time its celebrity editor Cai Erkang 蔡爾康 (1851–1921) left in 1891,[15] it was in decline, and when war broke out with Japan in 1894, *Shenbao* would find its major competitor was no longer *Hubao*, but *Xinwenbao*, a newspaper established just a year before. There was significant public interest in the war with Japan, while the intervening years had enabled correspondents and editors to gain more experience in the use of the telegraph, setting up the period of the Sino-Japanese War for an intense journalistic and commercial battle between rival publishers.

Battle-Ready and Eager for the Fight

Despite the passing of more than 20 years since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, by the closing decade of the nineteenth century neither China nor the West had a clear picture of the revolutionary impact of the Japanese reforms. With the hindsight afforded to historians, the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894 was not a surprise; but for those at the time caught up in things as they unfolded, the sequence of events, carefully planned and orchestrated by Japan, came as a shock. At the beginning of the War, Japan was not expected to win.

> Her [Japan's] victories were the more conspicuous, because so unexpected; none of the grave writers who had formed Western opinion of

13 Chen Yushen 陳玉申. 2002. *Wanqing baoyeshi* 晚清報業史 (The History of Journalism in the Late Qing). Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, p. 48.

14 Fang Hanqi 方漢奇. 1981. *Zhongguo jindai baoyeshi* 中國近代報刊史 (The History of Modern Chinese Newspapers). Shanxi, Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, pp. 52–53.

15 Ge Gongzhen 戈公振. 1935. *Zhongguo baoxueshi* 中國報學史 (The History of Chinese Newspapers), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, p. 65. See also Sun Hui 孫慧. 2002. "*Xinwenbao* chuangban jingguo jiqi gaikuang 《新聞報》創辦經過及其概況 (The Establishment of *Xinwenbao* and its Survey)," *Dang'an yu shixue* 檔案與史學 (Archives and History) 5: 3–8.

> the Far East had ever given a thought to the military power of Japan; all serious consideration was given to China.[16]

Western countries, the Qing Court, and the Chinese people had all failed to understand that Japan was now essentially reborn, that it had embraced Western technology over the previous two and a half decades while creating a modern war machine. Thanks to its compactness, as well as a deep, shared sense of "brotherhood throughout all classes" and loyalty to the Emperor, Japan was able to demonstrate to the outer world its prowess in "the most concrete form of patriotism."[17]

In China, defeats in the Opium Wars of 1842 and 1860 had resulted in the launch of the Self-Strengthening Movement in 1862. During this period, much effort had gone into modernizing its military forces, including the creation of shipyards, arsenals, and the equipping of modern armies. However, these military developments did not receive consistent or unilateral support from the Qing Court. On the contrary, from 1885 until the war with Japan, large parts of the budget earmarked for improving the Beiyang Army, the Beiyang Fleet and the Nanyang Fleet were appropriated for the purposes of repairing and constructing Emperor Dowager Cixi's palaces and retreats.[18]

The majority of Chinese government officials did not have a perspective that was any more informed than the Imperial court. On the eve of the War, Viceroy Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901), the official who had been in charge of much of the program of military modernization for at least twenty years prior to the war, believed China had at least enough strength to defend itself, if indeed it was not in a much more advantageous situation.[19] Robert Hart (1835–1911), the long term Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime

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16 Vladimir (pseudonym of Zenone Volpicelli). 1896. *The China-Japan War Compiled from Japanese, Chinese, and Foreign Sources*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, p. 2.

17 Jukichi Inouye. 1896. *Japan-China War: The Naval Battle of Haiyang*. Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, limited, Preface, p. II.

18 Ji Pingzi 季平子. 2001. *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao jiawu zhanzheng* 從鴉片戰爭到甲午戰爭 (From the Opium Wars to the Jiawu War). Taipei; Yunlong chuban, pp. 541–545. Robert Hart to James Duncan Campbell, 7 October 1894, letter no. 947: "The Admiralty has had big sums paid to it yearly the last ten years and ought to have a balance of 36,000,000 *tael*s, and lo! It has not a penny, having allowed the Emp. Dowager to draw on it for the many whims she has been indulging in!" John King Fairbank, Katherine Frost Bruner, and Elizabeth MacLeod Matheson, eds. 1975. *The I.G. in Peking: Letters of Robert Hart Chinese Maritime Customs, 1868–1907*. 2 volumes. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2, p. 991.

19 Ji Pingzi, *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao jiawu zhanzheng*, p. 648.

Customs Service, shared the same optimistic view at the beginning of the war. He wrote:

> If the war lasts long enough we must win: Chinese grit, physique and numbers will beat Japanese dash, drill and leadership—the Japs are at their best now, but we'll improve every day![20]

On the one hand, newspaper commentators were still deeply concerned by the weakness of China since the Opium Wars; on the other, sharing Hart's sentiment, they had developed a sense of optimism about China's potential for development, borne of a sense that things were starting to change. These feelings were largely shared by the populace, who were also witnessing the introduction of railways, telegraph, and steamships on the east coast and Yangtze River. For the majority of readers of Chinese newspapers such as *Shenbao*, *Shibao* 時報 in Tianjin, *Hubao*, and Wang Tao's 王韜 (1828–97) *Xunhuan ribao* 循環日報, or other politically-oriented newspapers, the program of the Self-Strengthening Movement was a familiar topic, often discussed within their preferred journal's editorial pages.[21] Readers were told that a process of military modernization had been conducted in both north and south since 1862, and that military modernization must have made an impact on China.[22] In short, the "public opinion" (*yulun* 輿論) represented in newspapers prior to the war was that China would win.[23] The conflict with Japan seemed to present itself as a great opportunity for China to wash away feelings of shame and humiliation that had persisted since the Opium Wars.[24]

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20 Hart to Campbell, 5 August 1894. *The I.G. in Peking*, 2, pp. 980–1.

21 Chen Yushen. *Wanqing baoyeshi*, p. 45. Tang Haijiang 唐海江. 2007. *Qingmo zhenglun baokan yu minzhong dongyuan—yizhong zhengzhi wenhua de shijiao* 清末政論報刊與民眾動員—一種政治文化的視角 (Political Newspapers and Journals of the Late Qing and Popular Mobilization: A Political Culture Perspective). Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, p. 43.

22 "Xingri pian 醒日篇 (On to Wake the Japanese)," *Shenbao* 3 August 1894; "Xiren lun huabing ke yong 西人論華兵可用 (The Westerners Think Chinese Troops are Ready)," *Shenbao* 12 August 1894.

23 Gong Shuduo 龔書鐸. 1994. "Jiawu zhanzheng qijian de shehui yulun 甲午戰爭期間的社會輿論 (The Public Opinion in Society during the Jiawu War)," *Beijing shifan daxue xuebao* 北京師範大學學報 (Journal of Beijing Normal University) 5: 1–9. Timothy Richard. 1916. *Forty-five Years in China*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, p. 230.

24 For the concept of shame and humiliation associated with Chinese nationalism, see Weipin Tsai. 2009. *Reading Shenbao: Nationalism, Consumerism and Individuality in China 1919–37*. Basingstoke, 2009, pp. 109–120; Peter Zarrow. 2004. "Historical Trauma:

With its government and people full of righteous emotion and convinced that it had a duty to protect Korea, a long-time tributary state of China, there was no escaping war with Japan, despite the lack of proper planning. This viewpoint was supported across the print media. For example, in an editorial written in July 1894, entitled "On Why China Cannot Avoid Engaging in War with Japan over the Korean Matter" (*Lun Zhongguo wei Chaoxian shi buke buyu Riben yizhan* 論中國爲朝鮮事不可不與日本一戰)[25] the editor of *Shenbao* argued China should grasp the opportunity to assert its authority and sovereignty over Korea. So long as the Qing court and the country's important statesmen decided to focus their attention and devote their energy to preparing for the war, the impact of Chinese troops on the Japanese army would be like "hot water melting snow." China would be victorious, and the Japanese would be very busy collecting their dead and tending to their wounded. In another editorial entitled "On Preparation for the War" (*Chouzhan yi* 籌戰議), *Shenbao* asserted that China had a responsibility to protect Korea, and it had to do so unreservedly, with or without Japanese military provocation. Chinese troops should march straight into Korea, and engage in a life or death battle with Japan.[26]

Some victories during the Sino-French War ten years previously were recalled in print and this added to the Chinese air of self-confidence. Some readers dared to hope that with the efforts undertaken under the banner of the Self-Strengthening movement over the previous ten years, China's military strength had significantly improved. For example, two months into the Sino-Japanese War, a *Xinwenbao* editorial told its readers that the victories in the battles between China and France had been more or less equally shared; but since then China had invested significant resources in its navy, both north and south. The editorial went on to remind people that Chinese naval forces had just held a big review in Tianjin attended by Li Hongzhang. Warships from the Beiyang (North Sea) and Nanyang (South Sea) fleets met up to conduct the exercise; representatives from some Western navies also attended, and they all praised the demonstration.[27] From these editorials we can sense that Chinese

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Anti-Manchuism and Memories of Atrocity in Late Qing China," *History & Memory* 16.2: 67–107.

25 "Lun Zhongguo wei Chaoxian shi buke buyu Riben yizhan 論中國爲朝鮮事不可不與日本一戰 (On Why China Cannot Avoid Engaging in War with Japan over the Korean Matter)," *Shenbao* 21 July 1894.

26 "Chouzhan yi 籌戰議 (On Preparation for the War)," *Shenbao* 27 July 1894.

27 "Xu Zhongwo bingzhi butonglun 續中倭兵制不同論 (On Chinese and Japanese Military Systems being Different—Continued)," *Xinwenbao* 27 September 1894.

society was confident that their country would triumph in a war with Japan, and *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* took care to position themselves for the coming hostilities.

Most Chinese-language newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century were owned by foreigners, particularly missionaries. Foreign ownership was particularly prevalent in Shanghai, Canton and Hong Kong.[28] The situation only started to change after the end of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, when groups of Chinese intellectuals, shocked by China's defeat, started to set up their own newspapers to promote their new ideas for China.[29] *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* had a particular background. Unlike competing missionary owned Chinese language newspapers, both titles were owned by foreign-dominated business interests, and each had a very strong commercial sense. The foreign owners of the *North China Daily News'* Chinese language title, *Hubao*, hired Chinese editors to run the newspapers, write editorials, and produce literary sections to attract a local readership.[30] The foreign owners of *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* did the same.

While the early history of *Shenbao* has been extensively studied, the history of *Xinwenbao* has been much less explored in academic work.[31] *Xinwenbao* was founded through a collaboration between the American textile merchant A. W. Danforth, the British journalist F. F. Ferris (who had also been involved with *Hubao*), and the Chinese merchant Zhang Shuhe 張叔和 (1850–1919).[32] *Hubao*'s Cai Erkang was headhunted to become the overall editor.[33] By this

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28 Xiantao Zhang. 2007. *The Origins of the Modern Chinese Press: The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing China*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 30–45.

29 Lin Yutang. *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, p. 94. See also Tang Haijiang. *Qingmo zhenglun baokan yu minzhong dongyuan*, pp. 45–49.

30 Ma Guangren. *Shanghai dangdai xinwenshi*, pp. 87–90. Barbara Mittler argues the editorial style of *Shenbao* is the most critical reason that this foreign-owned newspaper became popular in Chinese society. Barbara Mittler. "Domesticating an Alien Medium: Incorporating the Western Style Newspaper into the Chinese Public Sphere," *Joining the Global Public*, pp. 29–30.

31 There are two main reasons that *Shenbao* has attracted more attention: first, it was the longest-running Chinese daily newspaper in the modern period; second, it was the largest in terms of sales, and had a good reputation. The complete daily output of *Shenbao* was reprinted in 1987, which has made it more accessible to scholars. A digital version is now also available.

32 "*Xinwenbao* gaikuang 新聞報概況 (The General Situation of *Xinwenbao*)," *Xinwenbaoguan gaikuang* 新聞報館概況 (The General Situation of *Xinwenbao*). Shanghai: Xinwenbaoguan, 1931, p. 2.

33 Hu Daojing 胡道靜. 1948. "Xinwen baozhi sishinian shi, 1893–1933 新聞報紙四十年史, 1893–1933 (The Forty Year History of *Xinwenbao*, 1893–1933)," *Baoxue zazhi* 報學雜

time, he wished to leave *Hubao* anyway, as he had tired of clashes with colleagues. Although Cai Erkang left after six months for *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 (A Review of the Times) to work with Timothy Richard 李提摩太 (1845–1919), according to his memoirs on his involvement with *Xinwenbao*, he put a lot of thought into setting up the new business. *Xinwenbao* had fairly modest beginnings: besides Cai as editor, it had nine journalists, F.F. Ferris working on translation, and another three people poached from *Hubao* to do typesetting and proofreading.[34]

To compete with *Shenbao, Xinwenbao* adopted a similar typesetting style and page layout. The names of both newspapers were placed horizontally, on the top of the first page and above the large editorial. On the left hand side of the editorial was a space, running through to the following page, devoted to major headlines. The headlines presented in this space were always short and punchy, four to six characters, and the source of the information was included: telegraph, translation, correspondent of the newspaper, important foreign sources, or information from travelers, soldiers and merchants. In addition to political news, *Xinwenbao* had a large amount of space across different pages given over to advertisements, as well as sections devoted to commerce and literature, in order to target *Shenbao*'s readers and win them over.

In order to get hold of as much nationwide news in as short a time as possible, those involved in the launch of *Xinwenbao* wrote to their contacts around the country. One of their key instructions was that reports should be delivered by the express service provided by private letter *hong*s (信局), which was the established mail system for ordinary people in the late Qing period.[35] To make sure *Xinwenbao* would get off to a good start, Cai deliberately choose 17 February 1892, the first day of the Chinese New Year, to launch the first issue, when both *Shenbao* and *Hubao* had a three-day break, and people were hungry for news. To lure readers, *Xinwenbao* was given away free, and delivered to major government buildings, large households of local gentry and merchants, and popular teahouses and restaurants. By the fourth day, when the giveaways ended and it was offered for regular sale, Cai claimed that *Xinwenbao* already

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誌 (The Journal for Newspapers), 1, no. 2: 9–11. Shifen 世芬. 1936. "Xinwenbao 新聞報," *Zhongwai yuekan* 中外月刊 (China and the West Monthly), vol. 1, no. 3: 82–6.

34 Cai Erkang, "Chuangxing xinwenbao ji 創興新聞報記 (The Record of the Establishment of *Xinwenbao*)." This is a draft of Cai's memoirs, written on his personal essay practice paper, writing date unknown. Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q430–1–173.

35 Cai Erkang, ibid. In fact before the establishment of the Chinese Post Office in 1896, both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* worked closely with the private letter *hong*s to deliver their publications outside Shanghai, using water routes on both coasts and inland rivers.

had more than a thousand subscribers (though his memoirs are not necessarily supported by the circulation data that still exists).

In addition to the distribution arrangements mentioned above, *Xinwenbao* also worked closely with the private letter *hong*s to ensure dissemination, and it had plans for distribution beyond Shanghai. After Cai left the company, Ferris continued to work with the private letter *hong*s. Ferris had two large batches of newspapers sent to Nanxiang riverside (north west of Shanghai) by 12 midnight, and had them carried by foot paddle boat to Suzhou, arriving by noon. After the consignment arrived in Suzhou, the batches of papers were split into copies for locals and copies for sending on farther up river to other major towns along the Yangtze. This guaranteed early arrival, and a big commercial advantage over *Shenbao*.[36] After the First Sino-Japanese War started, although Cai had already left *Xinwenbao*, the model he had set up was kept running.

Shenbao had experience of war reporting from the Sino-French War, and it took the task of providing news of the upcoming war very seriously, seeking not only to secure its status as the most successful commercial daily newspaper at that time, but also to extend its market. *Xinwenbao* on the other hand sought to use this opportunity to expand its market and establish itself as a serious rival. As we shall see, right from the outbreak of hostilities, both titles adopted similar tactics of focusing heavily on any good news from the front, while quietly burying true but unwelcome information about the real progress of the war.

The War for Readership

During the American Civil War (1861–1865), the war between newspapers had been fierce, as there was "serious money" in selling news.[37] Wilbur F. Storey, then editor of the *Chicago Times*, ordered his reporter at the front to "Telegraph fully all news you can get, and when there is no news, send rumors."[38] With this sort of attitude, added to the urgency of getting stories to press, news sent through the telegraph was in general not carefully checked for factual accuracy. In addition, editors during the American Civil War were not impartial; on the contrary, this was a war of robust opinions.

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36 Hu Daojing, ibid.

37 Andrew S. Coopersmith. 2004. *Fighting Words: An Illustrated History of Newspaper Accounts of the Civil War*. New York: The New Press, p. xvi.

38 Philip Knightley, *First Casualty*, p. 23.

In China, as the events of 1894 and 1895 unfolded, there was a similar hunger for information, and people were happy to pay for any available news about the war between China and Japan. However, while there were divided views and emotions across America about the rights and wrongs of the American Civil War, there was only one feeling amongst Chinese readers: a desire for a Chinese victory. This emotion had a strong impact on the way both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* reported wartime news. With each requiring a large volume of news to publish daily, the challenge they faced was how to manage readers' expectations while attempting to report accurately on the development of the war.

On 23 September 1894, about two months into the war but less than two months away from celebrations for the Empress Dowager Cixi's 60th birthday, *Shenbao* published confirmed news of a Chinese victory in sea battles on the Yellow Sea near the mouth of the Yalü River.[39] On most occasions since the war started, *Shenbao* had delivered positive news to its readers, and tried to bury painful truth in long texts with punchy and positive headlines. However, this battle was very critical as the Yalü River marked the border between Korea and China. To lose this defensive line would mean the war would be carried onto Chinese soil. China lost the battle, but its people were not told.

In its usual cheerful headline style, this report was entitled "A Detailed Description of the Battle of Yalü River, a Confirmed Victory over the [Japanese] Dwarves" (*Xiangshu Yalüjiang shengwo quexin* 詳述鴨綠江勝倭確信). The battle occurred on 17 September, and *Shenbao*'s information was based on a telegram from a foreigner in Tianjin. The report provided details on the movements of the two fleets during the battle from 11 am to 5 pm, and it described the tactics used by the Chinese Beiyang fleet commanded by admiral Ding Richang 丁日昌 (1823–1882). The report stated that against strong winds at sea, the Japanese fleets moved faster, though the Chinese sailors were very brave. It gave information about the damage to warships and casualties on both sides, but toward the end it wrote that the warship that carried the Japanese admiral was badly damaged, and that he might have even been killed. *Shenbao* confidently pointed out that this telegram completely contradicted the story from the Japanese side. Indeed, *Shenbao* scoffed at the Japanese version of the battle, and concluded the Japanese fleet was heavily damaged and had no chance of returning to the fight.

39 "Xiangshu Yalüjiang shengwo quexin 詳述鴨綠江勝倭確信 (A detailed Description of the Battle of Yalü River, a Confirmed Victory over the (Japanese Dwarves)," *Shenbao* 23 September 1894.

Three days later, *Shenbao* continued to publish news about the Battle of Yalü River. Fresh information came from a letter written by a "friend" of *Shenbao*. This individual had been specifically sent to Tianjin by the newspaper to gather war information. The report, entitled "Supplementary War News" (*Zhanshi yuwen* 戰事餘聞), gave a vivid description of the battle, even though Tianjin was a long way from the Yalü River.[40]

> On 18th this month, our navy and the dwarves had a battle on the Yalü River and its outer sea. It lasted from noon till 5 in the evening, and the battle was a forest of guns and a hail of bullets sending flesh and blood flying. By the time the fighting stopped, thick smoke covered the whole ocean. Three dwarf ships were smashed and sunk by our navy, and another three were damaged. Our two ships, the Zhiyuan (致遠) and Jinyuan (靖遠) were also damaged. The number of dead dwarves was countless, though our troops weren't completely unscathed either.

On the same day, *Shenbao* had carried more news to reinforce China's "victory." Under the heading "The Dwarves Avoided Mentioning Their Defeat" (*Wonu huibai* 倭奴諱敗) *Shenbao* wrote that it was well-known that China had defeated Japan at the Battle of the Yalü River the Yalü River, despite Japanese claims that they had scored a big victory and that no ship of theirs was damaged. The Japanese were like children who were still wet behind their ears, and did not have a sense of shame.[41]

In this period, *Xinwenbao* adopted a more reserved approach. In general, it didn't brag to the same degree, and appeared to want to present more balanced reports to its readers. It told its readers about China's terrible defeat in the Battle of Pyongyang, soon after the Battle of the Yalü River.[42] On the other hand it still reported a Chinese "victory" at the Battle of the Yalü River. For example, in a report entitled "Follow-up Correspondence from a Friend in Tainjin of a Confirmed Victory" (*Zailu Jin you handi shengwo queyin* 再錄津友函遞勝倭確音),[43] *Xinwenbao* said that although it had been continuing

40 "Zhanshi yuwen 戰事餘聞 (Remaining War News)," *Shenbao* 27 September 1894.

41 "Wonu huibai 倭奴諱敗 (The Dwarves Avoided Mentioning Their Defeat)," *Shenbao* 27 September 1894.

42 "Xiangshu Pingrang baihao 詳述平壤敗耗 (Detailed Description on the Pyongyang Defeat)," *Xinwenbao* 28 September 1894.

43 "Zailu jin you handi shengwo queyin 再錄津友函遞勝倭確音 (Follow-up Correspondence from a Friend in Tianjin of a Confirmed Victory)," *Xinwenbao* 28 September 1894.

to report on the Yalü River battle over the previous few days, correspondence received from Tianjin had reinforced the correctness of this information. It said when the Chinese navy saw the Japanese ships coming, the eight Chinese ships arranged themselves in the shape of the word "eight 八," and the Chinese admiral was on the front ship. Unlike the Chinese arrangement, the Japanese ships formed a straight line, and when each ship passed the Chinese vessels, it fired once.

The Chinese fought back, and soon the Japanese changed their tactics. They formed a circle to surround the Chinese navy, attacking from all directions. The Jiyuan 濟遠 was attacked and damaged in more than two hundred places, with the largest hole being about three inches (三寸). Constantin von Hannecken (a German military consultant fighting with the Chinese navy) bravely waved the military flag and encouraged the Chinese sailors not to give up, but to fight on. After three hours the ocean was covered with smoke. Although the Chinese ships were damaged they were still repairable, unlike some Japanese ones, which were sunk.

So went the *Xinwenbao* report. But what of the "truth?" Even today, the outcome of the battle is somewhat unclear: currently available sources cannot give firm figures for the losses among the ships engaged. We do know that both Japan and China lost warships and sustained damage to their fleets during the battle, though the contemporary verdict is that China suffered the more serious losses.[44] What is really striking though, is the detailed descriptions the two newspapers provided for their readers. Both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* commonly employed a traditional, semi-vernacular writing style, with vivid storylines, but without any punctuation. This style, quite different to that of normal journalistic reporting, made heavy use of extravagant, lush descriptions and slow, highly detailed narratives of the course of battles, reflecting the literary taste of many readers during that time for Mandarin Duck and Butterfly (*yuanyang hudie pai* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派) literature.[45] Indeed, the reports of battles over those few months since the start of the war can be read, in both newspapers, as pieces of serialized literature.

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44 S. C. M. Paine. 2005. *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895: Perception, Power, and Primacy.* New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 179–180.

45 Mandarin Duck and Butterfly literature was popular during the late Qing and early Republican period. The themes of this style of literature were broad, but many of them were about romance, legend, and martial arts. They were not seen as serious literature but were intended to be very entertaining and easy to read. See Perry Link. 1981. *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth Century Chinese Cities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

In this regard, these "reports" on the First Sino-Japanese War share similarities in style with the vivid, highly detailed tales of war in Homer's *Iliad*, or the structure and style of Luo Guanzhong's 羅貫中 *The Romance of Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義) written during the Ming Dynasty in the form of *zhanghui xiaoshuo* (章回小說). The word *zhanghui* means chapter, and while each chapter was a self-contained entity with its own title, cliffhangers were used as literary devices to keep readers engaged.

Alexander Pope's comment on his translation of Homer's *Iliad* (1715) is equally applicable to the "literature" we read in newspaper reports of battle scenes of the First Sino-Japanese War. Pope said:

> Nothing is so surprising as the descriptions of Homer's battles, which take up no less than half the *Iliad*, and are supplied with so vast a variety of incidents that no one bears a likeness to another; such different kinds of deaths, that no two heroes are wounded in the same manner; and such a profusion of noble ideas, that every battle rises above the last in greatness, horror and confusion.[46]

What war reporter, writing in 1894 and 1895, would have been able to have such close access to troops on the battle field as to witness how individual soldiers died, each in a unique way, or recall how two heroes came to be wounded in different manners? The reports on the Battle of the Yalü River are really exercises in poetic fiction, a tendency that can also be seen in *Xinwenbao*'s report from May 1895 entitled "The Real Account of the Yashan War Affair" (*Yashan zhanshi jishi* 牙山戰事紀實):

> Deputy Captain Shen Shouchang 沈壽昌 (1865–94) was hit by a bullet directly through his head from the "ship of dwarves." Shen died straight away, but his blood and brains were spattered on the clothes of the soldiers who were next to him.[47]

Just as Pope observed that Homer's descriptions of heroic deaths were replete with gory details which gave readers a great deal of satisfaction, *Xinwenbao's* "reports" of battles were equally intended to produce an emotional effect on the reader. Moses Finley, a historian of ancient Greece, emphasizes that the kind of epic the *Iliad* represents is not history, but "myth:"

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46 Trevor Royle. *War Report*, p. 11.

47 "Yashan zhanshi jishi 牙山戰事紀實 (The Real Account of the Yashan War Affair)," *Xinwenbao* 21 May 1895.

> It was narrative, detailed and precise, with minute descriptions of fighting and sailing and feasting and burials and sacrifices, all very real and very vivid; it may even contain, buried away, some kernels of historical fact—but it was not history. Like all myth, it was timeless.[48]

Finley's point about the *Iliad* and the kind of narrative employed not only has strong resonance with the fourteenth century Chinese novels such as *Three Kingdoms* and *Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳), but also the war reports under discussion in this chapter. Indeed, the narrative descriptions we read display a literary sensibility of exactly the kind that is found in these classical novels. If we disregard the references to the technology of modern warfare (guns and so forth) there would be little to stop us treating many of the passages they contain as interchangeable.

As the Chinese New Year approached, *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* felt even more obliged to bring good news to their readers. Around the end of January 1895, on the eve of Chinese New Year, the war was approaching Weihaiwei 威海衛 and Yantai 烟台, and Japan continued to push its front line forward. The fall of Weihaiwei was potentially more serious than the fall of Port Arthur, because much of the Chinese fleet and many troops were stationed at Weihaiwei.[49] Moreover, Weihaiwei was close to Shanghai, and to major treaty ports such as Tianjin, Qingdao and Yantai.

On the fourth day of the Chinese New Year, *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* ran their first editions of the year. To mark the occasion, *Shenbao* reproduced a large woodblock print (see Fig. 9.1).[50]

At the top left hand corner of the print, a warrior god descends from heaven in a glorious cloud, accompanied by flags and other heavenly beings. In the main body of the picture well-dressed people are emerging joyfully from their tidy, nicely arranged households. Lanterns are neatly hung in the corridors, making a good contrast to the cherry trees blossoming in the garden. Children and adults are placing firecrackers and people are celebrating the New Year with laughter and greetings.

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48 M. I. Finley. 1965. "Myth, Memory, and History," *History and Theory* vol. 4 no. 3: 281–302.

49 Vladimir. The China-Japan War Compiled from Japanese, Chinese, and Foreign Sources, p. 270.

50 *Shenbao* 29 January 1895. *Shenbao* stated that the first issue of the New Year would be published on the fourth day of the New Year: see "Cinian xiaodu 辭年小牘 (A Little Note for New Year Break)," *Shenbao* 23 January 1895. However, the current *Shenbao* on-line database mistakenly joins the issue of 19 January 1895 (the first issue of 1895 on the fourth day of Guangxu year 21) with the issue of 23 January 1895.

FIGURE 9.1 *New Year woodblock*, Shenbao *29 January 1895*.

To accompany such a celebratory image on its front page, *Shenbao* brought several pieces of good news about the war to its readers. One of them was entitled "Military Information from Liao-Shen" (*Liaoshen junqing* 遼瀋軍情):

> Among the noise of firecrackers, the households look much brighter against/supported by cherry blossoms . . . suddenly there was a letter, carried in its feet by a swallow, which was written very neatly, and which brought details of military developments in Fengtian [Shenyang]. [51]

51 "Liaoshen junqing 遼瀋軍情 (Military Information from Liao-Shen)," *Shenbao* 29 January 1895.

The report continued that a "friend" was specially sent to Yingkou 營口 in the Liaodong Peninsula to collect the war-related information dispatched in this letter. It described the terrible conditions the Japanese troops were experiencing during the severe cold weather in northeast China. Their hands and feet suffered from frostbite, and some of those who couldn't stand the pain had even hanged themselves in the forest. Those who survived had been looting, raping, and burning the villages.

Next to this item was another piece of encouraging information about how Japanese forces had secretly tried to land on Longxudao 龍鬚島 (Dragon Whiskers Island), near Yantai. The report provided an exciting story about how the Chinese troops held out until midnight to drive off the Japanese invasion attempt. Many Japanese were injured and left. After the Japanese reorganized, they attacked a different location on the island with large warships, and this time they landed successfully. Without sufficient support, Chinese troops were forced to withdraw from Rongcheng 榮成 County. Residents in the area were upset and confused, until the noise of firecrackers took them by surprise; they soon found out that American troops had arrived to protect local people and businesses. At this point, people from all nations [in Yantai treaty port and the nearby areas] let off more firecrackers to celebrate.[52]

That same day, *Xinwenbao* also felt a duty toward it readers to provide cheerful information for the New Year. Even without a fancy woodblock print, *Xinwenbao* managed to provide a substantial article to greet its readers, entitled "Delighted to Learn Our Troops Won the Battle of Weihai at the New Year" (*Xiwen wojun Weihai yuandan huoshengshi* 喜聞我軍威海元旦獲勝事).[53] In this chapter, the atmosphere of the Chinese New Year celebration was meshed together with the joy over the "victory" of the Battle of Weihai. The celebratory style of writing and the tone of excitement adopted were intended to express the happiness of the whole nation. On the one hand the article described how sneaky the Japanese "dwarves" were, and asserted that this was how they had managed to win some battles in the last few months; on the other hand *Xinwenbao* encouraged its readers by insisting that the Chinese forces had five special tactics at their disposal to deal with the Japanese and wouldn't make the same mistakes as before by falling for Japanese tricks. *Xinwenbao* asserted that the victory of China was just like the light of sun and moon returning to earth once again, and the editor proudly stated that he had carefully chosen

52 "Wojian kuibian 倭艦窺邊 (Dwarf Ships Peeped at the Margins of the Territory)," *Shenbao* 29 January 1895.

53 "Xiwen wojun Weihai yuandan huoshengshi 喜聞我軍威海元旦獲勝事 (Delighted to Learn Our Troops Won the Battle of Weihai at the New Year)," *Xinwenbao* 1 February 1895.

the luckiest day of the year to deliver this piece of good news to its readers. The article added that hopefully this good news would bring even more pleasure and good fortune to readers for the rest of the year, and went on to describe in detail the Battle of Weihai which had taken place during the Chinese New Year holiday, describing the good weather during the battle, and the high spirits of the Chinese troops.

It would not be fair to think that either *Shenbao* or *Xinwenbao* made no effort to convey the real military picture over the previous few months: in fact, the main developments were generally featured. Yet on most days, an unwelcome truth would be published amongst many other pieces of false information. This practice allowed readers to choose to read what would please them, rather than what they might need to know or needed to be confronted with. The need to grow circulation during the Sino-Japanese War meant that both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* were caught between patriotic feeling, commercial imperatives, and professional principles. Nevertheless, as the war progressed, both newspapers needed to find ways explain to their readers why more and more Chinese ships were being lost, and why the Japanese were advancing toward and even landing on Chinese territory.

In the Newspapers' Defense

Although both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* sought to maintain and build circulation during the conflict through consistently bringing "good news" to their readers, often by mythologizing their reports, they remained aware of the need to maintain journalistic standards. Both attempted to bolster their reputations for professionalism by commenting on the quality of war news that they and their competitors produced.

During the Sino-French War, when explaining why it had published incorrect information, *Shenbao* had blamed the resources available to it at the time. In an article entitled "On the Difficulty of Really Knowing Military Information" (*Lun junbao buyi zhuozhi* 論軍報不易灼知), it justified errors by insisting that it was very hard to get hold of reliable news in wartime because of long distances, the secretive nature of military information, and the consequent preponderance of unsubstantiated rumor. In such a situation, *Shenbao* insisted it had no choice but to utilize all available information presented to it via all sorts of channels: telegraph, Western business contacts, the Chinese government, private letters of Chinese businessmen, translations from foreign newspapers in Hong Kong, even information from the French themselves. Even when there was doubt about a piece of information, *Shenbao* would publish

whatever information came into its possession. *Shenbao* added that war could develop and change very fast, and that it was difficult to adequately confirm news reported from any source.[54] In short, the unpredictable nature of war, long distances, and confusing and unreliable information sources were the reasons why *Shenbao* had provided wrong news to its readers.

Ten years later both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* blamed similar factors for their mistakes in reporting the war with Japan. For example at the end of November 1894, *Xinwenbao* published a long editorial to discuss the great difficulty of getting correct military information during wartime, and pointed out many reasons why reports from the sources mentioned above might turn out to be false.[55] *Xinwenbao* particularly blamed Western newspapers in China as responsible for spreading false information, sometimes unwittingly, because they had much more access to information disseminated by telegraph. It claimed that, knowing Chinese newspapers relied heavily on information printed in Western-language newspapers, the Japanese were using the telegraph to release false information to Western news agencies to create confusion.

Indeed, although *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* were competing with each other, they also found a common enemy: foreign language commercial newspapers in China, or more precisely the *North China Herald* and *North China Daily News*. *Shenbao* supported *Xinwenbao's* view above, and protested that foreign newspapers should not be used by Japanese to spread false information and rumors. For example, in November 1894, *Shenbao* noted that some Chinese readers had started to get anxious after reading news about Japanese victories in north east China in foreign language newspapers. It reported that some Chinese people were transferring their anger away from the Japanese and toward the foreign language newspapers.[56]

Did foreign-language newspapers really help Japan in spreading false information to confuse the Chinese people? The reality is more complicated than the accusations made by *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao*. Apart from the combatants,

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54 "Lun junbao buyi zhuozhi 論軍報不易灼知 (On the Difficulty of Really Knowing Military Information)," *Shenbao* 10 April 1884.

55 "Lun junbao queshi zhinan 論軍報確實之難 (On the Difficulty in Getting Accurate Military Information)," *Xinwenbao* 30 November 1894. See also "Yu ke tan lianri benbao suoyi woren dianxin 與客談連日本報所譯倭人電信 (On the Dwarfs' Telegrams Translated by This Newspaper Continuously for Days)," *Shenbao* 20 September 1894. *Shenbao* also blamed the Chinese government for keeping information secret; see "Lun Zhongguo zhihuan zaihu qi 論中國之患在乎欺 (China's Main Problem is its Tendency to Deceive)," *Shenbao* 10 November 1894.

56 "Xingjun yi renxin wei shengfu shuo 行軍以人心爲勝負說 (People's Hearts Decide Victory or Defeat in Military Action)," *Shenbao* 27 November 1894.

Japan, Korea, and China, the war was closely watched by many other countries. With so many political and commercial interests associated with the leading Western powers in East Asia at that time, readers and governments in Britain, France, Russia, Germany and the United States were observing the war closely. In addition, this war was marked by the first engagements of the latest modern warships, many of them made in Germany or Britain, which ensured that naval and military experts were paying very close attention.[57]

This complex situation made the position of the foreign language press rather interesting. If we take the *North China Daily News*, the most popular Shanghai English daily at the time, as an example, we see that it encountered precisely the same issues of partisanship versus "accuracy" that troubled *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao*. In her book, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895*, S. C. M. Paine explores how the culture of the *North China Daily News* determined the way its staff reported wartime news. She also investigates the role this newspaper played in events through its interaction with other players during the war, including foreign business interests in China and across Asia, Chinese language readers, other newspapers, the Chinese government, the Japanese government, and the British government.

Right at the beginning of the military conflict, telegraphic communication in Beijing was interrupted by flooding.[58] As the war developed, the telegraph cable between China and Korea was damaged, and remained unusable for most of the war, as did the line from China to Japan. The few telegrams that were occasionally able to be sent via these channels took much longer than was customary. Only a very few correspondents were allowed to get to the front lines, with strict controls on what they were allowed to report when they got there.[59] With both telegraph and travel restricted, information from these correspondents took a long time—sometimes weeks—to arrive at headquarters back in Shanghai, and even then the picture might be either wrong (due to correspondents' limited access at the front) or out of date.

Just like *Xinwenbao* and *Shenbao*, the *North China Daily News* had to amplify this information using irregular sources who had some access to the war zone, including Customs employees, soldiers, and diplomats, whose perception of what was going on was often limited or even wrong. However, there was also some truth to *Xinwenbao* and *Shenbao*'s allegations, because the Japanese government did actually feed newspapers a lot of information, sometimes accurate, sometimes deliberately false, and the *North China Daily News* was aware

57 Jukichi Inouye. *Japan-China War*, p. 1.

58 "Critical situation in Korea," *The Pall Mall Gazette* 23 July 1894.

59 S. C. M. Paine. *The Sino-Japanese War*, p. 188.

of this. Despite China's endemic problems, the *North China Daily News* long remained loyal to its homeland, and on the whole it tended to prefer sources from the Chinese side.[60] Reports from various sources about Japan's victories soon began to arrive in China, the *North China Daily News* eventually started to report Japanese victories in battles as soon as they were confirmed. By doing so, it inevitably offended the Chinese public, but at the same time this afforded both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* an opportunity to assert their status as Chinese newspapers for Chinese people, conveniently ignoring the fact that both were the creations of foreign investors.

Unlike the *North China Daily News*'s hot-headed attitude toward wartime news, newspapers in Britain could afford to be more objective toward interpretation of events. For example, the London-based *Pall Mall Gazette* marked both Japan and China as "splendid liars," noting that much false information was deliberately spread by both parties.[61] *The Pall Mall Gazette* reflected on the matter of news authenticity in a rather satirical tone:

> From the East comes a perfect Babel of rumors. We should really have to suspend all comment upon China and Japan and their quarrel until we have appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the facts . . . First we hear of a Japanese victory at sea, and then of a repulse of the Japanese forces by land, culminating in a loss of 2,000 men; and now we are assured, officially, that the Chinese have been routed at Asan, and, unofficially, that three of their war vessels have been captured . . . if you cannot win a battle on land or sea, you can win it on paper, and let the West know it. But if the West be wise and wary, these fables will not be swallowed with undue haste.[62]

Conclusion

In Japan, images from the war with China were made into woodblock prints and sold cheaply to the public. In these colorful scenes, remarkably tall and dashing Japanese generals and soldiers were portrayed acting professionally in war operations, wearing smart and modern uniforms that made a great contrast

60 S. C. M. Paine. *The Sino-Japanese War*, pp. 159–195; see also Ji Pingzi, *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao jiawu zhanzheng*, pp. 673–688.

61 "The Chino-Japanese War." *The Pall Mall Gazette* 29 September 1894.

62 "Oh, East is East and West is West." *The Pall Mall Gazette* 6 August 1894; see also C. M. Paine. *The Sino-Japanese War*, p. 160.

to the hapless, defeated Chinese troops in old-fashioned dress.[63] Comparison with similar woodblock prints made on the Chinese side is instructive. For example a short series entitled *Pictorial of the Destruction of the Japanese Dwarfs* (*Jiaowo huabao* 剿倭畫報) was sold in Shanghai, and its creators claimed that what was printed was an authentic representation of current news reports.[64] These images were less well made in quality, but what is notable is the content: while the Chinese troops still appeared in traditional Qing military dress, they win battles through adopting ancient Chinese military tactics, such as an unexpected midnight attack spearheaded by an armored herd of bulls.[65] The Chinese woodblock images reflect strong beliefs and expectations among the Chinese public, and these sentiments are precisely what we see reflected in the competition between *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao*.

Despite their consistent empathy with their readers and their unreserved nationalism throughout the First Sino-Japanese War, both *Shenbao* and *Xinwenbao* started to report on peace negotiations as soon as Li Hongzhang departed for Japan in the spring 1895. At this point, the tenor of editorial comment immediately began to shift. Many articles took on the task of examining the reasons for China's defeat, and why the Self-Strengthening Movement had failed. They also argued it was the time for China to face reality, and "strengthen" itself properly once again.[66] Readers were told about how people

63 Shumpei Okamoto. 1983. *Impressions of the Front: Woodcuts of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894–95.* Pennsylvania: Philadelphia Museum of Art; see also "Throwing Off Asia II: Woodblock Prints of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95)." MIT Visualising Cultures: http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/throwing_off_asia_02/ (Accessed 22 February 2013).

64 *Jiaowo huabao* 剿倭畫報 (The Pictorial of Destroying the Japanese Dwarfs). This was produced by Zhanbisheng zhai 戰必勝齋 (The Studio of Inevitable Victory) in Shanghai in 1894 (?). Collection of the British Museum. It is worth pointing out the best selling Chinese literature associated with this war was *Zhongdong zhanji benmo* 中東戰紀本末 (The Whole Course of the First Sino-Japanese War), jointly compiled by Cai Erkang and Young John Allen (林樂知, 1836–1907) and published by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese in 1896. As this publication was extremely popular, it was soon printed by other un-authorised and unknown publishers. The American Ambassador at that time, on behalf of the named Society made a formal complaint to the Shanghai local authority, and the latter put a notice in *Shenbao* to prohibit such "illegal" activity. See "Gaoshi zhaodeng 告示照登 (Notice)." *Shenbao* 9 February 1897.

65 The horns of bulls were tied with both sharp swords and lanterns, and they were set running in front of well-organised Chinese solders.

66 "Zonglun zhongwo dashi 縱論中倭大勢 (A High Level View of the General Situation with China and Japan)," *Xinwenbao* 10 April 1895.

in Taiwan were resisting the Japanese. The focus of war reporting shifted, but the patriotic discourse did not die off.

A product of the hybrid nature of the newspaper business in China in the second half of the nineteenth century, when newspapers produced in the Chinese language were still owned by foreign proprietors, the commercialization of wartime news and its impact on reporting can first be observed in a simple form during the Sino-French War. A decade later, competition for readers through partisan, patriotic presentation of news events reached a far higher level of sophistication in the First Sino-Japanese War, which proved to be a far more dramatic event for China with an even higher demand for information from the reading public. As one foreign resident in China at that time observed:

> If we may liken the effect of the Japan-Chinese War on China to a severe electric shock, we may also speak of the Native Press as a telegraphic system conveying an electric current of new ideas throughout the length and breadth of the land.[67]

So what was the result of this fierce commercial battle? The facts would appear to support a clear win for the upstart *Xinwenbao*. In 1893, *Xinwenbao's* daily circulation on average was only 300. By 1894, its daily sale had reached 3,000 copies on average, and 12,000 in 1900, all told a 3,000 per cent increase.[68] Circulation data is not available for *Shenbao* during the period but in 1912 it was selling 7,000 copies daily.[69] Although these figures appear low, it has been suggested that each copy was read by a hundred people in the late 1880s and at least nine people in the early twentieth century. Once one copy was read in one locale, it was often re-sold in the afternoon, or passed on to the village folk, or sent on to family members in other places.[70] *Xinwenbao's* success was not just the result of its tactics during the Sino-Japanese War, but it certainly used

67 Ernest Box. 1898. "Native Newspapers," *North China Herald*, 17 October 1898.

68 Cai Erkang's claim that *Xinwenbao* had more than 1,000 subscriptions soon after launch was noted above. If true, the figure of 300 copies might reflect the figure after the initial excitement of the launch subsided. For *Xinwenbao*'s circulation see the figures and table provided by *Xinwenbao* and published in *Xinwebaguan gaikuang*, ibid. (see footnote 31).

69 Ma Guangren. *Shanghai dangdai xinwenshi*, p. 549.

70 "A well to-do-merchant will go a considerable distance to get a reading of a friend's *Hupao* or *Shenpao* [Shenbao], and the friend will sell the paper in the afternoon of the day of its publication to newsmen who sent it into the country." In "The March of the Mongols," *North China Herald* 1 March 1889; See also Weipin Tsai. *Reading Shenbao,* pp. 161–162.

this opportunity well to compete with the other Chinese language daily newspapers, *Shenbao* and *Hubao*. As for the long-established *Shenbao*, competition spurred it to great efforts in reporting the Sino-Japanese War in a bid to hold on to its position as market leader.

Even though *Xinwenbao* and *Shenbao* were controlled respectively by American and British owners at that time, they both adopted an editorial position strongly supporting Chinese nationalism in order to sell their newspapers. Yet just like British and United States newspapers during the Crimean War and the American Civil War, both *Xinwenbao* and *Shenbao* were forced to rush into print by commercial imperatives. They were driven not just by patriotism, but also by the profit motive. The use of the telegraph provided faster transmission of information, while a lack of trust over the quality and motives of telegraph sources added a more murky quality to military information. Chinese newspapers had become peers of those in Britain and United States: commercial ventures producing content tailored to suit their readers' tastes and viewpoints.

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