Lost Voices *of* Modernity

A CHINESE POPULAR FICTION MAGAZINE IN CONTEXT

Denise Gimpel

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Romance then, strictly considered, may be pronounced to be one of the species of history. The difference between romance and what ordinarily bears the denomination history, is this. The historian is confined to individual incident and individual man, and must hang upon that his invention or conjecture as he can. The writer collects his materials from all sources, experience, report, and the records of human affairs; then generalises them; and finally selects, from their elements and the various combination they afford, those instances which he is best qualified to portray, and which he judges most calculated to impress the heart and improve the faculties of his reader. In this point of view we should be apt to pronounce that romance was a bolder species of the composition of history.

The writer of romance then is to be considered as the writer of real history.

WILLIAM GODWIN,
"Of History and Romance" (*ca.* 1797)

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It will never be possible to express my thanks to all the people who have helped me over the many years that I have constantly argued for the importance of reading literary journals of the 1910s in China. It is this belief that forms the basis of the present study. It has been a long and sometimes arduous journey toward the completion of this book, and there is still so much more to be investigated and studied in detail. Now that this part of my scholarly project has come to an end I am sincerely pleased that literary journals of the 1910s have become the focus of interest for other scholars in the international community, and I modestly hope that my mistakes and my insights in this study will be encouragement to others to continue and refine research upon the topic.

NOTES ON CONVENTIONS

1. The *pinyin* system of transcription has been used throughout, except in quotations from sources using other systems and in names familiar to readers of English in other spellings such as "Manchu."
2. Individual contributions to the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* have not been included in the bibliography. To facilitate finding the relevant texts, references in the notes contain year, issue, and page numbers. For instance, *XSYB* 1, 2, 201 indicates the first year of publication, the second issue, page 201, in the Japanese reprint of 1979.
3. The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

DFZZ	*Dongfang zazhi*
JXDRW	Li Shenping, ed., *Zhongguo jinxiandai renming dacidian*
JYZZ	*Jiaoyu zazhi*
MHCD	Chen Yutang, ed., *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*
MRW	Xu Youchun et al., eds., *Minguo renwu dacidian*
XSYB	*Xiaoshuo yuebao*
ZJRDC	Wu Rusong, ed., *Zhongguo junshi renwu dacidian*
ZWDCD	*Zhongwen dacidian*

Introduction

The reading and writing of fictional works are not and have possibly never been simply a matter of producing and consuming texts that entertain. Whichever culture we turn to, fictional writings have regularly been subjected to the scrutiny of those in power or those who would wish to alter power structures.[1] The regular official proscription of fiction *(xiaoshuo)* in imperial China on the grounds of its ability to seduce the emperor's subjects—to acquaint them with patterns of behavior that were considered undesirable—and Chinese reformers' enthusiastic discussion of a new kind of fiction *(xin xiaoshuo)* as a sociopolitical cure-all at the beginning of the twentieth century are ample evidence of this phenomenon. Closer to home, and at the end of the same century, discussions of this genre of writing continue in very much the same vein. In 1998, for instance, a leading British newspaper published an article that bore the title "Fiction Is Sacred."[2] It was by a well-known and popular fiction writer who insisted that those who do not read fiction miss out on "a vital part of human development: the ability to confront your fundamental fears and anxieties."[3] Yet, as the author of the article sees it, more important than any psychological or cathartic effect of fiction is its political effect. In terms reminiscent of late-Qing and early-Republican theorists of fiction in China, he states: "Over the

next 10 years, the Government aims to ensure that all 11-year-olds can read well enough to study at secondary school. At present, four children in 10 fall short of that minimum. If that is the Government's only achievement, it will transform our society."[4]

In the final years of the twentieth century, then, a similar attitude to fiction to that vehemently advocated in China in the late 1890s and the early twentieth century was being formulated. Once again the wish to —and the belief that one can—harness the power of fiction in an attempt to improve the society that we live in was postulated. For Ken Follett, this wish concerned the future of society in that he believed that fiction could provide coming generations with greater mental and emotional stability. For the Chinese at the turn of the century, fiction was to help reform, and thus stabilize, their society by introducing readers to new ideas and concepts that would enable China to enter the international community. However we interpret the two positions, separated by some hundred years, we cannot but admit that, for the one and the other, fiction is more than entertaining reading.

That entertaining reading can constitute far more than merely a means of whiling away one's leisure hours should not have to be proven. Its very popularity—the fact that it finds a huge number of readers (and very often has a huge influence upon them)—should rightly draw our attention to it.[5] Neither Ken Follett nor the authors and texts that provide the material for this book are the stuff of "Great Literature," but they are and were read. Moreover, as Follett's comments clearly show, he sees creative writing as an important element in the social and political development of human beings. This was precisely the role attributed to such writing in China at the beginning of the twentieth century (and in Japan somewhat earlier), and it was a significant reason for the development of literary journals in early-twentieth-century China.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, literary journals and fiction have played a central role in the development of modern Chinese literature. From their beginnings they have constituted the most important medium for the distribution of literary texts. In fact, it is probably true to say that the majority of literary works in twentieth-century China were first published in journals, long before they appeared in book form. At the beginning of the twentieth century, moreover, these journals were also very important features of Chinese political life. Liang Qichao's impassioned call in 1902 for a new form of literary writing that would renovate each and every aspect of Chinese national, social, and private life is in itself eloquent testimony to this fact.[6]

In the very late Qing and very early Republican eras in China, that is, in the period from around 1910 to 1915, literary journals had established themselves as permanent entities within a new and developing field of literary production. They were not only the places—the physical spaces—in which new ideas for reform and writing were formulated and tried out, they were also the physical spaces in which literary careers were forged and consolidated both on the basis of traditional personal and native-place affiliations and within new and more professionally and commercially determined mechanisms of an increasingly sophisticated field of publishing. They were also the places in which most readers received their first introduction to new and foreign authors and new and foreign ideas.

In the 1910s, literary journals were popular and abundant. If we equate popularity with the life span of an individual journal, there can be no doubt that *Xiaoshuo yuebao* or *The Short Story Magazine* (as it called itself) was the most popular of these early periodicals: by the beginning of 1913, the publishing house could already announce that circulation figures had reached ten thousand.[7] The journal as an entity survived until 1932, and its early period is usually regarded as lasting until 1921, when it was taken over by the young and iconoclastic writers of the May Fourth generation. According to generally held scholarly views, in its first phase *Xiaoshuo yuebao* provided superficial popular entertainment of the sentimental love story or adventure type for an urban audience that needed distraction in its leisure hours. This kind of writing has come to be known as Mandarin Duck and Butterfly literature *(yuanyang hudie pai wenxue)* as a result of the extensive use it is said to make of these symbols for pairs of lovers.

The following chapters will demonstrate that this judgment upon the leading journal of its day is unjustified. However, the refutation of later judgments is not the central concern of this book, nor is it an attempt at "restoration" in that it intends to reinstate to its proper place a neglected period of Chinese literature for whatever reasons. It is more akin to an archaeological project, one that will uncover the contents—and thus the concerns—of a group of writers who joined together from 1910 onward to produce one particular literary journal. Uncovering the manifold concerns of the journal on the basis of a textual and contextual analysis of its contents—what concerns were presented and the way in which these concerns were presented before the very particular backdrop of the historical moment—can and must tell us more about the literary-aesthetic and sociopolitical issues of the day. For this reason, the fol-

lowing chapters demonstrate both the contents and the context of the journal. They present the stories and the texts that were published within the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, but they also deal with the forces of Chinese history at the beginning of the twentieth century, with international and national problems, with changing concepts of the art of writing in a changing world, and with how those involved in the making of a literary journal confronted the problems they perceived and how they communicated them to their readership. In other words, these chapters address the questions of creative writing, of public discourse, of modernity, culture, and identity as well as of intercultural processes and perceptions of oneself and others.

Moreover, since the above-mentioned negative value judgments that have been passed on *Xiaoshuo yuebao* over an almost fifty-year period continue to be repeated to the present day, a critical and analytical reading of the journal for the years 1910–1914 must not only assess the mechanisms that held it together, but must also unravel the strategies within the writing of modern Chinese literary history that ultimately led to the creation of the myth that modern Chinese literature did not exist before the beginnings of either the New Culture Movement *(xin wenhua yundong)* of 1915 or the May Fourth Movement *(wusi yundong)* after 1919. The negative assessments that have been repeated again and again in secondary sources both in China and the West are the result of the strategies employed by a new generation of writers—the May Fourth generation—to distance themselves politically and artistically from their predecessors. The agendas of the two generations were surprisingly similar: both intended to introduce something new—new fiction (*xin xiaoshuo*) and new literature (*xin wenxue*) respectively—and both did this by demonizing that which had gone before.

The Sociopolitical Background

The political and social backdrop to the appearance of literary magazines at the beginning of the twentieth century, the one that frames the first years of the publication of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* from 1910 onward, was a very colorful one. The years between 1898 and 1910 were eventful. They witnessed the first attempts at radical political change in the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, the Boxer Uprising of 1900 and the flurry of reform activity by the Qing government in its wake, the Revolution of 1911, a new republic, and the era of disintegration and

disruption resulting from the rule of local power holders or warlords. China's defeat by the Japanese in the war of 1894–1895 had had both political and cultural repercussions. It had ushered in a period in which the Chinese bureaucratic apparatus and the Chinese elite not only suffered severe wounds to their pride, but were also confronted with the inadequacy of concepts of order that had been in existence for some two thousand years. China had failed to modernize. At the very least, all previous attempts to change, whether as a result of stimuli from within or without, had failed to provide a viable framework that would allow China to function and survive within the contemporary international community.[8] Unlike Japan, China had not allowed innovation in technical or practical matters to penetrate deep into basic cultural assumptions and structures of power. The country now found itself among the backward nations of the world, confronted, even, with the scorn of the Japanese victors.[9] After an initial xenophobic reaction in the form of the Boxer Uprising of 1900, "the last effort to meet China's problems through a radical rejection of modern ideas and technology,"[10] a new attitude developed and manifested itself in a mighty program of reform, much the same reforms that had been thwarted by the court in 1898.

With the reform edict of 1901[11] a new phase of activity began, one that would continue until the fall of the dynasty in 1912. The fundamental changes that were envisaged covered the whole range of the political and social framework of the country: the government was to be made into a constitutional monarchy, the armed forces were to undergo radical restructuring, the forms of education at all levels were to be reorganized and brought into line with the requirements of the day. Industry, the prison and police services, even fire brigades were to be part of China's entry into the twentieth century.

Douglas Reynolds has called the thirteen years between 1898 and 1911 "the real revolution of modern China."[12] He eloquently sets out how the "New Systems Reforms," or the "Xinzheng Revolution," as he calls them, constituted such a radical transformation of the country that this period must be classed as one of the great success stories of Chinese history and not, as the majority of historians have seen it to date, as one of insincere and procrastinating lip-service to change by a failing dynasty intent only on holding on to its power.[13]

However, this was not only a time of great institutional change. Hand in hand with alterations to age-old forms of government and social organization, a new mode of thinking was required of Chinese citizens. To benefit from the possibilities offered by a parliamentary system on the

highest level, or from local government institutions at a more immediate level, new and different patterns of behavior would be needed. Of course, these were to be instilled by schooling and training in various contexts. But such training was a lengthy task and one that could only be expected to bear fruit among the children who had gone through a new system without reference to the old. It was one thing for concepts of civic duty and virtues to be intellectually comprehensible, but it would take more than the promulgation of reform edicts, the announcement of new laws and statutes, to anchor their meanings within the hearts and minds of those affected by them. Only then could these concepts be transformed into a new and different kind of "natural" social behavior. Only then could there be any certainty that new policies would be accompanied by a new frame of mind.

Thus this period, rich in political and social events of a momentous nature as it was, also imposed the necessity of rapid cultural change and reorientation among the population, both the educated and the uneducated. Such reorientation meant an awareness and a discussion of the problems inherent in the changed conditions of society. The medium for discussion and for the dissemination and publication of ideas and opinions was provided by the rapidly increasing number of periodicals of all political hues and for all areas of life and work that had been developing since the late nineteenth century.[14] These had provided China with an area of public discourse that was new.[15] Scholars of recent years have argued over whether this area of open debate can and should be called a public sphere in any Habermasian sense of the term;[16] but however it is categorized theoretically, it did provide an arena for the development of new styles of political argument and public debate in the years surrounding the beginning of the twentieth century.[17] The increasing numbers of newspapers and periodicals (and the firm establishment of the printed word as a means of direct exchange of political opinion) was one aspect of the situation. Integrally linked with this political sense of the press was the emergence of a wide panorama of literary periodicals: journals and supplements to newspapers that specialized in a form of writing specified as *xiaoshuo* or fiction.

The Literary Background

Writing and writing about writing had, from earliest times, always been a major concern of educated Chinese. The history of Chi-

nese writing offers an immense corpus of historical, political, philosophical, and lyrical texts and an even larger body of exegetical writings on these texts. Together they constituted what Chinese tradition came to view as major writings, the body of works to which the Chinese literatus turned his attention in training, officialdom, and life. They were the works of "high literature" and were distinguished by their quality of cultural and literary refinement *(wen)*. Minor fictional writings were categorically excluded from orthodox textual work. However, and inseparably parallel to the major concerns with matters of the directing and recording of human conduct and the running of the greater and smaller community, this "small talk" had traditionally constituted a lively current of writing that had found a readership and appreciation despite its not being accorded the status of *wen*. Traditionally it was officially scorned and feared: scorned for the supposedly unpolished nature of its expression and feared for its alleged potential to cause the population to revolt or become unruly. Official proscription of works of fiction well into the nineteenth century clearly testify to its continuing popularity: an art form of only minimal acceptance and influence will never need to be subjected to official proscription.

The literary genre of the *xiaoshuo* was not consciously rediscovered and accorded artistic recognition until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many scholars date this rediscovery, the reappraisal of the function of fiction, with the publication of Liang Qichao's much cited article "On Fiction and the Governance of the People" in 1902.[18] In this rousing text, Liang firmly installed the genre as an acceptable literary activity for the man of letters and for the patriot. *Xiaoshuo* became the literary medium of choice for the transformation of China into a modern nation and the awakening of its citizens to the concerns that should be theirs. Writing and reading fiction had become an approved occupation. Thus fiction as a genre gradually began to enter the realm of the literary or *wen*.[19]

Liang's appeal, of course, was as much a result of as the catalyst for major changes in the perception of fictional writing in China. The late-Qing period had seen numerous and popular works of fiction concerned with the state of the nation and the practices and malpractices of its elite. These included Li Boyuan's *Guanchang xianxing* [The bureaucrats], Liu E's *Laocan youji* [The travels of Laocan], Wu Woyao's *Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang* [Strange events seen in the past twenty years], and Zeng Pu's *Niehai hua* [Flowers in an ocean of sin].[20] Liang himself and a number of his contemporaries had also come to believe that, in the Western world, works of fiction had played an emi-

nently important role in the modernization of countries and in the inculcation of new values.

In addition to these immediate influences from home and abroad, Liang was able to build upon a smaller tradition of the appreciation and practice of fiction that had always been present within the world of Chinese writing, albeit, perhaps, as an undercurrent. Officially forbidden works of fiction had no doubt included tales of superstition and pornography, tales of sentimental love and Robin Hood–like figures, the larger-than-life heroes, villains, and beauties that are the mainstay of the fairy tale and its extensions. They had assuredly, and especially in the form of the storyteller's art, been produced and performed to a large degree for the sake of entertaining an audience. Moreover, fiction will certainly have constituted a pleasurable means of whiling away one's leisure hours and thus provided relaxation and enjoyment of a transitory kind to its readership. However, and long before the late-Qing insistence on a sociopolitical function of the genre, fiction had traditionally also provided a medium in which the disenchanted could voice their concern and their criticism or contempt of the state of society and its leaders. In the late Ming period, the first half of the seventeenth century, Jin Shengtan had revised the popular novel *Shuihu zhuan* [The water margin] and, as Robert Hegel has shown, had used the revised version together with his copious notes and commentaries on the text "to express his own political and social concerns"[21] and as a means of warning and instructing his fellow countrymen. Jin was not alone in using fiction for educational purposes, and although those who wrote and criticized works of fiction at this time entertained serious moral intentions, they did not neglect the element of entertainment and creative skill in their writings.[22] Hegel also sees them as the precursors of the castigatory novels that intended to expose the corruption and decadence of Chinese society during the late nineteenth century.[23]

Despite Liang Qichao's absolute refutation of the corrupting influence of traditional Chinese fiction, there were clear reverberations of earlier didactic attitudes to writing in his theoretical formulation of "new fiction" at the turn of the century. These echoes of early novels and stories also show themselves to be present in the minds of most twentieth-century writers and reformers. However, refuting the old is an integral part of creating the new, and Liang's concept of new writing to renovate the Chinese people, their morals, and their society would certainly have lost some of its rhetorical efficacy had he consciously harped back to earlier centuries. What was absolutely new at this time, however,

was the construction of political and social respectability for fictional writings, and the public and virtually unanimous esteem they were then accorded.

Within the space of a decade, institutional reform had removed political decision making and deliberation from the arcane workings of an inner circle of the imperial court and transferred it into a public realm, a middle realm, as it has also been called,[24] of journalists, political pressure groups, reform- and revolutionary-minded individuals. They found a forum for the discussion of national and local issues in the shape of committees and deliberative assemblies, in societies and study groups, and in the periodical press. At the same time, fictional writings had obtained a respectability and national significance that required them to assist in the mental transition from imperial subjects to national citizens. The opportunity to participate in the reform-through-fiction project was provided by the new literary magazines. Such an invitation to take part in the molding of public opinion would have been inconceivable some years previously. Now educated Chinese saw for themselves, and were constantly being reminded of, the possibility of joining in the national effort to strengthen their country. They could publicize their opinions on local, national, even international matters; they could contribute to the education of those who had not had the opportunity to study abroad or had not had access to Western books and thought. Moreover, they could do this in the journalistic essay form within the realm of political journalism or in the form of fiction. Many, in fact, combined both. Now that the unfailing popularity and affective qualities of fictional narrative were to be harnessed and placed within the service of the community, fiction magazines became an important factor in publishing in early-twentieth-century China.

All of the important literary journals published to 1910 placed national reform and the inculcation of new ways of thinking high on their list of aims. The first had been called into life by Liang Qichao in 1902: *Xin xiaoshuo* [New fiction], published in Japan. The first journal to be published in China was the Commercial Press of Shanghai's *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* [Fiction illustrated] in 1903.[25] Both of these stopped publication in 1906. Equally short-lived publications followed in their wake: *Xin xin xiaoshuo* [New new fiction] (1904–1907), *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, which gave itself the English title *All-Fiction Monthly* (1906–1909), and *Xiaoshuo lin* [Grove of fiction] (1907–1908).

With the exception of Liang Qichao's *Xin xiaoshuo*, all of these journals were published in Shanghai, the city that had become the center

of literary and publishing activities and of new lifestyles, the city that was the epitome of all that was modern in early-twentieth-century China. None of them was able to hold the market for very long, possibly because of the deaths of leading contributors, of changing spheres of interest or commitment, of dwindling interest amongst the readership, or of a combination of reasons.[26] What is clear, however, is that there was a developing market for this kind of publication. Journals continued to appear and disappear throughout the 1910s. It is also clear that *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, a Commercial Press publication that entered the field of literary journals in the second half of 1910, managed to conquer and retain a large portion of this market, remaining popular into the 1930s.[27]

Literary Publishing as an Area of Scholarly Research

Given the central importance of literary periodicals for the late-Qing and early-Republican eras, it is surprising that there have been no major studies dedicated to them to date. Recently, Joan Judge has published a detailed analysis of the newspaper *Shibao* [Times], but, as the title of her study shows, her bias is strictly toward political journalism.[28] Other studies, such as those within the University of Heidelberg's Chinese Public Sphere research group, have concentrated on Chinese newspapers, in particular on *Shenbao* and the work of Ernest Major and his role in publishing at the end of the nineteenth century.[29] There is a tendency to center research on the political or institutional parameters of publishing[30] or to discuss selections of thematically related articles from a number of sources with regard to particular issues.[31] Scholarly attention has, perhaps naturally, tended to be directed toward the major thinkers of the period or to official policies and it has used materials and articles published in various political periodicals to illustrate and sustain its arguments. These studies are extremely important to our understanding of political and intellectual trends and developments; they can throw light upon various individual areas of the society in which those writing for a journal like *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were living. What they do not do is include the contribution made by fictional writers to the discussion of the issues they examine. They are not primarily concerned with an understanding of the literary venture that undertook to be part of the general reform venture of its day.

Interest in and reference to late-Qing and early-Republican literary

journals has generally had two main emphases. Scholars in the West have analyzed the various theoretical arguments or treatises concerning the concept of "new fiction" in the wake of Liang Qichao's article of 1902.[32] Second, much attention has been paid to the late-Qing novel in all its forms. In fact, the theoretical discussion of fiction that was opened in earnest by late-Qing theorists has almost always been exclusively related to the long narrative or novel. Although short contributions constituted the mainstay of fiction magazines and provided readers with an element of variety, short pieces of writing, whether fictional or essay, are very rarely acknowledged, examined, or discussed,[33] and the short story of the day is summarily dismissed as not warranting attention. The judgment is a one-sided one. Critical attention to the long narrative has meant that short fictional writings have generally not found the interest of the scholarly community. Clearly, this bent obscures the wider view of literary trends before the 1920s.

With one exception, there has been no scholarly interest in a single period in the history of an individual journal, its contributors and its contents in general. The exception is a volume edited by Ding Shouhe, which contains short essays as introductions to periodicals of the period of the 1911 Revolution.[34] This collection includes one article by Fan Mingli on the early phase of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, which Fan dates between 1910 and 1921. The twenty-six-page essay cannot do justice to a ten-year period of publication. It can in no way reflect the variety and scope of the contributions published in a journal that comprised approximately one hundred pages each month. Thus Fan concentrates largely on the later years of this first phase, seldom taking stock of contributions that were published in the first five years. His treatment of the journal generally restricts itself to a listing of articles and authors and to long quotations from the original source; he rarely ventures into critical analysis. His basic assessment of the journal is reflected in the opening lines, in which he states categorically that the years 1910 to 1921 were characterized by bourgeois entertainment literature, the years after 1921 by the new literature of the May Fourth era of realism. This is a fairly representative example of the dichotomy of good and bad that can be found in all other secondary sources. It is a consensus of scholarly opinion about the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* that has retained its position to the present. Thus the latest descriptive survey of modern Chinese literature by Bonnie McDougall and Kam Louie has not failed to reproduce these arguments. Like all others, however, it has failed to produce evidence for them.[35]

It is unfortunate, then, that anyone approaching the literature of

the late-Qing and early-Republican eras is confronted with this sharp demarcation between the good and the bad, the old-style and the modern. This line has been drawn to distinguish between the entertainment writings of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly type and the modern literature of China to which literary criticism has accorded almost canonical status. Put simply, this is the difference in degrees of fame, critical and public acclaim, awareness and acknowledgment between Yun Tieqiao (one of the early editors of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*) and Mao Dun, for example. The critical and scholarly acclaim that has been accorded to the studied generation of the May Fourth era has, of course, been withheld from the unstudied generation of writers of the early 1910s. It cannot surprise us, then, that the acknowledged generation of May Fourth writers includes a large number of well-known and well-documented "famous names" of modern Chinese literature: Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Hu Shi, Yu Dafu, and the like. What is more important in the present context is that this studied generation and the studies of this generation have also provided the vocabulary for all later assessments of the period that immediately preceded it, and the intolerance of the May Fourth generation toward their immediate predecessors has colored both Chinese and Western opinions ever since. The new generation of writers established their leading position in the field of culture by negating virtually all that had gone before them and by redefining the parameters of the acceptable in literature. To that extent they formulated and to an extent instigated a radical break with their past (or their tradition), even if close study of their works and attitudes often shows this break to be more postulated than practiced. Even they remained indebted to the tradition they had inherited. However, their posturing and theorizing, and their reception by subsequent generations of scholars in the East and the West, have cemented the view of the good versus the bad in literature, modern versus feudal (Mandarin Duck and Butterfly) entertainment literature. This situation is clearly reflected in all critical statements on the character of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* to date. It will be one of the tasks of the present study to unravel the developments that led to such judgments.

The Source Materials

At this point mention has to be made of the source materials used for this study. Researchers are fortunate that Chinese scholars

have, for some time, been involved in the collection of materials related to publishing and writing in the late-Qing and early-Republican eras. With regard to the discussion of literature, two such useful collections are the pioneer work of A Ying[36] of 1960 and the later and enlarged collection of articles compiled by Chen Pingyuan and Xia Xiaohong.[37] Both provide useful source materials. For publishing in general, Zhang Nan's[38] collection of primary materials covering the period 1900–1911 and Zhang Jinglu's[39] supplementary materials on publishing in China are invaluable. These and similar collections, however, rarely offer systematic research. They are, in the main, collections of materials, and any characterization of periodicals they make can prove problematic on closer examination of the journal in question. Personal memoirs or recollections of individuals personally involved in publishing activities at the beginning of the twentieth century constitute a further source of information that must be approached with care. I have tried to incorporate such collections, where they could provide useful insights, but always with the proviso that they may be untrustworthy: the memories of very aged individuals may have been colored by so many factors and influences that it would be foolish to treat them as factual accounts of a situation.[40] For this reason it is absolutely essential that magazines and newspapers are seen individually at first and then compared with those of a similar nature in order subsequently to enable useful and well-founded conclusions to be made about publishing in China during this early period.

Many of the magazines and periodicals of the day have been lost forever. Luckily, some are available as reprints, and it is to be hoped that the scholarly community's growing interest in publishing during the late-Qing and early-Republican eras will encourage more reprints of periodicals to be made available. They do, however, need to be complete reprints or copies. The Japanese reprint of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*,[41] for example, has strangely omitted to reproduce almost all of the advertising material contained in its pages. This is a distortion of the general nature of the journal, since, as the present study shows, the advertising material is indicative of the character of the journal and directly reflects the concerns of those involved in it. This material is also an invaluable source of information about the activities of writers and translators and of developments in the book market. It is often the only place in which we can find references to magazines and works whose existence has otherwise not been registered.

Related to this question of the information that such nonliterary material can provide are the difficulties in working with these source

materials of the period. One of the major difficulties concerns language and terminology. The texts contained in the more than four thousand pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* that form the basis of this study are often uneven and are written in a mixture of styles and modes that are not particularly readable today. The texts span the spectrum of Chinese antiquity, China's literary and cultural heritage, contemporary political and social events, individuals of contemporary importance, and recent writing. Moreover, they cross national boundaries and open up a Chinese panorama of foreign literatures and histories. In doing so they also open up a rich panorama of terms that were doubtless immediately comprehensible to the reader of the day but that send the researcher of today onto long and tortuous paths in search of references and information. This is most particularly the case with foreign names and terms. Since there was, at the time, no standard way of rendering Western names into Chinese, the individual had much freedom to invent the combinations of characters he used. This also meant that proper names were not transliterated in the same way each time they were used. The difficulties involved here are obvious. Further problems arise with Chinese references to "famous" Western writers, whose fame, unfortunately, has dwindled to the extent that they are no longer ever mentioned in literary histories. The only solution to this problem has been to scour contemporary British magazines for similar names. Thus I have endeavored to pay a great deal of attention to the character and contents of foreign contemporary literary journals such as *The Strand Magazine* or *The Windsor Magazine*. In cases where it was possible to identify foreign authors, I have also made every attempt to read and assess the nature of their works.

A similar approach applies with regard to the immense variety of topics presented in the journal. Narratives, essays, and reports take one straight into all the issues of the day, be they scientific (the development of aviation, uses of electricity), political (constitutional monarchy, minor wars and clashes in Europe and their causes), social, educational, or, even, the recent military history of China, its heroes and failures. In all cases, the first step was to identify the individuals, events, or developments that the Chinese texts pinpointed in relevant Chinese or Western sources. However, I have endeavored to refer both to Chinese newspapers and periodicals of the day for further information as well as to ascertain foreign sources for ideas, translated works, and texts. This is, of course, not always a systematic method of research, and it is certainly time consuming and demands patience and endurance. But it is the only one that will begin to offer answers to the questions posed by

work with journals such as *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. It can open up the journal and its context and provide far greater insights than any treatment that does not enter into such detail. Reading publications such as *The Strand Magazine* for a parallel period, for instance, has exposed the sources for a good number of texts, perhaps even the inspiration for the form of the journal. Yet, more than that, it has provided the context for appreciations of writing and the reception of foreign authors in China at the time.

A Study of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*

The problems of the critical reception and the imbalances in critical perception with regard to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in the years 1910–1914 will be addressed in the following five chapters in a number of ways. The texts published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* between 1910 and the end of 1913 fill some 4,700 pages. Such an extensive and heterogeneous primary source poses a problem. Despite being published in bound form, something like booklets, literary magazines were not a single work of literature and were never produced with the intention of constituting one.[42] They are a complex web of various strands of information, and the forms in which the information is presented vary greatly. A study of the journal must, at one and the same time, provide a detailed picture of the periodical itself—its contents, main concerns, and contributors—and must analyze these within broader categories. That is, the fundamental and immensely important descriptive requirements of such an undertaking must be balanced by the wider theoretical issues. To tackle these two areas of the descriptive and the theoretical-analytical, a short period in the life of a journal needs to be studied. Such study can provide more detailed and more reliable information than attempts at broad generalizations on the character of the journal over many years. A detailed study of one phase is all the more important in cases such as the present one, where a small but persistent body of secondary literature continues to misrepresent the materials. In this way, and given that further smaller periods are likely to be studied in the future, comparisons of contributors, contributions, formats, and so on can offer greater insights into the general development of the publication and into the relative importance of a particular journal.

For all of these reasons, I have chosen to limit the present study to

the period from 1910 to the beginning of 1914. It is not an arbitrary choice; it is one that suggests itself on the basis of political developments in China. This choice enables us to observe what was being discussed in the period directly before the fall of the dynasty, at the time of the revolution, and in the wake of the revolution. On January 10, 1914, President Yuan Shikai dissolved the newly formed parliament and then announced a constitution that transferred all real power into his hands. An era of optimism came to an end, and gradually hopes for a new China were dashed. The texts published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in the wake of these events have to be approached with somewhat altered assumptions as a result of the different social and historical context.

The contents of the journal must be seen in relation to the historical period that framed their publication. This is not to adopt an overly historicist approach to the task and to assume that historical factors are the only means of understanding the workings of the journal and the aims, motivations, and literary works of its contributors. The assumption underlying the present approach is that educated Chinese who were active in reform efforts in the period in question were, for the most part, guided by their concern for their country and by their sense of the imminent danger their nation was facing at the time. The fictional texts they wrote were not executed as a form of intellectual or aesthetic exercise or as artistic experimentation or pleasure; they were aligned to the necessity of taking China out into the world and of bringing a knowledge of the outside world into China. The contributors to the journal were keenly aware of the particular moment in history that was determining their activities, and they were keenly aware of their role in the development of their country. They were not primarily artists or authors, and they did not see themselves primarily as such: they were generalists and reformers, and they wrote in fiction magazines.

A study of the themes these writer-reformers chose to portray and the manner in which they chose to portray them can tell us much about the group of educated individuals who took part in what I have termed the reform-through-fiction project. It cannot tell us what the great majority of the Chinese population of the day thought. It tells us nothing of the uneducated masses directly; it informs us of the scope of reform ideas and the areas of change that were deemed necessary by members of the leading groups in society. Those who wrote for *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were writing for themselves, for their own class or stratum of society. This bias is not necessarily a sign of an elitist attitude. Literary magazines were still relatively new, and even though they called

for and published contributions in the vernacular, the majority of texts were written in a language that readers with but a smattering of education would not be able to read. Moreover, if we accept that the writers of this generation were not specialists, were not simply literary men but instigators of reform in various modes, then fiction writing was, for them, but another means of formulating their concerns, for themselves and for those with whom they would wish to communicate those concerns. They had not yet discovered an affinity for the lower classes; they were far more attentive to finding the best means of political tutelage for those less fortunate than themselves.

Thus fiction journals of the 1910s can also be seen as a forum for the exchange of ideas about reform. Moreover, they may well have fulfilled what the sociologist Leo Lowenthal has called one of the functions of both writers and sociologists: "to describe and label new experience." Lowenthal continues that not until "such creative tasks have been performed can the majority of people recognize and become articulate about their predicament and its sources."[43] The texts published may not have been quite so "emotionally charged" as those of their successors in the late 1910s and 1920s, but the aim of writing was a similar one: to make their readers "conscious of what the readers had not yet perceived" and thus to lead them to change.[44]

The problems and issues pinpointed in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were, to a great extent, those that the later generation of more rebellious writers were once again to take up and emphasize: women and their role in society, relationships between the sexes and in the family, the modern world and its problems, a scientific approach to life. The difference between the two approaches, which were separated by approximately eight years, was that the earlier writers wanted to reform and restructure their society; the later generation was intent on destruction.[45]

To present the contents and the concerns of the journal within the framework of wider issues, the following chapters will be grouped around broad headings: modernity, modern issues, genre and fiction, writing, writing literary history. The aim is not to force the journal into a straitjacket of fashionable scholarly terms but to examine what this immensely popular periodical can contribute to our knowledge of the development of the respective areas in China.

After defining the terms of the subsequent discussion—above all the connotations of the terms "modernity" and "tradition" for the present study—chapter 1 describes and analyzes the basic context of the journal, the background to the publication, and its general makeup. It

examines the various sections of the journal, their salient features, and the types of writing they contain, and it includes a survey of the illustrative and the advertising materials to be found in the journal. These nonliterary parts of the publication are informative, reflecting as they do all the general topics of discussion and interest of the day. They also add much to our general understanding of the character of the journal. They clearly underline the journal's interest in issues such as the role of women in society and politics, the importance of education and of young people for the future of the country, and the need for reading matter adequate to the requirements of a changing society. They reflect political changes in the types of books and manuals they present for sale and, moreover, offer a representative sample of the range of books and educational aids published by the Commercial Press of Shanghai at the time.

Since the approach underlying this study emphasizes the descriptive as a prerequisite for the analytical, chapter 2 is the heart of the matter. It is the longest chapter of the book and provides a survey of the contents and their context. It concentrates on the major themes in the journal to assess to what extent the contents contributed to a presentation and discussion of contemporary ideas and issues. The chapter examines how Chinese writers reacted to their world and its problems and takes stock of the reflection, discussion, or comment on such matters as contemporary national politics, the state of the nation in general, the attitude toward "things foreign" or international, social questions such as the family, the position of women in society, love and relationships between the sexes, the morals of the nation, its attitude toward the young, toward education and scientific discovery.

Seen within the context of the political and social debates and developments of the day, the texts themselves demonstrate that *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, far from providing its readers with a comforting realm of escape, a cushioned domain of sentiment and adventure beyond the very pressing problems of the times, offered them modern food for thought and mental stimulus. Modern and modernity, as will be repeated in this study, refer to the sense of living in a changing world, of reconsidering past attitudes and examining new possibilities of thought and action. A modern stance is one in which the individual or group consciously reviews the premises of previously accepted modes of behavior and, where it is found to be necessary, consciously distances itself from aspects of the past that are felt to be obsolete. In China at the beginning of the twentieth century the possibility, and, for some,

the necessity of reconsidering many of the facets of the Chinese world —its writing, the basic assumptions of its political and social system, and its fundamental philosophical tenets—were the catalyst and driving force of their writing. This modern agenda will be found in the texts surveyed.

Such a modern agenda is clearly of a different quality from that which Leo Lee has recently discussed and illustrated.[46] It has only peripheral significance for the urban modernity "structured and governed by a semiotics of *material* culture"[47] that Lee describes. It was an intellectual undertaking that attempted to offer new mental images of the world that would influence and change the usual and well-practiced ways of seeing oneself and others as well as the concomitant patterns of behavior (i.e., traditional responses). Stories, for instance, provided new role models and new heroes, and an investigation of these can tell us much about attitudes and approaches to life that were to be inculcated into the readership as a prerequisite for coping with the changes that were taking place around them. These were, indeed, as Lee now also acknowledges, "the 'textual' sources of modernity."[48]

The aim of the present study is to delineate the concerns of those who produced and contributed to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and to show the means with which they depicted them. Such an undertaking does not require a discussion of any intrinsic and timeless "aesthetic" or "literary" quality or value to the texts. Such terms are vague and misleading at best; they invariably draw their scales of reference and classification from one of the dominant views of writing at any given period in history. Before this kind of terminology can be used with any expedience, detailed information must be furnished about contemporary assessments and attitudes to the act of reading and writing. For this reason, the most important criteria for judgment must not be questions about whether an observer from a later period would class these writings as good or bad. To elicit a sense of any value the texts may have had in their own day, we need to ask what those of that day considered to be good and proper writing and how they saw and understood the genres they were using. Literature as an entity, as Terry Eagleton succinctly and aptly put it, "does not exist in the sense that insects do." Moreover, he states quite clearly what is often forgotten: "the value judgements by which it [literature] is constituted are historically variable."[49] If we wish to reconstruct these historical variables, we need to understand the factors that both writers and readers invested in their activities. Put simply, the context is seen as the key.

The themes and the protagonists of stories, then, are one aspect of writing. Subject matter often reveals the motivation for writing and the aims pursued by authors. But we also need to ask about authors' attitudes to the genre of writing they employed. To enable us to gain an understanding of contemporary attitudes toward writing and reading modern *xiaoshuo* writings, chapter 3 opens by examining what contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* had to say about writing and how they said it. Theoretical texts on the writing of fiction are analyzed to assess the extent to which writers were indebted to earlier arguments and whether they had, in the meantime, developed any different approaches or attitudes toward fiction. Historical surveys published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* of both Chinese fiction and Western fiction are presented and discussed in order to ask whether the writers in the journal approached their own tradition in a manner radically different from the way they approached traditions they believed existed in the West. Moreover, an observable tendency of the late-Qing and early-Republican eras—the tendency to write historical appreciations and surveys of the most disparate fields of knowledge—is taken up and discussed. Finally, chapter 3 discusses a further revealing aspect of the writings in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*: the form in which they were presented, the structure of narratives. Fundamental structural elements of the narratives are summarized and related not only to the theoretical aims formulated on the pages of the journal but to the type of issue that was taken up and discussed in fictional and nonfictional contributions. There are striking correlations. The concern with verisimilitude in theoretical writings is closely mirrored in a strict framework of narration that conveys the impression of tales based in reality and in reality alone.

Chapter 4 links a consideration of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* with the ideas put forward by Pierre Bourdieu concerning a "field of literary production" with its particular regulations, laws, and dynamics.[50] The chapter shows the appearance of the journal not as a reaction to a sophisticated market situation of competition and diversity molded by the influence of institutions, critics, and literary groups vying for positions, but rather within the context of a fundamental consensus among those involved in the new-fiction project about the functions and the practicalities of writing and publishing new writings for a changing world. As will be shown, authors and writers were not affiliated with one individual journal, nor were they limited to one mode of writing. They wrote and published a range of texts on the various subjects that reflected their own reform interests. Closer examination of the lives and aspirations of

the people involved in both the running and the editing of the journal as well as of those of a number of contributors to the various sections provides clear evidence that those involved in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were a homogeneous group of politically concerned and active individuals who were bound together by personal, local, political, or artistic ties. Their names can be associated with a wide range of reform activity, with educational groups, official and informal political associations, and with the Nanshe (Southern society), a literary group whose influence can be seen throughout the world of political and literary publishing in the years immediately before and after the Revolution of 1911.

Chapter 5 considers the fate of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* at the hands of literary historians. First it reviews basic assumptions about late-Qing magazines and their contents with regard to the question of the development of the short story or the short narrative in China. Literary surveys generally neglect the growing significance of short narratives. Yet, if we take the editors' word for it, short narratives were essential to the popularity—perhaps even the survival—of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Chapter 5 thus first considers the development of this form of writing in literary journals at the beginning of the twentieth century in China. In *Xiaoshuo yuebao* this kind of narrative was emphasized from the beginning. The editors of the journal did not accord pride of place to the novel or long narrative; they even relegated it to the second section of the journal within the first months of publication. Moreover, they put out special calls for authors to submit short stories at a very early date. They intended it to be a short story journal, as the English title they chose for the publication suggests. The number of short stories published increased with time. Short stories and short nonfiction contributions make up the main part of the journal. The short story as a form may have produced exceptional fruits by the 1920s; the form itself, however, was well established on the literary scene long before.

The contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were members of a generation that felt the need to implement the demands of a new kind of writing they were in the process of defining. They were searching for definitions and examples and attempting to create examples. This search is clearly illustrated in their discussions of writing and in the contents and structures of the writings themselves. As they perceived it, the new writing required practice and explication to become anchored in society and for society. It was a serious undertaking. In the light of the findings of this study, the final chapter, therefore, closes with a reexamination of the accusation that *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was a journal that dealt

in "mere entertainment" literature. Each chapter and each reference to the primary source is a cumulative negation of these accusations. The final section of chapter 5 unravels the mechanisms involved in the creation of the "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly" myth.

One of the aims of this study is to provide a sound body of information on the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* as a first step to further and comparative contextual research into literary publishing and journals in Shanghai in the 1910s. This field is such a complex matter that we cannot hope to appreciate it without detailed study of the magazines, the people involved in them, their connections and associations. Thus, although I am indebted to the work of Pierre Bourdieu for providing a framework for many observations I have made with regard to the journal, it is clear that it is impossible, at this stage, to attempt anything like a survey of his concept of "the field of cultural production." Bourdieu's theory of a field of literary activity, its struggles, positions, and rules, would provide a stimulating point of reference for a reexamination of the landscape of publishing and literary development in late-Qing and early-Republican China. However, before such theoretical approaches can be made toward the subject, we require detailed studies of individual magazines. Without them we run the risk of repeated misunderstandings and thus misrepresentations of periodicals in secondary sources.

FIG. 1: *The "Editors' Declaration of Intent" (right) was published at the beginning of the first issue of* Xiaoshuo yuebao *in 1910.*

Editors' Declaration of Intent

小說月報第一期

編輯大意

一本館舊有繪像小說之刊歡迎一時嗣響遠寂用廣前例聘成是報匡日昇林紓說部初庶機援滬瀆貴諸社會

一本報以迻譯名作綴述舊聞準檢新理增進常識爲宗旨

一本報各種小說皆敎授名人分門擔任材料豐富趣味醲深其體裁則長篇短篇文言白話著作翻譯無美不搜其內容則偵探言情政治歷史科學社會各種皆備末更附以譯叢雜纂筆記文苑新智識傳奇改良新劇諸門類廣說部之範圍助報餘之采每期限於篇幅雖不能一一登載至少必在八種以上

一本報卷首插圖數頁逢擇基最不尙俗豔專取名人書畫以及風景古蹟足以喚起特別之觀念者

一本報月出一册每册以八十頁至一百頁爲率裝訂華美刷印精良字數約在六萬左右

一本報月出一册每册售銀一角五分外埠加郵費二分預定全年銀一元五角郵費二角四分過期照加

Editors' Declaration of Intent

The Commercial Press used to publish *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*, a journal that found favor with the public for a time but whose echo suddenly dwindled.[1] We are now taking that publication as the basic model for this new journal, but that is not to say that there will be a torrent of colorful tales that will outdo even Yu Chu.[2] We prefer to produce a small and steady stream [of materials] to present to society.

The aim of this journal is to translate famous works, retell old tales, introduce new concepts, and promote general knowledge.

For all the different types of *xiaoshuo* we cordially invite men of standing to shoulder the responsibility for providing an abundance of interesting material. Whether the form of writing is the long or short narrative, in the classical or the vernacular, original composition or translations, it must be pleasing for it to be selected for publication. The contents are to comprise stories of detection, sentiment, politics, history, science, and society and will be complemented by a translations section, miscellany, random jottings, literary section *(wenyuan)*, new knowledge, *chuanqi* tales, modern plays of reform. All of these categories will enlarge the range of the fictional texts *(shuobu)*. The additional materials in the journals will be limited in each issue. If they cannot all be accommodated, there will be a minimum of eight categories.

At the beginning of the journal there will be a number of pages of pictorial material, which will be selected according to strict criteria. We shall not just follow prevailing fashion but shall make a point of selecting the calligraphy and painting of famous individuals as well as scenery and sites of historical interest such as will stimulate exceptional ideas.

The journal will be published once a month. Each issue will normally comprise eighty to one hundred pages. It will be bound and printed attractively, and it will contain roughly sixty thousand characters.

Each monthly issue of the journal will cost ten cents fifty. For places outside Shanghai there will be an additional postal charge of two cents. A subscription for one year costs one dollar and five cents with an additional charge for postage of twenty-four cents and an appropriate increase should there be an intercalary issue.

CHAPTER 1

A Modern Journal

Modernity in Context

Speaking of the concept of modernity involves a number of difficulties. The greatest difficulty arises from the fact that the term signifies a state of being and a process, a process that lacks a clearly defined beginning or clearly recognizable developmental phases. Modernity begins with the vision of a new order or the ability to conceive the possibility of new paradigms of political, social, and cultural life. It thus presupposes an altered awareness of the political, social, and cultural conditions that members of a community have for a long time perceived as stable or even normative. This does not mean that we can simply define the beginnings of modernity as the moment at which tradition was questioned. The beginnings of modernity can only be traced along the fine lines of a change in perceptions and, in the present case, in the recording of altered perceptions in a changed mode of writing, writing that approaches old and new problems from a different angle and that introduces new issues into possible solutions. These fine lines constitute the cracks within the belief systems that shaped social and political life prior to a new era, but they do not need to be clean breaks with the past. They are very often a comfortable amalgam of (some of) the old and (some of) the new.

Like modernity, tradition is also an elusive concept. Like modernity, too, the concept designates a process, the accumulation of ideas and modes of behavior that determine attitudes to large areas of personal, local, and national issues. Most importantly, perhaps, tradition—no matter whether invented or acquired—can create an atmosphere of stability and permanence to those who accept it.[1] Where there is evidence that this stability and sense of reassuring permanence is waning, a new (modern) approach to the world ensues.

It follows, then, that both terms require a context. Without contextualization—without the framework of a particular culture and particular circumstances—they become meaningless at worst and, at best, tags so vague as to invite the widest of interpretations. For these reasons, the present study is not an attempt to come to grips with the mammoth topic of "modernity in China." It will restrict itself to a phase within the life of one particular literary journal and will ask how modern the contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were within the context of their time and in view of the aims and concerns of those involved in the undertaking to inform and entertain a growing public of readers. In the following, the term "modern" will be used to denote the conscious act of taking a new look at past patterns of life and culture and, where necessary, of distancing oneself from that which is consequently felt to be obsolete. In this way, activities, attitudes, events, or opinions can safely be recorded as modern in their own times, although they may have become sadly outdated even within the space of a decade. Modernity is thus not to be found in the mere pursuit of novelty. It presupposes the awareness of a requirement for new forms and new modes of thought and activity as a result of changing political, social, and cultural paradigms. Tradition here designates the vast pool of past patterns of behavior and thought. Some of its elements will acquire negative connotations within the modern approach to life; others will be retained and provide stability to a society during a transitional period. Unlike the later and so-called May Fourth period, in which an unsuccessful attempt was made to reject what was then perceived to be a monolithic Chinese tradition or past,[2] the very late years of the Qing dynasty and the very early years of the Republican era were characterized by something akin to what Mark Elvin has termed "creative conservatism," which could "interact with, interlock with, and ultimately stabilize the forces of modernization."[3]

The contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* will be shown to be modern in a number of ways. They were not, however, modernist. Apart from

the general questionability of an epithet that is frequently applied as a category of worth rather than one that may assist in the tracing and appreciation of developments within a particular field of activity, there can be no doubt that the use of the term constitutes an anachronism within the context of the first five years of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Indeed, it is probably largely out of place as a description of the period of Chinese history from the turn of the century up to 1915 altogether. If we regard modernism as an artistic response to a perceived breakdown in social order and continuity, one that requires a new perception of the rules pertaining to the functioning and the ordering of the world in which one lives and its artistic expression, we cannot reasonably expect to find it widespread at this time in Chinese history. [4]

The period immediately before the fall of the last dynasty and during the first years of the fledgling republic was certainly witness to a widespread awareness that new patterns of behavior were required for almost all areas of life. And yet the era was one of optimism without the sense of a breakdown within the fundamental Chinese world order. It was also one of trust and confidence in the abilities of people to reorganize the social and political world in such a way as to make a success of it.[5] The aim envisaged was to bring China into line with the strong and stable nations of the world; and although it was evident to many that a good deal of China's basic political and social assumptions and realities would require readjustment, it was seldom felt that this could be achieved only through the *total* destruction, rejection, or renunciation of past values.[6] It was to come about by enhancing that which Chinese culture had to offer by an inclusion and appreciation of new concepts from the West. Only a few aspects were to be replaced fully by something new and completely different. This was the sense in which concerned individuals distanced themselves from those elements of the past that they felt had become obsolete: the overall pattern of past political, social, and cultural life was perceived as being out of step with new global conditions. It needed rethinking but not replacing in toto. This was also the climate in which writer-reformers felt that they could, by their writings, actively contribute toward introducing the new and the better. Their emphasis in their writing activities (unlike their political and educational re-*form* activities) did not lie on new *forms* of the creative process but on new contents suitable to the present situation of the world as they perceived it. As David Wang has suggested, the late Qing was the beginning of a modern literary era: it was a period in which the "pursuit of novelty was no longer contained within indigenously defined

barriers" but was "inextricably affected by the multilingual, cross-cultural trafficking of ideas, technologies, and powers in the wake of nineteenth-century Western expansionism."[7] This new quality or new dimension of cultural, social, and political activity lies at the core of its modernity. It constituted a broader and novel imagining of possible visions of a future world in which China, in changed guise, would have a role to play.

The Context of Publication

The journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* began publication on 29 August 1910 (twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the second year of the Xuantong period), just a little more than one year before the uprising that was to put an end to the last dynasty in China. Given this so-called revolution, one would expect that this was a time of unrest and political turmoil, with a general sense of flux and change in the air. There was, no doubt, this sense of new time, changing perspectives, and the need for rearrangement of basic structures in Chinese society, but it was quite different from any violent run-up to a revolution.

We recall the broad political backdrop of this moment in Chinese history: in 1908 the Guangxu emperor and Empress Dowager Cixi had both died and been replaced by a largely Manchu regency for a child emperor. In this year, too, the first set of principles for a constitutional form of government[8] had been announced by the throne and a nine-year plan containing ninety-two points that were to be carried out over that period set up for the introduction of the system. In 1909 the first elections in China were held, to elect members of provincial assemblies, which were convened later that year. That is to say, deliberation over political matters was now acceptably and formally taken beyond immediate court circles. The next year (1910) saw the first session of the Political Consultative Council, the forerunner of a parliament proper. In 1910, too, the nine-year plan was shortened and elections were scheduled for 1913, three years earlier than originally intended.

At least among educated and concerned Chinese, this opening up of the realm of political debate, making both national and regional issues public concerns, engendered an air of optimism about the future and the possibilities of their being able to influence and effect the creation of a China able to stand up with and to the other nations of the

world, as well as a feeling that now was the time to find workable solutions to remaining difficulties. High on the list of subjects to be tackled was the education of national citizens, both male and female. Paul Bailey's study of popular education at the beginning of the twentieth century also attests to the "boundless confidence"[9] of all those involved in the educational discussion, whether radicals or moderates, that they would be able to transform the populace into patriotic and productive citizens. All of their writings were characterized by a "pervading sense of optimism";[10] and writing, "the major profession of traditional Chinese intellectuals,"[11] constituted an integral part of this new public debate, writing not only in specialist journals and newspapers but also in literary magazines. Those participating in the public writing of the day did not necessarily specialize in one kind of writing; that is, they did not direct their reforming zeal to any one cause or to any one general or specialist journalistic framework. They often crossed the lines of different spheres of writing, writing poetry for educational magazines, articles for newspapers, or essays or fictional works for literary publications. One may assume that writing in itself, the participation in and use of the new printed and public media in any genre, was felt to be conducive to the new possibilities for reform.

The range of possibilities for the public communication of ideas of any kind was, indeed, vast at this particular time. Since the late 1800s newspapers, newspaper supplements, and journals and magazines of all political and nonpolitical hues had developed rapidly all over China.[12] They were concentrated in what was then the only real modern city in China, the cosmopolitan metropolis of Shanghai. This is not to neglect the large number of local periodicals, especially those in the vernacular languages, that had been appearing since the beginning of the century. The stated aim of the latter was to inform the population of one area about local, national, and international concerns and widen their horizons[13] and to serve the purposes of "general progressive propaganda among the less educated people."[14]

Shanghai, however, offered myriad possibilities of development, dissent, and experimentation that would have been far less readily at hand in any other part of the country for a number of reasons. From the second half of the nineteenth century, Shanghai had become a major international center for trade, politics, and entertainment.[15] The foreign concessions with their special jurisdiction, and thus particular leeway for Chinese radical thinkers, offered a freedom of thought and a radius of action that traditional Chinese moral codes would largely have pro-

scribed.[16] Moreover, there was a constant influx of the new: Western literature and thought was being translated into Chinese and brought onto the market by publishing houses such as the Commercial Press; new people were migrating to Shanghai from the surrounding countryside in search of work in new industries and businesses. Even the physical appearance of the city was inevitably new. It was a place of tall buildings, wide streets, motor cars, trams, electric light and an underground sewerage system. It was, moreover, a place whose fashion and style of dress was felt to be (and doubtless frequently intended to be) modern, progressive, and Westernized.[17] In many respects this city came to be sensed as the opposite of Beijing, the traditional center of China.[18]

The new urban population assembled in the metropolis also required both information for its daily affairs and a new kind of entertainment and diversion. Many of these requirements were catered to through the printed media, which not only provided such vital information as national and local government announcements, prices, sailing times of ships, addresses, or news of the latest purchasable commodities but also made available a forum for the public discussion of problems facing the country, international and national trends and ideas, and, in the case of fiction magazines such as *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, a different kind of reading, one that was entertainment and, at the same time, one that could re-present and rework both old and new values in a variety of modes.

Xiaoshuo yuebao was not the only literary journal on the market during the early years of the twentieth century. It does, however, appear to have filled a conspicuous gap in the production and dissemination of *xiaoshuo*-journals after approximately 1908. It was the second literary journal to be published by the famous and mighty Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshu guan) of Shanghai. Its predecessor was *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* [Illustrated *xiaoshuo*, 1903–1906], a publication referred to in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*'s Declaration of Intent *(bianji dayi)* of the first issue of 1910 (see figure 1). *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* was also the first *xiaoshuo*-journal[19] to be published in China, Liang Qichao's *Xin xiaoshuo* [New *xiaoshuo*, 1902–1906] having been published in Japan. *Xin xin xiaoshuo* [New new *xiaoshuo*] followed the first Commercial Press journal in 1904, *Yueyue xiaoshuo* (*The All-Story Monthly*) began publication in 1906, and *Xiaoshuo lin* [Forest of *xiaoshuo*] appeared one year later, in 1907. Only *Yueyue xiaoshuo* survived into 1909. *Xiaoshuo yuebao* consciously developed upon the previous *xiaoshuo*-journals at the time of its publication

and was not only able to fill the gap in the market for literary periodicals, but also asserted itself as a major competitor in this market (see chapter 4) well into the 1930s.

The Shape of the Journal

The journal did not differ radically from its predecessors in its general configuration. It comprised between 80 and 100 pages, which was somewhere between the very long *Xin xiaoshuo* (180 pages) and the shorter *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* (80 pages). It was far more closely printed than any of its predecessors, having a regular format of one page split into two halves (upper and lower), each of which consisted of fifteen lines of twenty-one characters. This was many more characters per page than any other comparable journal. The halving of the pages was discontinued for a while in 1914 but was taken up again later. The journal was small in size, much like a pocket book, and this small format was continued until 1915. A small magazine is, of course, much more practical than a larger one. It can easily be carried around on one's person and consequently read with ease almost anywhere. Large and unwieldy formats presuppose or dictate nonpublic reading habits of a more leisurely or extensive nature.

The Sections

The journal was divided into sections similar to those found in other and comparable publications. The sections do not usually constitute an exact categorization of contents since some types of text wander regularly from one section to the other. There was, it would seem, no clear and systematic plan.

Illustrative Material

Each issue opened with a number of colored pictures or photographs, usually comprising between four and eight items. These were preceded by a colored cover illustration. This cover illustration was not, as Perry Link asserted in his study of popular fiction in the early twentieth century, always "the impression of a pair of mandarin ducks."[20] In fact there was some variety shown in the cover illustrations: the first year of publi-

cation (six issues) always showed a picture of a peony and a butterfly; the second year showed a pair of ducks on the cover of the second and third issues. Otherwise there was a view of a lake on all the covers apart from the one for the intercalary month of that year. This particular issue was dedicated to fund-raising activities during a national catastrophe and shows a courtesan and roses. Courtesans also feature in the inside illustrations of the journal for the intercalary month and are generally portrayed acting in benefit theatrical performances.

The third year, the year that saw the beginnings of the new republic, featured on its covers a variety of motifs: a photograph of Qiu Jin with the caption "China's great heroine" and a crowd of people cheering her on beneath her; a photograph of a foreign monument and a tourist inspecting it with a pair of binoculars; a photograph of a Japanese woman; a photograph of Miss Zhang (Mojun), who was the editor of the *Dahan bao*;[21] a Chinese landscape and a Chinese building; a photograph of a female poet whose work was published in the journal; a photograph of a Japanese painter, of Victor Hugo, of Sir Walter Scott, and of the wife of the French president.

The cover illustrations of the fourth year of publication (1913) also feature some interesting photographs of women, all of whom share one particular attribute: they took an active part in politics in foreign countries. These photographs or portraits depict Madame Roland, the mayoress of London, female members of political parties in London, a female animal breeder, literary women, a female minister of horticulture, and the female president of an American university. The fifth year (1914), even though it is beyond the immediate scope of this study, provides an interesting contrast of motifs. There is but one photograph as a cover illustration, and it shows the home of Sir Walter Scott near Edinburgh. Otherwise the cover is adorned by animal motifs—an eagle, horses drinking, dogs, cats—or by branches and blossoms. The quite radically altered motifs can be interpreted as a reflection of the changes in both political and literary climate after the failure of the republic and during the warlord era.

It is in the second and third years of publication (1911 and 1912) that we find politically motivated cover material. The motifs reveal an interest in women's participation in political processes as well as in the social activities of women in the world outside China. It cannot be any coincidence that these were also the years when the call for women's political participation in China was coming to a head: demands were made on and great hopes were placed in the new parliament, and many

expected women's rights to be anchored within the new constitution of the republic. Such hopes were dashed, and the topic was dropped for some time. At this moment of change we see the journal taking up harmless and nonpolitical motifs for its cover and detect the effects of the growing clamp-down of the government under Yuan Shikai.

The illustrative material on the opening pages also covers such a wealth and variety of topics that it defies summary in a few sentences. Traditional painting generally mixes with photographs of foreign worthies, and the mixture of traditional Chinese and modern non-Chinese motifs well reflects the general tendency of the period: a lively interest in that which was modern, or Western, combined with an appreciation of the Chinese cultural heritage. There was, as yet, no generally felt need to reject Chinese culture in toto; instead there was a lively relationship with one's own past and an interested glance at possible foreign alternatives. There is, however, a conspicuous dearth of photographs of Chinese personalities: the only Chinese persons shown in these illustrations, with one notable exception, are women and as such once again point to the centrality of new role models and lifestyles for women at the time. They include Zhang Mojun, the leader of the Women's Revolutionary Army, and members of the Chinese Red Cross Committee of Jiujiang.[22] The foreign worthies are largely heads of state or literary figures or socialites of the day. The only Chinese man depicted is Xie Zuantai (1872–1937), the Chinese aviator and developer of the airship, to whom an article is also dedicated in the same issue of the journal.[23] Xie is praised as an outstanding man of science. Other illustrations show Western and Asian (both Chinese and Japanese) beauties in various poses or actors and actresses on or off the stage. Chinese landscapes and sites, both historical and modern, are shown equally as frequently as foreign resorts. Unfortunately, it is still generally difficult to identify the individual British actresses or dancers, or even the political women, who are presented to the readership. One may assume that they were the fashionable actresses and the personalities of their day.

Further black and white illustrative material can be found together with the individual stories or texts. The stories are illustrated with drawings, sometimes taken directly from the magazines in which they originated. Otherwise they appear to have been drawn expressly for the texts they accompany since they depict particular scenes from the stories. Such illustration was not common in Chinese literary journals at the beginning of the twentieth century. Stories in *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, for instance, are never illustrated. Of course, *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*, as the title

suggests, was adorned by illustrations of the stories it printed. However, these were very much Chinese drawings in the style of the old woodblock prints and reminiscent of the type of drawing found in the late-nineteenth-century pictorial magazine *Dianshi zhai huabao* [Pictorial review of the Dianshi Studio]. They do not make such a modern and sometimes Western impression as those published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, which bear a striking resemblance to the type of illustration that was used in almost all Western literary journals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, the majority of English novels of the period (Rider Haggard's best-sellers, for instance) almost invariably included illustrations (drawings) portraying the particularly dramatic moments of the narrative. It is perhaps not too farfetched to assume that the story illustrations in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were a case of conscious borrowing, of the imitation of the foreign product that would have been readily available at bookstores and newsstands in the treaty ports.

The only other pictorial elements in the journal were small motifs, almost like stamps, appended to articles or placed in free areas on a page. These were tiny pictures of horses, birds, flowers, leaves, and the like. These stamplike motifs, which were possibly available as a kind of set, were a characteristic feature of almost all journals of all types during the period in question.[24] They were clearly used either as "fillers" for the odd empty page or as a simple adornment at regular intervals.

The Xiaoshuo *Section*

Following upon the opening illustrations, the first issues of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* carried a section called *changpian xiaoshuo* (long *xiaoshuo*), a genre that is generally rendered in English as "the novel." It may well be that in many cases this is still the closest we may come to a useful term to signify what Andrew Plaks has called "extended fictional narrative" in China.[25] However, the texts subsumed under this heading in the journal were certainly not all novels. Some of them can be identified as translations of foreign novels; others are clearly not novels at all but lengthy stories (Conan Doyle's tales of the exploits of Sherlock Holmes, for instance). The criteria for the inclusion of a work, whether translated or a Chinese composition, within the section had nothing to do with genre discussions or definitions. They were, to all appearances, simply questions concerning the length of a given story or of the number of characters used.

Many of the translations of foreign works that appeared under the

heading *changpian xiaoshuo* prove difficult to identify largely because many of them are works that are all but forgotten today. A few remarks on the problems involved are perhaps in place here. As a first example, let us take Rider Haggard's *The Fair Margaret*—translated by Lin Shu in conjunction with Chen Jialin under the title *Shuangxiong jiaojian lu* [Two heroes cross swords][26]—and a Conan Doyle Sherlock Holmes story under the title *Fuermosi zhentan an* [A case for (Sherlock) Holmes].[27] The former is instantly identifiable as a work by Haggard on the basis of the transcription of his name and the great popularity of Rider Haggard's work at the time. Identifying the title of the work is harder. Zhu Xizhou's 1949 listings of Lin Shu's translation work name the text in question as Haggard's *Heart of the World*.[28] But this cannot be the case since the story translated in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* takes as its setting Britain and Spain, and the novel *Heart of the World* is set in South Africa. A comparison of the translation with the many novels produced by Rider Haggard has shown the Chinese rendering to be a translation of *The Fair Margaret*, the only one of Haggard's novels to have been set in Spain.

In the case of the Sherlock Holmes story, Conan Doyle's name had been added in Western script at the beginning of the text which, on the basis of the plot, can be identified as *The Disappearance of Lady Frances Carfax*. The story had originally been published in *The Strand Magazine* in December 1911. The translation was, then, a brand new import. The twelfth issue of the second year of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, in which the translation was published, appeared in February 1912, the twelfth lunar month.[29]

Other cases prove to be somewhat more complex, and today's reader is faced with stories with such "romantic" titles as *Hehuan cao* [The plant of auspicious union] by an English author whose name has been transcribed into Chinese characters as "Weilie."[30] Since at this time there was no uniform system of transcription for Western names, uncovering the identity of the original author, if not well nigh impossible, is often the result of either a chance reading or detective work that would be the pride of a Sherlock Holmes. A case in point is the serialized story *The Secret History of the Court of Lu* by an author transcribed as "Ensuhuobo." This is, in fact, as a reading of the text and some ruminations on my own childhood reading managed to elicit, none other than Anthony Hope's *The Prisoner of Zenda*, a wonderful swashbuckling story of a gentleman-knight and patriot in the fictional country of Ruritania (Lu).[31]

Some of the authors chosen for translation in the section of long

narratives were immensely popular in their day but have since been denied access to the acceptable literary canon and are thus not registered in literary histories. A fitting example here is that of Mrs./Miss "Suosiwosi" (Suosiwoshinüshi), whose novel was given the Chinese title *Boxing lang* [The heartbreaker] and was translated in the second year of publication.[32] Her transcribed name is prefixed by the character for Britain or English *(ying)*, a pointer, as it turns out, not to the country of origin of the author but to the language of the original. The writer in question was an American, Mrs. Emma Southworth.[33] Her name is never given in the serialization of the novel in the journal, but it had appeared in a list advertising recent translations that was published in the journal *Yueyue xiaoshuo* as early as 1906.[34] However, the novel mentioned in the list, *In the Depths*, is not that which was published five years later in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. This 1911 translation by Lin Shu and Chen Jialin was, to all appearances, a rendering of Mrs. Southworth's novel *The Changed Brides*,[35] a novel originally published in 1867. I base this assumption on the only (and undated) copy of a novel written by Mrs. Southworth that I have been able to find. This novel, published by Robert Hayes, Limited, London, is called *The Bride's Fate*. The title page declares it to be the sequel to another novel by the same author, *The Changed Brides*. This latter novel is most likely the one translated in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, since the title corresponds very well with the plot and the names of the characters tally with those transcribed into Chinese.

Other as yet unidentified translations include *Jiehua xiaoying* [The stolen blossoms] by an author transcribed as "Boleideng." This may be Mary Braddon (1835–1915), an extremely productive and popular writer of "sensational novels" in Britain. She, too, is mentioned as one of the most famous British writers of the past twenty years in the third issue of *Yueyue xiaoshuo* (December 1906), and the transcription of her name there bears some resemblance to that used in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. However, it has not yet been possible to identify the story translated.[36]

The texts translated in popular journals of the early 1910s can tell us much about predilections in literature (both in China and in the West) and about the sources available to would-be translators. A good percentage of fictional texts published in the section of long narratives were, however, original Chinese compositions. Their contents reflect a range of concerns. Chu Gou's *Zizhi difang* [Self-governing areas][37] is bitter sociopolitical criticism; "The Junior School Students' Journey" is an attack on conditions in China and a comment on the foreign presence as experienced by two young men on their travels.[38] Other stories tell of

military heroes or amorous entanglements. The themes dealt with will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The short story section *(duanpian xiaoshuo)* of the journal originally followed the section dedicated to the longer narrative. From the end of the first year of publication, however, the two sections changed places, and the short story now took pride of place as the opener (see chapter 5). This section of short stories also included an immense array of topics presented either in original Chinese compositions or in translations and *Nachdichtungen* of foreign models—that is, a treatment of a theme found in foreign sources but not necessarily true to the source. In his reminiscences of his time in the translation department of the Commercial Press, Mao Dun asserts that, apart from the translations of Lin Shu, almost all the fictional contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* before 1921, when Mao and his friends claimed responsibility for the journal, were actually translations of foreign sources that were not identified as such. A Chinese name, he states, was simply placed beneath the text and pretense was made of an original composition. This claim cannot be corroborated by reference to the texts in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. In the majority of cases, texts were marked as translations—even when the original author was not explicitly named—or as adaptations. The large number of stories set in China cannot have been "stolen" from foreign sources. This is not to ignore the possibility that authors may have taken inspiration from a foreign story they had read, but this type of borrowing is a far cry from the kind of plagiarism Mao Dun describes as normal policy in the translation department of the Commercial Press.[39]

The questions of the extent to which these short stories were reflections of the social and political concerns of the day and whether they may be termed "fiction" in any modern understanding of the word will be discussed in the next chapter. Despite the problematic literary-historical question of how early-twentieth-century Chinese writers of new fiction conceived of this kind of writing, it is at least fairly easy to recognize the texts in the *duanpian xiaoshuo* section simply as short pieces of prose that told a story, whether fictional, semifictional, or a description of real events.

Other Writings

Individual sections of the journal were dedicated to *chuanqi* (tales and dramas for the transmission of the remarkable) and to "new

reform drama" (*gailiang xinju* or, after the first issue of the third year [1912], simply *xinju*, or "new drama"). Both these sections carried texts that may be characterized as patriotic, heroic, or tragic in nature. The *chuanqi* section did not contain tales of the weird and wonderful, but tended to relate, in dramatic form, the stories of patriots and exemplars of behavior. The drama section largely comprised renderings of Western spoken drama that were often translated into a simple vernacular language.

Simple vernacular language was not to be found in the sections labeled *biji*, *wenyuan*, *zazuan*, *yusi fengpian*, *fulu*, or *bubai*. Despite their clear headings, they generally tend to defy definition by any clear English term. All of these categories could feasibly be translated as "miscellaneous" since they all contain a mixture of the most varied types of text. They include travelogues—both as critical assessments of prevailing social and political conditions and as lyrical descriptions of pleasant journeys and what the writers associated with them—and poetry and poetry notes, whereby the poetry speaks of both the more traditional themes and to modern concerns: there are poems of lonely women at home who pine for husbands or partners,[40] poems that traditionally were written by men, and there are poems that take up contemporary problems such as the "new" woman and her "new" difficulties.

The miscellaneous sections also include comments on Chinese and foreign literature in general, historical and contemporary anecdotes on individuals and events, information on foreign countries, and general humorous tidbits. Sometimes only one or two of the categories appear in one issue, sometimes all of them. Thus the boundaries of each section cannot be clearly drawn, and it is difficult to ascertain any guiding principle behind assigning a given text to a specific category.

More easily recognizable and definable sections are New Knowledge *(xin zhishi)* dealing with all sorts of useful household tips, such as how to use various newfangled lamps or how to remove stains from foreign materials or cooking odors from the house, and a Translations section *(yicong)* that told of events and incidents, both serious and amusing, from foreign countries. These pieces of information, however, also often appeared under other headings.

Advertising

Inasmuch as *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was both a literary journal and a commercial venture, part of its revenue must have come from advertising.

Unfortunately, the 1979 Japanese reprint of the journal does not include the majority of these advertisements, a fact that detracts substantially from the value of the reprint as a research tool. Originals of the journal provide a much better general picture of the overall character of the publication: they not only show us a wealth of advertising texts that offer invaluable information on a large number of other areas that would otherwise remain closed to the researcher, but they also provide a picture of the colorful product that the Commercial Press placed on the market for so many years. The advertisements offer a glimpse into the kind of reading materials available at the time, what books were being published, what kinds of book were being translated, and who was active in the world of translating and editing.[41] The first year of publication in reprint does carry advertisements at the beginning and the end of each issue. Interestingly enough, all of them are for printed products. These are largely various kinds of pocket diaries (with or without special pencil) for students, officials, and businessmen or for general use, and notebooks or travel schedules. There are also advertisements for art postcards. Book advertisements include primers on Chinese history for use in schools, examination question primers in all subjects and which are in accordance with the stipulations of the Board of Education, as well as translations of international legal texts from the Japanese. The advertised products are almost exclusively concerned with the educational market and the educational requirements of the day or the business and official requirements of modern Shanghai. They are also all products of the Commercial Press and well reflect one of the major commercial activities of the Commercial Press: the textbook market. At this period the Commercial Press was the leading textbook publisher in China.[42]

Further advertisements or announcements in the first year of publication deal with changes in format and contents of the widely read Commercial Press publication *Dongfang zazhi* [Eastern miscellany] that result, according to the text of the announcement, from the progress made in the introduction of constitutional government in the country and the concomitant need for further information among China's citizens.[43] A further announcement concerning *Dongfang zazhi* lists the contents for one specific issue of the periodical.

An examination of the original copies of the journal has shown that advertisements were not placed only at the beginning and the end of the individual issues. They also appeared in sections of their own within the body of the journal. They were conspicuous in that they were printed

FIG. 2: *Chinese advertisement and testimonial for Dr. Williams' Pink Pills of 1911. The pills have helped the young man to study, become successful, and serve his country.*

on colored paper, largely in greens and reds. These advertisements reinforced the impression given by those published in the Japanese reprint. However, the reprint omitted those ubiquitous (at the time) advertisements for "Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People." Advertising for this world-famous product can be found in almost all Commercial Press journals and in many other contemporary publications. Dr. Williams' pills were a product of the Canadian company run by G. T. Fulford in Brockville, Ontario, and it was this very product that made his fortune. The texts cleverly target various groups—pregnant women, their husbands, soldiers, students—and place the product within a patriotic context. For instance, youngsters who wish to study hard to serve their country and yet fall ill as a result of burning the candle at both ends report that after taking the pills they regained their health, passed their exams, and could serve their country. The strategy of using happy consumers' letters and testimonials to describe the uses and benefits of the product was one that Fulford used worldwide[44] (see figures 2 and 3).

FIG. 3: *Contemporary Western advertisement and testimonial for Dr. Williams' Pink Pills. The text of the advertisement concentrates purely on the product and the health benefits the genuine article can provide. By courtesy of the Ontario Heritage Foundation, Fulford Place Collection.*

The advertisements, which were regularly placed inside the back cover of the journal, blend in well with the impression of the generally serious nature of the advertising to be found in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. There was no advertising for frivolous commodities, other medicines, or cigarettes.

Further advertisement sections not included in the reprint refer, again, to publications of the Commercial Press: there are announcements of recent publications of novels or collections of short stories by Chinese authors and translations of stories by foreign authors. Very many are aimed specifically at the young, extolling stories intending to awaken the interest of young readers and offer them examples of proper behavior and spirit. Moreover, journals and anthologies for the young—most of which were specifically designed for young readers and had largely educational intentions—are advertised. Typical titles include *Shaonian congshu* [An anthology for the young], which sets out to introduce all sorts of material from home and abroad to the young, materials that would be models *(mofan)* for them. Magazine titles included *Shaonian zazhi* [Magazine for the young] or *Ertong jiaoyu hua* [Children's educational pictorial], a monthly magazine that intended to teach children moral precepts, their language and history, geography and mathematics, sport, biology, botany, hygiene. It also intended to provide information on current events both at home and abroad in simple characters and with illustrations.

Educational concerns are further reflected in announcements of the contents of forthcoming issues of the Commercial Press' specialist periodical, *Jiaoyu zazhi* [The educational review], and in announcements of the publication of provincial educational surveys and reports, but there are also educational manuals and textbooks, in both English and Chinese, for subjects ranging from mathematics and statistics, physics and chemistry to national and world history, geography and culture, as well as English and French readers and dictionaries for most levels of schools. Furthermore, there is a striking number of maps among the educational products from the publishing house, maps of China and its various provinces, of the foreign concession areas in Shanghai, and of the world.

Political concerns of the day are reflected in the advertisements for legal and political journals, for collections of legal texts and reference works, for manuals containing the stipulations of local self-government and those pertaining to the provincial assemblies as well as a collection of reading materials advertised as an absolute "must" for civil officials *(wenguan bi du)*. These included texts on the making of constitutions

and comparative constitutional law, finances and economics, administrative and civil law and the penal codes together with contemporary reform plans.

As already noted, most of the publications advertised were part of the huge output of the Commercial Press of Shanghai. However, there are one or two exceptions, such as an advertisement for what must have been one of the many short-lived periodicals of the day, *Chuyan bao* [Plain talk]. It was a publication of a company in Beijing, and the advertisement stated its intentions quite clearly: its main emphasis would be on criticism *(yi pinglun wei zhu)*, and it would publish affairs of the present and the past. The overall aim was to guide the people of the nation *(zhidao guomin)* and to make the necessary adjustments or corrections to public opinion *(guizheng yulun)*.[45] It was, the announcement continued, something that one could not afford to ignore. Given the close networks of publishers, reformers, and writers of the time (see chapter 4) and the leading position within reform and educational circles in both Beijing and Shanghai of Zhang Yuanji, the man in charge of the Commercial Press, there are good grounds for speculation that the journal in question was closely linked to the concerns of the editorial staff at *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and the managerial staff of the Commercial Press.

These advertisements do not—apart from the Pink Pills for Pale People—attempt to sell or publicize nonliterary commodities or, indeed, any kind of luxury article. Clearly the Commercial Press did not require or want this kind of advertising in this particular journal. Certainly, then, with respect to the advertising sections, we must acknowledge that those responsible for the layout and contents of the publication were adhering to the tenets of their own Declaration of Intent of the first issue. The articles offered for sale in the advertising sections would, in almost all cases, serve to introduce new principles or ways of thinking and to enlarge the general knowledge of the readership. They would provide food for thought and materials for study and information. The advertising sections also indirectly tell us a lot more about the readers of the journal. Only the literate, those involved in education (including mothers and fathers and professional educators), those of all ages wishing to study and try out the new—new regulations, new types of law, new kinds of study, new modes of writing—would have been the right target group for this type of advertising. Moreover, there was clearly a great interest in providing new and stimulating reading matter on a huge range of topics specifically for the young.

The concerns of the advertising section point to an agenda attuned to present concerns in China as well as to the future and possible change. The choice of illustrative material reveals similar preoccupations: a particular interest in the contemporary world in and outside China and a highlighting of active women and alternate roles for women in society. The *xiaoshuo* sections reveal a lively interest in the literature of the West and in translating, but they also show the extent to which Chinese authors wished to address the problems of their country in fictional texts. They document a growing production of short fictional texts, of the short story as a staple element in literary journals. A first cursory glance at these sections of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, then, already provides a picture of a modern journal that, as its opening Declaration of Intent had stated, wished to inform its readers of developments in the world and to broaden their horizons. A closer look at the texts published in the body of the journal shows that these concerns were of central importance. In the stories and articles published in the early years, the authors and editors addressed almost all the issues of their day and offered their readers food for thought and new ideas for consideration: a modern approach to modern questions.

CHAPTER 2

Discussing Modern Questions

If we can trace the new and the modern in the elements of the journal that framed its central concern, the *xiaoshuo* of its title, it follows that we should expect the contents of the journal to be modern as well, to offer new perspectives on many aspects of life in China and abroad and not to emphasize the idea of entertainment reading for leisure hours. Instead, we would expect it to highlight the problems of the historical moment in which writers and readers found themselves and, as the initial Declaration of Intent had stated, concentrate on illustrating new principles that could be of benefit to readers and nation and on providing information that would, at the same time, broaden readers' horizons and enhance their knowledge of the world.

Contributors to the various sections of the journal addressed their historical context in a number of ways. They spoke of the problems facing China and of the anxieties and worries that these created. They suggested alternative patterns of structuring national life at all levels, from the highest level of national organization, the government of the country, down through the various levels of official, social, and personal life. Their alternative suggestions were seldom formulated as blueprints for a radical restructuring of the Chinese world. In fact, there is little that may be termed radical in any of their writings. They were sugges-

tive of change, not insistent on it; they took in past constellations of political, social, and personal life and reflected upon them within the new international context of China's contemporary situation. The "cross-cultural trafficking of ideas"[1] we find here shows that contributors did not always fully understand the contexts and developments of the foreign ideas they were depicting, but their writings also show that they were extremely and seriously interested in the ideas they took up and attempted to illustrate. Moreover, they were concerned that the ideas be looked into wherever they might prove of practical and positive use to their own country.

The topics we encounter include questions of national government, the political situation in China, the army, officialdom, the roles of individuals and groups within society, and the various ways of structuring personal life and experience. They were not conceived as pure entertainment; there was an easily discernible element of information and discussion within the texts. In other words, the journal combined entertainment and information in one. It did not close its eyes to the questions and difficulties of its times to offer escapist pleasure to an urban readership.

One of the greatest and most pressing problems facing China in the 1910s was certainly that of China's attitude to and perception of the rest of the world or the West. The confrontation with the West, the necessity of coming to terms with not only a different worldview but also the physical presence of things foreign, had given rise to a number of different official strategies and approaches since the middle of the nineteenth century.[2] With time, foreign ideas and attitudes began to affect all areas of life—predominantly, of course, the lives of the elite—and the often peculiar possibilities offered by the West for the structuring and ordering of almost all aspects of political, social, and private life had begun to be appreciated or investigated by the educated public, especially those living in such a metropolis as Shanghai.

Studies to date have largely concentrated on such monumental figures as Yan Fu, Kang Youwei, or Liang Qichao[3] and their assimilation, understanding, and communication of foreign ideas in the context of a new order for China through their translations or their polemical or theoretical writings. Thus far little attention has been accorded to the question of how such ideas were presented within the perhaps less elevated context of a commercial fiction magazine whose aim may well be described as one of wishing to inform and to entertain and whose mainstay was the short stories.[4] Of course, it is of great importance to

scholars looking into the intellectual history of a nation to see how official attitudes changed to new, non-Chinese, and thus alien, concepts and to trace these developments within the wording of official edicts or with regard to their effect upon practical politics or the rise or demise of certain public and influential figures. Moreover, there are always prominent thinkers who, despite their nonofficial positions, voice or verbalize national questions of concern to large segments of the educated population and thus create and prepare public opinion and debate by occupying the extreme sectors of opinion. Such polemical writers or speakers, and the opponents they automatically call into being, are rightly seen as the leading thinkers of a period, for they deal with the period's most pressing problems and at least appear to be less parochial in their breadth of view, erudition, and foresight than the majority of their contemporaries. Nearly all the leading imperial officials and a number of self-appointed popular leaders active during the last years of the Qing dynasty and the early years of the republic voiced their opinions about the question of what to do about the West in one context or another, be it the requisite form of government, the military, railways, education, or national character. All of them were concerned with the salvation of the nation. Yet these official or prominent figures should not cloud or obstruct our view of the large but disparate group of members of the educated elite who took part in the debates of their day. They debated among themselves and they made extensive use of the newly available medium of the press as both readers and writers. Their concern was also the salvation of the nation, but their activities have a different quality from those of the figures of great prominence who stood apart from the rest as a result of either their eloquence or their opinions. They were not the brilliant speakers, the radical opponents or defenders of any one ideology that subsequent research has elevated to the representatives of the period. They were, in fact, representatives of the great majority of educated Chinese of the day who were deeply involved in the question of the present state and the future of their country.

It is this latter, less distinguished group of individuals that made serious effort, on a largely local level, to understand the problems facing their society and to renew their society and make it capable of facing the tasks that a changed world had in store for it. These are the people who created and made up the membership of the many schools, associations, study groups, and the like that reforms and the new atmosphere of public debate had given rise to at the turn of the century. They

were founders and members of literary societies such as the Southern Society and of local, and sometimes even national, educational societies. They took up the challenges and ideas put forward by leading thinkers and reacted to them either by attempting to instigate reform and change on their own local level or by recording their ideas on the pages of the magazines and journals they created. The names of Wang Yunzhang (1888–1942), Yun Tieqiao (1878–1935), Xu Zhuodai (1879–1958), and others are no longer familiar to us and are seldom mentioned in the literary histories of China, but their writings showed their extreme concern for their country and its future and for the effects of change upon patterns of life among their countrymen and women. Their biographies will be discussed in chapter 4. Here our interest will be in the themes of their writings. I will place the major emphasis, as the writers themselves did at this time, firmly upon the contents. The question of form will be discussed in chapter 3.

Leaders of Nations

At the highest level of national organization—governance of the country—concepts of the West were inextricably linked to the question of a suitable form of government, a restyling of the Chinese monarchy and of general social organization. These concepts were not held up as things simply to be imitated, as unquestioned exemplars. Presentations of perceived Western realities and leanings functioned as a mirror of existing conditions and as a source of possible alternatives or combinations of different attitudes and solutions.

A comfortable synthesis of old and new forms and ideas can be detected in the portrayal of foreign monarchs and quite particularly in the depictions of the British kings Edward VII and George V in the opening issues of the first year of the magazine. The Translations sections of the first two issues of 1910 (August and September)[5] take a closer look at the two British monarchs. August 1910 deals with Edward VII, who had died in May of that year, and September 1910 with his successor, George V. The two texts can easily be interpreted as a contribution to contemporary discussions of constitutional government and the role of the emperor in the state.

A close look at the information presented on the two monarchs and an attempt to correlate the picture that is drawn and the aspects of their

lives and people mentioned in the short contributions with the political discussions and preoccupations of the day is a rewarding exercise.[6] These two texts deserve attention not only because they reward such attention with plentiful information, but also because they can serve as an example of what texts in this type of magazine can say if we take them seriously and if we examine them asking how they could have been read and appreciated in their own day and not from the standpoint of our times, where many of them seem merely amusing and superficial. A detailed reading of the texts can illustrate what Pierre Bourdieu has called the reconstruction of the "spaces of original possibles."[7] Bourdieu defines these spaces as "the vast amount of information which is linked to membership of a field and which all contemporaries invest in their reading of works." Works concern all the problems, issues, and debates that are circulating at the time of their production, are "in the air" and are recognized immediately by contemporaries and do not need to be spelled out to be appreciated.[8] Once again, we meet the need for a context.

When the two short texts were published, petitions were being submitted for an early convening of parliament.[9] That is to say, the question of the role of the monarch within the Chinese state was high on the agenda. In November of the previous year, representatives from sixteen provinces had met under the leadership of Zhang Jian (1853–1926) and had decided to petition for an early convening of parliament. This decision turned into what may rightly be considered a broad movement in the first ten months of the year. Three petitions were handed in to the court on January 26, June 22, and October 3 respectively. The first petition was signed by two hundred thousand people, the second by three hundred thousand, and the third by twenty-five million. Thus the texts dealing with the kings of Britain and their roles within a constitutional government are neatly wedged between the second and third petitions, a time when—if we may believe the figures—some twenty-five million people were being mobilized in the cause of a step toward a more representative form of government.

The question of a constitutional government and the role of the monarch had caught the attention of the Chinese public at this moment, but it was not wholly a new line of thinking. In the petition of 1895, Kang Youwei criticized the lack of contact between the ruler and the ruled as well as the fact that the ruler in his isolation had no idea of what the people were thinking, which in turn led to a dwindling in the sense of obligation to the country on the part of the people.[10] Any knowledge the ruler had of his subjects was thus of a secondhand nature. A

little earlier, Huang Zunxian (1848–1905), a man of broad learning and great practical experience in foreign countries, had also pointed to the arrogant seclusion of ruler and elite, who had become remote from the people.[11] However, such efforts were largely the result of one man's considerations or of the deliberations of small reform-minded groups.[12] How much different then was the situation some ten years later when topics such as the role of the sovereign and a constitutional monarchy were on everybody's lips. Most issues of *Dongfang zazhi*, for instance, from the end of 1908 to 1910, included a section by Meng Sen discussing the question of constitutional government.[13] And even *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was addressing such questions without having to justify or label them explicitly.

If we scrutinize the two texts published in 1910, we quickly recognize that Edward VII is not depicted as the ideal monarch.[14] Unlike his successor, George V, he is portrayed as a man of more private interests: he prefers to spend his time with his family, he likes to read fiction, he is a collector, he has a penchant for the supernatural. His private feelings and his hobbies are placed at the center of attention, with his statesmanly skills occupying but little of the text. He would appear to have the abilities required of a ruler, but he much prefers to avoid difficulties and to perform his duties only to the extent that is absolutely necessary.

George, on the other hand, has all the qualities and skills that could be wished of a modern and a Chinese monarch—perhaps one could almost say, of a modernized Chinese monarch. He combines traditional monarchical values with those aspects of a ruler that were felt to be necessary to a changing world. George is both a man of culture *(wen)* and a military man *(wu)*. He has firsthand knowledge of his subjects at home and abroad, and he goes out among them. He takes an active role in the politics of the country, is aware of political problems, of present needs and past strengths and weaknesses. He is frugal in his habits, a learned statesman, an excellent sportsman, and a good father and family man aware of the practicalities of running a household. Almost all of the text concentrates on aspects of his role as the king of Great Britain.

In other words, the positive portrait drawn of George V highlights almost all of the major issues and discussions taking place in China at the time, and it produces a collage of the traditional elements of a ruler and leader—which were still perceived as being useful—together with modern aspects. The modern aspects refer to most of the issues that were constantly being discussed both in the press of the day and within

politics and comprise, apart from the question of a constitutional monarchy, the knowledgeable public leader informed of national and international politics and developments, the role of expatriates in the strengthening of a country, learning and education, military reform, and the military man as well as the active citizen.

Both Edward and George are portrayed as popular monarchs: they were loved by their subjects and went out among them. The recent death of Edward had caused unspeakable sadness among the people, and the new king, George, was keenly aware of the importance of popular support for his reign. In China, too, only two years previously, there had been a change of emperor. The Guangxu emperor had died in 1908 and had been succeeded by a child emperor, Xuantong, on whose behalf a group of regents and advisors, mostly Manchus, ruled. The Guangxu emperor had also apparently been very popular. Whether his death caused a sense of unspeakable sadness and loss to the whole nation is difficult to assess. However, he did enjoy a positive reputation, and he was the focus of a great deal of hope among elite reformist circles because of his active support of reform plans. The regents for his successor gradually showed themselves to be incompetent and apparently acting out of nepotistic interest rather than in the interest of the people.[15] Clearly, those who had taken on the responsibility for the country did not reflect upon aspects of their own popularity or reputation among the Chinese population in the way that the reader is told George had. There is, of course, some difficulty in speaking of "the people" in the Chinese context here. In the early years of the reform movements, the term "people" was often simply synonymous with those interested in reform or those who were members of various groups, a kind of "we."[16] An increasing awareness of the existence and importance of a population at large may be traced over the first decade of the twentieth century and runs parallel to discussions of political systems, educational needs, and the like.

George V is emphatically portrayed as a man who had traveled widely and learned from his travels. He is said to have insisted upon the central importance of the British population abroad *(yingqiao)* to the well-being of the nation as a whole. This reference to expatriates touches upon a topic that had grown in importance in China since the late nineteenth century: the Chinese abroad *(huaqiao)*. Officials and the court had come to appreciate the value of the experience, the technical and practical knowledge, and, not least, the financial potential of overseas Chinese. The Qing made numerous overtures to the Chinese overseas,

trying from about the 1890s on to make use of their superior knowledge in the modernization of the country. As Michael Godley has observed, overseas Chinese combined "practical knowledge of modern ways" with a wish to identify with the traditions of their home country. They came very close to the long-sought balance between Western knowledge and Chinese principles that had often been believed to be the key to success in a changed world.[17] The official Chinese ban on emigration was finally lifted in 1893, but long before then perceptive and active individuals had recognized the possible significance that overseas Chinese could have in the strengthening of the country—a strengthening that, it was hoped, would allow China to assume its rightful place within the world.[18] As early as 1867 Ding Richang (1823–1882), a progressive official and supporter of the self-strengtheners, had advocated a kind of consular representation for the Chinese abroad coupled with a watchful eye for those who might be of particular use to their native country,[19] and in the 1890s Huang Zunxian had considerably annoyed the crown representative in Singapore by issuing a kind of Chinese passport to the local Chinese population. They were, of course, crown subjects.[20] In 1898, Liu Baolin, the consul-general in Singapore, had called upon all educated Chinese of the area "to look upon the Chinese empire as their future field of operations . . . to promote the regeneration of their native land."[21] And it would appear that the overseas Chinese did just that. From the late 1890s until the 1911 uprising, they poured literally millions of dollars into educational, charitable, industrial, and commercial activities in China with the very aim of supporting or bolstering the Qing government. Their support for the Qing far outweighed any monies collected by the various revolutionaries undertaking fund-raising trips abroad.[22]

Prior to the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the Chinese abroad had already been financially involved in almost all "modern" enterprises in China: railroads, shipping, public roads, aircraft, motor vehicles, telegraphy, public water supplies, banking, insurance, tobacco, and the like.[23] The widely read journal *Dongfang zazhi* also carried regular features on the situation of the Chinese abroad, and a large number of active expatriates were able to enjoy privileges and rights normally granted only to Western powers.[24] One overseas Chinese, Zhang Bishi, who had originated from Guangdong and had left his home at the age of seventeen to find fame and fortune in Southeast Asia, was to become intimate with the empress dowager, enjoying regular audiences and being able to press his radical demands for more rights for overseas

Chinese involved in business or industry. In 1904 he was not only a vice-president to the Board of Trade but also imperial commissioner and superintendent of agriculture, industry, railroads, and mining for Fujian and Guangdong.[25] Moreover, the best graduates from overseas Chinese schools were given ranks from the traditional Chinese examination system, and those active in commerce and industry were awarded bureaucratic titles.[26]

There can be little doubt that readers would have been able to appreciate the import of George V's attitude to those of his subjects living abroad, and they would also no doubt have seen the good sense behind it.

George was depicted as a statesman but also a man of learning and culture. He wrote and spoke well, both of which abilities presuppose—particularly for Chinese readers—broad learning. And precisely this is stated a few lines later: George combines a wealth of experience with extensive learning. This is particularly interesting in view of the lengthy discussions that had been taking place in China on the nature of the learning and education that would be required to improve the standing of the country vis-à-vis foreign powers and to establish the country within a modern, multinational world. These discussions had ultimately cleared the way for the abolition of the traditional examination system in 1905. Yet they also led to a recognition of the value of practical abilities and the man of action, as opposed to the scholar-bureaucrat whose virtue was to be guarantee of his beneficial, benevolent, and competent administration.

Exhortations to new kinds of learning and attitudes had thus far been directed toward those within the bureaucracy or those hoping to join it. They had provided the basis for debates about school curricula and teacher training. Here, it would seem, these criteria are being held up as a measure for judging a capable monarch. No longer is it of paramount importance that the eyes, ears, arms, and legs (i.e., officials) of a national body assume a new quality of activity, understanding, and function; the torso, the central organs of the body, must also achieve a new dynamism and present a fine balance of theoretical and practical attributes. Coupled with this is that George also personifies the idea of the *mens sana in corpore sano*: a sound mind in a sound body. He is an excellent marksman, the second best in the country, and this apparently minor detail once again combines traditional attributes[27] with more modern discourse. Sport and physical education had traditionally never been central to discussions of either the attributes of the Confucian scholar or, indeed, of the monarch. An ideal ruler had rested within his

virtue and through it influenced the world around him. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, physical education had begun to occupy the minds of educational and social reformers and became equally as important as moral and intellectual education and training.[28]

George, moreover, leads a regular life *(jie)* with no excesses, especially not in food and drink. If nothing else, traditional Chinese texts had always stressed the importance of moderation in all things, in speech, in dress, in consumption of alcohol and food. From the texts learned in childhood[29] to manuals for district magistrates, not to mention such canonical texts as the *Shujing* [The book of documents] or *Daxue* [The great learning], the idea that the monarch, in particular, as well as the cultivated individual was self-disciplined and avoided excesses was a mainstay of traditional ideology. One may assume that the frequency of such admonitions was proof enough of a dire necessity for them, and their significance would not have been lost on the educated Chinese reader.

Finally, George's active service in the navy and his awareness of the military needs of his country points to a further contemporary concern in China: military affairs. George is quoted as saying, "At a time of competition between the countries of the world, the establishment of a naval force and experience in military affairs are of paramount importance." Such a statement could quite conceivably have passed the lips of a Chinese statesman of the day. For some time China had been trying to build up a naval force of its own, albeit with little success. An insight of this kind from the head of state of such a strong imperialist power as England would have rung true to Chinese ears.[30]

General military restructuring had been a central concern of the Qing government since the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, and not a few advances had been made under the capable direction of Yuan Shikai as governor-general of Zhili between 1901 and 1907. The incorporation of foreign technology, tactics, and training had not only produced a capable fighting force (i.e., the Beiyang armies), but had also raised the status of the military man in Chinese eyes. The military now became an acceptable alternative to officialdom.[31] Moreover, the military was indeed of paramount importance to the country at a time when, many believed, China ran the risk of being carved into pieces and shared out among the foreign powers. Theoretically, the military aspects of statecraft had always been of importance: military skills were the complementary other half to the more literary-political skills. The two belonged together, and it is thus that we find them in the person of George V.

The monarch presented here, then, is learned, sound in mind and body, and a good statesman. But this is not all. George is also a paragon of family virtue and competence and is generally admired for these qualities. He is versed in household matters, personally cares for his children whenever he has time, and enjoys the happiness of his family life. Now, one of the central texts of Confucianism, the *Daxue*, is adamant about the fact that good government, personal integrity, and an orderly family life must go hand in hand. This was an ideal and one that no doubt was understood simply as such—as a goal to aim for. Yet here, in the person of George V, we have an almost blemish-free picture, with much traditional vocabulary, of an ideal Confucian ruler, but one who is attuned to the requirements of the day.

References to other foreign monarchs occur in a variety of contexts, but often within the Translation sections or in those offering *haiwai zhuling* (snippets from abroad). Readers were regularly informed of the outgoing, gregarious, and adventurous spirit and the activities of monarchs outside China as well as of their often strange interests. Thus Afensuo of Spain[32] had his own peculiar museum with a host of objects, such as the skin of a horse, many of which he had obtained at risk to his own life.[33] Like the British monarchs, the Belgian king Leopold[34] actively seeks direct contact with his subjects. He is reported to have gone out into the countryside with a retainer one day and to have stopped at the house of a peasant and bought some milk, which he then drank. When he told his retainer—in English—that the milk was very good, the farmer's wife got quite a surprise and remarked on the fact to her husband, adding that she did not know how this Englishman was going to pay for the milk. At this the Belgian king laughed and offered her a Belgian coin, saying he hoped she would accept this picture of an Englishman. A note is appended for the Chinese reader informing him or her that all Western coins have pictures of the country's rulers on them.[35] The Belgian monarch is not the only monarch good at witty repartee. In the same section of snippets from abroad, and following immediately after the anecdote about Leopold and his contact with the farming community, is a tale of an encounter between Edward VII and a shortsighted London city councilor.[36] Edward, as was his wont, was strolling around the city one day when he bumped into the said councilor at the corner of the street. The man became angry and shouted at Edward, asking him if he was not aware of who he was and of his position in society. Edward answered that the gentleman was perfectly right to be so angry since he himself was merely the ruler of the country.

Crowned heads of a country are not the only ones depicted in this collection of "snippets" as being in the habit of going out among their people; presidents of the United States did the same.[37] Thus the episode with Edward VII is followed by one telling of an encounter between President Roosevelt and a servant who failed to recognize his country's leader. The reader is told explicitly here that Roosevelt enjoyed getting away from the White House and going out among the people.[38] This same section also contains a number of short anecdotes about the quite ordinary and human pleasures of the ruling classes, be they heads of state or political leaders of some kind. Thus President Tate of the United States held a dancing competition in the East Room of the White House one evening; a British viceroy of Africa and his wife entertained their surprised listeners with an impromptu concert while en route to their posting, both of them being good and keen singers. King George is also reported to have enjoyed singing ditties and silly songs, especially during his stint as an officer in the navy. He, too, earned the praises of his audience. A trusted and popular Member of Parliament is also said to be a good and enthusiastic singer who is always asked to perform a song whenever he meets his voters or the party has some kind of celebration.

It would doubtless have been difficult for Chinese readers to have imagined such direct contact and communication between their own cloistered emperor or political leaders and the population. The closest contact anyone had enjoyed with the emperor himself had been the audience eventually granted to Kang Youwei in 1898 during the course of the Hundred Days' Reform, an audience, interestingly enough, also attended by the man later to take charge of the Commercial Press, Zhang Yuanji.[39] It can therefore come as no surprise that this exceptionally unusual personal audience with the Guangxu emperor made such a lasting and deep mark on Kang Youwei, who remained loyal to the ruler to the end. The fact that, as Jonathan Spence has said, "Kang felt that Guangxu had reached out to him personally"[40] had made all the difference. If such a meeting had been so difficult to achieve and had made such a deep impression on a man who, at the time, had been at the forefront of reform proposals, how much more unusual must the thought have been of a ruler who was accessible to all his people and on public view to the Chinese reading public in general.

In 1895 the petition handed in to the court demanding reform had complained that the emperor hardly ever left the protection of his palace quarters and that, when he did, it was only after everything had been cleaned up and beautified for his eyes.[41] In 1901, on the return to

Beijing of Empress Dowager Cixi and her retinue after their flight to Xi'an in the wake of the Boxer Incident, new and special roads had been constructed for her, and she and her party had been screened from the population at large, the very people who had suffered directly as a result of the enormously wasteful spending for the trip. The *London Times* had commented,

> Throughout its entire distance the road over which the Imperial palanquins were borne had been covered into a smooth, even surface of shining clay, soft and noiseless under foot; not only had every stone been removed, but as the procession approached gangs of men were employed in brushing the surface with feather brooms. At intervals of about ten miles well appointed resthouses had been built, where all manner of food was prepared. The cost of this King's highway, quite useless, of course, for ordinary traffic of the country, was stated by the native contractor to amount roughly to fifty Mexican dollars for every eight yards—say 1,000 English pounds a mile—the clay having to be carried in some places from a great distance.[42]

Chinese rulers were not of a kind who went out into their country to fight fires[43] or who could bump into commoners at the corner of the street or even purchase a beaker of milk from a peasant. These were rulers who, indeed, could be said to have inhabited a different world from their subjects. In the case of the empress dowager's journey through Zhili on her way to Beijing, no lesser official than General Ma Yukun[44] was entrusted with the "responsibility to screen the Empress Dowager and her Court from the human misery and unrest so pervasive at the time in southern Zhili and . . . near the exploding point."[45] A ruling group that is not even allowed, or does not want, to observe the all-too-obvious misery of its subjects is remote indeed.

As mentioned above in connection with the depiction of George V of Great Britain, a direct interest in and even direct contact with the people of the country and, moreover, the ability to understand their needs and to communicate with them in their own language were demands that had been increasingly addressed to the Manchu dynasty. The gap between ruler and ruled had become a psychologically greater one for the Chinese at this time because the Manchus were not only distant leaders but were quite frequently being depicted as alien rulers.[46]

Directly linked to this question of contact with the people was the issue of education. Education at all levels and for all walks of life, education as a basic qualification for participation in modern life and work, had become a central topic of Chinese reform interests especially

with the prospect and then the actual abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905. George V had been shown to be a man of learning and of practical abilities, and these had been joined within the picture of an ideal ruler. In 1911 a similar reference to the crown prince of Germany[47] in the Translations section[48] recounts that he has set out on a world trip, a fact that amply illustrates that he, too, has an interest in and thirst for knowledge of foreign lands. His education, even as a very young child, is described as having been strict, much like that of the Spartans.[49] German monarchs were widely acknowledged as being well educated according to the text, which continues by recounting that from the age of four years the German crown prince had had to rise at four in the morning and go to bed at eight in the evening no matter what the weather. He had even been subjected to corporal punishment by his tutors. When he was older, he left the palace and entered a military academy, subsequently studying military affairs at the University of Bonn. Moreover, he had gained practical insights into home and foreign policy by working in various ministries. He had to keep regular hours of work and, after his office work had ended, he went home to study papers.

The *biji* (Random jottings) section of the same issue also remarked upon the educational achievements of the German royal family. Here note is made of the fact that August Wilhelm of Germany had recently passed his examinations in law at university and was thus the first of the Prussian princes to hold a doctoral title. His royal descent, the writer affirms, did not prevent him from seeking education. The text declares that this situation, together with the fact that President Roosevelt of the United States had, on occasion, been required to pay his own travel expenses, was evidence of the high moral fiber of Europeans and Americans.[50]

This picture, together with the portrait of George V of Britain, must have been eye-opening for the Chinese readers. Not only were these two young men both competent in their jobs and used to hard work and a strict upbringing; they had enjoyed a specialist training that even the highest government officials in China had not generally received. Furthermore here were two royals from countries with an extremely strong presence in China.[51]

The British monarchs Edward and George had both been portrayed as family men: Edward had much preferred the company of his wife and daughter to the affairs of state, and George had been competent in the home and had enjoyed looking after his children whenever business

would allow. In the case of Crown Prince Wilhelm, we are not told of his relationship to his wife or family but are given a short sketch of his wife, Cecilie of Mecklenburg (Mokelanbao).[52] Cecilie had married the eldest son of the emperor of Germany, readers are told, in 1905. Her reputation for kindness and her popularity among the people even exceeded that of her greatly beloved mother-in-law.[53] She was a good and correct mother to her three sturdy sons, and she is reported to have sold her diamond crown for five thousand pounds to use the money in the relief of the needy: widows and the children of the poor. She is also reported to have been something of a writer: before her marriage she had often had texts published in the press, albeit under a false name.

This kind of public behavior on the part of the imperial family, and especially in the case of a woman, would have been inconceivable to a Chinese citizen of the day. Empress Dowager Cixi may well have made concessions to the new order in the days following the Boxer Incident by allowing her photograph to be taken and inviting some foreign women to tea in 1902 in her effort to show her support of the Natural Foot Society (Tianzu hui),[54] but the air she breathed was still "rarefied by the incense burners carried before her."[55] The role of women in society was a major topic of the times, but that discussion did not necessarily include the female members of the imperial household. An imperial princess had contributed to the Women Citizens' Subscription Movement, which tried to raise money to recover economic rights from foreigners in China, but this was probably largely a specific public relations act rather than a sign of a general trend.[56] The contribution of personal jewels in support of national causes was left largely to women from wealthy families. It does not appear to have entered into the palace precinct.[57]

Women's appearances in public, especially on official occasions, obviously caused a stir in China. This is attested by the surprise that had been aroused by Yuan Shikai when he held a reception for President Theodore Roosevelt's daughter Alice in Tianjin at the end of September 1905. The foreign lady had been welcomed by Chinese officials and their wives and daughters.[58] This must have been one of the very first occasions when Chinese women visibly took part in public functions. Public appearances of women were generally instigated by the more "radical" or "modern" of Chinese women, the teachers and students, and were largely frowned upon by the authorities.[59] The continuing situation of the nonpublic female, especially those in the imperial household, is perhaps well illustrated by the photograph we still have of the young Xuantong emperor (Puyi) taken in 1911. He is in full

view, whereas in the top left-hand corner of the photo we see nothing more than the top half of the head of Empress Dowager Longyu.[60]

There can be no doubt, however, that things were changing. The following report is noted in a book published in 1912. After describing how Chinese women had walked through the streets to attend a meeting of a boycotting movement in 1908, the text continues,

> The new life that is now stirring the people affects women as well as men. A writer in the Hong Kong Journal says: "Not the most optimistic or enthusiastic revolutionary, who from the viewpoint of twenty years ago looked forward to the changes that then seemed impending, would have dared to prophesy an overturning and recasting so complete as that which now meets the gaze in certain aspects of social and political life in China. Few things have been more rapid or more startling than the emancipation of women, and the acquiescence of officials and other responsible leaders among the people in the position of women as a leading factor in public life."[61]

A little later, the author of these lines warns his readers against believing that the text cited described the "actual position and lot of the Chinese woman. It does not."[62] It was an idealized notion of women, but it was one that was starting to make its way into the thoughts (and the texts) of a good many educated Chinese.[63]

Interestingly enough, these references to the behavior of heads of state in foreign countries are found only in the very early issues of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*—that is, at a time when the question of a constitutional monarchy, the form it should take, and the qualities then required of the monarch needed to be reviewed. We may assume that after the fervor of the constitutional discussion—that is, during the period of the 1911 uprising and the short era in which attempts were made to consolidate the republic—there was less need for or interest in the type of suggestive exemplar described above.

Snippets of information that could be said to aim more at entertainment than edification are in the minority. These comprise a mere two references. One involves a short account of a hunting party for the emperors of Germany and Russia listing the number of animals they shot and how many trainloads of carcasses these would be[64] and the other is an exotic tale of how Louis XIV of France often ordered his tailors to make him garments out of cobwebs. The account narrates how difficult it is to work with this material and how easily the clothes may be torn. It also relates the problems encountered by the royal spider keepers in cultivating and feeding the spiders.[65]

The final reference to imperial attitudes to rulers' tasks can be found

on a page dedicated to the war between Italy and Turkey of 1911–1912.[66] The article appeared in the tenth issue of the second year of publication, which would point to a date of publication sometime at the end of December 1911. The war, which was to end in 1912 with the seizure of Tripoli by Italian forces, had been caused, like so many conflicts in this region, by colonial aspirations. To Chinese readers, Turkey had long been a symbol of what could happen to weak nations caught in the middle between stronger powers with imperialist aspirations. No doubt readers knew few details of the history of the Ottoman Empire, yet Turkey, together with Poland and India, provided the opposite extreme of a possible future path to that offered by the example of Meiji Japan. These countries "had been respectively partitioned, economically ruined, and politically subjugated."[67]

The text itself is a hodgepodge of information: steamships are dispatched by the Italian government as a show of strength at the onset of the crisis; troops embark for Tripoli; they are sent off with words of admonition from their families and pleas that they should tear down the "half-moon flag."[68] Moreover, the soldiers are told to return home in glory "giving those at home no cause for shame and the enemy no cause for laughter." The text describes the respective heads of state. Mahmud V of Turkey is reported to have been put under arrest in a faraway palace by his elder brother at the age of five. Yet he managed to ascend the throne in 1909 and, since then, has put all his energy into what he considers to be the most pressing matter: improving the lot of the people. Nothing is said of his abilities; it is a poignant portrait of the underdog, the weak ruler at the hands of imperial powers, a man who had been shut away for most of his life thus far and who now sets out, heroically but in vain, to relieve the situation of his people.

The ruler of Italy, on the other hand, the country the reader would know to be the stronger of the warring parties, is more than competent. He has a good eye for the choice of the right subordinate and is completely in control, even though the country is in confusion and military activities under way in Tripoli. He himself is said to have written the declaration of war in which he stated that he knew he could count on the concerted will and strength of the whole country to advance the power of Italian military force. When he looked around him, he wrote, he could clearly see the idealistic gleam in the eye of every European.

Such comments can easily be attributed to the kind of social Darwinism rife in the thinking of the Chinese of the day as they observed the aggressive acts of the stronger nations and the fates of the

weaker ones, but the sentiments and the attitude attributed to the Italian ruler were indeed those of the stronger nations, as a statement by the British prime minister, Lord Salisbury, in 1898 more than adequately bears out:

> For one reason or another—from the necessities of politics or under the pretext of philanthropy—the living nations will gradually encroach upon the territory of the dying. . . . It is not to be supposed that any one nation of the living nations will be allowed to have the profitable monopoly of curing or cutting up these unfortunate patients, and the controversy is as to who shall have the privilege of doing so, and in what measure. . . . It is a period which will tax our resolution, our tenacity and imperial instincts, to the utmost.[69]

The Chinese public may not have been aware of this statement, but contributions to the new journal had clearly caught the basic tenor of imperialistic attitudes. Moreover, this period, like the one described by Salisbury, was to tax the resolution, the tenacity, and the instinct for survival of the Chinese to the utmost. The texts of the early years of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* reflect this complex problem in a number of ways. For one, as we have seen in the texts dealing with George V of Great Britain, Crown Prince Wilhelm of Germany, and the Italian monarch, military abilities were a matter of urgency.

The Nation's Military Affairs

Given the precarious situation of the Chinese state at the beginning of the twentieth century and the memories of constant defeat by various foreign armies, it can come as no surprise that Chinese attention often turned to military matters. The contemporary concern with military skills and activities is demonstrated admirably by an article published in the first issue of the magazine for the third year of publication (late March 1912). The article "Famous Generals since the Establishment of the Huai Army"[70] appeared in the Random Jottings section of the magazine and was written by someone using the programmatic pen name "Good Armor" (Shan Kai).

The fairly long and detailed text opens by stating that since the military defeats of Chinese forces beginning in the 1880s, the country had lost its courage and fighting spirit of former days. True, the state *(guojia)* had been concentrating on military matters in order to come to terms

with the West, but no one was properly conversant with the apposite training methods. The Chinese of the day were so shocked by the present state of affairs with regard to their military potential that they did not even dare to speak of their brilliant past history, which could well serve as a good example for the present. It was child's play, according to Shan Kai, to recognize that this was getting them nowhere. Yet the reasons for the obvious futility of the present approach were not to be sought in the inability of Chinese soldiers to fight; they had simply been badly prepared for the fray. Despite all this, he asserts, competent leaders had arisen in the midst of a deplorable situation and had performed meritorious deeds well worth recording.

Unlike the Italian monarch depicted in the text describing the Italian clash with Turkey, the Chinese state had not shown any ability in choosing men of worth and had not sufficiently rewarded those of ability. On the contrary, the country's leaders had mistaken "lame nags for miraculous steeds." The result of all this incompetence was that the people of China had no examples to follow and no will to fight. For all these reasons, the author of the text chooses to depict three exemplary Chinese generals: Wang Xiaoqi, Zhang Gaoyuan, and Nie Shicheng. All of them, the text continues, had fought back a strong enemy, and all of them had contributed to the development of the country. In each of the three cases, the text describes their military feats and their tactics, the details of battles fought, in some detail.

The first of the three, Wang Xiaoqi (?–1899)[71] is said to be little known in the country, but it was Wang alone who deserved the credit for the first Chinese military victory over a foreign army since the court had commenced its policy of appeasement toward foreign powers *(Zhongwai jiaosui)*. The victory in question was that over the French at Langson (Chinese: Liangshan) in Vietnam in 1884. Wang's ability and competence, the author insists, resulted from his dedicating all his spare time to studying the arts of war: the lie of the land, modern weaponry and methods of fortification, and how to dig in his troops. Others had tried to cash in on his success, going as far as to claim it for themselves. One Su Yuanchun[72] even paid a large amount of money to a certain Shanghai newspaper to publish reports making him, Su, the hero of the day. The author authenticates his story of Wang Xiaoqi's military prowess and of the attempts of others to steal his glory by saying that he has all this information from Wang personally. At the time of his victory, and up to 1895 (the Sino–Japanese War), foreign powers had not dared to speak of "cutting up the melon" *(guafen zhi lun)*—that is, of dividing

China into various spheres of influence—purely and simply because there had been competent military men in China at the time, men like Wang Xiaoqi, and the foreign powers were afraid.

The second exemplary figure is Zhang Gaoyuan (?–1899).[73] According to Shan Kai, Zhang is the Wang Xiaoqi of Jilong (Taiwan). His bravery, too, should be honored by his countrymen and held up as a shining example for future generations. In 1884 he had crossed over to Taiwan to protect the province. When Jilong was attacked and taken by French forces, Zhang swore to take it back, since losing national territory to foreign forces should constitute a source of deep humiliation to any general. Apart from being a patriot, Zhang, who had been a high-ranking officer for some years, had never misused his rank and position for self-enrichment (obviously a state of affairs unusual enough to warrant special mention). He was popular with his men and thus his subordinates followed him willingly. Zhang's forces' brave attack routed the French troops, and their ships left Jilong that very same night, many of the French soldiers desperately trying to swim out to their ship and safety. With but a small contingent of troops, Zhang had managed to keep his promise, and when reinforcements arrived the next day they found Zhang's pennant flying over the town. The fallen French troops were enough to fill a huge cemetery, and to this day, the author remarks, the French send a gunboat to the island to commemorate their fallen. They even have an agreement with the Japanese on Taiwan for the maintenance of this cemetery. Zhang went on to further military honors in various battles such as at Port Arthur but eventually fell foul of Song Qing (1820–1902),[74] who envied his successes and popularity and intrigued against him, fearing that this rival's feats would draw attention to his own incompetence and lack of valor. Thus Zhang was maneuvered into a situation where he was ultimately humiliated. The author appends a note on Song Qing who, he says, went in for deceit and flattery on a large scale and found reward, honor, and decoration in life as well as posthumously. Zhang, on the other hand, a valiant man who had fought so magnificently for his country, was left in disgrace and poverty until some gentlemen from Anhui petitioned for him to be paid his full salary again. Even so, when the Germans invaded Jiaozhou Bay, Zhang immediately volunteered to fight them.

Nie Shicheng (?–1900)[75] is the third of the generals selected for commendation by the author. He had also been honorably mentioned for his good leadership and bravery during the Sino-Japanese War, and after the peace settlement he had been given an army to train. He used

the German system of troop training and gathered together the sturdy and robust, eating, drinking, and sleeping with his troops. His great wish, he had told the author on the occasion of a visit to Nie's camp, was to be able to acquit himself well for his country in a war and thus contribute to the wiping away of the national shame that had accrued after so many defeats. He fought against the Boxers in 1900 and then against the foreign expeditionary force sent in reaction to the Boxer attacks. He did not wish to witness the insult of foreign armies walking Chinese soil. Nie himself was killed in battle while fighting the expeditionary forces, but they quickly recognized and respected his fighting abilities, and reports of his deeds were published in Western newspapers in Shanghai. The author feels that his deeds should be known to his fellow countrymen as well.

At the end of the long description of these three generals there are two comments: one by Shan Kai and one by the editor of the magazine, Yun Tieqiao. The author states that the life of a soldier is a hard one, not something that a happy people would willingly undertake. Yet when times are hard for a nation, the number of good soldiers is naturally higher than in times of peace. Japan had provided a suitable example of this phenomenon. The Chinese, a resilient and persevering people, should thus make good soldiers, too. He claims to have depicted the victories and the courage of the three men to spur on his fellow countrymen to be equally as patriotic and courageous. Yun Tieqiao states that he had found the manuscript in a pile of old papers. He is of the opinion that it is a work of genius, that it is by no means out of date, and that reading it could indeed, and moreover should, prod readers into action and arouse their patriotic spirit sufficiently to follow the examples of the three great men.

The questions of patriotic spirit, military organization, reform, and the methods of military training and command that are central to this contribution had occupied the minds of a number of reformers and patriots since the crushing and humbling defeat of Chinese forces in the Sino-Japanese War and had led to the formation of new armies and the introduction of new methods of training and discipline among the soldiers. A new attitude to the military man had also emerged during this period. This more positive view of the normally disdained soldier probably found its beginnings in the formation of militia armies by local initiative as an answer to the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1866), which the traditional Qing armies (the Green Standard and the Banner forces) had proven incapable of quelling.[76] The officers in these militia armies gen-

erally originated from the lower ranks of the degree-holding sector of society, a sector that had previously scorned such professions.[77] After the defeat in 1895, the "budding nationalism and patriotism"[78] observed by foreigners in China was accompanied by a positive reevaluation of the worth of the military man. The professionalism and the pay scales offered by the Beiyang armies under Yuan Shikai in the first years of the new century made the life of the officer even more attractive:

> Added attractions were the positive popular image of the Beiyang Army as China's most modern military force and the promise of further military education under its auspices. There was also the promise of promotions in a rapidly expanding army based on further schooling and examination results. Military service was again—perhaps for the first time since the Ming—regarded by China's upper classes as a respectable profession.[79]

The long text reflects this general acceptance of the need for the fighting man. Morever, it was emphasized that, without the well-trained fighting man of patriotic spirit, China was and would continue to be at the mercy of imperialist powers.

The text is in no way impartial: the author clearly had personal contact with each of the three men, all of whom were natives of Hefei in the province of Anhui and generals in Li Hongzhang's Huai, or Anhui, Army. All of the nasty deeds mentioned in the course of the text were perpetrated by commanders whom the readers would probably easily link with the other regional or militia forces of the day: the Xiang, or Hunan, Army of Zeng Guofan and the Fujian Army of Zuo Zongtang. However, the editor's comments make the personal reasons that may have caused Shan Kai to write his text into abstract principles that have bearing upon the state and the fate of the nation.

It is again important and of significance to remember the context—the date—of publication: the text appeared in the first issue of the third year of publication. This was March of 1912, a mere month after the formal abdication of the emperor and the start of Yuan Shikai's presidency. This should have been a time of consolidation and organization, so why, one may well ask, did the editor feel that the text had not lost its significance even though it appears to have been written some time earlier? He obviously felt there was need for this kind of warning at this particular time. The uprising, or revolution, of 1911 had gone off with little bloodshed and fighting, but the rapid secession of the provinces after the central uprising had not led to any joint effort toward a common goal. Each province continued to work on its own and very much for

its own regional benefit. Many local leaders were more intent on improving their own personal positions than on contributing to a national effort.[80] Eventually the breakup into various cliques of former members of Yuan Shikai's new Beiyang, or Northern, Army would lead to the period in which power was wielded by a varying network of warlords. Immediately after the successful uprising, however, the editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* seems to have sensed the imminent danger and felt that this was the right moment to warn his readers in no uncertain terms, to insist on their patriotism, and to point to the dangers of intrigues and infighting for personal power among military men. The moment was, in fact, a well chosen one since only recently, on the night of 29 February, troops had mutinied and made the streets of Beijing unsafe. Further violence by troops had been reported from Tianjin and Baoding. Even if this violence was eventually suspected to be a cunning plan on the part of Yuan Shikai, the president-to-be,[81] the news of troop mutinies and violent disturbances in the north must have been unsettling for the Chinese public. Moreover, the unexpected and rapid success of the "revolution" had led to a large number of groups that claimed the victory to be theirs. The situation was anything but stable, and many may well have yearned for a strong man who could hold China together and keep the foreigners at bay.[82]

Some six months after the publication calling for a renewal of China's military spirit, another contribution dealt exclusively with the question of the behavior of the Chinese soldier. In the form of a fictional account,[83] it is purportedly the true tale, recounted by an old soldier on a boat trip, of the atrocities committed by Chinese troops against the civilian population. Actions ostensibly against bandits were, he shows, mere excuses to go out and loot and pillage ordinary people to fill one's own pocket. The common soldier is depicted as gaining great pleasure from slaughtering civilians, cutting their heads off and parading them around. At the close of his tale, the soldier-narrator tells his audience that he looks back on this time (1903 in Yunnan) with a pleasant sense of nostalgia.

At this point the authorial narrator appends his final comment to the story. He says that on hearing the man's tale, he had interrupted and remarked that killing one's fellow countrymen could not be interpreted as a heroic deed and could certainly not be compared to the slaying of a foreign enemy. The old soldier nodded in affirmation, but the point of the comment, according to the author, went in one ear and out the other. The problem, Man Er concedes, is that generally one

cannot expect any different behavior from the uneducated rabble that goes under the name of soldiery in China. There were hordes of Anhui and Hunan Army soldiers still roaming around the countryside and behaving, in many cases, worse than bandits. It would be a difficult undertaking to fit them out with hearts that are conscious of the needs of others and not only intent on self-enrichment.

It goes without saying that the ordinary citizen did not have much glimpse of the new and model military units being trained in China at the time, and it is highly likely that many a citizen felt molested, or really was molested, by marauding former revolutionary or loyalist troops in the wake of the revolution. The story would thus have struck a chord within the hearts of readers at least.

In comparison, the state of the military in foreign countries was felt to be much higher. Not only did crowned heads of state (George V) and royal princes (Prussia) undergo military training and comprehend its worth, but the armed forces were generally respected in German society. According to an article on news from foreign countries, they were provided with reduced-rate theater and train tickets.[84] A travel report by Wo Yi also opens with a description of the view from the deck of a small steamship. Sixteen British, French, and Italian warships are moored next to three Chinese ships on the Huangpu River in Shanghai. The contrast could not be more acute, nor more acutely felt by the author: the foreign ships are clean and well maintained, the soldiers on board strong, as befitted soldiers. The Chinese ships are dilapidated, the crew hanging around on board and not even dressed properly. Wo Yi's conclusion was that a simple comparison of the two sights could not but cause the observer to feel a sense of shame and fear.[85]

The State of the Nation

Fear and insecurity about the state of the Chinese nation can be sensed in a large number of contributions from all sections of the magazine. Some, in the tradition of the *qianze xiaoshuo* (castigatory tale),[86] attack the corruption and bleak state of politics despite attempts at reform. Others claim to be chronicling events of recent history in order to provide a record, a reminder, and food for thought. In particular these latter texts depict the effects of recent events—and especially the revolution—on individuals and communities.

One obviously satirical attack on the state of the realm in 1910 and 1911 was Chu Gou's *Zizhi difang* [The self-governing areas].[87] It is a bitter satire on corrupt old-style officials and self-appointed new-style reformers who had spent some six months studying in Japan and had returned home as reformers and new leaders with nothing else in mind but the lining of their own pockets by means of so-called reforms in the localities. In typical late-Qing manner, many of the characters in these stories have names that reflect their characteristics. Thus the protagonist, a returned student who wishes to introduce the local government regulations *(difang zizhi)* promulgated by the court is called Wei Zizhi (Self-government of the Wei family). Typically, neither he nor the other men involved in the preparations for the proposed local council have any idea of how to organize elections. Other characters are called Zili (Self-profit) or Zizun (Self-respect).

The only competent person is female: Ziai (Self-love) is a modern woman who reads the *Shenbao*[88] and knows all about self-government regulations. She also goes out into the public sphere, discusses politics with men (much to the disapproval of her family), and often wears Western-style clothing. Her information is ignored, and the elections are a farce, with local government, as the narrator comments, becoming nothing more than a system of looking after oneself and one's own. Monies set aside for education, for a police force, and for times of poor harvest are plundered; the preparatory committee meets in a brothel, and no one takes any interest in the starving population, nor is anyone capable of coping with robbers who soon turn up. When at last the council had been constituted, it is absolutely incompetent: either its plans are turned down by those in higher places or its directives are ignored by those who were supposed to execute them.

Thus nothing comes of modern plans in the hands of either old-fashioned officials or new-style intellectuals with newfangled ideas, and the various characters either go away and seek traditional official careers and pleasure in the courtesan houses of the capital or look after the money they made through their local government activities. The basic problem throughout this story line and, as we shall see, in many other texts, is that all strata of Chinese society place their own interests far ahead of those of others or the community.

This is not the only bitter indictment of the self-government scheme that had been promulgated in China in the years between 1909 and 1910 as part of the preparations to try to "turn the emperor's subjects into a constitutional monarch's citizens."[89] In his report on a two-month stay in Beijing and Tianjin of late 1911, the educationalist and

reformer Lu Feikui (1886–1941) describes the filth typical of the streets in Beijing. The streets and cemeteries around the foreign delegations were clean and tidy, but in the places where the Chinese lived and moved he was confronted with stench, damp, and filth. Was this the way, he asks, that local government was planning to tidy up the towns?[90]

Much of China was affected by the local self-government scheme. The topic, moreover, occupied a good deal of space in newspapers and journals of the day. Thompson estimates that, by October 1911, there were approximately five thousand local councils throughout China.[91] Thus the phenomenon, and the abuses of the possibilities of the system, would have been obvious to a good many readers.

Yun Tieqiao's short story of 1912, "The Old Village Woman,"[92] does not show the incompetence of those who should have been local and national leaders. Instead, it is a bitter comment on the even greater ignorance of those who were to constitute the new citizens of the nation. His story shows that the ordinary people did not have the faintest idea about democratic procedures such as elections and voting. Both the old woman and her ne'er-do-well son, who believes that he will be elected to a high position if only he and his friends go to the polling station enough times, are out of their depth. However, there is no harsh criticism of these people as in the case of officials: after all, they do not know any better. The story even contains a humorous note: one of the son's friends, who has been going back and forth to the polling station to vote for him, is in a delirious state—probably because of the effects of alcohol and excitement—and in his sleep he keeps muttering things like "One vote, ten votes, fifty votes." The old lady and a neighbor interpret this "vote" (Chinese: *piao*) as a sign of a spirit that had got into the man, a spirit that was in possession of the life tallies *(piao)* of others. His illness could thus mean the death of many people. Thus they decide to slaughter a white cockerel on the man's breast to drive out the evil spirit. The tale is a neat mixture of the old (superstition) and the new (elections and democracy). The way they are presented makes it hard to tell which is worse, given the Chinese situation.

A number of texts in the loose form of travel reports, or fictional reports involving journeys, detail the desolate state of the country. They point a finger at the evils inherent in the traditional form of Chinese society, at circumstances the Chinese have made for themselves and under which they suffer, and at the plight of China within the international context. A good example of this kind of text is the long narrative by Bu Cai titled *A Journey through Hell with Open Eyes*.[93]

This text, a horrific tale of the situation in China, is set at the begin-

ning of the century during the period of the Boxer troubles. It narrates how an unemployed student returned from Japan dreams a strange dream and then decides to set off on a journey through the country (he travels from Shanghai to Tianjin). His dream is, indeed, strange: it envisions both the United States as a colony of China and a world economic crisis. In China he sees opium, prostitution, officials who kill and torture people for urinating in the wrong doorway, promiscuity, a mother killing her adopted daughter literally for a few peanuts, refugees being given free soup at the roadside—free soup that has been mixed with cement by corrupt officials and kills the already starving. He sees children selling their bodies to passers-by for a few pence, servants being executed for dropping teacups, and daughters being married to dead people for the "honor" and connections such an agreement will bring to the family. China, the final comment runs, is made up of a number of different hells.

The same author, but this time writing under his real name, Xu Zhiyan, also writes of the dangers and insecurity inherent in life in China at the time from a different angle. In his story "The Pig's Return Home"[94] he describes how Chinese trick their fellow countrymen into going to Southeast Asia to work. When they arrive there they discover that they have not found a good job with which they can maintain their families, as they believed, but that they have been sold into slavery. Their masters describe them as "pigs." Xu sees the Chinese as having taken over the role of the black slave in the world.

Two comments are appended to this story: the first is by the author, who complains that slavery had been abolished in Europe and America, but that the Chinese had made their fellow countrymen into commodities in the marketplace. Although such activities were unacceptable in China, too, no generally applicable legislation had yet been passed by those in authority. The editor of the magazine also appended a comment. He records how impressed he was by the contribution and calls for anyone with similar stories to send them in, since they served to enlarge the mental horizons of those in China with little experience of the world beyond their own village or immediate vicinity. They also provided readers with an idea of what terms such as "patriotism" and "the protection of the Chinese race" really signified.

A world in which fashionable terms are bandied around as proof of one's modernity is, as we have seen in a number of the contributions discussed above, a chaotic one. No one cares about morality. This is exactly the sentiment, and these the very words, that open a poem pub-

lished slightly earlier. If Bu Cai's story looks at the indigenous situation in China and wails, this poem by Miao Lu[95] bewails the helplessness of China in the face of foreign aggression. And again, the poem also points to the dangers inherent in the careless use of modern concepts such as equality, freedom, or progress. Military power is not a good in its own right; it only gives rise to resistance. It has caused bloodbaths all over the globe. In Russia the enslaving of the people has given rise to anarchists, the British preside over colonies, America has set up its hegemonial power in the Pacific and mistreats Chinese workers in the United States. The great powers will always swallow up the small; they have done this with China and will do it with Indians and Jews. China may have had a long history and an old culture, but the "foreigners with the blue eyes" have been able to force the country into unequal treaties and the like. Everything is topsy-turvy. Even the nation's literary heroes are no longer Chinese; they have names such as Shakespeare and Tolstoy. What, the reader may have asked after perusing these two texts, is China to do, what is to become of the country, if the threat from outside is so great and the situation within the country so bad?

Further contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* demonstrate just how unstable and lacking in general coordination the situation was following the 1911 uprising. In the third issue of the third year (May 1912) the publishers placed an announcement in the magazine calling for manuscripts that dealt with the situation following the revolution.[96] According to this announcement, they planned to publish relevant contributions from the following issue on, and a request is directed to readers to send their work in for scrutiny. Manuscripts were to describe events that took place during the revolution in the provinces, events that had not been published or made known elsewhere in the press and that were able to convey to other readers an accurate impression of what actually happened throughout the country during this period. The announcement states that such contributions did not have to be written in a literary style; the main criterion for publication was that the texts accurately reflected the everyday reverberations of the revolutionary activities that had taken place in different localities. Each individual whose manuscript was accepted for publication would receive a free copy of the magazine. Since other authors were remunerated according to a clear scale of payments, this call for contributions can be interpreted as a wish to encourage a kind of documentary reporting on the part of eyewitnesses to historic events. We cannot know how many contributions were sent in response to this call, but Yun Tieqiao himself

answered it with two texts that were published in issues four and five respectively. Both stories purport to be true accounts of events and both appear in the Short Stories section[97] even though, in a commentary added at the end of the text, the author is at some pains to explain that he is not writing fiction.

The first of these "stories" easily corroborates all later accounts that spoke of chaos and confusion in the provinces in the wake of the events in Wuhan. It purports to describe one particular area in Jiangsu and what happened to the organizational structure as a result of revolutionary activities. It tells of panic breaking out, of the rich fleeing with as much of their wealth as they could muster to the supposed safety of Shanghai and the foreign concessions, and of a Manchu prefect of the old regime who had, it is true, been incompetent and ignorant, but who had not brought misery upon the population. Fearing rumors that the commanders of the revolutionary army were ordering their men to slaughter all Bannermen they could find on the spot were true, he throws himself upon the mercy of the local gentry. The confusion and chaos give certain individuals with a grudge against others ample chance of using violence to be rid of their enemies; and the fear of bandits, of army attacks, of bombs aimed at local buildings, or of a combination of all three, drives the local people out of their houses at night and makes them spend the night in the open, afraid of something they cannot pinpoint.

The situation gives sufficient room for opportunists to assume positions and power. The prefect's life was generously spared by the local gentry, but his "retirement" leaves a power vacuum that is initially filled by a Mr. Zhao, a man of a fairly traditional background of learning, a Hanlin scholar and professor at the metropolitan university, who, however, "gave his support to those who went in for 'new studies'." Mr. Zhao, felt by all to be sufficiently republican *(gonghe ren)*[98] in his sentiments, takes over the post of the civil governor *(minzheng zhang)*. Initially responsible for the military side of affairs *(junzheng fenfu)* is a Mr. Sun, whose only qualification for the post is that he is braver than most. A friend of Mr. Zhao's son, Mr. Sun, head of the middle school, had studied in Japan and had contacts with the revolutionary suicide squads. Otherwise he is a good-for-nothing type of farming stock who had spent his time lounging around and getting into scrapes. Yet he is not the worst of the individuals brought into power at this time. Mr. Zhao even calls him worthy and heroic *(xian hao)*.[99] Nevertheless, Sun relinquishes his post when confronted with the animosity and the back-

biting of others and the general unwillingness to cooperate that the local people display. Despite his fair apportioning of monies he has confiscated from a local bank, people still referred to him later as "Bandit Sun."

Sun's place is then taken by a Mr. Li He, whose courtesy name is Butong (Not-the-Same)—and he certainly is not at all like his predecessor. He brought the qualifications for the job of military governor with him: he had studied at a military academy and had been thrown out for "liking to talk about revolution."[100] Yet he is not the rough idealist that Sun had been. He uses his position for his own personal ends rather than being concerned with the needs and the wishes of the community at large. A colleague of his (Shixin, or The-Times-Are-New) reminds him of this when Butong tries to arrange a marriage with the daughter of a rich salt merchant even though he already has a wife. Shixin reminds him that he should be concerned not with his own name or position *(geren mingyu)* but with the general situation *(daju)*.[101] However, both Butong and his other associate laugh at such ideas of consideration for the community *(gong)* and insist on going through with their selfish plans. The marriage with the well-to-do young lady, who has discussed all the plans with her future husband without, however, having been told of the existence of another woman, is suitably, and ironically, defined as a "free marriage" *(ziyou jiehun)*,[102] thus modern and not dependent on the kind of fuddy-duddy concepts Shixin has been spouting. "Free" in this context is synonymous with "selfish."

The difference between these two approaches is further illustrated in an incident that takes Shixin and his colleague Yangnian to Shanghai to buy weapons. The precarious situation in which lack of funds, lack of foodstuffs, and a dissatisfied population have given rise to banditry had convinced the local worthies and businessmen of the necessity of funding a militia force *(tuanlian)*, their greatest problem being a lack of firearms. Hanyang, it was said, had just been lost, and the Shanghai Arsenal was working day and night but could not meet demand. Foreigners were taking a neutral stance and thus would be unlikely to be willing to sell weapons. The job needed to be tackled carefully. Shixin, who had been given the nickname "The Old Confucian" *(laoru)* by the other two, uses an old friend, an interpreter, as a go-between in negotiations with foreigners, and he is successful in procuring a good number of German rifles and adequate ammunition for each at a good price. Yangnian says one must do these things in a roundabout manner, going through all sorts of secret channels—which, of course, involves visits to

courtesans and lots of gambling and drinking—and thus personal expenses for the negotiator. He is able to procure a similar number of rifles, but he is not sure of what make and specifications, and he has no ammunition for them. And he is annoyed that Shixin was successful, since this means that he has to leave Shanghai early and cannot get together with a woman he had planned to meet. He is not interested in Shixin's concerns for the community at large.[103]

Butong's involvement with the salt merchant's daughter gives rise to another example of how new ideas could be abused or misused in the situation immediately after the revolution. The young woman, Chen Xianglan, turns up with her sister Xianghui at the military governor's office soon after Butong has taken over the post. The two young women cause quite a stir by walking up to the office alone and in broad daylight, their leather shoes (also a sign of Western dress and thus of the modern woman) making a strange sound as they walk along.[104] The locals who follow them can only explain this behavior by supposing that they must be revolutionary colleagues of the new military governor, members of the Women's Revolutionary Army come to discuss something to do with the revolution. Indeed, the two women had gone to school in Shanghai and had ostensibly come to the military governor to discuss setting up a women's school for sericulture[105] in the neighborhood and to ask for support for their plans. Xianglan had actually come to ask Butong to write to her father asking for her hand in marriage. Eventually they do set up the school by commandeering the property— the ancestral hall —of a well-known and respected former resident of the area, a Mr. Li, who had been a meritorious official during the Tongzhi (1862–1874) period. The new era identified him as a robber of the people[106] and thus the gentleman's ancestral tablets were unceremoniously thrown into the toilet and the ladies' school established.

In the course of intrigues and a wave of destruction of local religious statues and relics, Shixin is murdered by Butong and Yangnian, who are arrested and put to death. Only Mr. Zhao, the civil governor, the man who had found a good combination of Confucian ideals and Western learning, survives.

Much more might be said about this fairly lengthy depiction of the real-life situation in a Chinese province between the months of November 1911 and February 1912. However, the short summary of the main aspects of the text must suffice to demonstrate that almost all of the problems facing the country had been incorporated not, if we believe the author's comments, in the process of creating a fictional work

to illustrate to readers what had gone wrong, but merely in reporting the events. In many ways, this was much more like a newspaper feature than a short story, and the very comments by Yun Tieqiao show him to be fully aware that he was somewhere between the realms of fiction, reporting, and history writing with this contribution, a fact he felt the need to justify.[107]

The second of these stories, "Ju you huanghua" [A martyr at all costs],[108] takes up the threads of the previously discussed contributions in a number of ways. We have met clear reflections of the generally felt need for the military man at a time of chaos, and the question of the changing and changed role of women in the newly envisaged society has been touched upon. In this second contribution to depict the situation during the days of the revolution, readers could consider the phenomenon of the courtesan, the woman of new education, and the female general in one person, the figure of Guihua. Again the text is a mixture of fictionlike storytelling and reporting of actual events. The events narrated center on Guihua, whom the author places within a recent narrative tradition of social-critical writings by opening the text with a reference to a work that, he asserts, had been popular at the end of the Guangxu period. The work in question was "Fanhua meng" [Dream of splendor and prosperity].[109] Of all the revolutionary characters that appeared in this story, Yun declares, the most worthy of further depiction is the character of Guihua, the female general. The events he is going to narrate took place in the recent past, and he wishes to prevent them from being forgotten. What follows is, to some extent, like a fictional story. It relates conversations between the protagonists and looks into their feelings at some points. However, it also judges the reactions of contemporary society and comments upon the shortcomings of the political situation with regard to the treatment of women.

The story line may be briefly summarized as follows. Guihua is initially a courtesan in Shanghai who is bought as a concubine by an influential official with links to both the empress dowager's and Yuan Shikai's factions. She then becomes a female scholar *(nüshi/xueshi)* and attends a special school for noblewomen that had been established in the capital. There she is adopted by an imperial princess, is the best in her school, and insists on learning foreign languages. Like the two young women in the previous text, she, too, wears leather shoes and is held in some awe by the people around her. When news of the revolution spreads she becomes a general in the Women's Revolutionary Army and marches off to join in the fighting. Her husband, still loyal to

the dynasty, had had something like an apoplectic fit on hearing the news. He had already been suffering from consumption as a result of his sexual and alcoholic excesses. After the revolution Guihua returns to her husband but she leaves him in disgust at his two-faced morality soon afterward: he had had servants of his put to death because they were having an illicit affair. She returns to Shanghai and becomes involved with a good-for-nothing type whom she had known in her days as a courtesan. She is also implicated in a court case over money she is said to owe to a former serving-maid. The investigation of this financial matter had brought to light the story of her life.

The story is not exciting. Nor is it related in an exciting or dramatic manner: it is not fiction intended to attract and hold the reader's attention and interest through the twists and turns of a fascinating plot. It is, on the contrary, telling its readers of the events of the recent past (Guihua is said to have returned to Shanghai in the third month of 1912; the text was published approximately three months later) and holding up one aspect of these events for scrutiny. If the first contribution could be characterized as showing the confusion, opportunism, and lack of direction the revolution caused in the localities, in this second case it is the way the country, and more particularly its political leaders and its media, treated the issue of women's efforts in the fight against the Qing dynasty and their rights in general.

Women did take part in the fighting that began in October 1911, yet we still have little detailed information about their activities.[110] A woman was to have thrown the bomb to start the revolution. She was the wife of a friend of the bomb maker, whose explosives detonated too early and thus precipitated events in Hankou.[111] Her husband related the story of this mishap to the eyewitness and chronicler of the revolution, Edwin Dingle.[112] Such women activists, exposed to the public eye, were, as we have seen through the reactions to the public appearance of the two sisters Xianglan and Xianghui, "objects of great peasant curiosity."[113] On the circumstance of women's participation in the struggle, Yun Tieqiao has the following to say in the Guihua story:

> The Revolutionary Party started the revolt, and it was welcomed everywhere. Patriots popped up all over the place and from all walks of life. The strangest phenomenon to recognise the need to root up the evils of autocracy was the Women's Army. Women had always been pitied for their limited lives, and in recent times there has been a saying that reflects the shame felt: "Our women are the mere playthings of men." Who knows whether circumstances create heroes or whether heroes create circumstances? The revolution is the child of autocracy, the Women's Army is the child of the

> revolution. What had been termed a plaything is now taking up arms to protect the country.[114]

His further comments attribute the fervor of these female fighters to the effects of reports in the newspapers that whipped them up into a frenzy of patriotism. The papers applauded such actions, he says, and eventually there was hardly a daughter in school who did not wish to take up arms. The young women were so vehement in their desires that neither their teachers nor their fathers or brothers could restrain them. To break out of these restraints, the women also decided to carry out the "revolution in the family" as a first step to liberating themselves. He also asserts that the progressive foreign powers would have to look up to China because of these women's forces but that they were soon dissolved by political leaders who had no more use for such support: "After the fall of Nanjing, peace negotiations started. Patriots were all satisfied and only the Women's Army was dispersed. All the papers continuously reported on the peace negotiations but were indifferent to the Women's Army. The women's world was now neglected; the mood went from boiling point to freezing."[115]

It was not only political forces that disregarded the "women's world" after the revolution had passed; Yun also seems to have felt that women themselves did not take enough initiative to push their claims.[116] He comments that some people organized a party to fight for women's rights, but Guihua, presumably as a representative of a good many more women, did not appreciate the importance of such rights, even though she had been considered a woman of education. The education she received at the noblewomen's school was considered modern and progressive by those around her and by her husband, yet Yun's depiction of it (and he himself had been a teacher) paints quite a different picture. Thus all the pupils dreaded the English class of this new school, and very often someone had shouted "Stop!" in English before the teacher had even progressed beyond the first two sentences. "Everyone shouted 'Stop!' if the teacher got past three sentences." The result was that the students had not got halfway through the English primer *(polama)* in the course of two terms.

In retrospect, however, as Beahan remarks, we may recognize that women were not necessarily too backward to demand their rights or to continue a vehement struggle for them; they probably channeled their energies into supporting the fledgling republic in a number of ways, hoping that, once it was on a sure footing, women's rights would automatically follow.[117]

The Nation's Men and Women

Yun Tieqiao's pinpointing of the attitudes to women's contribution to the revolutionary cause and his obvious disdain at the dropping of this concern following the cessation of hostilities[118] provide a suitable introduction to the subject of the portrayal of men and women in general during the first years of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Since it is not sensibly possible to consider the depiction of women without looking at that of their counterparts, men, the following section considers how the sexes are shown both in isolation (should this occur) or with regard to their relationships to one another or society at large. It also includes a survey of the comparisons that were made between the sexes in China and abroad.

The magazine's interest in or recognition of women in the Revolution had already been documented by the publication in December 1912 of two photographs on the opening pages of the magazine. One showed a leader of the Women's Army, Shen Suzhen; the other was a photograph of the Red Cross chairwoman, Zhang Zhujun. Zhang Zhujun (1879–?), a Christian and a medical graduate from Guangzhou,[119] would have required no special introduction or comment. She had taken a Red Cross group to the front line of the fighting in Hankou in 1911[120] and been a public figure and an exemplar of the "new woman" for quite some time. She came to be known as the female Liang Qichao.[121] She had even already received honorable mention, and thus public approval, from Liang Qichao's *Xinmin congbao* in 1902.[122] In his opening comment on the article, Liang had stated that Zhang "was really and truly a Chinese heroine whose words and deeds must be related to the two hundred million corrupted and poor-spirited women of China."[123] Zhang herself was also an enthusiastic contributor to the press and at the center of much feminist activity.[124]

An analysis of the individual contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* reveals a clear bias toward the nonsentimental. The journal does contain a good number of love stories or, more correctly, stories about relationships between the sexes, but there is a notable dearth of sex or the titillating romance as a major theme. A handful of stories deals with the eternal topics of boy-finds-girl or boy-loses-girl, or vice versa, but on the whole the narratives can be said to be more preoccupied with the personal attributes that make relationships break down or make them possible in the first place and, to a large degree, with the social conditions that lead to the situations in which the characters of the story are involved and with appropriate responses to the situations.

Women

Interestingly enough, a large percentage of the female figures we meet in contributions are surprisingly active beyond the limits of the home, are resolute and robust. Whereas their male counterparts are frequently portrayed as effete or ineffectual, the women are extremely bright, enterprising, courageous, stupid, bad, or malicious.[125] Women take the initiative, even if the outcome of their actions is not altogether successful. From these depictions we may assume that writers were either trying to encourage women in this attitude or tacitly showing their approval.

Of course there was no dearth of active females in traditional Chinese stories (or, for that matter, in the reality of life in traditional China): there is a whole host of reports and depictions of actively nagging women, wives and concubines who take revenge upon their menfolk, and women who take up arms to fight for justice as female knight errants. Moreover, a number of observers have commented that women in fiction do seem to be somewhat more daring than their male counterparts as a whole.[126] However, these active women are generally safely ensconced within the framework of a known story type that furnishes certain limits to and expectations of their otherwise unusual behavior. Thus in the "knight errant" *(wuxia)* tales, the kind of Robin Hood story in which unconventional heroes and heroines wage war upon dishonesty, corruption, and injustice, these heroic figures often displayed a quite unconventional code of behavior for Confucian society. Yet they never ultimately constituted any danger to the community, local or national because they always righted wrongs and reinstated the proper order to the world.[127]

Stories of love, as typified in the "scholar and beauty" *(caizi jiaren)* romance, also provided a fairly stable framework within which characters could move. Thus a typical story would involve the scholar meeting a beautiful and cultivated young woman. The meeting would often only be an indirect one. That is, they did not need to meet face to face. The young man would fall in love with her (often after having "met with" one of the girl's poems) and then be confronted with and overcome a number of difficulties. These usually appeared in the form of a physically and spiritually ugly challenger for the lady's hand, or fate. Finally, the young man would pass the official examinations he had gone in for and return, with title and success as final proof of his right to the mind and body of the maiden, to collect his prize.[128]

Another well-known type in Chinese tales was the nagging or jealous wife and consequently the henpecked husband, a motif that, according

to both Motsch and McMahon, can be traced through the whole of Chinese literature.[129] Men, it seems, were not seldom wary of the wrath of a woman crossed. Motsch cites the example of *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* [Marriage stories to enlighten the world], written sometime in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, to illustrate how very active women were depicted within their marriages. Here, within the four walls of their homes, the male-dominated Confucian society is replaced by a robust practice of women's power.[130] Evans, quoting a Chinese study of Li Ruzhen's *Jinghua yuan* [Flowers in the mirror], sees in this novel of the early nineteenth century "the first time in Chinese fiction that women are made the leading figures, not only from the aspect of love, but also as participants in a political movement."[131] Certainly Li's utopian projections show women in men's roles—and vice versa—and make men go through the tortures of footbinding and the horrors of being degraded into sexual playthings of the other sex; and certainly we can detect elements of strong social criticism in these and, doubtless, other fictional works. However, no matter how realistically these tales are told, how bitter their comments on Chinese society, they were exceptions to the rule of their times. Moreover—and of paramount importance for the "re-discovery" of fictional writings at the beginning of the twentieth century—they, like a large section of traditional Chinese tales, contained a good many supernatural elements, not only in the storyline but in the very conception or structure of the works themselves.[132] These supernatural elements were one reason for later generations' disdain of traditional stories, and they were vehemently rejected.

Even the above sketchy résumé of female figures in Chinese stories before the advent of new fiction in the twentieth century illustrates that there was a plethora of traditional figures and their variations and combinations to choose from. One element that is new about many of the females we meet on the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* is that they are shown to fill public and national roles, to be at the forefront of developments, and are expected to have some role to play in social change. They are not females who have to manipulate their restricted positions in a man's world to take personal revenge or to take the initiative. What is more, unlike their earlier sisters,[133] they do question basic power structures and do demand or enact a degree of equality.

Many of the stories related on the pages of the journal can be seen as illustrations of what can happen when women take up and try to use use the freedom that reformers had been formulating for them.

Heroines

Guihua, the courtesan, scholar, and general, has already provided one example of the resolute woman, albeit with deficiencies. A further contribution, and one that illustrates particularly well the good that can come of women daring to enter into the very highest corridors of power, is a text published both as a play and a story under the title "A Young Lady Saves Her Brother."[134] Both tell of a young woman's trip, alone and by train, to Washington, where she speaks with the president of the United States and manages to have her brother pardoned and promoted. He had been sentenced to death while serving his country as a soldier. A friend had proven too weak for the life of the soldier, and the brother had carried the friend's pack for him and taken over his night watch duty. Tired, the brother had fallen asleep on duty and been discovered and court-martialed.

When the news of his sentence reaches the family they are horrified and stunned into inactivity. They make no effort to protest. Only the daughter steals off in the night and travels to Washington to speak to President Lincoln. Lincoln, impressed by the girl's action and by the boy's patriotism and the strength of his friendship, pardons him both because the lad had shown no thought for his personal interests *(busi)* and because Lincoln's sense of needing to uphold common justice *(gongyi)* demands it of him. Here we see a number of themes that had been met in other contributions: the active woman, the need for community interests to replace self-interest, and the caring statesman in direct contact with the people.

In his closing comments on the story, Yun Tieqiao praises Lincoln as a person deserving of respect. He also lavishes praise upon the young lady who takes the initiative and resolves what had appeared to all others in the family to be an insoluble problem. He comments that there are too many people who do not manage to take decisive action, and he compares her to Tiying in Chinese literature, a girl who had offered to take the place of her father when he had been sentenced to death.[135]

Further, clear evidence of encouragement and approval of active women—at least of those active in the cause of national salvation—can be found in Xu Xiaotian's translation and adaptation *(yiyi)* of a Polish play published early in 1911.[136] At the beginning of this play, titled *A Hero of Emotion*, Xu, writing under the name of Xiao Tian,[137] categorically insists that the women of a country can determine the character (literally, the direction [*quxiang*]) of the nation. Thus women absolutely

have to be educated; the teachers of the home are the foundation of the nation's spirit. They may still sacrifice themselves for others, but the range of these others has been expanded to comprise the whole nation, thus lending the sacrifice added significance.[138] To illustrate his point, he states, "The character of women can alter the direction of a nation's population. Thus the luxury and elegance of the French, thus the bravery and martial spirit of the Germans, thus the weakness and cowardice of us Chinese. How can anyone then say that women should be without education?"[139]

Xu then turns to consider the fighting spirit to be found among the heroes of Polish history, a spirit that has, he says, deeply moved Chinese readers. With the present play he wishes to demonstrate that a courageous woman was behind the bravery of one particular hero. And he has chosen to do so with a play since, he asserts, educated people are aware that the drama in which due attention is given to plot and dialogue is capable of altering the nature of society.

The plot centers on the love affair between the highly educated, intelligent, and patriotic Eryisha and the Lithuanian officer Sunasiji. They had been brought together by her father, for whom she was the much-loved daughter and he the favorite officer and patriot. Eryisha's mother and a nobleman intrigue to separate the lovers, but despite all their schemes and blackmail cannot, for Eryisha and her officer each believes in the strength of character of the other against all odds. However, they cannot finally physically escape from those who wish them ill, so Eryisha commits suicide to provide her lover with the final incentive to fight for Poland's freedom and, at the same time, to assert her own personal and physical freedom. The final scene shows a group of intellectual-looking men gathered, with packed bags, in a lonely spot and around the grave of the dead woman. On the top of the grave a statue of liberty has been erected. One young man raises his voice and gives a moving impromptu speech on the state of the country, how Poland has gradually been reduced in size by foreign aggressors since the eighteenth century, has been "sliced up like a melon." The people and the officials of the country are weak, and thus it is for them, the patriots, to rise up and save their nation. Voices are raised in the singing of Byron's poem of "raising a Greek army" ("Bailun zheng xila zhi jun ge")[140] and they elect Eryisha's lover as their leader. Finally Eryisha's maid comes and hands the officer the parting words that Eryisha had written down for him. She tells him she is no ordinary woman: she is grateful for the love he has shown her, but she is willing to sacrifice her personal feel-

ings *(siqing)* for the common good *(gongyi)*.[141] Thus he need not dissipate his energies in a love affair but, from this day on, put all his effort into the affairs of the Polish nation.[142]

This patriotic love story with the unhappy-happy ending (lovers in this life are parted, but the nation may yet be saved) is melodramatic enough for the reader at the end of the twentieth century. Yet it is bristling with terms that were, without doubt, intended to rouse the patriotic feelings of the Chinese audience and would have been understood as such. Thus references to being "cut into two as a bean, or into slices as a melon" *(doupou guafen)*[143] would have been understood as reflecting the threat that was generally felt to be hanging over China at this time, too, especially since Poland, like Turkey, was held up to Chinese readers as a mirror of the possible fate awaiting countries at the hands of imperialists.[144] That Poland was a dangerous topic had been amply demonstrated in the last years of the Qing dynasty, when a play called *Bolan wangguo canshi* [The sad story of the fall of Poland] had been performed in Shanghai. The play was clearly anti-Manchu (and thus very popular with the audience). It was soon removed from the stage, and further performances were prohibited.[145] The references to loss of national territory would also have been understood as an allusion to the aspirations of various foreign powers in China. In fact the moving speech given by the young patriot in scene 8 of the play could easily have been transported completely into a revolutionary address in China of the 1910s. Moreover, it very much resembles in tone the call for patriots in the text "Famous Generals since the Founding of the Huai Army" of 1912.[146]

The play is included in the section of the journal called New Reform Drama, and it may be apposite at this point to briefly mention the context of the development of this "genre." From the beginning, new-style drama (i.e., spoken drama) had been hailed in China as the most effective means of getting reform or revolutionary ideas across to an illiterate public. In 1904, writing under the name San Ai, Chen Duxiu had already called actors the nation's teachers and the theater the nation's school.[147] The author-translator of the above-mentioned play, Xu Xiaotian, was, moreover, well known as a playwright who had published in a number of leading periodicals such as *Subao*,[148] where he had earned praise for his writings from none less than Zhang Taiyan, and in *Minhu bao*.[149] He was also one of the early members of both the Spring Willow Society (Chunliu she) and the Spring Sun Society (Chunyang she), which had been influential in the development of a Western style of drama at the

beginning of the century.[150] Given this general background to the development of spoken drama and the personal background of one of the regular contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, the plays that bore the label "new theater" in one form or another would have automatically caused the reader to expect contents of a critical or reform-oriented kind. The reading of such plays would thus have been accompanied by a certain sense of protest and patriotism.

But turning once again to the contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, we see that not only the reading of plays but play-acting itself could be placed in a patriotic context: *Xie shouyin* [Bloody fingerprints],[151] a *chuanqi* play by an anonymous author that was published in the middle of 1911, is a short piece about a bank employee who was the victim of a robbery. But more important than the story told is the introductory section to the play itself. Here the nation's doctors are placed in the role of exemplary patriots whose love for their country and desire to collect money for flood victims cause them to put on a play, a modern Western-style play. The "actors" all work at the same hospital; their concern for the welfare of the people is the most important factor in their lives. The only female colleague goes as far as to say that common interest has also brought them so close together that it has removed all gender differences between them.

In another *chuanqi* play, *Out of Spilt Blood a Flower Grows*, by Chun Nong,[152] moreover, it is also a woman, this time a pretty and educated courtesan, who speaks of patriotism and active participation in the fight for one's country to the hero, Sun. Sun is encouraged to fight, but is taken captive. When the enemy commander wishes to enjoy the charms of the courtesan, who had given herself to Sun both physically and ideally, she attempts to kill him. She fails, and both she and Sun are executed. Yet their names remain as exemplars for others, the names of patriotic martyrs. Presumably this is the sense in which the reader is to understand the flower (the reputation) that grows of spilt blood.

Women were thus called upon, at least prior to the revolution of 1911, to take an active part in the renewal of the country, and *Xiaoshuo yuebao* reflected this tendency in a number of texts. Women in the West, especially those in anarchist groups, are shown to be extremely resolute. They will assassinate men who have sinned against right, even if they are their own husbands. These actions are painful to them but are recognized as necessary, and they carry them out single-mindedly.

"The Call of the Flower Seller,"[153] published in the sixth issue of the first year of publication (January 1911) takes Russian anarchists as its

topic and is, again, a translation or adaptation by Xu Xiaotian. The story is a romantic reworking of the events surrounding the assassination attempt and subsequent trial of Vera Zasulich in St. Petersburg in 1878. Zasulich was made into a martyr in the cause of justice by the international press of the time and thus very much of a celebrity who fired the imagination of Chinese revolutionaries and reformers.[154] "The Call of the Flower Seller" tells of the persecution of Russian anarchists and of the harsh treatment such heroes suffered in the formidable prison of St. Petersburg. Even though public opinion, as voiced in the newspapers, is that the treatment meted out to such prisoners is excessively cruel and a perversion of common decency or justice *(gongli)*, there appears to be no way of stopping the hated prison director. Thus the anarchist party elects an assassin at a secret meeting. The man chosen disguises himself as an actor and attempts to kill the prison director during a performance of a play. He fails. The next person elected to attempt an assassination is a woman. The official succumbs to her charms: she disguises herself as a flower seller, and he is enchanted by her voice. He is not only speechless when confronted with this beauty; he is also soon lifeless. Without a word of warning, she draws her revolver and shoots him down. Thereafter the woman's countenance changes from beautiful to stern, and she is described as standing up very straight or bolt upright *(wuli)* immediately after the shooting and during the subsequent trial in which she is acquitted of the crime and released. The final scene of the narrative, which is broken up into six parts much like different scenes from a play, presents the court hearing in a simple question-and-answer dialogue form; clearly, Xu Xiaotian could not hide his predilection for the dramatic form. This dialogue and the ensuing three final lines of the narrative underline the centrality of the concept of *gongli*, a principle of justice that envelops all of society, whether high or low. After her final statement, her young lawyer announces that she had clearly been acting as the representative of *gongli*. The jury is of this opinion too, and she is released.

Once again it is a woman at the forefront of activity; she is the one who publicly upholds, defends, and protects basic values. Can this be seen as incitement to do away with those in one's society who do not adhere to some sense of common right or justice? Certainly Xu Xiaotian's final comment on the story would seem to reinforce such an interpretation: "Translating this text makes me tremble for all Duoleidus."[155] Duoleidu was the prison official assassinated by the young woman.

And what could this common sense of justice have been? There is no doubt that public virtues were being emphasized in China during the early twentieth century, and Liang Qichao was not the only one concerned with inculcating civic virtues in a population that was felt by reformers to be still underdeveloped in this respect.[156] We have also seen the references to the importance of distinguishing between personal wishes and the needs or dictates of the national situation, the forces of historical circumstances, in the majority of the contributions discussed thus far. This was definitely a topic of the day. As Don Price has well illustrated in his discussion of changing attitudes and reactions to developments in Russia from the late nineteenth century,[157] the righteous struggle against an autocratic regime did much to stimulate national sentiments and discussions in China. Some thinkers were fired by the idea of the survival of the fittest and social Darwinism, a struggle that meant that China must develop its fighting spirit and cultivate the martial virtues in its people; others were inspired by the thought of global processes and the restoration of a moral harmony in the world.[158] Xu Xiaotian seems to have been inspired by the latter vision and enamored of the female revolutionary.

Xu Xiaotian was not alone in this predilection; the romantic image of the female revolutionary, often in disguise and very often beautiful, was common in Chinese writings of the period. The most striking example was probably the publication in Liang Qichao's *Xin xiaoshuo* in 1902–1903 of the unfinished novel *Dong-Ou nühaojie* [Heroines of Eastern Europe] by someone writing under the name Yuyi nüshi.[159] The novel, which is a call for a world in which equality reigns and autocracy has been destroyed,[160] is narrated by a Chinese girl studying in Switzerland, where she comes into contact with numerous Russian nihilists and learns of the exploits and heroic deeds of the famous Sofya Perovskaya, the radical woman who devoted herself to helping the less fortunate in Russian society at the end of the nineteenth century and who took a heroic part in the assassination of Tsar Alexander. Sofya "provided a spellbinding model for Chinese protorevolutionaries,"[161] and this figure of Sofya was called upon in many writings of the day and would have been automatically associated with such female characters who sacrificed their own private interests for the sake of the national cause.[162]

A further example of a woman's decisive action for the common cause, action that proves to be somewhat contrary to her own feelings or inclinations, may be found in another story set in the milieu of anar-

chists: "Wuhu" [Alas!] by Shuang Ying, published in the eleventh issue of the second year of publication (January 1912).[163] This was not a translation or adaptation of a foreign source but an original composition in Chinese. The magazine's contents page announces the story to be a tale of political parties *(zhengdang xiaoshuo)*, and indeed it is. The heroine's allegiance to her political party, the Nihilists (Xuwu dang) is ultimately greater than her allegiance to her husband, with whom she had been able to enjoy a companionate marriage. Her political opponent, the person she has to assassinate, is thus tragically the individual who had been closest to her: her husband. She kills him because he had betrayed the cause, but at the same time she puts an end to her life because of her personal disillusionment. Thus we find a different twist of the romantic figure of the female revolutionary: this time she not only sacrifices herself by putting an end to her physical life, but also sacrifices the life and the relationship she had believed in at the altar of revolutionary solidarity and loyalty. These, as well as personal solidarity and loyalty, were the values her husband had sinned against.

The narrative is constructed on the lines of a detective story. The two are found dead in their room. No one can explain what happened, but it was clear that she had shot her husband since he had been shot in the back and she in the breast. Not until a letter is published in the local newspaper do the facts of the case emerge: the heroine, Fulaike, explains in her own words how this tragedy had come about. She had been drawn to the anarchist party during her period of study in Switzerland. Before this she had come to realize how rotten society in Russia was and how everyone, whether relatives or officials, was only in search of his or her own advantage. She had gone to Switzerland for "a breath of freedom" *(yi xi ziyou zhi kongqi)* but had initially been disappointed, discerning the same grabbing mentality there as at home. Then she came into contact with members of the Nihilist party and her future husband. They, and especially he, had restored her faith in human nature, and she had wholeheartedly partaken of their plans to save the people, drive out their lethargy, and remove autocratic power by violent means where required. Thus she had married the man she had fallen in love with for his virtues and had returned to Russia to plan an uprising with him.

On their return to Moscow, he had worked as a newspaper reporter and she had been a school teacher. It had been the happiest time of her life. However, a number of members of their secret organization were arrested, and one day she discovered by chance that her husband

had betrayed them to the authorities. What is more, he had done it for financial gain, thus proving that he, too, was just one of the kind of people that had brought on her abhorrence of the human race. She immediately reported the matter to the party, and it was decided that this man had to be eradicated. She was called upon to do the job with the words "Madame, exert yourself for the sake of justice and destroy your husband. Do not hanker after personal feelings and forsake to avenge the community."[164] She agrees to carry out this act of revenge, or better rectification, on this personal and public enemy *(gongsi zhi di)*,[165] but her final words are directed to the party: "Continue on your path, do not be distracted by wealth or title, do not submit to physical might, do not make it necessary for women to shed silent tears of blood and turn their weapons against themselves."[166]

Thus this story contained all the accoutrements of the tales of revolutionaries familiar to the reading public: it included the revolutionary atmosphere of Switzerland, placed the public or common *(gong)* good over private *(si)* interests,[167] and showed the bravery of one woman in the face of extreme personal and political disillusionment.[168]

The active, self-reliant, and educated woman also figured quite broadly in the sections of the journal that may be characterized as Miscellaneous Writings, that is, those with headings such as *wenyuan*, *biji*, *zazuan*, *yicong*. In 1910 the Translations section noted that women had gone into business in Europe and America and that many women actually owned gold mines in the Yukon, where they worked in the mines beside men and became rich and financially independent. The column also mentioned boatswomen (i.e., female captains) in Scandinavia and women who could file for divorce or separation in Britain. There are details of the divorce procedures, the number of women who had left their husbands and were living in separation with or without a formal separation order, the various grounds for divorce (madness, criminality, or simply no further wish to live with their spouses), and how much divorce proceedings cost.[169]

Mining had occupied the thoughts of reformers since the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, and foreigners were cashing in on China's natural resources. Here the combination of the financially independent woman and of women being successful in a very masculine and physical environment may have appeared both challenging and exotic to the readers. At the end of the 1910s in China the question of women's financial independence and their rights to divorce were to become major topics in May Fourth journals.[170]

Foreign women are described as generally independent of men in their activities. American women, the reader is informed, are in possession of bright eyes and shining teeth (a Chinese ideal of beauty) and are gentle and graceful. Yet they are nevertheless almost just as strong and industrious as their male counterparts. They have no fear of going out on their own and need no help from men when they, for example, have to climb stairs, and they do not jump every time they hear a loud noise. The anonymous commentator adds that these women are a far cry from Chinese women, who are drowning in their own lethargy and weakness.[171] The strongest woman in the world, according to a somewhat later report, is an American, and details are given of how fast she can run and swim. Moreover, she works in a silk factory all day.[172] The majority of the exemplary female figures are foreign role models. As we shall see below, Chinese women were more frequently portrayed within the contexts of relationships or—as previous sections have shown—within specific contexts and in more minor roles. They are seldom in possession of the overriding patriotism or zeal that their foreign counterparts display, but this need not surprise us: everyday life and politics in China at the beginning of the 1910s did not offer the same range of possibilities for political action for women that the male writers perceived as possible in the West.

Heroes

Positive male role models within a political or revolutionary context are also largely taken from foreign sources. There are a number of examples of men from foreign countries who risk their lives resisting foreign oppressors. Chinese men, as we shall see below, are generally portrayed as inadequate to the demands of their situations, as weak and effete—an interesting observation, given that the contributors to the journal themselves were almost exclusively men. Perhaps we may assume that it was easier for them to project the heroic either into the other sex or into other nationalities.

A contribution that well illustrates the foreign hero and role model is the rousing story of the Italian Carbonari, their attempts at overthrowing an autocratic regime and assassinating the hated Austrian Metternich.[173] Despite setbacks and hardships, they do not give up. At least this is how they are portrayed by the writer Shan Chan (Jing Hengyi) on the basis of the story told to him by Xu Yuan. Even though later historians have seen the 1820 uprising in Italy on which the text is based as

a failure, and the Carbonari as possibly nothing more than one of many rather dubious secret societies in Italy at the time,[174] in this story, the men are portrayed as national heroes fighting against a common foe *(gongchou)*, the Austrian Metternich. The text of the story identifies the Carbonari as a party fighting for the common cause *(gongdang)*, the liberating of Italy from the yoke of Austrian autocracy, and not as a secret society pursuing personal and selfish interests *(sidang)*.

After the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, the author, Jing Hengyi (1877–1938), had been politically active. He had added his name to the telegrams protesting the takeover of power by the Empress Dowager Cixi and the removal from power of the young Guangxu emperor. As a result, he had been arrested and had later fled to Aomen.[175] He was subsequently to study education in Japan, become a teacher in his native Zhejiang, join the Southern Society, and become a good friend of two further contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Liu Yazi and Huang Yanpei. He was also to become a strong supporter of Huang's concept of vocational education.[176]

Interestingly enough, the text appeared in the third issue of the third year of the magazine (March 1912), that is, shortly after the abdication of the Qing emperor and the establishment of the republic under Yuan Shikai. However, we may assume that the manuscript was ready for publication at an earlier date, an assumption that would make the pinpointing of the theme of ridding a nation of an oppressive foreign and autocratic regime—both the Manchu dynasty and, perhaps, the threat of foreign intervention after the revolution of 1911 should the Chinese government prove weak or vacillating—an acute and pressing national concern. The hero of the piece, Mazhini (=Mazzini) would have been familiar to the Chinese readership through the writings of Liang Qichao. Liang had published his "Yidali jianguo sanjie zhuan" [Biographies of Italy's three heroes] in 1902; the three heroes were Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi. Liang had also published a *chuanqi* drama, *Xin Luoma* [The new Rome], between 1902 and 1903. In this drama he depicted the unsuccessful revolt of the Carbonari and paralleled Italy's unification with China's future.[177]

A further hero, albeit of a quieter kind, is presented in a later story of one man's stand against a foreign aggressor and his concern for the people in his neighborhood.[178] This time the enemy is the Prussian army and the population under attack a town in France. The protagonist is a rich mill owner whose patriotism was so great that, on being surprised and taken hostage by the enemy, and on having his picture of

his childhood hero Napoleon thrown into the fire by a Prussian officer, sets his own mill on fire to warn the townspeople of the impending attack. He burns to death on the top floor of his windmill. His last words are "Long Live France!"

This "hero" is not the dashing, flamboyant, or romantically idealized revolutionary, and there is no love interest in the story. He is an elderly gentleman of more than seventy, a funny little fat man. Yet he is brave and upright, a true French patriot. One may well ask why such a story could have been worth reading or, indeed, writing at this time. It was an original composition by Zhou Shoujuan and not labeled as a translation or adaptation of a foreign source. It is described as a historical story *(lishi xiaoshuo)*, as was the story depicting the heroic deeds of the Carbonari. In good Chinese fashion, we may assume that historical materials were expected to provide some sort of exemplary information or model or to illustrate the mistakes made in a particular situation.

At the end of 1912, a time when China was preparing for the first real elections in its history, the time for flamboyant heroes had passed. What was required was the everyday patriotism and dedication of the nation's people and its representatives. That foreign powers still represented a very real threat to the young republic was clear to all those involved in the development of a viable system of government. Revolutionaries had chosen to walk alongside the Shanghai-Nanjing railway lines during the fighting and to watch trains pass that could have speeded up their progress. They had not taken these trains for fear of incurring the wrath of the foreign owners. After the fighting had ceased, foreign loans and China's economic dependency on such credit along with territorial infringements were a constant threat to stability and a hindrance to further development.[179] The patriot was therefore still very much in demand.

If we consider the female and male heroic figures portrayed here, we can see that women as patriotic figures clearly outnumber men in contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Foreign women (and some Chinese women) are shown to be brave, single-minded, patriotic, and mindful of the community at large rather than of personal pleasure or private interests. In many ways they served as examples to their menfolk. This type of heroic female figure was not new in China. During the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasty,[180] women were frequently used as a symbol of patriotic behavior and of loyalist resistance. Many actually involved themselves actively in armed combat, joining in battle with their menfolk in some capacity.[181] What was new was the combi-

nation of the use of the symbol and a simultaneous reaching out into the political arena for a framework in which these active women could be included in public life and accorded a fitting role in it. For patriotic and active men there would always be a place within society that guaranteed them public praise and recognition. These places still had to be forged for women. The importance of this "women's question," together with the traditional symbolic use of the female figure, can account for the preponderance of female patriots in the fiction of the day.

Relationships

We have now met a good number of men and women in heroic or revolutionary contexts as an answer to the contingencies or requirements of the political situation of their times. They may indeed be seen as a call to the Chinese of the 1910s to develop at least some of the spirit and courage shown by these individuals and, moreover, for women to take on a public role and to take on part of the responsibility for the country's politics, in contravention of the age-old maxim that "men do not discuss inside affairs nor women discuss outside affairs."[182] However, women did not only have to find a niche, a recognized space for themselves, within the public and national sphere; they needed to be able to take an equal part in new relationships with the opposite sex. We have seen instances above of unruly daughters, who rush off to join the Women's Army without heeding the instructions of their fathers and brothers or young women who wander away from home without their father's consent or knowledge. Times were, indeed, changing, and thus personal and family relationships required rethinking. The questions that need to be asked of contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in this respect are the following: What do they have to say in general about relationships between the sexes, love, and marriage? Do they offer different models of, or suggestions for, behavior in the face of a changing social world? Do they provide some sort of retreat into a better world, at least an obviously fictional one, of ideal or tragic lovers, one populated by the stock characters of traditional and well-known stories?

An early story of love well illustrates the difficulties a young woman of the day could have faced.[183] Shunhua, the heroine, has been betrothed to the son of a friend of her father's at an early age.[184] She and her husband-to-be have a harmonious relationship as children and grow up to like one another. He is clever, she is beautiful and educated enough to read and recite Tang poetry, and thus everyone regards them as man-

darin ducks.[185] The story takes an unhappy turn, however, when the boy's father returns to his native region and Shunhua's mother dies. Her father marries a second time, this time a lady from the pleasure quarters, Bicheng. Unfortunately, Shunhua's father also dies very suddenly, and the young girl is left with a stepmother with dubious habits and unacceptable views on life.

The situation becomes even worse when Shunhua is of an age to be married and her young man does not come to fetch her. A letter sent to his home informs Shunhua that the fiancé's father has died and he is observing a period of mourning. Nothing more is heard of the young man, and rumors have it that he is dead and will never come. What Shunhua does not know is that her young man, Luqiao, is pursuing an official career, taking examinations, in order to come back with the necessary qualifications to claim the hand of his lady. To this extent they are the typical scholar and beauty. Because Shunhua is unaware of the true situation, she is not in a position to make a conscious or informed decision about the role she would wish to play within the context of a young woman awaiting the return of a suitor. She is facing a situation in which the long-term betrothal has come to nothing. Her chances of finding another husband are small and fraught with danger: her stepmother is certainly not the kind of person she would want to entrust with her future.

Shunhua's dilemma is great, but the saving grace at this moment is that a new school has opened in the district, and the teacher invites her to attend classes. He tells her all about the revolution in the family *(jiating geming)* and free marriage *(ziyou jiehun)*, ideas that give her a taste of her "sacred freedom" *(shensheng zhi ziyou)*, as she calls it. Soon she and her teacher develop a close relationship. Here we must remember that this would have been an unusual situation for a young woman of marriageable age; normally she would have had little contact with men of a similar age. Thus her emotional and enthusiastic acceptance of the chances of mental and physical freedom she feels he is offering her are understandable.

As a result of this liaison, she becomes even more dissatisfied with her situation at home. When her teacher goes off to Japan to study he writes to her, unlike the first suitor, promising to wait for her in Japan if she wants to join him. She shows the letter to her stepmother, who, of course, refuses to entertain the idea or to give her any financial or emotional support. Shunhua again finds herself in a dilemma: if she goes she will face great hardship without the financial, social, and moral

security of the family; if she stays she can do nothing but mourn over lost love. She packs her bags and disappears, saying that she wishes to go abroad to study.

Things do not turn out well. The man upon whom she had pinned her hopes this second time is a worthless scoundrel, and she ends up as a prostitute. In the meantime, Luqiao, the long-lost first suitor had gone to retrieve his lady, returning home with examination honors and the prospect of a good position. Obviously he had never entertained the idea that Shunhua could have had any alternative to waiting for him.

The two former mandarin ducks meet each other again at her place of work. He recognizes her but takes no action apart from gaping as she disappears. She, on the other hand, refuses any idea of a reunion. She couches her renunciation of her sweetheart in the language of self-sacrifice, personal guilt, and Buddhism, but her resolve shows that she is not quite the goody-goody suffering damsel who has not learned anything from her unusual "studies." She has a quite different and concrete plan for her future: she will find out the whereabouts of the man who deserted her and kill him. There is no mention of retribution that may await such a person in the next life or any hint of a reunion of the mandarin ducks after death. She herself will seek the solution to her problem, in the here and now. The story ends with Luqiao's going back to the establishment the next day (one cannot but be astonished at his alacrity) and discovering that she has gone. He does feel great sadness, but apparently does not feel the necessity to *do* anything.

The story does not lend itself to simple interpretation. At first sight, one may be inclined to see it as a condemnation of the "new learning" that had persuaded Shunhua to leave home and try to start a new life for herself. Yet it is precisely this very new sense of independence that made her resolute to the end. She does not languish as a fallen woman, a prey to illness and thus early death. She accepts or, better, comes to terms with, her situation to the best of her ability, actively making the decisions about her future. The men in the story are utterly inactive and unreliabe. What can become of young women—and, for that matter, what may one reasonably expect of young women with the best of intentions—who are expected to wait patiently for men to return home and fetch them, even though they do not know whether their young men are still alive or not? What can become of young women who avidly listen to and internalize ideas of a revolution in the family or free choice of partners in marriage, if those who disseminate such ideas are just men in search of sexual adventures and who use their

arguments to remove the women from the constraints of a social order that prohibits close contact between the sexes?

Yun Tieqiao had also touched upon this problem in his report on the life of Guihua. Girls at school, he says, were fascinated by the idea of the revolution in the family, so fascinated that their fathers and brothers no longer had any control over them. But very much as in the story of Shunhua, the men in this text are not able to keep promises, and their need of assertive females is also short-lived: after the revolution no one is concerned about women's rights. After her leaving home, no one is concerned about Shunhua's future, and society, it seems, is not developed enough to offer her any other role than that of the fallen woman. A friend of Luqiao's does offer to act as go-between and try to arrange for her to marry her first suitor, but she rejects this offer, saying she is not good enough for him. Society would have seen it this way, and Luqiao is not sufficiently developed to appreciate such a woman, nor would his position as candidate for a high post have allowed him to consider such a marriage. As long as men are enmeshed within the mechanisms of the old society, it would seem, women who liberate themselves will always be outsiders.

The theme of the difficulties encountered by women in their attempts to liberate themselves from the claims of traditional marriage mechanisms and expectations is taken up in a similar manner in a play published early in 1913 by an author calling himself Qu An: *Luoyin zaju* [Notes on fallen leaves].[186] The writer here states that he is writing the play to show his support for women's rights. He is saddened by the fact that women still have no sound basis in society for a free and self-determined existence. The story he tells is similar to that experienced by Shunhua.

Two students visit a courtesan and learn that she had been a student and had not wanted to have her marriage and her future dictated by her family. As a result, she had gone to Japan with her boyfriend, only to find out that he was already married. In the course of her search for independence she lost both her virginity and the support of her family (thus all social bindings, duties, and rights), and ended up in an establishment where she is once again unfree, at the beck and call of others, this time men.

The editor, Yun Tieqiao, takes the opportunity at the end of this text to rail against the custom of having more than one wife—that is, one main wife and as many courtesans as a man can afford. He explains that in the West polygamy is not only against the law; it is scorned by

society. In China, however, people see it as a sign of wealth. He is clearly critical of this situation, but he also warns young women of the day against a too permissive attitude to their relationships with men. It would be better to be careful with such terms as "freedom," which are a foreign product and thus not necessarily to be transplanted "lock, stock, and barrel" to China.[187]

The problems of one-sided relationships, relationships in which one partner has the say and can determine the form or the extent of the connection, are demonstrated in an intriguing manner in a story that was published as the translation of the work of the French writer Mengdilai.[188] The translator, Zhu Shuren, was employed at the Commercial Press as a translator and compiler of textbooks. He was also a former employee of the Nanyang Public School. The story revolves around the subject of trust and love and of which partner in the relationship could determine its conditions.

On discovering that, just as a supposedly concerned neighbor had told him, his girlfriend was hiding another man in her flat, Popoluoxi (the Chinese realization of a French name it is hard to reconstruct today) is appalled and demands an explanation of her. She refuses him on the grounds that it is none of his business; it is a secret family matter that she has sworn not to disclose. He reproaches her, saying his trust in her had clearly been mistaken. The woman, however, refuses to be intimidated and turns the tables on him, retorting that the very fact that she would not disclose the secret should be proof enough of her reliability. She then accuses him of a lack of respect. She had obviously been mistaken in him as well. Popoluoxi is now in a dilemma: on the one hand he knows that no other woman is interested in him (and his girlfriend had been unkind enough to remind him of this in their argument). On the other hand, he had already ruined their relationship with his demand for explanations. He has the choice: he can either relinquish the one and only woman in his life, or he can continue the relationship but on her terms. He chooses the latter. At the close of the story she plainly tells him that men should refrain from interfering in women's business. He complies with her wishes and never again asks for an explanation of the other man's presence in the flat. Without a word of complaint, he continues to foot the bill for her expenses.

This story is not amusing or melodramatic, tragic or romantic. It may, however, have been of interest to Chinese wives, or prospective wives, to find illustration of a woman who refuses to have her life determined by the male in her company. Equality between the sexes was a

constant refrain of those wishing to reform society, both men and women, and here was an example of a woman who was more than equal to the verbal attacks and attempts at intimidation by the male partner. Since the story is set in Paris, it was presumably also suitably exotic for the Chinese reader. He or she may have been amused, shocked, or reassured by the vision of such a state of affairs in the relationship between the sexes; it would have provided food for thought but would have been far enough removed from China not to present a direct threat.

The question of the companionate relationship and different standards, this time within a marriage, is brought up again very directly in a story that appeared a few months later.[189] This time the story is a translation of a work by an English writer whose name is transcribed as Aisaibinnaier.[190] The form of the translation, which is divided into four sections much like the scenes in a play, and the contents, which touch upon the double standards for men and women, point to its origin as a play by Arthur Wing Pinero (1855–1934). That Pinero had been knighted in 1909[191] may have made him more attractive to the Chinese translator since it was a widely held belief at the time that in the West, men of high social, moral, and political standing had written literature that would influence their readers and reform the country.

The story tells of the trials and tribulations of a woman who married a much older man after the death of his first wife. She is constantly being compared to the first wife, a paragon of virtue in the eyes of the husband and his family, and this comparing has made the marriage, which had been based on mutual love and affection, turn sour and threatens to destroy their original deep feelings for one another. The crisis arises on the occasion of the erection of a commemorative statue for the first wife. Relatives have gathered for the occasion, and they make no bones about the fact that the second wife is neither personally nor socially up to their high standards. As a result she isolates herself from them and refuses to take part in the unveiling ceremony or behave as they would wish her to. This behavior, of course, although fully understandable in a young woman with a sense of justice, only serves to alienate her husband all the more.

The situation is finally saved by the arrival of her brother-in-law, a man the young wife had never met previously and who was outside or beyond family and social conventions, a man whose footloose and fancy-free unmarried life of a gentleman traveler had lent him the objective eye of a man of the world. With him she is able to discuss her

position frankly. At the climax of the crisis—in scene 3 as in all good plays—she insists on her stubborn behavior and insists, moreover, on her freedom to do as she likes. Her brother-in-law reassures her that he can understand this attitude and that she is right to assert her independence, but he asks her to decide where her priorities lie and whether she is really concerned for her husband, whether she wishes to help him escape from the bounds of his family's narrow-mindedness. Of course she does, and she is duly praised by the brother-in-law, who aptly comments that a woman with an eye for fundamentals and who does not pay undue attention to trifling matters was a rarity indeed in that day and age. Thus her attendance and her deportment at the ceremony are positively recorded by all members of the clan, and the mental crisis has been overcome.

Factual evidence then very fortunately appears to underscore the rightness of this new attitude: the son from the first marriage happens to find an old bag belonging to his mother under the floorboards. He cannot open it, but his stepmother can: she finds love letters from a member of the family to the deceased wife together with proof that the son had been a result of this illicit union. Her indignation, and this concrete evidence of the superficiality of the family's moral fervor, make her want to flaunt these letters in the face of the family. But once again her brother-in-law appeals to her better instincts and her common sense. She realizes that such behavior would alienate the family once more and, more importantly, that the shock of such a discovery, especially coming from her, would probably only cause a huge rift between herself and the husband she was once again approaching.

The final chapter/scene ties up all the loose ends: the brother-in-law brings the letters to his brother's attention, the boy's real father is advised to spend at least the next ten years in a foreign country, and the brother-in-law, the true hero of the piece exits as quietly as he had arrived, this time leaving the couple sitting together on the sofa and no longer estranged.

In all times and in all countries, second wives have no doubt often found themselves in difficult situations and having to live up to the romanticized image of the first wife as a woman who could do no wrong and make no mistakes and whose memory is cherished and embellished by the husband. Chinese women, especially, would have known how difficult it was to adjust to the demands of a family of strangers, to be alone at the mercy of the family into which they had married. In such situations the changes required in the identity of the

woman, the total readjustment to a new environment that was demanded of her brought about huge and often traumatic modifications to her previous way of life in her home surroundings. Yet these changes affected the lives of the men in question very little.

One can well imagine these women, like the heroine of the present story, feeling alone with such problems. They, too, may well have resented that the men to whom they had been given could demand much from them but need give little in exchange. Certainly if women did not readjust and accept these one-sided demands, they might easily find themselves discarded, as the title of the play *(Qushan ying)* suggests, like a summer fan with the onset of autumn chills.

The play illustrates that women would need common sense and strength of mind to be able to put the liberty they were demanding into practice. They would also require the ability to compromise sensibly if they wished to attain self-determined personal happiness. Such a story provides the opposite extreme to the renunciation of love for the sake of ideological principles that we met in the case of the fight for Poland or the defense of the political party.

The theme of emotional relationships and the tests they are put to by social convention is dealt with in an interesting manner in a further story set in a foreign country.[192] The setting for the story by Hong Shen and Yun Tieqiao is once again Paris. There is no mention of this story's being an adaptation or a translation of a foreign work. Thus we must assume it is an original piece of writing, since information on sources was generally provided at the beginning of the text, or at least the Chinese "author's" name was preceded by the two characters *yiyi* (translated and adapted by). Further evidence of an original piece of writing —which in no way precludes the possibility of the authors' having been inspired by a Western story they had read—is the explanation the authors proffer in the first paragraph of a certain Parisian custom. They explain to the reader that men and women in the French city walk about in public parks, in the open air, and no one finds this unusual. Especially on a Sunday, the day of rest, one will find them there in great numbers, enjoying themselves and entering into conversation together.[193] Nor is this the only text in which such a custom was emphasized. In Xu Xiaotian's adaptation of the Polish play *A Hero of Emotion*, the heroine's father brings her together with her future loved one and immediately leaves the two alone, stating that young people should have the chance to be together on their own so that they can get to know each other.[194] In a text written as late as 1915, Yun Tieqiao was to lament

this lack of opportunity for women and men to come together naturally in Chinese society and to name this as one of the main reasons why the Chinese were not qualified to write proper love stories.[195]

"A Lucky Escape" is the story of a planned elopement that goes wrong. The man is a rich aristocrat; the woman, the wife of a doctor. They are first seen in the park discussing their decision; they part when they have agreed to meet at a certain time at the railway station to take the train to England, where they will live together. The woman then goes home, where she writes a letter to her husband on the eve of her departure telling him that she has entered into a free marriage with a man who loves her. We leave her lying in bed listening to the ticking of the clock and trying to fall asleep. Meanwhile, the gentleman has been as good as his word and made ready cash out of all his property, much to the surprise and bewilderment of his friend. He gives up everything for the woman, his belongings and his position in Parisian society too.

The scene moves to the railway station at the appointed time, and now the narrative becomes somewhat breathless as the reader is taken first into the thoughts of the man and then into those of the woman. Disaster strikes: she is delayed on the way to the station because she overslept and missed a turn on the way there. She arrives just a few minutes too late, and he boards the train without her. Their thoughts run parallel, and often they are couched in exactly the same words: "He/she hasn't come." "He/she never really loved me." Finally she is faced with what, for her, seems a catastrophe. She has written to her husband saying that she is leaving him. How can she go back? And what is to become of a woman like her, without her own income, now that her lover has disappeared?

She decides to return to her husband. After all he is her rightful husband; and even if she does not love him, he loves her. She very nearly manages to intercept the letter that she had left for her husband, but she is prevented from doing so by the maid. The drama heightens when her husband, who has been told by a "good friend" that his wife was running off with another man, holds the incriminating note in his hand. His friend encourages him to read it; she looks on. Her husband says his eyes are too bad, and his friend offers to lend his spectacles or to read it for him. Her husband says the light is too poor, and the friend fetches a candle. The husband has no matches, but of course the friend has. When the candle has been lit the husband inadvertently holds the note too close to the flame, and it burns up.

This story is exciting or unnerving for a number of reasons. First,

the pace of the narrative is very fast; the thoughts of the two at the railway station are almost staccato in their brevity and abruptness, and there is little authorial or narrative intervention at this point to obstruct the direct presentation of their respective thoughts. Furthermore, the reader is confronted with a love story in which all are the losers, although all have acted relatively acceptably. The gentleman has given up everything —society, friends, and business—for the woman and is now forced to live in isolation in London. The woman has decided to enter freely into a different kind of marriage with a man she trusted enough to risk her former social and financial security. Her husband must have been aware of the truth of his "friend's" accusations against his wife, and yet he purposely destroyed the evidence. None of these individuals can be content with the outcome, none of them can lead the same kind of life again, none of them can really trust the other in the future. To that extent, the ending of the story is really open.

Other stories published between 1910 and the end of 1913 have elements that may be considered as comments upon the abilities and resourcefulness of women as well as on possibilities and problems within relationships between the sexes. Thus in Yun Tieqiao's "Gongren xiaoshi" [The worker's story][196] a woman who does not even warrant a name of her own saves her family after her husband has proved incapable of coping with the problems of urban life and a new industrial environment. The woman is referred to throughout the story as the wife *(fu* or *qi)* of the protagonist, Han Nie'ren. Yet when her husband fails, resigns, becomes apathetic and finally physically incapable of supporting his family as a worker, she becomes active, calls in the authorities where she believes an injustice has been done, and takes on a job to feed the family and pay the medical costs for her husband. Although she says in the story that it will be the ruin of the family if the man cannot go to work, she proves the opposite through her resolute and direct action.

Although all the hardships of the worker's life are illustrated through the thoughts and actions of the man, the wife is the one who suffers more. She is the one who was married to a stranger by her parents and then despised by them for being the wife of a poor man. Moreover, she was alienated from her original identity in a number of ways. First, as a woman, she had to leave her family, "the locus of all primal ties,"[197] on marrying a stranger and take on a new identity as his wife. Then she had to leave her new "home" because of the financial difficulties encountered by her husband's family. This change of fortune, in turn, caused her original family to despise her. Added to this traumatic mental

dislocation was the physical removal involved in their traveling to the great city of Shanghai in search of work for her husband. Furthermore, although she had come from a family that had had enough money to provide her with an education, she had to bear poverty and great financial difficulties because of their resettling in a new and unfamiliar environment.

Despite all these difficulties, she always tried to support her husband, consoled him when he was depressed. He, on the other hand, reacts to difficulties with less courage: at one point he tries to commit suicide, with no thought for the wife and children he would leave behind without a penny in the world; in other situations he is reduced to tears when confronted with the limits of his ability or understanding.

The depiction of Han Nie'ren's wife with her remarkable lack of a name—that is, of an identity of her own—is at least an indirect allusion to the role of women in Chinese society.[198] As we have seen above, the discussion of the position of and opportunities for women in a changing society did not set in with the May Fourth Movement of the late 1910s; such topics were already part and parcel of the concerns of the day in the first years of the decade. The author, Yun Tieqiao, was not, however, preaching to his public; rather, he was giving ample illustration of the pointlessness of the roles attributed to men and women in traditional Chinese society.

Han Nie'ren, the man, should have been the one who found a place and established himself, and thus his family, in society. Yet, ironically, here the roles are reversed: he is shown to be too weak and too set in the old ways and mechanisms, unable to adjust to the demands of a new society with changing values. She is the more flexible, resilient, and productive of the two in the end. There can be little doubt that such stories provided food for thought for a concerned readership.[199]

Yun Tieqiao's "Worker's Story" has caught the attention of a number of scholars in both China and the West.[200] All commentators seem to agree that this is one of the few stories of the time that is worthy of comparison with the May Fourth period. This is, no doubt, intended as praise. Yang Yi even goes as far as to call the story a "crane among the hens."[201] Even though, according to Link in his *Luotuo xiangzi* [Xiangzi the camel] of 1938, Lao She's "evocation of the urgency about the condition of society is vastly superior"[202] to Yun Tieqiao's attempts, Yang Yi insists that "The Worker's Story" is one of the very few items worth retaining from "the turgid river of Mandarin Duck and Butterfly literature that ran wild in the early years of the Republican period."[203]

I would suggest that the story has more intrinsic value than such comparison with later works would imply. Certainly critics have praised it because it is a very early, if not the first, realistic[204] treatment of the theme of the effects of modern industry and industrial working conditions on Chinese society, a theme that was supposedly close to the hearts of the May Fourth generation of writers (although they were very late in actually writing about the problem).[205] Here, in 1913, we find a story that deals objectively with the various problems of Chinese society of the day, including the question of trade unions, social injustice, imperialism, industrialization, the role of women in society, and the uselessness of traditional modes of thinking.[206] These problems were all being heatedly debated in the press and in reformist circles.[207]

Finally in this section of depictions of varieties of relationships between the sexes, we can turn to stories that present happy endings to "human interest" matters without, however, being superficial or simply entertaining in the sense that they are amusing anecdotes with which to while away the hours. The themes prevalent in the scholar and beauty romances and, in particular, the theme of the companionate marriage are set forth in slight variation in the stories "Mingzhu baojian" [Bright pearl and precious sword][208] and "Wenzi yinyuan" [Brought together by literature].[209]

The first story has a quite Shakespearian ring to it, with men posing or living as women and vice versa and contrived coincidences that lead to the final dénouement of the story to everyone's satisfaction. "Bright Pearl and Precious Sword" opens with the description of an elderly businessman from the north of China who does his business in Guangzhou. Wanting to enjoy his old age, he decides to take a young concubine. He hands over his business to his son and entrusts the search for a young and beautiful candidate to matchmakers. One day an elderly matchmaker comes to him with the news that she has found just what he is looking for. He is enchanted when he first catches a glimpse of the young girl in question at her parents' home. Still he haggles over the price, finally securing the young woman at the bargain price of one hundred fifty dollars.

The wedding formalities are quickly prepared. As she is only going to be his concubine, only the most rudimentary preparations are required: a few friends are called in to celebrate with him, and a sum of money is sent to her relatively poor parents. However, when the wedding night arrives there is an awful scene. She refuses his embraces, not, as he believes, because she is shy and inexperienced, but because,

as she duly tells him, she is actually a boy who had been kidnapped at a very early age and brought up by her kidnappers as a woman. The man is beside himself with rage and discusses the matter with his son. His main interest is in the money he has squandered. The "bride" offers to serve him faithfully for the rest of his life if he will but allow him to live as a male. Even this suggestion makes the old man livid with rage: he did not, he says, require a servant that cost him one hundred fifty dollars.

He decides that the "bride" has a choice: either go north with him to a place where no one knows them and where he can be sold once again as a concubine, or die. They set off straight away, with the "young woman" disguised as his daughter and the two of them pretending to be on a trip after the death of her mother. He eventually finds a buyer, a chance acquaintance at an inn where he had been haggling over the price of his meal. This gentleman had been on the lookout for a wife for his relative, a scholar and *xiucai* (licentiate) who had showed little inclination to search for a bride.

After the necessary consultations and transactions have taken place, the two are married and come together in the bridal chamber. Here the bride once again reveals her secret. This time the reaction is quite a different one. The studious and gentle-natured man asks her to sit down and tell him all. She does so, and then they take the story to his father.

The father's reaction is one of interest and questioning, and the outcome of this questioning is that the "bride" is actually the nephew of her father-in-law and the bridegroom is actually not a man at all: he is a woman. The father had always wanted a son and had thus brought the child up as a boy and a scholar. A visit is organized for the "bride" to be reunited with his real family, and eventually the young couple live happily ever after. The resolution of the complicated situation means that the two of them are able to regain their true identities, that is, they are allowed to live in accordance with their natural sex, and therefore they are able to live together as husband and wife after all. Despite all the difficulties, the family observes, they are still able to be a happily married couple (mandarin ducks).

The final touch to the story is of interest: the reader is presented with the picture of the difficulties the two had in practicing their new gender roles. Even changing their physical appearances into those of a man or a woman was a difficulty; they had to practice wearing different and unaccustomed garments and shake off all the rules of etiquette they had had to internalize as members of the other sex. Frequently they made mistakes. The husband, who had been brought up as a woman,

now took over the scholarly attributes of the former male, even though he had never been taught to read and write. The wife, who by upbringing and training was a Confucian scholar, had to take on the role of the teacher in this case. The husband, who, when a woman, had had to learn the art of makeup and hairdressing, frequently had to help the somewhat unskilled wife.

The author does not make any programmatic statements at the close of his text; he merely asserts that the story had often been told in his family, although he was not quite sure when it actually took place. Despite the lack of any clearly formulated didactic purpose, this can surely be seen as an illustration of the questionability of internalized gender roles and a clear comment on the fact that the differences between men and women, the clear dividing lines between their areas of responsibility, ability, and intellectual capacity in no way corresponded with or could be regarded as reflections of basic cosmic processes or principles.[210] They were manmade, that is, created by society.

The story also throws a very bad light upon the attitudes of men toward women when organizing a marriage or buying a concubine. The young girl is originally treated as nothing but an item to be bought and sold, or disposed of at will, not to mention the inhumanity of kidnapping young children and forcibly detaining them, a topic that will arise again in later stories. It is no secret that marriages were frequently arranged by parents who were more interested in financial gain or prestigious social affiliations or affinity than in the personal predilections of their children.[211]

A further variation on the theme of the lovers who were made for one another can be seen in "Brought Together by Literature" by Yun Tieqiao. This story illustrates one case in which personal affinities triumphed over the wishes of family and traditional convention, with no little assistance from human ingenuity.

The heroine—who has been betrothed by her parents to a man she does not want to marry—falls in love with a poor and unsuccessful scholar. The man in question is a poet of some merit, yet he is unable to pass the requisite examinations for social standing. Her passion for him erupts when she reads some of his poetry, and he, in turn, recognizes a kindred spirit on being shown some of her work, although he is led to believe that it had been written by a maid. And it is this maid, a stock character of the scholar-beauty romances, who saves the situation in the end. She takes the place of her mistress on the appointed wedding day, after having cleverly arranged to marry the poor scholar her-

self on the same day. This flaunting of conventions, however, does nothing to spoil the success of both marriages: the maid is perfectly capable of being the wife of a high-class family—the wife, one should note, and not the concubine. She runs the household well and is happy to wear expensive clothes and finery. The poetic couple are also more than pleased with their situation, and despite somewhat straitened circumstances, are always to be seen together, writing and exchanging poems in perfect bliss.

Here, once again, one can see a reversal of traditional patterns of marriage and social alignments, a reversal that is well underscored by the fact that, at one point in the narrative, the maid is simply sold to another man as a means of repaying debts. Yet even such a chattel has the stuff of the lady of wealth.

The companionate marriage was a perennial topic. This is hardly surprising: in all societies, no matter how marriages are arranged or by whom they are decided, the greatest wish of both parties to the agreement must surely be that they will be well matched and happy and enjoy a long life together. In China, exemplary marriages and complementary unions of husband and wife were exemplified in the relationships between Li Qingzhao (1084–*c.*1151), an exceptional female poet, and her husband, and in the relationship between Shen Fu (1762–after 1803) and his wife, Chen Yun, as described in Shen's autobiographical *Fusheng liuji* [Six chapters of a floating life]. These couples are also bound by their love of literature, especially poetry, calligraphy, and painting.[212]

The theme of the companionate marriage is taken up in numerous remarks in the Miscellaneous sections. One example from an early issue of the magazine is a comment that wives with artistic and literary skills can make very pleasant and stimulating partners.[213] Tolstoy and his wife are held up twice in the course of the first two years as a kind of ideal couple. She is in full control of the household, intelligent, and graceful (attributes traditionally to be hoped for in a wife), and she reads through all his work.[214] Women as writers and artists are praised in many contexts; their works are said to be in no way inferior to those of men and should not be regarded as such.[215]

Nevertheless, more-tragic aspects of the relationship between the sexes were clearly of great concern to writers. Women, as we have seen, may sometimes have dictated the conditions of relationships, but more often they were very much the weaker partner—if one may speak of partnerships at all—and some were treated as mere objects that could

be disposed of at will either by their parents or by their husbands or other menfolk.

This aspect of women's lives is excellently illustrated in the story of Hong Caitai,[216] a local prostitute who is taken as a concubine by a military official who is infatuated with her. When she starts an affair with one of her former clients, the official murders her in a fit of rage. Although various people try to blackmail him, he has friends in high places and can buy his innocence; it costs him a thousand dollars to cover up the crime. Hong Caitai is buried without much ceremony, and the matter is closed for him. His only fear was that the story would hit the newspapers and thus ruin his reputation; after all, military men were men of honor, he and his influential friend and colleague agree. His comment to this friend at one point of the story is telling: as a soldier he had killed a good many men in his time; there was no need of such a stir for a mere woman.

The story is obviously a critical piece about a society in which there is very little respect for human life, practically none for female life, and, moreover, no heed of the law. When remonstrating with the official, Hong's mother asks whether there is no sense of morality *(tianli)* nowadays, no longer any law of the land *(wangfa)* according to which everyone, regardless of social station, should be punished in the same way for the same crime. This had, of course, never been the case in imperial China, and these views may perhaps better be attributed to enthusiasm for the new republic (the text was published in 1912) and the belief that a modern political form automatically implied a modern legal system. In the story itself there was clearly no equality before the law, and the repeated use of the phrase "by chance"/"as luck would have it" *(qiahao)*[217] throughout the story points to the ruling principle in Chinese society: a great deal depended on which position you happened to be in and on the amount of money at your disposal. The narrator sarcastically remarks at the close of the story that exchanging her life for such a large sum of money was probably the best thing that had ever happened to Hong. She was a worthless individual whose death had a high monetary value for others, be they payers or payees. That she was a modern woman who dressed in the modern civilized *(wenming)* manner with foreign jackets, leather shoes, and gold spectacles and that she attended meetings of the Women's Revolutionary Alliance (Nüzi tongmeng hui) only gave her a veneer of the new, were for effect alone. She and her husband were still caught up in the mechanisms of the old society.

Of course, there are more flippant treatments of the female world and a few satirical or critical remarks about changes and the abuse of modern and fashionable terms. There are odd articles within the Translations and Notes on Foreign Places *(haike congtan)* sections telling the readers, for instance, that Finnish ladies do not allow their husbands to kiss them, that African men prefer fat women to skinny ones and fatten them up from childhood, and that rich American women love their dogs so much that they take them to special doctors when they are ill.[218] However, these are snippets of entertaining information alongside an otherwise serious general treatment of the subject.

On a lighter note is a poem on roaming or playful fairies *(youxian shi)*. Modern fairies, according to the contribution, all have natural feet, their music is now played on the organ, and they can no longer be separated from their lovers by the Milky Way because all they have to do to come together is take a steamship. Fairies who studied abroad can now come home and give lectures to other fairies on the subject of the free choice of marital partner and personal freedom.[219] The women's world in China was changing.

Youth

Youth was a central concern of the writers contributing to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Those concerned with the young were also interested in their education. As we have seen, advertising texts in the journal paid much attention to providing the young with suitable reading materials, and special journals for young people were published by the Commercial Press. Indeed, Sun Yuxiu, the editor of the first journals for young people was a frequent contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (see chapter 3) and had an important position in the translation department of the Commercial Press.

A surprising number of the stories discussed above deal with problems facing young people, especially with regard to marriage conventions and problems and social restrictions with regard to the freedom to determine the course of one's life. An emphasis on the importance of the young and their role in changing and rejuvenating the nation and its culture is often presented as a prerogative or mainstay of the May Fourth movement of the late 1910s. And yet within the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in the early years there is already clear evidence of a growing interest in the situation of young people and the difficulties they may face or be forced into facing by either the society they live in or by

an older generation. To be sure, this is a different approach from the self-searching bias of many of the writings of the later generation. This should not come as a surprise: here we have an older generation worried about the future; in the case of May Fourth writers, the young had become the focus of their own narratives, often even to the extent of self-exploratory exhibitionism.[220]

The stories of youth published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in the early years often depict young people with new ideas and ideals trying to put them into practice but being foiled by their elders or the society created by them, forcing them into unwanted marriages or not offering them the freedom or opportunity to put their plans into action. In particular, as we have seen, there are moving stories about the way in which the young, both male and female, are maneuvered into marriages. As one contemporary British writer has rightly observed, "Young or short lives are more sensitive indicators of the pressures of public attitudes than lives lived long and crowned with honours."[221] Not only do the agonies or difficulties of the young tend to move the reader in a particularly emotional manner; in doing so they also succeed in depicting the failings of society and the concomitant waste of human life far more directly.

A contribution whose intensely moving narrative emphasizes the mental tortures of a young woman in a traumatic situation is set in Japan and describes how she feels when she is told she cannot marry the man she loves and has been promised (she felt they were the perfect *caizi* and *jiaren*), but that she must marry a man nearly forty years her senior.[222] The anguish she experiences, the sheer disbelief that her parents, who should care for her and love her, should sell her to this old man for their own financial security and gain are depicted in a harrowing first-person narrative.

Over the years the woman had become reconciled to her lot, although the result of her parents' course of action was to prepare a life for her in which she could hardly remember a day of real happiness. Old age had brought the recognition that life was more complex than she had originally believed as a young girl, and she had learned very gradually, and after much heartbreak, to accept the man she had been forced to marry and to respect him. She never forgot the strength of her original feelings for her sweetheart, but she did realize that the violent passions of youth may indeed be too tempestuous to be reliable.

Nevertheless, the shock of these events of her youth have left deep scars within her soul. She cannot be reconciled with the cruelty of her

parents. In his attempt to console her, the old man she had married had read her stories of happy love and commented that "free marriage" was not guaranteed to provide happiness for life. However, as she rightly reflects, this is by no means an exonerating circumstance for those who force others into marriages. Parents should show more consideration for their children than for their pockets. The businesslike attitude of her parents to her future appalled her. She had felt it immoral of her mother to tell her that feelings play no role in sensible plans for life. Her mother had said she must marry the old man and then wait for him to die so that she could marry her original sweetheart, but as a rich woman. Yet she tries to come to terms with the fact that she, like any individual, can and must still be the creator of her own life's venture.

This tragedy is not limited to her emotional and mental shock or the poignant and tragic sense of resignation at the close of the story. Even though she had been able to come to terms with this partner, she has to watch as the sons she bears turn out to be good-for-nothings, squandering the husband's wealth and getting into deep trouble with the authorities. Thus the man who had failed to die in time for her to take up with her old sweetheart again also failed to die in time not to have to witness this calamity. Ironically, her kind son-in-law, who had agreed to care for her and her husband in their old age, speaks to her of scientific and philosophical research that states that character traits of children are passed down from the parents, thus transmitting parental mental attitudes to offspring. Even more ironically, this could either refer to Confucian tradition, which held that a woman's state of mind could influence the nature of her child, or could be a reference to the sort of Darwinism that was prevalent in Japan and in China at the time. Be that as it may, this quasi-scientific proof of forces other than destiny or fate at work is sufficient to convince the old lady that she had been the root cause of the anguish her husband had had to confront in his old age. She is thus doubly punished: her parents' callous attitude in treating her as a means to wealth and comfort in their old age had forced her into a marriage that she had abhorred for most of her married life. Second, the ensuing mental outrage that this marriage had engendered in her had, she believed she had learned, caused her in turn to ruin another person's life.

Thus when the old man does eventually die at well over a hundred years of age, she cannot enjoy life. She is an old woman, and an old woman full of remorse and unhappy memories. The sense of desolation conveyed by this sad story, most of which is in the form of a mono-

logue by the old woman, is immense. Lives are ruined or made on the basis of uncertain factors in life, it would appear, either on the whims of those with the power to decide one's future path or by the unswerving forces of natural selection or heredity.

The very structure of the story adds to the sense of loss and desolation: the old woman's narrative is framed by the story of a Chinese man in Japan who is storing the coffin of a deceased colleague in the temple where the old man's coffin has been placed. The dead Chinese man's situation was bad enough: he had died far away from home, in a foreign country and without relatives or kin to take care of the appropriate rites. The woman's situation was worse. After being ousted from the family and the native region of which she had felt a part and to which she could relate, she had lost her sense of belonging and all mental support that kinship systems or social conventions should, at their best, be able to provide.

Yun Tieqiao had already criticized this kind of situation in a section of his "Yongyu manmo" (Notes) of 1912. He described how parents had given their daughter in marriage to a man who was mentally ill purely and simply for financial gain. He comments that, in the face of such parental abuses, it is no wonder that young people are now insisting on choosing their own partner.[223]

A contribution critical of a system or of conventions, this time of a religious nature, was an attack on polygamy, taking the Mormons of America as examples of this pernicious habit.[224] The author-cum-translator and adapter's first paragraph makes a direct attack on the fact that Chinese men have more than one female partner (i.e., a wife plus as many concubines as one could afford). His first sentence asserts that the evil of unfree marriage stems from the autocratic rule of the family. He praises the customs of America and Europe that limit all men, be they emperor or commoner, to one wife. The abolition of polygamy thus characterizes the civilized world. Only the Mormons of America, contrary to all political systems and the words of Jesus, continue to take as many wives as possible.

The narrative itself exposes the charlatanry behind these practices and shows how a young Englishman, the representative of the free and civilized world, manages to extricate a young lady from the fate of becoming just one more wife of a religious leader. The religious leader is exposed as a charlatan, and Ai Quan's (Lover of Rights) final comment on the story is that China has more than enough of the trickster types represented by the Mormon preacher. He, Ai Quan, only wished

there were more people like the young Englishman in China, people ready to stand up and fight for women's rights. That, he says, would be much better than running away from the problem.

A further story, also set somewhere outside China, shows the first stirrings of puberty.[225] Ouliao,[226] a young man with a happy and respectful nature albeit of unfortunate physical appearance, had been sent by his family to work as a servant, a kind of general dogsbody, in the house of a wealthy family. This family is initially put off by the boy's looks but ultimately content with his hard-working and diligent ways. His own family is content with the wages he earns and which are sent off to them at once. Basically he lives the life of a drudge who is used by the family in every conceivable way. After he has been in the family employ for eighteen months, various thoughts begin to occupy his mind. He is convinced that human beings require something that has nothing to do with food or clothing. Yet he cannot give a name to this something. The emotion, he senses, is part and parcel of the human condition. It is, of course, love or affection, and he experiences these thoughts for the first time as a result of a meeting with the family kitchen maid, a young girl in a similar position to his and the only person who had ever showed him any real affection. And for the first time he experiences affection from another human being. His appearance does not deter her from developing a liking for him and trying to persuade him to look after himself and think of his own needs a little more.

The two young people grow closer, and he finds himself constantly thinking of her and sad when he has not had the chance to see her. Eventually they plan their engagement. When the mistress of the house overhears their plans she is outraged at the thought of such a pretty kitchen maid marrying such an ugly man. The boy's father shares her opinion; he calls on his son and orders him to banish any ideas of marriage from his mind. He, as the father, would decide when he would marry and whom he would take as a wife. The liaison is forbidden. Neither his employers nor the father consider for a moment that the boy's feelings could be important. The young man accepts this situation to all appearances, but it causes him great sadness, a sadness that he, as a simple servant boy, is unable to articulate.

Ouliao is neither a scholar nor good-looking. He is quite the opposite. But, the story suggests, his feelings are sincere, and he, too, has a right to real emotions and, moreover, a right to expect that such feelings are respected by others. The same applies to the maid: her future is also in the hands of others—her employers. Ouliao's father tells his

son that family maids are not for marrying; they are all women of low morals. There is bitter irony in this remark, since it is the employer's family whose morals are not up to scratch: the son of the house had often made questionable advances toward the maid, but she had managed to refuse.

The young are not only abused and treated as commodities with regard to their marriage wishes. Two stories in consecutive issues of the magazine in 1911[227] discuss and depict the increasing numbers of child abductions in certain areas of China and demand the death penalty for the perpetrators of such crimes. We have already met this theme in passing in the story of "Bright Pearl and Precious Sword." Now these two stories are expressly dedicated to this social evil.

The first contribution deals with the abduction of young girls who are sold as prostitutes or as serving maids and describes the mental and physical horrors they had to withstand. It ends with a commentary by the author that if education is not carried out properly and the laws of the land are not improved, licentiousness and robbery will continue and get worse. The second story describes the abduction of young boys and how they are coerced into becoming members of a secret society and have to practice martial arts and do menial tasks. In both cases, the authorities are shown to be incapable of dealing with the situation.

Child abduction was, as Xu Zhiyan states in his introduction to the stories, not uncommon in China at the time. The very real possibility of one's child being abducted and held to ransom or worse often made parents reluctant to send their children to the new schools that were opening in the country.[228] Here it is interesting to note that the author is writing in an attempt to counteract licentiousness and robbery and to point to the very dire need for improvements in education and alterations to the law. Unlike traditional critics of fictional writing or, indeed, early-twentieth-century proponents of new writing such as Liang Qichao, he does not relate these two social evils to traditional reading matter but, much more realistically and pragmatically, to failures in the forms of social and political order. The author is, however, quite clearly using the new writing to point out social problems.[229]

Yet there are also warnings about the extreme enthusiasm of the young. It should not be allowed to go too far and become a danger to the young people themselves. For a number of contributors to the magazine, the feeling that the young were China's future and that their hearts, minds, or resistance should not be broken appears to be of paramount importance.

The story of Ouliao illustrates one aspect of this question. Two stories published in 1911 show others. Both texts describe how young boys take brutal revenge upon others for wrongs done to their parents.[230] They are forced into this attitude both by the conditions of their lives and by the treatment they receive at the hands of others. In the one case it is a sudden, almost instinctive, decision brought about by the death of his mother and mistreatment and injustice he had suffered himself while trying to support his sick mother that cause him to set fire to a temple. In the second case a young man harbors his thoughts of revenge for ten years until his mother dies. He then murders the man he feels is responsible for the death of his father.

Both boys are depicted as filial sons in the texts, but one commentator—apparently someone who had written a letter to the journal—remarks that such excess of emotion and activity should not be allowed to crystallize into destructive acts but should be channeled into service to the community. He deplores the fact that China with its long history of ethical discussion could not harness such sentiments in a positive sense. Obviously the traditional socialization of the young had not equipped them with a repertoire of responses other than blind or pent-up hatred and revenge. That society praised them for such reckless acts —acts that ultimately destroyed their own lives as well—gave little glory to society and questioned the foundations of the family system.

Other young men go too far in their wish to excel and to serve their country, ruining their lives with unnecessary displays of their prowess. One young man kills himself in his desire to be the best in his school, and his best friend then exhausts himself carrying the dead body some seventy-five *li* on his back so that the dead boy can be buried at home in accordance with his final wish.[231] The writer of this story condemns the behavior and states that young men who do not live long enough to make use of any opportunity to show their bravery and ability in the service of their country cannot and should not be admired. He admonishes the young to stick to the rules of their schools and be sensible, especially when it comes to physical activities.

The author, who interestingly enough was to become a doctor himself in later years and to specialize in the treatment of children, also emphasizes that the responsibility for the boys' actions does not rest with new school systems or teaching methods. Nor should the behavior be used as an excuse by parents to obstruct new methods of education. It is not surprising to hear such a warning to youth and educators. Physical exercise had never been of importance to the Chinese gentleman-scholar. In fact, he would have avoided any physical work if possible.

Thus extreme physical exercise, the military drill popular for both boys and girls at the time, the dancing and athletics meetings that were very common,[232] may well have been life-threatening activities for those of a tender constitution. In all of these stories of youth, the criticism laid at the feet of the older generation here cannot be overlooked.

Further "factual" information about the young is provided in the various sections with information from foreign countries. In 1911, two articles of information deal with the educational achievements of handicapped people, the second insisting that education for the blind and the dumb is a must in all civilized countries.[233] There is also information about the different development of the sexes with regard to physical stature and intellectual attainment and suggestions about how and where the young should sleep.[234]

Science, Adventure, and Detection

It is common in depictions of the Chinese literary scene at the beginning of the twentieth century to state that stories of detection *(zhentan xiaoshuo)*, stories of adventure *(maoxian xiaoshuo)*, and stories of science *(kexue xiaoshuo)* were particularly emphasized.[235] And journals were the place to publish them. To date, however, there has been no systematic study of these genres of fiction in literary journals.

Writing in *Xin xiaoshuo* in 1905, one commentator states that a renewal of Chinese fiction has to begin with the introduction of political fiction, detective fiction, and fiction dealing with science. These genres, he continues, which are entirely lacking in China, are "the key to all fiction" *(xiaoshuo quanti zhi guanjian)*.[236] In a section of a six-part discussion of almost all aspects of fiction, Guan Daru, writing in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1912,[237] was equally adamant, insisting that stories of science, adventure, and detection constituted the three elements traditionally lacking in Chinese fiction and that the three had had to be imported from the West through translations of foreign works. Guan insists that China had failed to produce such stories because the Chinese were incapable of thinking in a scientific manner or of adhering to the principles of reason in their writing. The stories, he suggests, would provide a corrective to this inability to think rationally, and they would arouse a sense of adventure and ambition among the Chinese and go part of the way to making up for their general lack of spirit.

It cannot come as any great surprise that the Chinese, and the Japa-

nese before them, were struck by the modern scientific detective story in the West. It was a relatively new genre in the West, too, originating with the stories of Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) and continued by such authors as Gaboriau and Conan Doyle in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This period in the West (ca. 1890–1914) was also one in which a great number of literary journals were clamoring for stories of detection or science (or a mixture of both), and it was often from these magazines that Chinese translators took their material and their sources.[238]

Not only did Chinese writers and critics praise and wish to emulate the Western detective story; they simultaneously repudiated their own tradition of crime stories, the court case tales *(gong'an xiaoshuo)*. Traditional Chinese popular literature had produced a large number of such court case tales based on the exploits of the honest and correct official Magistrate Bao of the late tenth century.[239] However, and as translators of traditional Chinese crime tales generally explain,[240] there are a number of basic differences between them and modern stories of detection. The differences are to be found in the diametrically opposed approaches to crime and to the solving of mysterious events. Traditional Chinese heroes who had also solved difficult criminal cases were state officials. As such they were responsible for maintaining the correct order of things in society, an order that would be disturbed by any crimes perpetrated. They did not solve their tricky cases on the basis of their immense intellectual abilities alone. Nor did they rely on rational thought and the deductive method. As representatives of a world order that was perceived as a mirror of the cosmic order, these state officials could not afford to make mistakes. Mistakes would have endangered or questioned the world order they stood for. Consequently, whenever the situation became too complex, they were assisted by supernatural powers, by gods and spirits. These extraordinary beings often provided them with the major clues in their detective work.

The native tradition of the detective story was completely ignored at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was clearly so uninteresting to those writing on new fiction that it was not even mentioned. I have found no reference whatsoever to traditional crime stories. Clearly, contemporary commentators turned their gaze exclusively to the West and could not connect their own tradition with the modern scientific detectives of Western stories. The element of the supernatural that is omnipresent in these traditional tales may have disqualified them for the "modern" writer. As we have seen, the supernatural does not play a

role in any of the texts discussed thus far. Supernatural hocus-pocus was to be replaced by the clear-thinking individual who had been given a modern training at modern schools. This reaction to the detective story was not confined to the Chinese. On first receiving the Sherlock Holmes stories for publication, the editor of *The Strand Magazine*, Greenhough Smith, was said to have recognized their great value in that they "were devised to correct 'the great defect' in current detective fiction, lack of logic."[241]

For a long time there had been calls for China to catch up with the Western world scientifically and technically.[242] The powers of deduction and the ability to rely on one's own mental capacities and general knowledge to solve apparently mysterious problems and to extricate oneself from difficult situations were capabilities that not only Chinese statesmen would need in the service of their country. These, together with technological skills and know-how, were also qualities badly needed by the individual Chinese citizen for the management of his or her own life. They would also facilitate the contribution of each individual to the strengthening of the country.

A lack of education and know-how compounded by superstition is also described as the basis for the backwardness and colonial status of India in two nonfiction contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1912. The first is a scientific note explaining that coconuts from an island in the Indian Ocean were washed ashore on the coast of India and eaten by the native population, who considered them a gift of the gods. The Indians, the text says, did not possess the educational background and scientific knowledge to work out the facts behind this phenomenon. Thus it was small wonder that they were under the yoke of the British. The second notes that school attendance figures in India had been rising continuously in the past years and that the Indians were finally emerging from their lethargy.[243]

These demands for a new mode of thinking, for the citizen who would transcend traditional boundaries of thought and knowledge—one might also say "modernize" his or her thinking—are reflected in stories and in advertising in general. We recall that the majority of advertisements placed in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were concerned with the written word, with dictionaries, with writing implements, educational journals, translated texts, and the like. Advertisements in the educational journal *Jiaoyu zazhi* and the reform journal *Dongfang zazhi* of the same period also reflect this trend.[244]

The general call for stories of science, detection, and adventure was

thus a result of the need felt among the country's elite for a new mode of thinking. Clearly, they did not want to offer pure entertainment of the "Whodunit" type to their readers. They were trying to arouse the interest of their countrymen and -women and, at the same time, educate them. Equally clearly, a call for a new kind of writing and subject matter requires a new type of hero, one who is free of traditional superstitions and unscientific beliefs, one who relies on powers of reasoning to solve mysteries, get out of dangerous situations, or to come to the aid of others.

The contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* answered this call with a variety of stories and translations that demonstrate the new kind of hero.[245] They did not produce or translate stories of the type referred to by David Der-wei Wang in his recent study of late Qing fiction.[246] Theirs were not tales that narrated "outlandish entities and illusory events"[247] by writers who wished to create a world "abounding with previously unimaginable robots, sorcerers, balloons, submarines, airborne vehicles, guided missiles, and spaceships."[248] They were narratives squarely fixed within the real and lacking in any element of the fantastic.

Many of the works translated during the first years of the 1910s reflect the preoccupation with the real and the rational very well. Sherlock Holmes' stories,[249] for instance, or Anthony Hope's *Prisoner of Zenda* translated as *The Secret History of Lu* by Gan Yonglong and Zhu Bingxun in 1912,[250] are cases in point. Hope's novel was in many ways an ideal choice. The hero, Rudolf Rassendyll, is not only a true gentleman and a patriot but also a master tactician, and Anthony Hope minutely documents how he plans to solve the internal problems of the country of Ruritania. Rassendyll's intellect is put to good use in overcoming what appear to be insurmountable problems. Finally, this exemplary hero puts service to others and the community before his affections for the heroine of the story. Once again love is second to patriotism.

However much both Holmes and Rassendyll rely on exceptional abilities to penetrate the tangle of puzzling situations, they ultimately succeed by the use of human faculties. It was precisely this factor that made such heroes attractive to Chinese writers at this time. Unlike previous Chinese heroes of adventure or crime stories, a Sherlock Holmes or Rudolf Rassendyll had abilities that could be duplicated; they could be inculcated in the course of schooling. They were a question of the training and the exercise of the human intellect and did not depend on supernatural aid or superhuman ability for their success. This message

is driven home emphatically in an advertisement for Lin Shu's translation of Doyle's first Sherlock Holmes story, "A Study in Scarlet," which was placed in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* at regular intervals in 1911.[251] The text of the advertisement states that if the Chinese read the story, it will shake them up into developing a spirit with which to resist insult *(yuwu zhi jingshen)* and will enhance their faculties of observation *(liaoshi zhi jizhi)*. This last expression was presumably the Chinese equivalent of Holmes' "science of deduction," to which a whole chapter is dedicated in the original story.[252] Science and detection ultimately become one in this story when Watson comments to Holmes, "You have brought detection as near an exact science as it will ever be brought in this world."[253] Such sentiments were clearly to the taste of the Chinese world of the day.

Two stories published in 1912 illustrate particularly well how adventure, science, and the deductive qualities of the detective are brought together in fictional texts. The first, by (Xu) Zhuodai, is titled "The Secret Room";[254] the second, by (Yun) Tieqiao, has the title "The Old Man at the Zoo."[255] They are classified as a story of science and a story of adventure respectively.

"The Secret Room" tells of a family that, more or less literally, has a skeleton in its closet. It is told by a first-person narrator, the youngest male in the family, who opens the story by saying, "A strange thing happened in our family. A person who had been dead for many decades suddenly came back to life and died again." Happenings of this kind, the reader might be forgiven for supposing, can only be the result of supernatural powers or influences, or the stuff of myths and superstition. However, the label "scientific story" precludes such assumptions, and the remainder of the narrative unravels, piece by piece, how things that may have seemed inexplicable, weird, and beyond logic, turn out to have perfectly plausible and "scientific" explanations.

The story is as follows. The narrator's great-grandfather had taken part in an experiment with hypnotism, but unfortunately, after he had been put into a hypnotic trance, the hypnotist tripped and fell out of the window, dying before he could awaken his patient. Thus the old man had been slumbering in his hypnotic state in the secret room for two generations. The secret room, to which only the adults in the family had access, was the subject of the wildest speculations about women and treasure, and it had fascinated the narrator of the story when he was a child because only his father and his grandfather were allowed access to it. On the death of his grandfather he was initiated into the

secret of the room and was expected to continue caring for the old man as his predecessors had done. However, the narrator is not satisfied with the situation as it is, and after his father's death he decides to do his best to find a means of waking the patient. One day, while reading a German magazine, he chances upon an article that promises the desired results. A person can be roused from a hypnotic trance, the article promises, if only one firmly believes in one's own abilities and powers. The method works of course, and the young man is confronted with a bewildered old gentleman who has been asleep for eighty-four years and who initially has great problems coming to terms with the discrepancies between the reality of an old man that he now faces and that of the young man he could remember being. He manages to overcome this reality-dream muddle and dies the "natural death" of an old man of one hundred twenty years.

The story was, to all appearances, an original Chinese composition and not a translation of a Western source. It was not introduced as such, nor does the illustration in the form of a pencil drawing in the text point to anything but a Chinese setting (see fig. 4). Chinese readers of foreign fiction may have met the theme of waking up after a long trance-induced state of slumber before, and mesmerism was a fashionable topic at the turn of the century. The theme of an extended slumber had been treated dramatically in Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* of 1888, a book that may have offered some inspiration for Zhuo Dai's story. The novel, one of the most popular of its day and one that was translated into more than twenty languages, tells of Julian West, a young man from Boston, who enters into a hypnotic sleep in the late nineteenth century and wakes up in a socialist utopia in 2000. It had been translated into Chinese by Timothy Richard, possibly as early as 1894, and was available in summarized form in *Wanguo gongbao* [A review of the times] in 1891–1892. It was published in book form in 1896.[256]

Whatever the influence of this foreign work may have been, the hero of this story is definitely a young Chinese man. He is a member of the younger generation who is not suffocated or stifled in any way by his surroundings and its norms or traditions, and he is moved to action only by his powers of deduction and his common sense. He is shown to have an inquiring mind; he is active, cosmopolitan, even, in his reading of a German magazine. His attitude, his initiative, and his resolve enable him to solve the generation-old problem in his family and transcend the inertia and secretism, the superstitious making-up of stories, that surrounded this secret room. He and those of his generation who

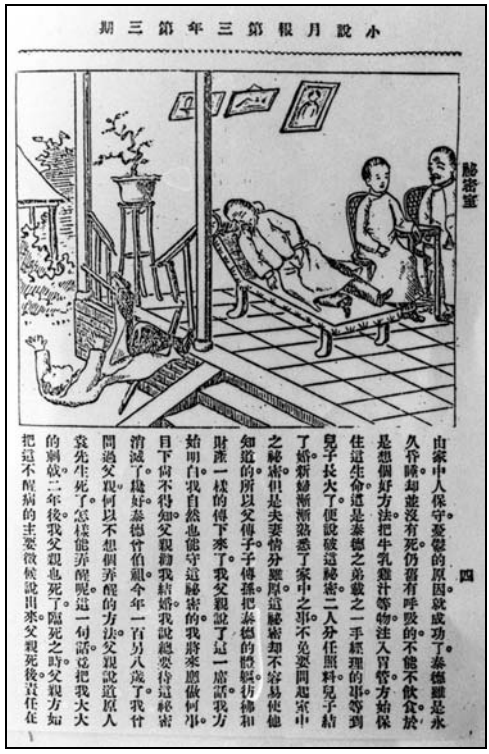

FIG. 4: *Drawing used to illustrate the story "The Secret Room" in 1912.*

develop in a similar manner will not accept the status quo fatalistically and passively as previous generations had done.

A similar lack of acquiescence in the face of adversity is demonstrated in the story "The Old Man at the Zoo," published five months later. Set in North America, although apparently not a translation, it is classified as a story of adventure and does make exciting reading in parts. An old man who works with animals in the zoo tells of the dangers he faced in his youth when hunting tigers in Africa. He had once planned to shoot a tiger that had killed a companion on the hunting trip. The trick was to place himself in a cage in the middle of the jungle and then to wait in it until nightfall. The tiger, it was supposed, would catch his scent and come near. Then, from the comparative safety of the cage, he intended to shoot and kill the animal. The plan works, but the tiger knocks the cage over and traps the man in it. At first, believing that his friends will come to look for him, he finds the situation amusing. However, after waiting for some time in vain, he soon realizes that no one is going to come to his rescue. He is stuck in the cage in the middle of

the jungle, and he must find a way out on his own. This realization gives rise to the following insight on the part of the hunter: "When meeting with difficulties in life, it is the duty of the human being to use his intellectual powers and his physical strength to combat and overcome them and not to depend on others,"[257] and this thought elates him. He feels like a mathematician faced with a tricky problem, like a detective faced with a tricky case. Not only does the problem no longer frighten him; he wants to conquer it. So he weighs the situation and conceives ways of extricating himself from his prison.

The man's ruminations are disturbed, and the situation becomes critical, when he hears a strange rustling sound coming toward him and realizes that a swarm of killer ants is bearing down on him through the trees and that they will overrun and eat him if he does not find some means of escape. This fear of death gives him the extra strength to heave his way out of the cage and escape being eaten alive by ants by a hair's breadth. All that remains of the tiger after the ants have passed over it is a pile of white bones. The moral of the story is clear: not only, as the narrator says, are small things often more dangerous than big ones, but a healthy portion of intellectual effort and rational deliberation combined with physical strength can enable people to extricate themselves from the most threatening of circumstances, even at the very last minute.[258]

Before looking at a number of stories published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* during the first years of its publication, we should consider the Western tradition of the detective story and the similarities in approach to the writing and publishing of such stories at the time they were so enthusiastically discovered by Chinese fiction writers. There are a surprisingly large number of similarities.

In the West—largely in Britain, France, and the United States—detective stories were not seen as pure entertainment fiction, a flight of fantasy, at the beginning of their development. In 1928 the crime writer Dorothy L. Sayers wrote in the introduction to her collection *Great Stories of Detection, Mystery, and Horror* that the detective story was part of the "literature of escape,"[259] but in the 1890s in the West and in the first decade of the twentieth century in China the world was different from the late 1920s. At the end of the nineteenth century, the popular imagination was drawn to progress in science and technology, to the possibilities opened up by new medical knowledge and by a modern police force. Heroes of stories were often the modern scientist, doctor, or policeman. These were the modern-day knight errants who

would restore order and protect society. As such they bear a striking resemblance to the knight-errant of traditional Chinese fiction, whose function has often been described as that of the outsider who aided society and its representatives at times of crisis and who, once order had been restored, returned to a life outside the confines of traditional morality.[260] The modern detective-heroes were outsiders to the extent that they represented new knowledge and new abilities that were to change the makeup of society and its workings. In the West, however, they also served to reestablish a status quo that was threatened by dangerous crime or dangerous disease. The new scientific detective in the West, who was generally on the side of law and order, upheld the values of the wealthier classes.[261]

In their reception and understanding of the Western detective story, Chinese writers and critics changed the function of the hero radically. The new detectivelike hero, the individual who used scientific thinking and powers of deduction, was not the staunch supporter or defender of the establishment. He was symbolic of the ability to question situations independently, to review issues and, on the basis of informed opinion, work out new solutions and new angles of departure. He was to open up a new era.

The Chinese were not alone in thinking that the power of thought could change the world or that Western-type detective stories could encourage a new mode of thought in their country. Frances Hodgson Burnett's wonderful book of childhood, *The Secret Garden*, first published in 1911 and to remain a bestseller ever since, clearly articulates the idea of the ability of thought to usher in change:

> In each century since the beginning of the world wonderful things have been discovered. In the last century more amazing things were found out than in any other century before. In this new century hundreds of things still more astounding will be brought to light. At first people refuse to believe that a strange new thing can be done, then they begin to hope it can be done, then they see it can be done—then it is done and all the world wonders why it was not done centuries ago. One of the new things people began to find out in the last century was that thoughts—just mere thoughts—are as powerful as electric batteries—as good for one as sunlight is, or as bad for one as poison. To let a sad thought or a bad one get into your mind is as dangerous as letting a scarlet fever germ get into your body. If you let it stay there after it has got in you may never get over it as long as you live.[262]

Burnett also chooses to compare the transforming power of thoughts with new scientific (medical) knowledge. Thoughts become strategies

not only for solving problems, but even for setting the course of one's life. In a similar vein and earlier, before the end of the nineteenth century, Sherlock Holmes' "science of deduction" had been recognized by the Egyptian government not merely as fiction but as a scientific and modern approach to police work. Consequently, Conan Doyle's stories were translated into Arabic and issued to the Egyptian police force as a manual and textbook for criminal investigation.[263]

New knowledge and agility of the mind together with a rational scientific approach can, as we have seen above, even be lifesavers. Without them life is threatened. A number of contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* demonstrate this assumption admirably. In particular, the demands of the traditional examination system are portrayed as sapping all active reserves from young men, ruining their health and monopolizing lives that could otherwise have been put to better use. Even though the traditional system of examination had been abolished in 1905, there was obviously a need to continue to mull over the problems it had caused and to name openly and illustrate the debilitating effects of a system that had not been geared to a modern and international world. Such stories would have served as an admonition in a double sense: to those who bewailed bygone days as well as to those who were developing in new and different ways, including their teachers and families.

In the introductory paragraph to "The Sad State of the Examination System"[264] the author is explicit about the problems. He states that the country's strength has declined as a result of people's energies being bound in this way. The system had been like a poison and had ruled families and ruined individual lives. His story illustrates how this system ruined one particular life, that of a Mr. Shen, who dedicated everything to the passing of examinations and who, after a brilliant beginning, failed to pass the higher exams seven times and eventually became ill, too ill to concentrate on the Western ideas that were starting to enter the country, too sick to do anything. Shortly before he died of exhaustion and disillusionment, he admits that he should have learned a sensible profession and not wasted his time and his energy on the wild goose chase of exams, and on his deathbed he says he hopes that in his next life he will not be born Chinese, a statement remarkable for its extreme sentiment. The story is classified as a "noting down of events" or documentation *(jishi)*, not a fictional account. In the final comment the author states that he had known Mr. Shen personally, that not ten years after his death the traditional examination system had been abolished (1905), yet the Chinese still hanker after such honors and

merits as the system provided. They have not learned to think clearly or realistically.

Another young man *(shaonian)*[265] is led off the straight and narrow path by promises of success in examinations and high position.[266] He is easily swindled out of his money by unscrupulous people who know how to weaken his resistance. The promise of official position and honor without having to do anything for them was probably more than anyone could stand, but he is also attracted by the ostensibly "new woman," an attractive young lady who has learned foreign languages, how to play the piano,[267] and how to behave naturally in the company of men. She had received, and she possessed all the attributes of, a modern, civilized education *(shou wenming jiaoyu)*.[268]

The promise of these two prizes makes him forget all other obligations either to himself or to his family. In the end he loses both his "friends" and the woman. The former had made nothing but empty promises and had exploited his naïve gullibility. The latter, it is true, had married him in modern, Western style, but she had also been a party to the devious scheme to dupe him. All her modern style and her educational achievements thus turn out to be the trappings of a false and conniving show of modernity. Like so many of the Chinese men portrayed in the stories, the young man does not face up to the disaster, does not feel spurred on to overcome these disappointments. He is nothing like the intrepid hunter who faced certain death in the African jungle. Life has not posed him a problem that he feels is his responsibility to solve. He has lost face and disgraced his family, and his "solution" is to go out beyond the city limits to hang himself.[269] Luckily for him, however, rescue arrives, in the form of a hero *(jianer)* who plainly tells him that such a death is not befitting for a man. Men should meet their deaths on the battlefield. The hero is also a leader of a *dang*, a group or party and a term that, at this time in China and in this context, could mean either a political party or a secret society.[270]

The author of this piece was Wang Yunzhang, and our knowledge of his biography can support the above assumptions about the "message" of the story. Given his great interest and support for the women's movement and his enthusiastic involvement in the publishing of women's magazines, we may well assume that his depiction of the young lady with the "civilized education" was intended to be critical. Wang could not have approved of women who adopted a veneer of Western habits and appearances without contributing to any redefinition of the role of women in Chinese society, whose behavior and motivations

were anything but "civilized." We can also assume that the deus ex machina hero of the final section of the story (a contrived closing, we may feel) was intended to paint a picture of the man who made active contribution to the common efforts of a particular group to remedy the problems threatening Chinese society and whose interest in or compassion for others went so far as to enable him to save this youngster from sure death—not only by physically preventing him from hanging himself, but by using the channels provided by his *dang* to make sure that a sound financial basis was provided for the new start the young man should make. Such charitable intervention is surely of more use to society than doing what the young man had done: wasting precious resources (time, energy, money) on castles in Spain, on hopes founded on false friends, and, what is more, on a rotten and corrupt examination and bureaucratic system.

The counterpart to such tales of the wastefulness in terms of human (here, male) potential that can be blamed on the system of examinations in Chinese society is shown in a very short story on a geography lesson that, interestingly enough, is not characterized as a story of education but as one of science.[271]

The first visual impact of the opening of the story is programmatic. The lower half of the page is taken up by an illustration, a drawing of a classroom in a modern school. Unlike the traditional setting of the Confucian scholar's contacts with his teacher, the children, all without queues,[272] sit in orderly rows of three desks; the teacher is standing on a raised platform with his back to the class and is drawing something on the blackboard with chalk.[273] The teacher is telling the pupils all about the misconceptions in traditional Chinese geographical assumptions: the earth is not square, the sky not round, for instance. He introduces the concepts of latitude and longitude to his pupils, speaks of the equator, hot and temperate zones, the poles and the earth's axis, and he tells his pupils of books such as Jules Verne's *Voyage to the Centre of the Earth.*

The boys are fascinated and have many questions, but the bell rings and class ends. After class, some boys discuss what they have heard. They admire the erudition of their teacher, but one boy says he had never understood Chinese ideas of geography very well and that these Western ones are even more puzzling. A much younger pupil says he is sorry that the bell rang and class had to end; he wanted to get to the bottom of these matters and was going to inquire further about the voyage to the center of the earth. Again it is the youngest *(zuiyou)* who is the more inquisitive. He is enthusiastic about this new knowledge and new scientific discoveries and explanations of the world.

Contemporary reports on new schools and educational methods did not always paint such a rosy picture of competent teachers and alert, interested pupils, but this was the kind of schooling and the kind of enthusiasm and initiative in the search for new knowledge that educators would have wished for.[274]

The Self-made Man

The ideas presented in science and adventure stories, and indeed, in almost all of the texts discussed in this chapter, cannot but remind one of a book that made an immense impression in most parts of the world at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries: Samuel Smiles' famous *Self-Help* (1859). *Self-Help* had been a best-seller both at home in Britain and in a large number of foreign countries. By 1900 it had sold nearly 250,000[275] copies and, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "became a kind of bible for ambitious young Japanese eager to emulate Western examples of success."[276] It had been translated into Chinese from the Japanese in 1902[277] and had initially been published in excerpts in the journal *Educational World (Jiaoyu shijie)*.[278] As an advertisement in a 1911 issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*[279] also proves, the translation of Smiles' biographies was available in book form on the Chinese market. It was, of course, a publication of the Commercial Press of Shanghai, which, as the advertisement states, held the copyright for the translation.

The text accompanying the advertisement informs the reader that the book had already been translated into Japanese by Nakamura Masanao (Keiu)[280] and that this translation had been carried out to inculcate an independent and self-esteeming spirit *(zili zizhong zhi xin)* in the youth of Japan and to cultivate the qualities of thrift and perseverance. The book is recommended as must reading for the youth of China *(wu Zhongguo qingnian bukebu yidu yan)*.

Smiles' themes of perseverance, self-reliance, individual autonomy, and economic self-sufficiency were not only paramount in educational discussions and articles of the period 1900–1911. The same concerns and the emphasis on the new spirit to be inculcated in the young of the country are not only echoed in the stories and the advertisements published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* during the period 1910 to 1913; they also inform more journalistic reports.

An obvious Smilesean touch can be found in an article of 1910 that

presents Xie Zuantai to the Chinese readership.[281] Xie (1872–1937) is described as the Chinese inventor of the airship. He may well have been the inventor of the Chinese airship, of course, but the airship itself was not new to the world in 1910. The text does acknowledge this fact, but it places the invention alongside three others that China had provided for the world: gunpowder, the compass, and printing. What is more important than who actually invented the airship—or, indeed, the compass—is that the text is an assertion of a Chinese presence in the world of modern science not as a newcomer, but as a long-standing member of the scientific community.[282] It also links up with what were then recent developments in aviation: a month before the publication of the issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* that carried the article on Xie Zuantai, on 16 October 1910, the French firm of Clément-Bayard had crossed the English Channel in one of its airships for the first time.[283]

The text on Xie Zuantai, a Chinese expatriate from Australia,[284] emphasizes his perseverance in all activities and his belief in his own abilities, characteristics that can be found in all of Smiles' biographies. Smiles had written that "it is the energy of the individual men that gives strength to the State," and concerned Chinese of the day—including those writing for *Xiaoshuo yuebao*—clearly felt that China had some catching up to do. Xie Zuantai provided an impressive example of the educated patriot who could help China assert its position in the world.

Closely related to the spirit of adventure and curiosity shown in the texts already discussed are the items of new knowledge or scientific research that were offered to the readers of the magazine. All sorts of inventions and recent findings from a wide variety of fields were reported in the columns dealing with scientific information and news from abroad. These reports may be put into five broad categories: the military and technology, machines and inventors, statistics, experiments and new methods, and the weird and the wonderful. Examples of each category would be developments in guns, naval vessels, underwater travel, and explosives; movie cameras, conveyor belts, automatic doors, the telegraph and telephone; statistics on expenditure in various countries and for various purposes both private and governmental, statistics on fat people or how long people sleep; magnetism in the human body and how it can be used to communicate with other people, research on the construction of spiders' webs, the number of microbes on one bank note, balloon travel as a treatment for blood ailments, postmortem examinations in Japan on the brains of Asians and Westerners and on men and women;[285] a man-eating tree in Madagascar, an ant circus in

Berlin, persistent fog in Britain as the reason for the soft skins of British women. High on the list of favorites in these reports, however, was anything to do with electricity. Clearly it was not only in Europe and the United States that this source of power was so fascinating that it encouraged something like a cult among optimistic and enthralled observers.[286]

The range of reports on new scientific possibilities in biology, metallurgy, physics, and military science is broad in that it reflects the extremely rapid progress of science and industry between the 1890s and 1900s in the Western world, a period that Allan Bullock has described as one of "technological revolution."[287] He continues that "in the twenty years between 1895 and 1915 the whole picture of the physical universe, which had appeared not only the most impressive but also the most secure achievement of scientific thought, was brought into question and the first bold attempts made to replace it by a new model."[288]

Old patterns were changing throughout the world. For the Chinese readership these may have appeared exciting, alarming, or threatening. Yet the texts published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* also regularly present the achievements of the West in the form of a challenge, a challenge not only to the Chinese nation but to each citizen of the new republic. At a time of national reform in China, new ideas (the *xinli* of the opening Declaration of Intent) for the structuring of the country and its political, educational, and social systems were set out, illustrated, and discussed. Moreover, new concepts for the structuring of one's private life and one's relationships with others as well as exemplars of a new spirit and approach to life were placed before the readers for critical scrutiny. They were also directly confronted with the political and social problems of their own day. The texts thus clearly reflect and address the demands of leading reformers: a new citizen of China, with the new qualities of civic virtue and responsibility and new modes of rational thinking—a tall order, indeed, within the short span of time allotted to the country to change.

All of the above demands and requirements are reflected in the pages of the magazine *Xiaoshuo yuebao* between 1910 and 1913. The texts, both fiction and nonfiction, dwelt very much on the reordering of the Chinese world and its system of government, on the martial spirit and initiative, the spirit of self-reliance and intellectual curiosity required of Chinese citizens both male and female to create a modern country that would take its place in the world alongside the Western nations and Japan. The strength of purpose of some of the women and foreigners in

the stories can be taken as a sign of what may be achieved when the community is placed before private interests. The passivity of some men can be taken as reflection of the quagmire of inactivity that was felt to plague China. It was, after all, the nation's men who had determined its course thus far and who had partaken of and maintained the system of training for officialdom that was felt to have crippled the country. Thus the texts also emphasize education, the need for new technical and practical knowledge and new methods of teaching and, moreover, of new exemplars for the nation's youth. Alongside these national concerns, the magazine also published stories that illustrated new possibilities of ordering one's personal world, the world of relationships between the sexes and between the individual members of the family, particularly with regard to the question of marriage.

It is no exaggeration to say that, in the years 1910 to 1913, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* did not provide escapist entertainment for its readership. Rather, it forced its readers to examine the country's situation, to reflect on a whole range of pressing questions and to consider themselves within an international context. *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was, as we have seen, a very popular magazine that managed to retain its market position for a long time—probably because it was able to present urgent political and social concerns in a form that held the attention of its readers and sustained their interest. This was certainly a modern agenda, and it was entertainment and information in one.

CHAPTER 3

Fiction and Writing

We have seen the immense range of modern topics dealt with in the writings of contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* during the early years of its publication. But what were their attitudes to the act of writing itself, to its forms, aims, and functions in the years between 1910 and 1913? What aspects of the activity did they emphasize, and how can their statements be related to the lively discussion of new fiction that had been part and parcel of—and responsible for—the very existence of literary journals since the beginning of the century? These questions will be addressed to the texts published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and will provide the structure for the following analysis.

Xiaoshuo yuebao did not follow other magazines of its day in its opening Declaration of Intent (see chapter 4): where others had been lofty and moralizing in tone, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* had made a simple statement of its aims to introduce new modes of thought and ideas and to increase the general knowledge of its readers. It had not provided any programmatic statement on the uses of literature from the onset. However, as will be shown below, it was in many ways very much in tune with debates that had preceded it, and, in some ways, it enhanced and extended them.

The Discussion of Fiction at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

The general discussion of the new fiction may be said to have set in just before the beginning of the twentieth century with Yan Fu and Xia Zengyou's explanation of why their newspaper would be printing fictional texts.[1] This and the two articles by Liang Qichao that followed in 1898 and 1902 set the basic scene for the discussion of writing in the first ten to fifteen years of the twentieth century. The articles, especially those by Liang Qichao, were quoted again and again in subsequent discussions.[2]

The overall effect of these articles may be summarized as follows: a form that had largely been looked down upon by traditional writing circles, the *xiaoshuo* had become an acceptable literary activity for the man of letters; *xiaoshuo* were now rated on a par with orthodox history *(zhengshi)*[3] and, furthermore, were considered to have greater social and political effectiveness than works of history because of their popularity. They were then placed definitely in the service of political and social reform ideals with Liang's introduction of the term "political fiction" *(zhengzhi xiaoshuo)*. Finally, they were formulated as the core of reform attempts, since "if one wishes to renew a nation's citizens, one must first renew its *xiaoshuo* writings."[4]

This late-Qing rediscovery of the *xiaoshuo* was a revolutionary redefining of a form of writing that had again and again been officially proscribed. As late as 1868, the governor of Jiangsu, Ding Richang, who was otherwise known as a progressive reformer, had a list drawn up of 268 fictional works that were to be forbidden, works that he felt could cause unrest in the population.[5] This was one of a long line of attempts to rid the country of a form of writing that did not constitute one of the officially sanctioned literary activities that had formed an integral part of the training leading to the official examinations and thus social status, official posts, or both. Of course, individual figures through Chinese history had defended or championed the fictional forms against those that were felt to be historical or canonical.[6] These included Li Zhuowu (Li Zhi, 1527–1602) at the end of the sixteenth century and Jin Shengtan some half a century later.

Li Zhuowu had compared *Xixiang ji* [The romance of the western chamber] and *Shuihu zhuan*, works that had been accused of seducing readers to lasciviousness or banditry, more than favorably with the Confucian classics and had rejected the idea of an eternally valid literary

canon.[7] Similarly, Jin Shengtan (1610?–1661) and Mao Zonggang (fl. 1660) had written commentaries on (and altered the manuscripts of) a number of the well-known fictional works and had concluded that the classics often paled in comparison.[8] The latter two of these commentators, at least, like the late-Qing espousers of the *xiaoshuo*, put them firmly in the realm of historical writings, but writings that could be of greater incisiveness and much more lively.

On the aesthetic side of the appreciation of fictional writings, one can cite Feng Menglong (1574–1646) as an example of a more artistic approach. His greater interest in artistry and effect may be explained by the fact that Feng was primarily a writer, not a critic or amender of others' work. He was not the first to recognize the value of so-called low-brow writings, yet he may have been the first to champion them so vociferously. Like the majority of the late-Qing theorists of fictional writings, Feng argues that creative writing finds a larger audience and has a greater influence than history does. As Patrick Hanan has observed, Feng was "concerned with their [stories'] affective function, their persuasive effect on the audience."[9]

It was precisely this function and this effect that Liang Qichao had attempted to define with his four categories in 1902.[10] Thus although there was no great official "lobby" for the *xiaoshuo* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a minor historical tradition of their defense and a tradition that would have been known to the Chinese scholar.

Given the above, it is difficult to agree with Shu-ying Tsau that Liang's formulation of these four powers was "highly original."[11] Nor can one wholeheartedly agree with Keiko Kockum's assertion that Japan alone had the "overwhelming influence on Liang's literary consciousness, and thus to a definite extent upon the whole modernization of the late-Qing novel."[12]

It is useful, at this point, to notice the great conviction, the almost fighting spirit inherent in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century calls for a new writing and a revival of the *xiaoshuo* that were to be the catalyst of spiritual and political invigoration. The ability to affect and to induce to change was linked to the determination and conviction of those who wrote. This surprising spirit of active optimism was, among other things, a direct consequence of the availability of a forum for the airing of divergent views and the public discussion of them; it was part of the new and opinion-creating public role that the Chinese elite increasingly found itself able to play with the development of the print

media. Ironically, this was also the moment when, preceding the all-out attacks on traditional values by less than two decades, the traditional Confucian dichotomy of *wen* and *wu* had been overcome, and the two were to form a real symbiosis. Men of letters, those tending to the life of scholarly pursuits, were now mapping out "professions" and political groupings for themselves as journalist- and writer-activists for a new China.[13] An art form was now *expressis verbis* linked to the political issues of the day and political activity. As Shu-ying Tsau has written, the consensus was "that fiction should be related to contemporary life and political struggles."[14]

There may well have been a consensus on what the new writing should be able to effect in society; however, there was as yet no real body or framework of "new" literary criticism for the new writings beyond an assertion of the wonders they could work and had worked in other countries, in the West and in Japan. Literary criticism or reflection on the creative process had not yet had time to develop into a mature and independent art or field of activity. Northrop Frye has suggested that criticism, if it exists, "must be an examination of literature in terms of a conceptual framework derivable from an inductive survey of the literary field."[15] If we accept this assessment, we must admit that it is pointless to expect a wide range of literary-critical writings at a time when a new literary field was developing. The assessment also provides a way of understanding the dearth of variety in the writings on *xiaoshuo* in the early years of its revival. It is, of course, a truism to state that a field of literary criticism cannot develop without the related field of literary production, but it is worthwhile remembering it. Where literary production is constituting itself, taking new roads and exploring new avenues, tools and concepts for its appreciation must needs wait, developing while accompanying and commenting upon greater diversification and increasing sophistication. Much as this period of Chinese literary history sees the birth of the professional writer as an acceptable occupation, it was also the time when the professional critic was soon to make an appearance on the scene and when the marketplace for literary works was developing.

Xiaoshuo yuebao and the Discussion of Fiction and Writing

Turning now to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, we can ask what, if anything, it contributed to the discussion of new fiction for a new China.

As we shall see, pure theoretical treatises on writing are rare in the early years of the magazine. In the years in question there is only one text that comments on contemporary publications of novels, one series of texts that deals exclusively with the subject of the *xiaoshuo*, and two series of texts that deal with something like a history of Chinese fiction and a history of Western fiction. Literary criticism in itself and as an activity that required its own section in a journal had yet to establish itself. Literary criticism or comment is generally undertaken at the end of each individual text. Since, however, many of these comments stem from the authors themselves, there is some difficulty in viewing them as genuine criticism.

In the following, the four texts, or series of texts, dealing solely with writing will be discussed in the order of their publication. Subsequently, comments on texts by authors and editors will be appraised to assess their general character.

Reviewing the Market

"Notes on Fiction" by someone calling himself Tong Sheng was published in 1911[16] and is a short survey of some of the works of fiction—both Western (in translation) and Chinese—on the Chinese market at the time. It opens with an appreciation of Rider Haggard, an English writer who had attained popularity in China through the translations of Lin Shu.[17] Haggard, Tong Sheng states, always managed to catch and maintain the reader's attention, although he only ever dealt with one situation in his books: two women fighting over one man or two men fighting over one woman. Yet his art in creating characters makes him readable. The basic plot may be the same, but his characters are never repetitive. This, Tong feels, is one of the basic qualities of the good fiction writer and may also be observed in the great stories that China had produced such as *Shitou ji* [The story of the stone][18] or *Shuihu zhuan*. According to Tong, *Shitou ji*, for instance, is a good example of this quality. It is the story of but one family, and half the characters in the story are women who, if they do not actually die, are portrayed as suffering. Yet there is no repetition, and the reader does not become bored. He or she can recognize and trace the reflections of the major characters in the minor ones. The intricate panorama thus produced is evidence of the work of a master pen.

Tong Sheng then turns to what he believes are the great Chinese

writers of his time: Li Boyuan, Wu Jianren, and Lin Qinnan (Lin Shu). These three were possibly not selected as the representatives of the best in Chinese fiction purely on artistic merit. Li Boyuan (1867–1906) and Wu Jianren (otherwise known as Wu Woyao, 1866–1910) had both been closely involved in the Commercial Press' predecessor magazine to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*. Li was the editor of the magazine until his death in 1906. Thus we may detect a certain commercial bias in this choice. Lin Shu was probably the most prolific, and the best paid, author and translator of his day and a great contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Li, Tong Sheng remarks, had died too early, and Wu had become repetitive with time. It was Lin who always produced something of merit and who impressed his readers through his mastery of a natural and fluent style and the beauty of his compositions.

These remarks are followed by a discussion of a number of Lin's translations and how closely they followed the original. In the case of translations of Japanese works, of which the author claims to know little and to expect even less, we can detect a certain disdain, or at least unappreciativeness, of Japanese fiction in general. He praises Lin for improving on the Japanese original of the novel *Buru gui*[19] by translating it from an English translation that had already managed to "expunge all bad habits of Japanese writings." Tong regards Charles Dickens as the best of all writers, and he feels that nothing in China's new fiction can match certain parts of *David Copperfield* either in the original or in Lin's translation.

As representative of the best that Chinese new fiction can offer, Tong selects Li Hanqiu's *Cidie ying* [The shadow of the female butterfly].[20] This choice is interesting for a number of reasons—reasons that, to a large extent, coincide with one of the stated aims of the magazine it was published in: to increase the general knowledge of readers. The novel is, as Tong explains, set in a foreign country, but he insists that, despite all appearances, it is not a translation, but was written by a Chinese author. It was certain to provide readers with useful information, thus broadening their horizons. He does not speak of the plot of the story, but he does say that it had been published the previous year in *Shibao* and had won a literary prize. Unfortunately, there is no mention of what kind of prize is meant. The existence of literary prizes, who awards them, and on the basis of which criteria, can tell us much about the literary field of a certain period. Here we must assume that the work had found enough and sufficiently high-ranking acclaim to warrant its being given special praise. Moreover, in Tong Sheng's short praise of the work, we

can sense the native pride in a piece of writing that might even be mistaken for the work of a foreigner and thus a translation.

Special praise is also accorded the novel *Niehai hua*,[21] which is placed with *Wenming xiaoshi* [A brief history of civilization],[22] *Laocan youji*,[23] and *Henhai* [Sea of regret][24] as the "four great masterpieces." This novel was also set to a large extent in foreign countries, and Tong emphasizes that it covers ten years of events in China and abroad. Thus we may assume that, like *Cidie ying*, the novel would have served to inform its readers and broaden their horizons while entertaining them.

Tong Sheng's text is unsystematic and lacking in any clear or coherent principles of criticism. Plots and structures of novels are praised, yet no reasons are given for this praise apart from aspects of characterization or the fact that they have pleased or moved the author. He refers to the idea of new fiction but does not offer even the most cursory definition of the term. This cannot be said to be literary criticism proper, yet it does offer a glimpse of some contemporary preferences and dislikes. This in itself was a new step in the discussion of fiction. Tong Sheng pays relatively little attention to the masterpieces of the past such as *Honglou meng* [Dream of the red chamber] or *Shuihu zhuan*. He concentrates on contemporary works and translations, even though he does revert to the traditional idea of the "four great masterpieces" of Chinese fiction in his categorization.[25] Despite the superficial nature of his criticism, we can sense the intermingling of native pride in the works of the past and their ability to compare favorably with works from abroad and of the ideas informing the concept of the new *xiaoshuo*: to be modern (up-to-date and relevant to the issues of the day) and usefully informative (able to broaden readers' horizons). Other journals had generally tended to re-view the old literature rather than review or pre-view the fiction market of their day.[26]

Discussing the Genre

A series of texts by Guan Daru published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1912 and with the title "Talking of Fiction" (Shuo xiaoshuo)[27] is more obviously an attempt to provide some sort of basic theory of writing and its forms and categories. The six installments of the discussion deal with the following areas: theoretical considerations of what is being depicted in fiction, including the dichotomy between real reality

and fictional reality; the various categories of fictional works according to their language, their form, and their content; the reasons for the popularity of fictional writings; the purpose of fictional writings; the position of fiction within literature; the advantages and disadvantages of translating rather than writing original compositions; remedying the faults of traditional fiction.

Guan attempts first to legitimate the place of fiction in the process of social change and historical development. He describes two realms or worlds *(jie)*, one in which concrete entities are open to perception by human beings and the other in which ideas exist, ideas that do not have their own concrete existence but that nevertheless exist: we all think and we all feel our thoughts to be real. Even if these thoughts have no physical presence, they have real power, the power to change the concrete form of our lives and the physical condition of our world. They lead to action, both in the animal and the human world, yet the human world distinguishes itself by free acts conditioned by free thought. Thus concrete phenomena and ideas always go hand in hand, the latter transcending the former and always accompanying it like a shadow or an echo. Fiction is the vehicle available to humankind to communicate and express what goes on in this nonconcrete realm of ideas. Fiction is the expression of the things that go on in our heads and differs from other writings *(shuji)* that give expression to the facts of the concrete world alone. This opening is striking for a number of reasons. Not only was it apparently still necessary to find some explanation for the existence and the importance of fictional writings, Guan Daru goes a step further than his predecessors. Liang Qichao had spoken of the uses of fiction and the reasons for its popularity. He had found that it was a means by which human beings could transcend their physical condition and enter into experiences that were otherwise not available to them, and he viewed fictional writings as being able to channel and give expression to common human experience that ordinary human beings (nonwriters) could not put into words themselves but could recognize when they read of them.[28] Guan sees fiction as being the reflection of a basic ability and activity of human beings—the ability to think freely and thus to invent *(renlei jingshen zhi suo gouzaozhe)*.[29] This aspect of invention, of the constructs of the human spirit or mind, is an important one. Guan is not saying that fiction must be a reflection of what is happening in society; it reflects what is happening in the human mind when confronted with society.

Guan takes up this line of thinking again in part three of his series. He begins with Liang Qichao's argument that the individual's projec-

tions of the kinds of lifestyles worth striving for are largely formed by fictional works; he even makes use of the term Liang coined: the reader is immersed *(xun)* as in a cloud of smoke and imbued with certain forms of behavior or thinking. Yet he does not agree with Liang that reading about a George Washington or a Napoleon will make the reader into a Washington or Napoleon;[30] for Guan, fiction cannot make the ordinary reader into a copy of the fictional hero. The context of the fictional story can, however, he feels, so involve and embrace the reader that it influences him.

Like Liang Qichao again, he also believes that humankind generally yearns for more than it has in reality, but he does not say that readers simply find exemplars in fiction. He believes that fiction writing derives from a sense of dissatisfaction and injustice in society "and injustice gives rise to protest and a great deal of writing."[31] It is useful to note that he does not appear to entertain the idea that any kind of political activity can, could, or, indeed, should derive from the sense of injustice. We may here glean an insight into just how powerful fictional works were felt, or hoped, to be. There was clearly a fighting spirit attached to the creative act of writing and, perhaps, publishing: the word was regarded as, or projected as, being mightier than the sword.

Reading and writing fiction, Guan continues, can also help to augment the individual's sense of self-confidence and, moreover, serve to cement new views or approaches to problems among the population; the work of fiction thus becomes a place, a forum, in which new ideas may be tried out, posited, and accepted or rejected. They may be tried out in private, in reading alone, or they may be tried out in public by the act of publicizing them. As Guan states,

> Correct morals have not been settled for once and for all. Where they are found to be unsuitable, they must be revised, and before such revision can take place, one or two people must sound the warning and make this unsuitability clear to all. They must publish it abroad and get the general population to approve their ideas. Then what used to be proper morals can be discarded. If they publish [their ideas] abroad and the general population does not approve, then their theories must be discarded and the old mores must continue to have validity within society. Whether such theories find approval or not, society can discuss their merits after they have been published, and if they are put into action after publication, society can observe the changes critically.[32]

Now this may read as a naïve functionalizing of literature or creative writing to sociopolitical aims, or as an equation of its worth with its

sociopolitical efficacy; but given the general trend of the day to see fiction as a means of reform, it seems a particularly moderate and balanced view toward the possible function of fictional writing. It would, in fact, presuppose an open society and the possibility of an open discussion of a variety of concepts on the basis of their general applicability and acceptability. One might even suggest that it recognizes the various market forces within the field of reformist ideas and the need to persuade rather than to instruct. At least, it suggests that concepts and solutions foreign and unacceptable to the consumer of the written word will not find takers and thus will prove inadequate or unsuitable to prevailing conditions and preferences. It also shows that fiction is not exclusively being praised as a possibility for airing political views; it can also discuss the different ways of organizing one's life and relationships within society.

It may well be that when this text was written—that is, shortly after the successful removal of an autocratic regime—the optimism necessary for the belief in such a possibility was present among the country's elite. In any case, we cannot place Guan in Helmut Martin's category of "crude theoreticians" who are "not yet capable of drawing a distinction between didacticism and aesthetic justification, between art and reality"[33] in their appreciation of this new form of writing. Guan Daru does very clearly attempt to pinpoint the various realms and to investigate their workings.

The fourth part of the series deals with fiction as a category of literature *(wenxue)*. In his 1902 article, Liang Qichao had wished to reinstate fiction with a vengeance and had insisted that it was the highest form of literature *(xiaoshuo wei wenxue zhi zuishang cheng ye)*,[34] and he had been echoed a year later in *Xin xiaoshuo* by Chu Qing, in his article "On the Position of Fiction in Literature."[35] In fact, Chu Qing uses almost exactly the same wording as Liang Qichao[36] in his article, in which he glorifies the status of fiction. Guan is more moderate in his claims (as befits a theorist some ten years later) and finds that literature is but one category of art *(meishu)* and fiction but one category of literature. Since people have always displayed a love of literature, they also love fiction. Literature, and thus fiction, is characterized by its beauty *(mei)*, a quality of which the forms are numerous.[37] All people possess the spirit of literature—that is, the desire to expand their horizons and the love of beauty—even though they cannot all be men of letters. Fiction, as an easily accessible form of writing, allows people to satisfy their need for beauty.

Guan continues by listing the various characteristics of fiction that make it a special form of literature: fiction always advocates something, yet it must set out its argument in a plausible and pleasing manner that can arrest the attention of the reader and not set itself up as a finger-wagging teacher who admonishes; the stories told in fiction are all unusual, but they must not be implausible; the stories are abstract (since they issue from the realm of ideas) and yet they bear the stamp of reality—they are realistic to the reader while heightening normal experience.

The other sections of the series deal with the forms and categories of fiction and its contents. Guan rejects the classical language for fictional works as being inaccessible to the majority of readers. The vernacular language *(baihua)* and the traditional linked-chapter form of fictional works *(zhanghui)*[38] are singled out as the reasons for the popularity of fiction. Unlike random jottings, which concentrate on one single episode or event, the *zhanghui* form must make a tight-knit structure out of a variety of events and characters. It must be full of detail and yet logically and well constructed to convince its readership.

Surprisingly, Guan does not make mention of the short fictional form, even though the magazine in which he was publishing his series of articles was openly supporting and requesting manuscripts in this form. There appears to have been no theoretical writing on something we may loosely term the "short story" until a later period, although the writers were actively producing stories that were short and quite different from the complex matters Guan describes as necessary to the longer fictional form, the novel. As Chen Pingyuan has remarked, the early theorists-cum-critics of literature in China did not make clear-cut distinctions between the forms of writing they were discussing and had yet to investigate the various terms available for the description of different kinds of fictional writing and their distinctive characteristics or their similarities.[39]

Guan, like his contemporaries, categorizes on the basis of content. Thus he identifies nine types of narrative: stories of the martial or heroic *(wuli)*, of sentiment *(xieqing)*, of the supernatural *(shenguai)*, of the social *(shehui)*, of the historical *(lishi)*, of the scientific *(kexue)*, of detection *(zhentan)*, of adventure *(maoxian)*, and of the military *(junshi)*. These tally largely with the categories that had been introduced into the Chinese world of fiction in Liang Qichao's "Preface to the Publication of Translations of Political Fiction" in *Qingyi bao*[40] in 1898 and with those included in the announcement on the aims of *New Fiction*,

the fiction magazine he launched in Yokohama in 1902. In this latter article, and probably for the first time, the whole spectrum of contents had been listed and described in brief.[41]

These first discussions and short definitions of the aim of each type of story set the scene for the discussion and focused its interest. Guan repeats much of what had been said before about stories encouraging heroic deeds in their readers and reflecting corrupt practices in society. He also sees traditional Chinese fiction as largely belonging to the category of "the supernatural" since this is an element to be found everywhere in stories that have appealed to the Chinese taste in the past. However, whereas his predecessors had attacked the writers of historical fiction for not sticking to historical fact,[42] Guan is of the opinion that such writing "takes historical fact as its starting point, but combines it with [the author's] personal opinion to fabricate all sorts of elements that make [the story] more interesting. The stories are about one-tenth fact and nine-tenths fabrication."[43] The interest in and emphasis on this element of imagination and construction in the fictional text has been noticed above in the account of Guan's discussion, and it is an important step away from the absolute functionalization of literature and insistence upon historical fact as the mainstay of writing toward an appreciation of the creative skill of the author. Of course the writing of history in China had never been a reflection of facts, but rather a pot pourri of information on how events or situations should have been or a slight twist of truth to fulfill a didactic purpose.[44] Here, and quite in line with the logic of his opening arguments, Guan is saying that concrete facts may be enhanced and complemented by the "facts" from the ideal world of the author's free thought and still remain "true."[45]

In line with other contemporaries, too, Guan places particular emphasis on detective stories, stories of adventure, and stories of science. In 1905 a contributor to the column "Xiaoshuo conghua" [Miscellaneous notes on literature] in the magazine *New Fiction* had written that "we have to begin by introducing political fiction, detective stories, and stories of science. Chinese fiction is lacking in these three altogether, and these three are the key to all fiction."[46] Some six years later, Guan is not quite as exclusive and confident, yet he, too, sees scientific, detective, and adventure stories as the three elements that are traditionally lacking in Chinese fiction, and he relates their appearance to the result of translations of Western fiction. The last two could not appear in China, he says, because of the lack of scientific thought and a basic lack of "adherence to reason" in the Chinese, whether they are speaking of ghosts and spirits or of human activities. Stories dealing with

scientific thought and progress, Guan admits, are difficult to write because they are so involved in the proven fact and not in the loftiness of imaginative fabrication, yet he predicts a great career for anyone who can combine these two. Adventure stories should "arouse the population's sense of adventure and ambition" and "cure the lack of spirit among the Chinese."

An interesting distinction is made between stories dealing with the martial feats of heroes and military stories: the former, according to Guan, are concerned with personal heroism and can encourage individual bravery and resoluteness and thus the martial spirit in the individual; the latter encourage similar values but on a national level *(junguomin zhuyi)* and in the face of increasing international competition. From today's perspective, we may ask why the Chinese observer of the times did not see fit to combine these subjects. Individual acts of bravery may well be, and, indeed, frequently were, depicted within the context of stories of national struggle. They could be, and were, also depicted in detective, adventure, love, and historical tales. Yet they were separated within these early attempts to identify and define types of writing.

The fifth section of the series of texts deals with the question of which works of foreign literature should be translated into Chinese and what the advantages of such translation could be. Guan admits that it is far easier to translate works of science and technology into Chinese and that these are important for a people "striving to come to terms with practical studies" who "have no leisure for running after empty ideas." Yet translations of foreign works of fiction can, under certain conditions, help to make up for the deficits of Chinese fiction of the past and can offer a detailed view of the society and thinking of foreign countries and thus assist in improving the situation of China. Here we can see a reflection and repetition of the attitude that had led Tong Sheng to praise particular works of Chinese fiction.

Guan advises that care must be taken in the choice of works, since "each country's citizens have a different mindset, and cultural differences can, at their worst, mean that the warnings and information inherent in a foreign work of literature cannot be understood by the Chinese reader." In his opinion, foreign works are not as interesting as Chinese works, again a result of different mindsets and different kinds of education. Thus original compositions in Chinese will always have a greater effect than any work of translation as long as the Chinese writer is aware of his or her responsibility and is willing to avoid the mistakes of the past.[47]

The responsibility of the author is the subject of the final section of

the discussion. Guan demands an investigative stance and approach *(yanjiu zhi si)* from writers, a willingness to use their imagination but at the same time not to produce works far removed from reality. Situations described in fiction may well be heightened and extreme, but they must be unraveled by realistic means. For instance, a married couple may be parted, they may have to defy death and hardship to find one another again, they may even find one another again by coincidence, but they should never be reunited by a Buddha, Guanyin, or other spirits who suddenly appear, dash off into the clouds with one of the couple, and return him or her to the partner some hundreds of miles away. The investigative stance demanded by Guan Daru is clearly the call for a modern, or new, approach to the subject matter of fiction. It is also a call for a new appreciation of the concept of reality.

The very tales of the supernatural or fantastic that Guan rejects as being removed from reality were generally considered to be true to fact at the time of their development. In the introduction to a collection of classical Chinese tales of the *zhiguai* (records of the unusual) and *chuanqi* (tales of the extraordinary) types from the Six Dynasties (317–589) and the Tang (618–906), Karl Kao notes that Six Dynasties' *zhiguai* stories "revolved essentially around the question of facticity: the phenomena recorded were in general accepted as real."[48] They depended on a worldview that admitted and accepted the presence of factors that later observers were to class as the incredible. They rested upon a belief in supernatural forces. As Kao shows, all types of *zhiguai* story were related to some aspect of Chinese culture. They were not stories of the unbelievable but of the unusual. Tales of augury, for instance, of unusual occurrences in nature, were not mere superstition (as they were to be classed from the late Qing onward) but part of a system of beliefs that saw "a correspondence between human affairs and the cosmic order of being."[49] The dichotomy of truth and untruth, fact and fantasy, did not apply in the earlier tales and was not a point broached by compilers or writers of story collections.[50] In Guan's day, however, science was on the way toward explaining or, at least, recognizing and unraveling, the complex natural phenomena. Therefore new and different approaches to the same phenomena were required. From the vantage point of literary history, the distinguishing marks of the two very different approaches to "reality" are obvious and closely connected to changes that took place in worldviews—both in the West and the East—as a result of scientific progress, particularly in the nineteenth century. Where, however, as in the Chinese situation at the end

of that century, literature and writing are so closely and consciously linked with politics and fundamental reform, the very refutation of past aberrations in the interpretation of the world and its phenomena becomes a political act of liberation and progress.

For Guan, progress in literature should indeed go hand in hand with the calls for reform in society, but this requirement should not, he writes, be used as an excuse by writers to translate or write just anything for the sake of financial gain. Guan demands that authors pay attention to four basic prerequisites for writing: they must have a sufficient sense of morality *(daode xin)* to be able to formulate their own views and "wage war on society" where this is necessary but without thought of personal gain; they must try to "complete their knowledge," since broad knowledge is the basis of sound moral judgment; they must try to gain a great breadth of historical vision and know all aspects of a problem so that they are able to depict it properly; finally, they must strive for a high literary standard, since the former three qualities are of no value if a literary ability (i.e., an aesthetic component) is not there to mold and connect them within a pleasing form: "So when constructing the building of fiction, morality must be taken as the foundation, a knowledge of history and general knowledge as its materials and the literary as the artisan who wields the tools." Guan Daru's final word of advice to writers is that they write as much as possible in the vernacular because they should be targeting the lower strata of society. The higher strata, he states, will always find a sufficient amount of edifying and useful literature to read.[51]

Western commentators have yet to take note of Guan's series of texts, most probably because A Ying failed to include it in his collection of late-Qing articles discussing fiction and the drama of 1960. However, Chen Pingyuan has included it in his recent collection of Chinese theoretical material on fiction,[52] and other Chinese scholars have mentioned it in their treatment of the development of fiction and literary criticism in China at the end of the Qing dynasty and the beginning of the Republican era. Yang Yi feels that Guan Daru has nothing to add to the discussion begun by Liang Qichao and Huang Moxi,[53] even though he rates Guan's texts as "the most serious of attempts at a theory of fiction in the first years of the republic."[54] Other Chinese observers have more recently seen Guan's discussion of writing as an early landmark in the history of literary criticism in China because of his systematic approach to the many contemporary discussions of the *xiaoshuo* genre.[55]

It remains to be seen whether Guan's contribution to the theoret-

ical discussion of fiction was special within the whole context of theoretical writings between 1897 and 1913, since as yet there has been little serious and systematic study of the development of Chinese literary criticism from the beginning of the twentieth century that takes note of all the texts published at the time. However, a reading of his six installments illustrates the constant concern about the subject of writing and fictionality and, moreover, that the questions he discusses had not yet been settled, or were not felt to have been settled by those involved in writing. New fiction was clearly still a subject of debate in 1912, perhaps even more so, since the new republic may have lent extra enthusiasm to those wishing to change the world through writing. Of course, Guan emphasizes the function of literature rather than its aesthetic and literary qualities or, rather, he places the latter specifically in the service of the former. Yet he does dwell on the imaginative and creative aspects of fictional writing far more than his famous predecessors. He places great social and political responsibility upon the shoulders of the writer. Guan neither sees writing as a leisure-time activity nor considers it a creative aesthetic pursuit in its own right. His own cultural background and the optimism of the Chinese elite at this time—the hope that they would actually be able to effect some sort of change and, especially after the successful revolution, make their contribution to the strengthening of the new nation—would have precluded this kind of idea in Guan's reasoning just as the social and political demands of *their* day largely erased such considerations from the literary program of the later May Fourth generation.

Discussing Chinese and Foreign *Xiaoshuo*

The final two contributions to a more theoretical discussion of writing appeared in the fourth year of publication (1913). "Xiaoshuo congkao" [A collection of studies on *xiaoshuo*] was published in issues 1–11 and "Ou-Mei xiaoshuo congtan" [Collected talks on European and American *xiaoshuo*] in issues 1–8. The discussion was continued at the end of the fifth year of publication.

On closer inspection, the first series on Chinese *xiaoshuo* proves disappointing with regard to literary criticism as defined within the Western tradition. But it should not be assessed on this basis. When compared with the approach and contents of the texts dealing with

Western writing, it does offer some insights into the writer's concerns and interests with regard to his own tradition.

Xiaoshuo congkao is opened by a short introduction by Suo Weisheng, a friend of the author who calls himself "a crab from Maodong" *(Maodong yixie)*.[56] After asserting the deep learning and erudition of his friend, Suo plots out the scope of the essays, which, he says, his friend had written during a recent visit to Shanghai. He names four categories of investigation within the texts: the question of the use of quotations without mention of the original sources; the incorrect use, that is, a wrong understanding, of quotations; quotations that have been used without due reflection upon their original meaning; the misquotation of passages from other works. Thus the survey offered in this "discussion" of stories and dramatic tales from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties is concerned largely with whether the plots and storylines of various Chinese works are based on true sources and whether they are properly authenticated. Such an approach was doubtless more appropriate to works of importance within a literary canon than to those ostensibly of the imagination, that is, works of fiction. In many ways, this series that deals exclusively with the Chinese *xiaoshuo* is eloquent testimony to how such writings were still regarded by Chinese critics. There is no suggestion here that Chinese works of *xiaoshuo* may be allowed to do what Guan Daru had demanded in his series of texts: that writing take "historical fact as its starting point, but combine it with [the author's] personal opinion to fabricate all sorts of facts to make [the story] more interesting."[57] This series of texts, then, though also speaking of *xiaoshuo*, does not deal with fictional writings.

Throughout the discussion the crab from Maodong also lacks the interest shown by earlier critics of or commentators on fiction such as Jin Shengtan (1610–1661) in the creative process and the skills of the writer. He does look into works such as *Sanguo yanyi* [The romance of the three kingdoms], *Shuihu zhuan*, or *Honglou meng*, but restricts his comments to mistakes in names and years of birth or inconsistencies in the depiction of relationships between individuals in the stories. The piece has little to offer in the way of an enrichment or enhancement of ways of regarding literature or writing in line with the demands that had been made over the past ten years or more, or even, for that matter, by a commentator/theorist such as Guan Daru. It would seem that Chinese commentators were generally more innovative or somewhat freer in their approach when dealing with foreign works of literature. Certainly this contribution cannot be regarded as adding anything to

the discussion of fiction, since the works surveyed are attacked for every act of fictitiousness.

Nevertheless the text is important in that it does provide a number of clues to prevailing attitudes on the uses and abuses of *xiaoshuo*. The author's friend, Suo Weisheng, was of the opinion that reading the series would prove useful to men of letters *(wenxuejia)*, historians *(lishijia)*, and singers and actors *(yanju tancijia)*. The editor of the magazine also appended a notice to the opening text of the series in which he took up this point again and extended the list of those who would gain from a perusal of the texts to include those involved in the world of business *(shangjie)* and those belonging to the realm of women *(nüjie)*.[58] The reasons given by the editor are the following: men of letters should read the texts since they must needs make frequent use of literary allusion and quotations from various sources and they, particularly, should get them right; historians should take recourse to them because youngsters naturally take great pleasure in reading works of fiction and drama *(baicheng, xiju)* and, as history teachers, historians can make use of the examples given in the texts to ensure that the children do not learn to repeat common mistakes; actors and singers need to read the series to discover mistakes that are frequently present in their stage texts; businesspeople should read the series because they tend to read works of fiction far more frequently than orthodox histories and thus have no corrective to any mistakes that have been made in the works of fiction. Knowing the right version of historical events will not only provide them with correct allusions with which to adorn their correspondence, it will also enhance their general knowledge and learning; finally, women should avail themselves of the text so that, during their leisure hours when they like to take up a book and read, they do not wander into dangerous waters, that is, they do not read works of fiction that contain obscenities or superstition.

Almost all of these points are concerned solely with the transmission of a correct view of Chinese history. They are not concerned with any work of literature that has been "made up" on the basis of the realm of ideas that had been posited and described by Guan Daru. Nor is there any interest in the creative process or, indeed, anything remotely concerned with what had generally been referred to as new writing by politicians, reformers, or writers previously. The editor, Yun Tieqiao, is pointing to the dangers of traditional stories (which he largely refers to as *baishi* or *baicheng* and not as *xiaoshuo*), to their interference with, one might even say corruption of, orthodox history *(zhengshi)*. Thus

here is an attempt to salvage the history of the country and to ensure that it is passed down properly. To all appearances neither Yun nor the writer of the series of texts considered this particular contribution to be related to the discussion of a new kind of writing for a new China. What Yun is concerned with is a proper foundation of historical knowledge for those whose professions require such knowledge of them and for future citizens (children), who should be taught by properly informed historians of China, those involved in the country's commerce, and the women of the country.

The above impression of educationalists concerned with the transmission of factual information is also borne out by Yun's final note to the text appended to the first installment of the series. He writes,

> The strongpoints of Chinese society comprise filial piety, chivalry, and benevolence. The weak points are obscenity, brutality, superstition, and falsehood. Now where do all these different traits stem from? Their greatest purveyor is to be found in the old tales *(jiu xiaoshuo);* the roots are deep and not to be removed with alacrity. Yet if no attempt is made to avert this catastrophe, a large number of people will come to harm. Nowadays, if we formulate the aim of educating society, we simply must subject all these kinds of nonsense to close scrutiny and correct them. I myself am not a great scholar, my learning is not equal to the task; and great men of letters consider fictional tales *(baicheng)* beneath their dignity and leave them to the less gifted. Well, then, if this publication is not a great masterpiece, I do not know what is![59]

In other words, we are dealing not with the positing of future aims for a new kind of writing, but with a suggestion for the rectification of the evils felt to have been perpetrated by writings of the past, writings that had become part and parcel of the pastimes and leisure of whole generations and had thus had time to establish themselves in the minds and thinking of their readers. Such impressions, the editor is suggesting, cannot be erased or blotted out by simply condemning old writings, but their supposed negative effects may be lessened by making readers aware of the mistakes they contain. Such an approach would guarantee a broadening of the readers' education and knowledge and would also anchor their knowledge of their country's history within historical and not fictional sources. The attitude also provides a very clear delineation between the old *xiaoshuo* and the new. Later readers of such comments may regard the argumentation as simplistic: it is hardly likely that the good or the bad qualities of a nation's inhabitants can be traced largely to the reading matter that nation has produced in the

past, but this was indeed a common argument of the day, and, we remember, it was traditionally an attitude of the Chinese politico-cultural elite toward nonorthodox writings.

The Discussion of Foreign Literature

The discussion of American and European writing that was published more or less parallel to the texts on Chinese writing shows both similarities and differences in approach. The author of the series of eight texts published under the title "Collected Talks on European and American Fiction"[60] was one Sun Yuxiu from Wuxi in Jiangsu province. No reliable detailed biographical data is available on this individual,[61] but a survey of the advertisements published in some 1911 issues of the magazine show him to have been active as a writer and translator. An advertisement for *Dongfang zazhi* of May 1911 lists him as a contributor with an article dealing with dispatches from ancient kings of the western regions to the king of the Franks.[62] He also contributed an article to the previous issue of the same journal and again on a historical topic. This time he discussed official documents and contracts of the Tang dynasty.[63]

Advertisements in the second year of publication of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* also document Sun Yuxiu's work as a producer of children's books and magazines. He was editor of *Shaonian zazhi* [Youth magazine] and of a publication called *Tonghua* [literally, "Children's talk"], both of which were published by the Commercial Press of Shanghai (fig. 5). A recent study of children's literature in China unfortunately pays virtually no attention to these journals, wishing to see an interest in children and the development of writing for children as a May Fourth accomplishment.[64] Since the journals themselves have not been studied, the assessment must be treated with skepsis.[65] Whatever the truth of the matter, Sun Yuxiu was clearly no stranger to writing nor to the Commercial Press of Shanghai.[66]

It is difficult to assess Sun's qualifications with regard to writing a survey of Western literature. Mao Dun's memoirs tell us that he was a member of the Translations Department at the Commercial Press for many years and that his English—unlike Mao's of course—was not up to scratch.[67] But Sun was certainly not the first or last "amateur" among the Chinese elite of the day to make bold statements about the general character of Western literature.

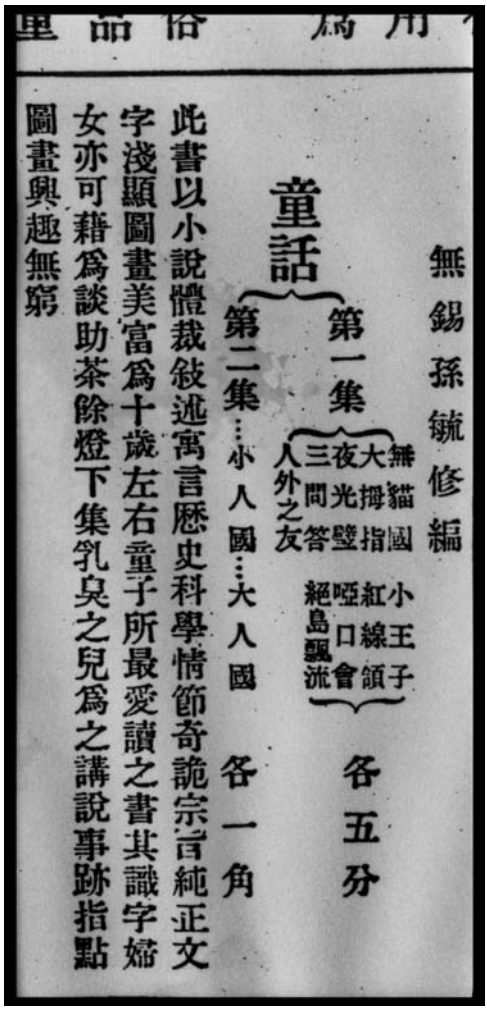

FIG. 5: *Advertisement for one of the Commercial Press' children's magazines edited by Sun Yuxiu.*

Sun begins his series by asserting with all modesty that he is taking on a formidable task. It is impossible, he says, to offer a short sketch of the complexity and great number of Western writings, but he wishes to present a selection of well-known works and discuss them briefly. Since, to my knowledge, this is the first attempt in Chinese to provide a survey of Western writing, it is worth summarizing the contents of this series to ascertain which aspects of writing the author dwells upon, how he presents his survey, and which authors he selects.

The series of eight texts published in the fourth year of the magazine (*ca.* February to December 1913) begins roughly along chrono-

logical lines. Thus the first installment deals with the three great tales of Greek and Latin antiquity that had been translated, along with Virgil's *Aeneid*, into English: *Sinbad The* [*sic*] *Sailor*, *The Iliad*, and *The Odyssey*. Sun does note that the first-named text had been written by an Egyptian, but he seems to have been of the opinion that Egypt, in some way, belonged together with Greece and Rome.

After a short treatment of Homer's life, Sun then discusses the lives of the translators, Pope and Dryden,[68] and remarks on the qualities of their translations, making a particular point about the fact that Pope had made a name for himself as a translator and, what is more, had earned a significant sum of money in the process—possibly a justification for Sun's own career trajectory and choice: at one and the same time Sun is according worth to a particular profession and to his own life and status. There follows a summary of the historical events of the Trojan Wars as background to the works mentioned. The excursion into history is closed by the remark that it is necessary to be careful with names of people and places when translating so as not to irritate the reader and to make the events and persons readily identifiable and thus verifiable. Here also we have an idea of his own view of his profession; and, of course, the statement is reminiscent of the Chinese preoccupation with the "correct" transmission of historical fact that figured so large in the discussion of traditional Chinese fiction.

In the course of this description, Sun also compares *The Odyssey* thematically to a Chinese work of fiction: *Xiyou ji* [Journey to the west].[69] The person of Odysseus is compared to that of Sunxing:[70] both have a clear destination in their minds—Sunxing is in search of the Western Paradise *(xitian)* and release from the cycle of birth and rebirth, and Odysseus was traveling to the city of Athens.[71] Of course, both works describe long and eventful journeys, odysseys in the figurative sense of the word.

The final section of this first installment and the opening of the second installment are dedicated to the works of Chaucer, who is credited with unifying the three schools of Anglo-Saxon writings through his works.[72] Sun then narrates the religious background to *The Canterbury Tales*, recounting first "The Nun's Priest's Tale" (which Sun calls *"The Fox Repaid in His Own Coin"*) and "The Pardoner's Tale" (which Sun gives the title *"The Men Who Went to Kill Death"*).

The remainder of the second and the whole of the third installment are dedicated to the work of novelists and a discussion of their art. It is a muddled treatment, bearing the heading "British Novelists of the

Seventeenth Century" (Yingguo shiqi shijijian zhi xiaoshuojia)[73] but including a greater number of later novelists and writers, with information on their lives and backgrounds and on at least one of their works, in a higgledy-piggledy fashion. These are, in the order of presentation by Sun Yuxiu and with the works discussed: Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), *Robinson Cruso* [*sic*]; John Bunyan (1628–1668), *Pilgrim's Progress*; Johann Rudolf Wyss (1743–1818), *The Swiss family* [*sic*] *Robinson*; Frederick Marryat (1792–1848), *Wreck of the Pacific, or Masterman Ready*; Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), *Gulliver's Travels*; Samuel Richardson (1684–1761);[74] Henry Fielding (1707–1754), *The History of Tom Jones*; Oliver Goldsmith (1730?–1774), *The Vicar of Wakefield*; Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), *The Waverley Novels*; and Charles Dickens (1812–1870), *David Copper field* [*sic*], *Dombey and Son*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Old Curiosity-Shop* [*sic*], and *Oliver Twist*.[75] Scott and Dickens were accorded a section of the third installment each.

The above list makes clear that Sun was discussing novelists *since* the seventeenth century in Britain. Seen in this light, his text makes more sense. At the outset, in fact, he states that Dickens and Scott are the outstanding writers of the day,[76] but that the lives and the works of their precursors must not be ignored. This presentation of representative works of British *xiaoshuo* writers to the days of Dickens and Scott —two authors familiar to Chinese readers through the translations of Lin Shu—was thus his aim.

Interspersed with the treatment of the lives and works of individual authors are comments and explanations on the nature of writing. These appear to be his own opinions or, perhaps, were gleaned from the study he claims to have undertaken of writing in the West. Unfortunately, he does not name the sources of his information. These interpolations begin with the explanation of the word "story" in English. This, he tells his readers, is the general term for the narrating of events *(jishi shu zhi zongcheng)*.[77] It is a term, he continues, that does not completely tally with the Chinese word "*shuobu*,"[78] since it could treat of either the fictional or the true *(qi shi ze wuyou)*. However, if the story in question was a long one—Sun says something like the length of the Chinese novel *Honglou meng*[79]—the English word for the piece of writing was "novel." Thus Sun is making a serious attempt to distinguish between the two genres of creative writing that often enough were simply translated as *xiaoshuo*.

The writers of the works discussed, he adds, had all been touched by some emotion in their lives and, instead of keeping it to themselves,

they had created, literally "constructed out of emptiness" *(xuzao)*, a nonexistent world of fiction to make their ideas known abroad. Sun says that in China works such as *Yesou puyan* [A rustic's idle talk][80] had not been regarded highly because of their lack of truthfulness, but "novels," by definition, "have their issue in a realm beyond the thoughts of human beings but that enters into their thoughts" *(novel zhe, chuyu ren zhi yiwai, you ruyu ren zhi yizhong zhe ye)*.[81]

Sun's next excursion into the realm of explanation deals with the term "fiction." He characterizes Henry Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones* as a standard work of fiction, transliterating the term as *feikexing* and explaining it as "roughly translatable as a tale of singular events" *(feikexing zhe ji jin suoyicheng qiqing xiaoshuo)*.[82] Sun tells his readers that the British public all enjoy the kind of complicated and, to his mind, farfetched story epitomized by Fielding's novel, but that it often finds few adherents in China because national predilections are different.

Fielding, he comments, had had a small number of ardent admirers, and Richardson's works could give pleasure only to readers of a certain period in history; Shakespeare alone could be regarded as a writer "of all ages" and "of all nations."[83] Nevertheless, he could scarcely compare with a Qu Yuan or a Du Fu.[84]

As stated above, the third installment of the series deals largely with the works of Scott and Dickens. Scott is said to have set his novels in history, Dickens in society. Here Sun sees a problem reminiscent of the discussion dealing with Chinese writings: he feels that it is difficult for the reader to decide whether what Scott is writing is made up *(duzhuan)*, a result of imaginative creation on the part of the writer, or whether it deals with events that may be classed as "real" history, that is, based on actual fact and thus verifiable through history books. This, Sun says, is a swindle *(qi)*, and adds that even now Scott is known as a writer of ghost stories or stories of the supernatural *(yaoguai zhi xiaoshuojia)*. He warns that this kind of writing cannot be condoned generally and that the creation of fantasy worlds could lead people to believe in the wrong sort of thing. However, he continues his discussion with the assertion that the Chinese have tended to be too strict in their classification of works of writing, believing automatically that anything bearing the label *xiaoshuo* could not be refined in style or of any great depth of meaning. Fictional stories, and stories in the vernacular, even though they are not of the greatest antiquity, are in his definition simply one form of writing. There was no need to look down on them. Neither Americans nor Europeans did so, and the standard of their writings was not poor.[85]

The importance of the novelist for the well-being and the prosperity of a nation is then "proven" by the case of Charles Dickens, who, according to Sun's argument, had made Britain into a prosperous country with improved customs and a strong fighting force through his works. He states that "one hundred years ago, Britain was a country whose political system was unfair and whose customs were depraved" *(Yingguo zhengzhi . . . bugong, fengsu . . . wochuo)*.[86] Neither the power of the monarch nor that of the church had been able to change the situation, and thus the country had depended upon the ability of fictional writings to provide warnings to the readers and to cause them to experience a sense of shame at their own behavior. Here Sun also quotes Lin Shu's introduction to his translation of Charles Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop*, in which Lin, despite the fact that he had no great learning in Western languages, had also sensed the quality of Dickens' writings, his ability to hold up a mirror to the dark sides of society and to change the perceptions of his readers.[87] As if this were not enough, Sun once again underscores the importance of Dickens to his home nation when he narrates that 1912 had seen the centenary anniversary of Dickens' birth and that the British nation had honored him with a special edition of his works and a commemorative stamp.[88] These tokens of respect for the great man are tribute to the liveliness of Western society, which is without parallel in the East.[89]

His final paragraph in this installment speaks of the justifiably proud attitude the British display toward their cultural heritage. The British are quoted here as voicing the opinion that, even if their nation is reduced to poverty, they need not bow their heads before any foreign monarch or any other foreign literatures, since they will always be able to read the works of a Shakespeare, a Scott, or a Dickens, masters of their fields that have yet to be matched by any other nations. This is a proud attitude, says Sun, but the world in general has already recognized the truth of it.

The fourth installment of the series[90] leaves the realm of novelists for the time being, to speak of Samuel Johnson (1709–1784).[91] Sun compares him initially with Li Zhuowu,[92] the eccentric figure and controversial thinker of the Ming dynasty. The comparison, however, is not taken any further than that both of them found eminent biographers even though they were neither statesmen nor eminent scholars or religious figures of their own day. Moreover, they both had unusual personalities. Thus ends the comparison.

Sun states that he is describing the details of Samuel Johnson's life on the basis of a biography by Macaulay,[93] and he sketches the strait-

ened circumstances of Johnson's life and his marriage, describes some of his works, and mentions that Johnson had been granted the honor of being buried in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. This latter honor, one Sun always notes when relating the lives of men of letters, is doubtless meant as yet another example of the recognition and respect the British nation accorded to its writers.

Sun follows his depiction of the life and work of Samuel Johnson (somewhat inappropriately perhaps) with a section called *shenguai xiaoshuo* (tales of gods and spirits), a term he uses to translate the English term "fairy tale." This section is, indeed, out of place here, but the topic is taken up again in the sixth installment of the series. In this sixth part, Sun repeats a good deal of what he had already said in part 4 but expands the information somewhat. Before looking at his statements on fairy tales in more detail, it is perhaps more apposite to continue with his treatment of more recent works of literature.

In the fifth installment Sun turns his attention first to women writers in Europe and America,[94] but starts out by commenting on the fact that the women of China have seldom tried their hand at writing stories (that is, *xiaoshuo*) of any kind. They do not take any notice of this genre of writing and have always preferred to remain within the realm of poetry. This is not the case, he says, with Western women, and he cites the example of Harriet Beecher Stowe, a woman who had "cast aside the trammels of women's ways and who had achieved something with regard to the ways of the world and of people's minds" *(tuoqu nüer kouwen, you gong yu shidao renxinzhe)*.[95] Sun dwells, of course, on her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a work that would have been familiar to the Chinese reading public through Lin Shu's popular translation of 1901. He gives no examples of the characteristics he attributed to her, but we may assume that his sources had also informed him of the sensational success of Mrs. Stowe's novel on its publication in 1851–1852 and of the "great public feeling"[96] it aroused. Sun may also have known of the honors Queen Victoria bestowed on Mrs. Stowe on one of her three visits to England.[97] She was, Sun says, one of the few American authors who had found critical acclaim in Britain—the British tending toward a certain arrogance with regard to American authors. The only great exception had been the poet Longfellow, who had been buried together with such great men as Milton, Chaucer, and Shakespeare in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey.

Readers are then treated to a summary of the plot of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, after which Sun credits its author with the most noble of inten-

tions when writing the book whose aim had been to protest the maltreatment of slaves. He comments finally that this freeing of the black slaves was one of the great acts of humanity—literally, it was "a blossom of humanity that had opened" *(rendao suokai zhi hua)*.[98]

Immediately following upon his treatment of Stowe's novel, Sun turns to the early settlers in America, the story of the *Mayflower*, and the first buds of literature in a territory that, on the arrival of settlers, was devoid of what may be called literature *(Meiguo dang zhimin shidai, wu suowei wenxue ye)*.[99] The first representatives of this form of culture are named as Washington Irving and Nathaniel Hawthorne, both of whom had been readers of the work of Mrs. Stowe. This brings Sun back to the topic of women writers, this time in China. He repeats that there have been few whose names have been handed down to posterity such as Ban Jieyu,[100] but he does note, with some pride, that Princess Der Ling (Delin junzhu) has found international acclaim *(mingsheng yu wanguo)*[101] through her writings. Even if, as Sun states, her writings cannot be said to be on a par with those of Mrs. Stowe, he clearly feels that she could be a representative of a new kind of Chinese woman, one involved in the affairs of the world.

The princess' early life in Paris is described, her knowledge of foreign cultures, and, what is more important, her return to China in her late teens and her position of confidence within the ranks of the Empress Dowager Cixi's retinue. Princess Der Ling teaches the ladies of the court to dance Western dances, and she teaches them both propriety *(li)* and writing *(wen)*. In other words, an accomplished cosmopolitan woman has returned to her native country to inform and cultivate others. Unfortunately, Sun does not go into detail here; her curriculum would have told us more. Yet the princess is said to have counteracted the xenophobic tendencies of those in power in China; she turned their hostility to the foreign into an appreciation of it *(chouwai zhi xin zhuan wei meiwai)*.[102]

Princess Der Ling was also a very independent-minded young lady, if we may believe Sun's description,[103] since, on being presented with a number of possible marriage candidates by the dowager empress herself, she refused them, much to Cixi's consternation, and then decided that she did not wish to spend the rest of her life as a palace handmaiden: she left the court and went to Shanghai, where she married an American, a Mr. Thaddeus C. White. After the demise of the dynasty and her leaving the country, she wrote two books that Sun praises for their treatment of life and people in the Forbidden City. In one book,

he says, she wrote down her thoughts, and in the other she recorded the facts of the past; both are described as being able to move their readers deeply. Sun's approbation of the works in question is clearly shown in his comparing them to past works of Chinese literature: to *Honglou meng* and *Taohua shan* [The peach blossom fan], and Sun cites the emphasis placed by the author of the latter work on the importance of examining the events of the previous dynasty—that is, the importance of the recording of the past.[104] The princess herself is compared to the protagonist of *Honglou meng*, Baoyu: she has his abilities, Sun says, but not his opportunities.

This fifth installment closes with a summary of the lives and works of the American authors Hawthorne, Irving, and Thoreau. In each case, the physical and financial difficulties they encountered are depicted as well as their final success. Hawthorne, for instance, is credited with realizing the limitations of his early works, the artistic limitations, that is, and of improving upon his writings and thus achieving fame with the publication of *The Scarlet Letter*.[105] Sun tells his readers that he himself had looked at and translated Hawthorne's early works and had seen these failings himself. What Hawthorne had realized, according to Sun, by the time of publication of *The Scarlet Letter*, was that "in writing *xiaoshuo* the ideas *(lixiang)* [informing it] must be considered to be of the greatest importance and the novelty of the plot should be valued highly."[106] Hawthorne's writings until then had been short, his artistic scope *(yijing)* not particularly striking, and his ability to hold the reader's interest not particularly developed. Like many authors—Sun names Scott, Thackeray, and George Eliot—Hawthorne became a better author as he matured.

In his treatment of American authors, Sun Yuxiu dwells regularly on the artistic qualities of their work. In his depiction of Henry David Thoreau he even goes as far as to say that "the major contributing factors to making one's name as an author are one's words *(ci)* and one's ideas or intentions *(yi)*; the moral qualities of the man have nothing to do with it."[107] Thoreau and his experiment at Walden Pond are presented as fitting examples of a moral way of life away from the materialism and utilitarianism of his world, and his early death is bewailed. Sun concludes his text by informing the reader that Thoreau's writings and philosophy were based on those of the ancient Greeks, on Diogenes in particular. They are the source of inspiration for his rejection of social conventions and his advocacy of self-sufficiency and a simple form of life. Thoreau, says Sun, was not as "mad" *(kuang)* as Diogenes,

whereby he probably means something more along the lines of "eccentric" or "cynical," yet he was a worthy follower of the early Greek.[108]

As already mentioned above, the second part of the fourth installment and the whole of installment six are devoted to a presentation of the fairy tale. It is difficult to account for this lack of structuring of the text here. It may probably only be related to the manner of writing the various installments. Possibly the author had not completed the whole series before it went into serial publication. This would account for a number of repetitions in the two installments.

In his first treatment of the topic Sun had stated that the kind of stories known in English as "fairy tales" had a long history in China and that their Western origins must be sought in Greece. As in China, they were tales told on street corners and passed on from generation to generation. He says that they have very little use with regard to "reality" *(shishi)* but that they are of advantage to the development of writing style *(cizhang)*. Thus they also have some benefit for the writing of *xiaoshuo*. They belong, he continues, to a backward stage of history, a time in which "true principles" have yet to have been understood *(gushi zhenli weiming)*, and yet they still have relevance for the instruction of children, who delight in hearing them.

Following this opening statement are summaries of the various collections of fairy tales from the sixteenth century (Strapola), through the Grimm brothers, Hans Christian Andersen, and Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Wonder Book*, in which he retells many of the ancient Greek legends. The sixth installment repeats much of this information on collections of fairy tales and the individual stories contained in them, supplementing it with some extra detail, such as how the novel *Gulliver's Travels* is based on the stuff of fairy tales, even though the work aims at criticism of contemporary events. Thus it was a reworking of the Tom Thumb story with a different aim from the fairy tale proper. Moreover he includes Lewis Carroll in his depiction as an individual who tried to combine two mutually exclusive realms: science and fiction. The former realm, Sun states, is concerned with concrete matter and fact, the latter with the "empty" realm, that is, the realm of ideas and mental images or concepts.

Sun also supplements this section with something more akin to a theory or explanation of the genesis of the fairy tale, the myth, and the fable. It is thus to fairy tales, in his opinion, that we must look for the origins of the *xiaoshuo* proper, even the origins of literature. These were the tales made up by a civilization living very close to nature; they

dealt with people's fears in the face of the sometimes overwhelming forces of nature and, at the same time, created the kinds of heroes that people would wish for, the larger-than-life and exceptional individuals not bound by these forces. Sun repeats that such tales are the product of a bygone and ignorant age; they are no longer created but are collected by literary historians. They are not to be confused with myths or mythology *(shenhua)*, since myths are the product of an age in which there was no literature, that is, no written word. Here Sun gives the example of Dazu,[109] which later generations would consider grotesque *(huangtang)* and dismiss as not very elegant *(budian)* but which would have made an impression on those viewing it in its own time.

Sun defines the fable as a story that takes animals or plants as its characters to illustrate basic human characteristics and renders it into Chinese with the expression *"yuyan."* He then goes on to speak of Aesop's fables, of those produced by La Fontaine and by the Russian author Krilof,[110] whom he praises for his intensely interesting writings produced under the yoke of an autocratic regime. His final sentence notes that the Russians erected a statue to this author after his death.

The two final installments deal exclusively with the dramatic art. Sun deals first with the development of the drama, which he traces back to the ancient "gleeman" or minstrel, through religious dramas—the Mystery Play, the Miracle Play, and the Passion Play. He then speaks of the reverence for the theater in general in Britain, of the various places where dramas are staged, and of the training of actors. He discusses the first English comedy, Nicholas Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*,[111] and a number of other early dramatic works.

The eighth installment discusses the "great" playwrights Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson. Again Sun sketches some of the plots of their plays and a selection of the characters, but some general and comparative remarks reveal the foundations of his interest and, perhaps, his motives in writing this series. Sun emphasizes, for instance, that Shakespeare's achievements in the world of drama are not restricted to his exquisite plays and dramatic art; he also did much in the service of the English language as a national language in the place of Latin, commenting that nothing can unite all the various strata of a nation's society like a national language. Logically, therefore, the learning of one's own unified and national language is a prerequisite for the development of a sense of patriotism.[112] Sun closes his series with a reminder of how the drama, and especially the plays of Shakespeare, which are revered throughout the world, have promoted a sense

of patriotism among the British. By imitation, also, Shakespeare had had a similar effect on other nations: in both France and Germany people had discovered their own "Shakespeare" in their national languages. Only China was, to his mind, lacking in this respect. China had no Shakespeare and the country desperately needed one. Sun's final sentence states, "I wish for China that a Shakespeare will be born in time to protect the country through literature."[113]

Now this has been a long "summary" of the Chinese texts, which themselves comprise sixty-six closely written pages in the original Chinese. Yet it is important for a number of reasons: for the relatively systematic introduction of works of foreign literature to the Chinese reader, for a comparative sense of literary history, for the general attitudes illustrated toward the writing of fictional literature of any kind, for the types of works and writers selected for comment, and, finally, for the introduction of the vocabulary of foreign literary genres and their distinguishing characteristics. It is a mixture of traditional Chinese preoccupations and modern concerns. Particularly new—or modern—is the desire for a new Chinese national literature,[114] one of which the Chinese could be proud, one that would not only be a record or reflection of their abilities and modern qualities, but that would inculcate these very qualities into national citizens in the process of its development.

The series of texts is fascinating, despite its occasional lack of logical presentation, first and foremost through the sheer bulk of information presented to the readers. It is difficult to assess just how many of the writers mentioned in the series had been translated into Chinese and were readily available to avid readers of the day, but simply scanning the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and other comparable magazines does not provide the wealth of titles and names that are mentioned by Sun Yuxiu. Certainly at least five of the works of Dickens and three by Scott, as well as Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*,[115] had been translated, but many of these names and stories would have been new to readers of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.

Lin Shu and his colleagues, of course, had been the major source of translated works, and, indeed, when one considers the titles translated by them within the period 1899 to 1913 alone, one cannot but pay tribute to their industry. Thus the Dickens novels discussed by Sun Yuxiu would have been available to the reading public by 1913, as were Sun's translations of Aesop's *Fables*, Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Scott's *Ivanhoe*, *The Talisman*, and *The Betrothed*;

Washington Irving's *Alhambra*, *Tales of A Traveller*, and *The Sketch Book*; and Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*. It would be another three years before the publication of any of Shakespeare's dramas, in Lin's translation (1916). Lin published a translation of Wyss' *Swiss Family Robinson* in 1920 and a translation of a Henry Fielding novel in 1921.

The advertisement sections of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and some information on the pages of one of its predecessors, *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, show that these were also the works whose names were generally being bandied around at the time: the Commercial Press of Shanghai, for example, had produced an English reader with annotations and explanations of difficult phrases that included Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and *Macbeth*, Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Macaulay's biography of Samuel Johnson, and Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*. It had also published a similar reader that contained only texts by Shakespeare and—and this may be even more significant in our present context—the Commercial Press ran an advertisement in November 1911 for a history of English and American literature. This history was also in English, and the text states that ample explanation of difficult terms would be provided and that the whole work had been based on an original book by a foreign scholar and had been divided into three volumes by the Chinese editor. These volumes, moreover, are said to have a threefold aim: to offer short biographical sketches of the authors treated, to discuss important features of their lives and works, and to summarize their major writings. Now this is exactly what Sun Yuxiu was doing, and one wonders whether he had not based his series on just such a publication. Be that as it may, Sun's survey was providing the readers of the magazine with a wealth of information *in Chinese*, and he was setting down what would appear to be one of the first attempts to write something like a history of Western literature in Chinese.[116]

Of course, China has an exceptionally long and rich tradition of historiography, but the desire to write studies dealing with topics such as the history of literature in the West, the history of Buddhism in China, or the history of medicine in China and the West was a relatively new phenomenon and can be linked to a confrontation with divergent foreign cultures, as well as to an awareness of recent and different developments in Japan, and thus the need to see one's own culture in a different, new, or simply comparative light. The growing awareness of another tradition of writing and the study of its similarities and differences cannot possibly have remained without effect on educated Chinese. Moreover, this other tradition—as Sun shows—had ulti-

mately produced the nations or configurations of nations that were crowding in on China at the time.

The sense of writing as the means of transmitting the Way, or as the actual conduit of that Way *(wen yi zai dao)*, was still firmly anchored within the minds of the late-Qing and early-Republican literati. Their equation of a new writing and a new China is proof enough of their assumption of the power of writing, and Sun's survey is studded, as we have seen, with references to the effects various writers and genres have had upon the state of their nations. Thus this was at once a literary survey and a prying into the situation of a different culture and some of its constitutive elements. It was also a study of the outstanding individuals of that other culture, those who had often suffered hardship and poverty and yet had managed to produce works of particular beauty and of particular ability to move their readers. The effect the writers had had on their readers was, moreover, not purely an emotional or sentimental one; their works had purportedly led to improvements in the state of the nation.

In the context of the national significance of outstanding individuals one is again reminded of the work of Samuel Smiles, whose *Self-Help* had been translated into Chinese. The whole of Smiles' book consists of exhortations to work, to believe in oneself, and to persevere despite all hardships or setbacks. Smiles, too, was very much in favor of "well-directed reading," which, he wrote, "may become a source of the greatest pleasure and self-improvement, and exercise a gentle coercion, with the most beneficial results, over the whole tenor of a man's character and conduct."[117] And in almost the same breath, Smiles states his abhorrence of the kind of literature popular in his day, the kind that was "highly spiced, amusing, and comic, not disdaining slang, and illustrative of breaches of all laws, human and divine."[118] The assumption of the power of the right kind of reading, of its ability to affect the basic attitudes of "the whole man," was not merely a Chinese one.

Sun's attempt at a survey of Western literature can also be seen as forming part of, or being symptomatic of, a general tendency of its day. The early-Republican era in China saw the writing of a vast number of treatises dealing with the history of a whole range of cultural, philosophical, political, and social phenomena. The first four hundred volumes of the recent collection of books published in the Republican period *(Minguo congshu)* lists a total of 227 historical surveys. These four hundred volumes contain some 923 titles; thus approximately a quarter of these titles are treatments of historical developments of some

aspect of human activity. Since this collection is in no way complete, one can only assume that any final counting of such works would produce a stupendous number of books. The growing preoccupation with viewing the historical developments of the most varied aspects of life can be interpreted as a reflection of a psychological need and a search for the defining characteristics of one's own and others' identity within the world, an attempt to come to grips, perhaps, with a rapidly changing universe and to pinpoint the motivating forces behind its various twists and turns.[119]

However, when considering this question of the depiction of one's own or others' literary history, we must not forget that, by and large, very different authors from those listed by Sun were being translated in literary journals. They were not necessarily the "greats" of the past but very often those who provided great reading pleasure at the time or a few decades earlier to Western readers. A good example of this tendency may be found on the pages of the *All-Story Monthly* in 1906. The second and third issues of the journal list recent translations into Chinese of foreign literature and, it may be noted, on one occasion a request for others to desist from translating these selfsame books. Among these names of translated authors, Dumas would appear to us today as the only really "serious" author. The others are names such as Emile Gaboriau, Headon Hill, A. W. Marchmont, L. T. Meade, and William le Queux.[120] These were very popular authors of detective or spy stories of the period and no doubt figured widely in the pages of foreign magazines on sale in treaty ports such as Shanghai or in places with a large foreign or, at least British, community. They may well have provided a good deal of the reading materials of British citizens resident in China.

The Commercial Press of Shanghai, moreover, also kept a library stock of past English and American journals, and these, it seems, were often referred to for material for translation by its employees.[121] The impression that these popular names had found their way almost simultaneously to China is strengthened by the fact that a list of the most famous recent British authors, also published in the third issue of *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, lists E. H. Benson, M. E. Braddon, Hall Caine, Marie Corelli, Arthur Conan Doyle, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and Mrs. Henry Wood together with Charles Dickens, W. M. Thackeray, Walter Scott, Rudyard Kipling, and Henry James. To the literary historian, this may seem like a horrific hodgepodge of the popular and the serious, but it is, in many ways, a panorama of British popular writing at the time.

A brief look at some of the names that have faded into relative

oblivion today is rewarding: William le Queux was approaching the height of his fame with his spy stories and invasion scares on the eve of the First World War and launching attacks on the nation for its "apathy and conceit";[122] Headon Hill was also writing spy stories; A. W. Marchmont (1852–1923) was writing the kind of Ruritanian romance[123] that had sprung up in Britain in the wake of Anthony Hope's *Prisoner of Zenda* (which had been translated into Chinese under the title *The Secret History of the Court of Lu* in 1912),[124] stories that illustrated the mental and physical invigoration that issued from a man's involvement in patriotic and gentlemanly duties;[125] Mrs. L. T. Meade, like other contemporary writers, was producing a heady mixture of nihilism, political assassination, and women;[126] Marie Corelli (1835–1915) was writing about the supernatural and about the need for men to respect women and to acknowledge the work they did;[127] M. E. Braddon, one of "the more remarkable figures in late Victorian fiction,"[128] was an actress, a best-selling novelist (particularly of historical and social novels), poet, playwright, and editor of magazines. Her lifestyle was unusual and chequered. Emile Gaboriau was one of the great detective story writers of the day who had found his way into Chinese translation via the previous translations into Japanese by Kuroiwa Ruikō (1862–1920) that had proven so very popular there.[129]

These authors' topics and ranges of interest are precisely those that are also reflected in the texts written and translated for *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, as we have seen in chapter 2. They deal with patriotism, the man of action, women's activities, relationships between the sexes, and the solving of problems through rational thought. We can find them in numerous British magazines of the day, and they clearly either answered or provoked a need felt in China at the same time.[130] Moreover, the contents of many of these stories also correspond well with the demands made by Guan Daru in his discussion of the nature of fiction in 1912.

What Sun's text also shows us, however, is the uncertainty that was still present about the use of terms in speaking of narrative, in literary criticism. The *xin xiaoshuo*, or "new fiction" as it has so often been rendered in English, was, as has been repeatedly observed in this study, not really fiction in the European sense of the word. Sun's problems when speaking of *xiaoshuo* and equating it with the English terms are apparent in his need to explain words like "story," "novel," "fiction." There was still much adherence to the view that *xiaoshuo* had to display some basic alignment with fact—with history and with "the truth"—in these Chinese treatments of the subject of writing; and although

we have seen the attempts to unravel the creative process whereby facts of the realm of ideas can be "more true" than concrete and observable facts, we are still witnessing a situation where the creative spirit was not allowed to run free, to "make up" anything in the pursuance of writing. All writing, if it was good, would somehow contribute to the solution of, or heighten the readers' awareness of, the nation and society's problems.

The difficulties involved in treading the fine line between fiction and reality or historical documentation are reflected particularly clearly in a comment Yun Tieqiao appended to his first installment of anecdotes from the Revolution of 1911.[131] In this comment, Yun is at pains to state that the narrative he had written was based on fact *(ben xianzai zhi shishi)*[132] and would transmit a correct picture of the realities of the day to future generations *(liu zhenxiang yu jianglai)*.[133] The facts of contemporary history contained in his account were, he says, of a minor nature and thus not the kind of thing that would warrant inclusion in "real" historical works of the period. However, he feels that the recording of such minor facts is necessary to provide a true history *(xinshi)* of his day. The text was included in the short story section *(duanpian xiaoshuo)* of the journal, and this may have been why Yun felt it important to remind his readers that his narrative was not a product of his imagination.

The Practice of Writing: Narrative Structures and the Desire for Authentication

The uncertainty or unease that writers and early critics felt about the mingling of fact and fantasy in the genre *xiaoshuo* is clearly illustrated in the manner in which they actually wrote their stories. The basic structuring principles to narrative that appear again and again within the contributions called short stories reflect the preoccupation with the questions of veracity or verisimilitude that feature strongly in theoretical texts.

Short stories are regularly preceded by some form of authentication, something that purports to be telling the reader that this is not fiction in the sense that the writer has "made it up" for the reader's entertainment or delight. It is not "merely" the result of the creative imagination. The reader is supposed or expected to believe that this story

is a true one, either by reference to some historical landmark or to the fact that an eyewitness account of some sort is being offered. This opening authentication is regularly complemented by a comment by the author or the editor of the magazine at the end of the story. These final comments drive the message home again, either as confirmation of how meaningful the tale told is or as a direct reference to the validity of the story, given the contemporary situation of China.

As an example of this structure, we may cite a text called "Zhuzai huanguo ji" [The pig's return home][134] by [Xu] Zhiyan of 1912 together with a story that was published a year later, "Jieling ren" [The savior], an adaptation *(yishu)* of a foreign source by someone giving himself the programmatic name "Lover of Rights" (Ai Quan).[135]

The former story opens with a depiction of the sociopolitical setting to the narrative: the author writes that, for some two hundred years, the natives of Fujian and Guangdong have set off in search of work to Southeast Asia or (lately) San Francisco and Australia because they have not been able to make a living in their home provinces. Some have been able to amass great wealth. However, recent alterations in the immigration laws of various countries have strictly limited the number of Chinese allowed to enter. This has worsened the treatment of the Chinese abroad and has encouraged disreputable elements in China to put themselves in the service of foreigners and sell their fellow countrymen into certain slavery. The Chinese who fall into this trap find themselves in a desperate position, little better than livestock in the possession of foreigners; the foreigners are the masters of their fate. Thus those whose intention it had been to start off on the road to earning a living end up on the path of slavery. They are no longer treated like human beings; they have lost their homes and are known as "pigs" *(zhuzai)*.

This introduction is followed by the story of a relatively educated man *(dushu lüe tong wenyi)* whose business went wrong and who went to the capital in search of work to support his family. He starts a conversation with a man who says he can find him a good job in Singapore. Of course, the despondent fellow is overjoyed and writes home that all will turn out for the best. However, he is then shipped out to Southeast Asia, literally like an animal, and things go from bad to worse. His original optimism and belief that some mistake or misunderstanding must be the root cause of his bad treatment soon fail him when he realizes that the foreigners he experiences, some of whom are Indian Sikhs, regard him and his fellow Chinese as the lowliest form of existence. He is forced to work in a mine and live in an enclosure guarded by a mine-

field. His sufferings and agonizing are pitiful. Meanwhile, his family at home think he must have found a good job and be progressing well; but after five years of thinking this, his wife initiates the activities that turn into a detailed search for him.[136] Eventually he is found—but with great difficulty—and is reunited with his family. Of course, the length of time allowed to lapse before someone's family even considers taking action is eloquent testimony to the speed of communications of the day, to the general pace of life, and, moreover, to the concept and practice of "family life."

The story proper ends, and one would have thought that the introductory remarks would have been sufficient to make sure that readers appreciated what was being told. However, the narrative is followed by a comment by the author and then by someone from the publishing house *(benshe jizhe fuzhi)*. The author informs the readers that the West has banned slavery, but Southeast Asia is advertising for labor and the Chinese wish to profit from the fact. This makes some people in China see their fellow countrymen as articles in the marketplace; and Chinese workers have thus taken the place of the black slaves of the past. The Chinese authorities may pass and promulgate laws to prohibit such criminal behavior, but they will not, he fears, be able to eradicate the problem as long as the Chinese have to go afield to earn a living. The editors comment on the characters in the story and call for anyone with a similar kind of story to send it in because stories of this kind will inform those with limited access to correct information of the situation in the world. People in the countryside, they say, do not know the real meaning of newfangled terms such as "patriotism" and "protection of the race" *(aiguo baozhong)*, and such stories will aid the people in their appreciation of such terms.

This kind of comment leaves no room for doubt. We are not dealing with a story of entertainment but one that is supposed to make the reader think of the situation in the world, in China, and in his or her hometown. Nothing is left to chance. The story line in itself, one would feel, would preclude any other interpretation of the text, but both author and editors deemed it necessary to drive the point home. This shows us much about their attitude to their work.

The second story deals with the perniciousness of polygamy, a state of affairs that the author finds untenable. In his introduction he attributes polygamy to the power of the autocratic family, and he notes that all civilized countries in the world had passed legislation that would rid them of the evil. He calls upon China to do the same. Polygamy was

not allowed in China either; a man could have only one legal wife at any given time. But because a man could take as many concubines as he wished, the author puts China into the same category as countries that allowed more than one legal wife. China thus falls into the same category as the dreadful Mormons of the United States, who are used to exemplify the dangers of polygamy and, especially, to illustrate the abuse of women in polygamous situations.

The story tells of a young woman who is forced by socioreligious convention to marry a much older man who already has many other wives. Here the question of polygamy is intricately linked to that of religion, the wrongful exercise of power over others, and the construction of pseudo-religious hocus-pocus to cement such illegitimate power. The hero of the piece, who, significantly, through the use of rational thought and investigation, sees through and exposes the nasty tricks of the priest-villain, is an Englishman. After laying bare the trickery used to coerce people into adhering to the dictates of a perverted religion and to behavior pleasurable to the priest, he wins the woman and, of course, they go off to a promising future to be enjoyed in the free air of Britain. At the end of the narration proper, the author makes his final assessment and comment: China does not have many priests of the kind described in the story, but a number of heroes like the Englishman would be a desirable state of affairs and a boon to the country and its womenfolk in particular. Thus he demands that individuals take up the good fight to combat such abuse of the female sex. The story has a message, but, here again, the message should be obvious on a reading of the text. The good and the bad, the problems and their possible solutions are clearly spelled out. However, the author-translator not only found it necessary to point to the significance of the text he had used as his original source for the Chinese situation, he also had to place it within the realm of fact, that is, historically verifiable events,[137] and within an international context. He thus was pointing to yet another way in which China could align itself with the international community.

The means of structuring narrative outlined above is repeated again and again in the texts of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. The writers' and theorists' preoccupation with history and verifiable fact has been encountered already. We need not regard it as a sign of backwardness on their part or as an adherence to traditional forms. It shows, for one, that these writers were trying to adhere to the theoretical principles of the new writing and, moreover, that one of the concerns of the day was to see China within a new context of an international community, a com-

munity to which China had to belong if it wished to survive within what was seen as a global context.[138] The preoccupation with China in the world is thus evident not only in the contents of the contributions, as shown in chapter 2, but also in their structure. What is more, the type of structure described here was common in comparable Western magazines, ones to which Chinese would-be short story writers of the day may well have had access.[139] L. T. Meade (one of the popular authors mentioned above whose work had been translated into Chinese) had, for instance, contributed a series of stories, called "Adventures of a Man of Science," to *The Strand Magazine* in 1896. These stories always opened with the following words:

> We have taken down these stories from time to time as our friend, Paul Gilchrist, has related them to us. He is a man whose life study has been science in its most interesting forms. He is also a keen observer of human nature and a noted traveller. He has an unbounded sympathy for his kind, and it has been his lot to be consulted on many occasions by all sorts and conditions of men.[140]

This, too, was authentication of a narrative that did not purport to be "mere" fiction but claimed to be reproducing something true and correct. The informant's reputation and high standing both as a professional man and as a gentleman are guarantee of the veracity of the narrated events. This was also common practice in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, where many stories open with an introductory paragraph that informs the reader that the author had been related the following events by a good friend, by someone who had experienced them, or by someone in a respectable social or official position.[141]

That it was not unusual practice to introduce one's narratives and align them with the events of the day and point to their general contemporary significance may be borne out by a further example from an English magazine of the period. In 1900 *The Windsor Magazine* serialized a novelette by Max Pemberton[142] with the highly significant title *Pro Patria*. The installments are furnished with an "author's foreword" in which he introduces the tale he is to tell (of an attempt by the dastardly French to build a tunnel under the English Channel, thus compromising Britain's safety) by speaking of it as an eyewitness account and characterizing it clearly as a warning to his fellow countrymen to be on the alert and not to succumb to complacency in questions of national defense:

> One man alone is able to speak; and he has spoken in these pages. That the whole nature of the momentous events he relates will, hereafter, be understood by his fellow countrymen, it would be presumption to hope. The Englishman is slow to understand the graver perils in which circumstances might place his country and his home. The unchanging ramparts of sea and shore are for him a surer fact than all the armies of the nations. From the cliffs of Dover he looks down upon his "goodly heritage"; in the shadow of the "coastwise lights of England" he finds his hope. Should one approach him to say, "The day is at hand when these ramparts shall not avail, when the lights shall shine no more," he would give no hearing to so bold a preacher. The old complacency would remain undisturbed, the unshaken belief in the girdle of the waters which, for a thousand years, has stood sentinel to the homes of England, and will so stand until the end.[143]

This passage shows the form that narratives published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* often took. It is also a prime example of what Chinese writers thought Western writers of literature were doing and what writing should be doing: it should be holding up a mirror to problems of the day, warning and revealing the areas of a nation's life and politics that readers and concerned citizens should be taking notice of. Some kind of introductory authentication of stories was nothing new in the writing of Chinese fiction,[144] but the clear political or reforming bias of narratives set in the present certainly was, and when we now read the stories printed in journals such as *The Strand Magazine* or *The Windsor Magazine*, we can well imagine where the ideas of Western writers who changed their countries' politics or, at least, influenced national policy and public opinion may have originated. Contemporary British journals were full of examples of this kind of writing. To round off this impression, it remains to add that Pemberton's story was closed by an "editor's note," very much as stories in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* often were. Here the editor comments on the individuals mentioned in the story, adds information on what happened to some of them later (further proof of the authenticity of what was written), and speaks of the French conspiracy and the mystery still surrounding it: "There is no Englishman reading Alfred Hilliard's [the protagonist] narrative who will not ask himself if this is the beginning and the end of that surpassing conspiracy. To whom we say, The sentinels of England must answer."[145]

This is a clear invitation to the reader to ponder upon the wider relevance of the story and to consider, despite all the thrills and spills of

an exciting narrative, the state of China, its safety, and her or his attitude or contribution to it. At this point one may add a particularly apposite observation made by a critic and writer of today. Writing in *The Times Literary Supplement*, Maggie Gee identifies the need for authentication as a sign of difficult times: "If you cannot assimilate your own time, you cannot transform it into the metaphors of imaginative fiction." Gee continues by suggesting that "when the pace of history seems faster than usual, readers and writers fear that mere invention is a waste of time."[146] She rightly points to the early novel as a partial reaction to "preposterous romances" of the past and quotes Clara Reeve's[147] succinct distinction between the romance and the novel: the romance was "an heroic fable, which treats of fabulous persons and things" and the novel was "a picture of real life and manners, and of the times in which it was written." Gee underlines that this kind of writing was popular at a time when there was a great influx of people into towns and cities, into a new and sometimes unsettling environment. These people "offered a growing market for stories about the strange new reality."

The parallels with the situation in China at the beginning of the twentieth century are startlingly clear. When Gee continues that writers of the early, and thus "new," novels had first to gain their readers' trust and that the rapid pace of present-day technological change "has made it hard for writers to achieve the kind of confident, over-arching understanding of the present that is a prelude to reimagining it," we could, in many respects, hardly wish for a more succinct statement on the situation of the new writing of the twentieth century in China. Chinese writers rejected the excesses of their past tradition, the preposterous plots in which fairies and demons, gods and spirits, aided or stymied humankind in its aims. They rejected any supernatural and nonrational intervention in their narratives and thus aimed strictly at the present, at the verifiable and the credible. They, too, were in a situation where they had first to create their new audience, persuade it of the "differentness" of the writings they were producing, and anchor them within the reading materials of their audience. At the same time, they wished to exorcise the old fictions of preference or, as in the series *Xiaoshuo congkao* discussed above, try to make sure that past stories were scrutinized with regard to their truthfulness to historical fact. Surprisingly enough, Henry Zhao seems to have missed this point altogether in his study of Chinese fiction. He states categorically that this kind of "over-narrative,"

to use his term, whose aim is to "give the short story more authority and authenticity"[148] is a rarity indeed in Chinese fiction.

Besides the remarkable concern with authenticity and veracity in narrative, we also find a number of stories that point to a new and different way of telling a tale. These would perhaps best fit the modern definition of the short story, the type of story that sets in suddenly, deals with a short interlude or experience in the life of one person, for instance, and does not wish to offer the reader a "rounded" picture of that person's life. A striking example in this respect is a brief tale that charges into its subject matter.[149] It opens with direct speech and two men shouting the same thing: they are in a hurry to report a crime. Their parallel experiences are exchanged, and thus the tale is unraveled, as they discover the similarities of their situations and proceed, side by side, to try to report their grievances and find justice and satisfaction. They are repeatedly sent on to the next office, one, they are told, that is responsible for them and for crimes committed in their region; each time they think they have found the place that will deal with their complaints. In a Kafka-esque situation, they are each time headed off and intimidated by the ferocious guards at the entrance to the very places where they hope to find someone who will guard *their* interests. They actually never even manage to go inside the compounds they hope to enter. Finally they are at such a loss that they simply withdraw and give up. Clearly the author did not feel that this was enough, since he appended two lines, stating that when the robbers in the hills heard of this, they just laughed and said that since none of the officials was responsible for anything, they as criminals certainly had no need to fear.

In a way, one may feel that these two lines mar the subtle irony of the nameless men and their breathless attempts to penetrate the bastion of bureaucracy symbolized by the very tall and savage-looking guards. Yet they do enable the author to show the ultimate irony of the story and what was no doubt meant as a concrete warning and reference to everyday life in rural China of the day: it was the robbers, the outlaws, who give to the area in which the story happens the designation of a "region beyond civilization" *(huawai tu)*, which is also the title of the story. The whole text is all of thirty-three lines long and at no point is there any authorial intervention in or comment upon the unraveling of the events. It is unusually short for the contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and thus may even have been an experiment on the part of the author.[150]

Other stories do not do without the framework of authentication or explication, but they do make use of various innovative techniques in the narration of their tales. Here one could well mention the story "A Lucky Escape" of 1913.[151] This story has already been discussed in chapter 2, where it was noted that the pace of the narrative is very fast. At one point, when the main characters, the married woman who is running away from her husband and the gallant who has given up everything to travel to London with her, are experiencing similar events and fears, the reader is not given descriptions of their actions and thoughts but is plunged into their thoughts without authorial mediation. The section at the center of the story, the climax where they almost meet and go off to London together but in fact miss each other by a few seconds, is especially dramatic, since it comprises little more than the questions—almost identical questions—that go through each one's head when faced with either having been jilted or there having been some mishap that had caused them to miss each other. Their thoughts are always parallel, if separated by a few minutes in time, and the tragedy of their nonunion as a result of this short interval is underscored by the unison of their thinking. The story is brought to an end that is amusing only at first sight. The solution brought about by the husband, who inadvertently sets fire to the letter, enables all to retain their dignity, but none is able to be pleased, let alone happy, at the outcome. Thus the title can only be construed as ironical. Even if the woman herself does, on the face of it, find a "lucky escape," she has ruined the relationship with her husband, destroyed her "real love" and the future prospects of her lover, and caused a rift between her husband and his social surroundings (the colleague has given voice to the suspicions they had harbored in secret). Any other interpretation of the title would make the author's dwelling on the inner turmoil of his characters pointless.

The story is clearly uneven, but it points to methods of depicting the inner lives of individuals and levels of depiction that were uncommon within traditional modes of narrative. If, as Henry Zhao has argued, modern fiction in China begins when the "discursive mode . . . changes from communal to personal,"[152] then this kind of story and, especially, this type of narrative may well be seen as the beginnings of the "shift of attention in fiction from the crowded streets and alleys to people's mental state."[153] Of course, we cannot compare the contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* to the later generation of often young writers who, very often preoccupied with their own states of mind, wrote

in an almost exclusively autobiographical mode. The narrator of the stories in this early magazine is very seldom the "I" of stories that were written after the 1920s, but we need not hold this against them. As chapter 2 has shown, they very often dealt with the states of mind of their characters and showed an interest in the individual fate, as it was formed by a hostile society or family. Narrator-writers' solutions, as frequently offered in their concluding or opening comments, and the formal characteristics of these solutions may appear simplistic both in political and artistic terms, but they were formulated in a period of comparative trust in the power of national transformation and salvation through Republican politics—and writing. These authors were yet to suffer the national disappointments of the Yuan Shikai regime or the international disappointments of the Treaty of Versailles. It would be more useful to characterize this period in Chinese narrative as one of an eclectic search for new ideas and new forms, one that was tied, it is true, to the aim of strengthening the nation, educating the citizenry, and preparing citizens for new duties and a new world, but one that was not placed within the constraints of any one artistic or political direction or directive and thus one that was, in many ways, freer and more leisurely in the pursuit of the forms that might suit it.

CHAPTER 4

A New Field of Activity

The concept of a field of "cultural production"—or the "literary field"—was originally elucidated by the French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu,[1] whose point of reference was modern French society. It goes without saying that his analysis cannot and should not be applied in full to achieve an understanding of the situation of writing in China at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, and as Michel Hockx's pioneering work has demonstrated, aspects of his theory can enhance our appreciation of the mechanisms involved in the development of the world of publishing and writing in early-twentieth-century China and in Shanghai in particular.[2]

The idea of a literary field with its complex interaction of writers, publishers, critics, and readers, where autonomous (artistic) and heteronomous (nonliterary) principles together govern and guide the relationships between members of a community of writers and where institutions such as publishing houses, book sellers, critics, and academia play an important role in deciding the financial and literary success of any given work or body of works can also be helpful in the study of the literary production of the 1910s in Shanghai. It can guide us to seek connections and influences that may have escaped critical attention previously and, in doing so, provide a sounder basis for the evaluation of the period in general.

Thus, taking some of Bourdieu's ideas as a starting point, this chapter aims to investigate the general market for literary journals in the early 1910s and to examine the role the Commercial Press in Shanghai played in establishing the reputation of the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* as a leading literary publication of some standing. It also aims to unravel some of the biographies of those responsible for the publication and the contributors and to assess, to use Bourdieu's terminology, how their individual dispositions interacted with their positions in the field. Their literary, political, and professional affinities and networks play an important role in this attempt to piece together a more accurate picture of the workings of a literary journal. It will become clear that the 1910s saw the development of a nascent literary field where the principles of interaction between writers and institutions were evolving and gaining in sophistication. Those involved in this publishing project will be seen to issue from a fairly homogenous pool of like-minded individuals who, at the outset, shared common ideals, ideas, and activities, but who with time developed different biases for their work that led them ultimately into quite different areas of the field or, even, out of it.

The Market

When *Xiaoshuo yuebao* began publication on 29 August 1910, the market for literary journals in China was still relatively small, and most journals were short-lived. Liang Qichao had founded *Xin xiaoshuo* in 1902; *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* had appeared in 1903, followed by *Xin xin xiaoshuo* in 1904, *Yueyue xiaoshuo* in 1906, *Xiaoshuo lin* in 1907, and *Xiaoshuo shibao* [Fiction times] in 1909. Few of these journals enjoyed a long life, most of them closing within the space of a few years, and all but one closing down by 1908. Thus, between 1908 and 1910, there would seem to have been a gap in the market or at least plenty of room for new ventures in the field. The gap was filled by *Xiaoshuo shibao* in 1909 and by *Xiaoshuo yuebao* at the end of 1910. The former survived for eight years until 1917; the latter journal remained popular well into the 1930s, with circulation figures, even in the first years, of more than ten thousand copies per month according to the text of a Special Announcement of February 1913.

Little has been written on the subject of *Xiaoshuo shibao*, its contents or makeup, and thus the information we have must be regarded as

potentially incomplete. Perry Link has referred to the desire of Di Chuqing, founder of *Shibao* (Times), to use this supplement to the newspaper as a platform for Liang Qichao's idea of "fiction to build the nation";[3] but whatever the actual contents or biases of the journal that could be regarded as the main competitor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* on the market, to date we can only assert that no small number of contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* also wrote for this "competitor," including the editor of the journal, Yun Tieqiao; Bao Tianxiao (who edited *Xiaoshuo shibao*); [Zhang] Yihan (whose name almost always accompanies that of Bao Tianxiao in his various undertakings);[4] Xu Zhiyan (pen name Bu Cai); Lin Shu; and Zhou Shoujuan.[5]

In an article published in 1915, the then editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Yun Tieqiao, describes the market situation for literary journals in much the way outlined above. Introducing what he terms seven of the most famous Western authors[6] to his readers, he opens his translation with a short definition of *xiaoshuo* as a form of writing that deals with fictional matters, a product of the imagination, even when factual matters are included within the writing, and follows this short definition with a survey of the development of literary journals. They begin, he states, with Liang Qichao's *Xin xiaoshuo*, followed by *Xiaoshuo lin*, *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, and so on, all of which are said to have lasted but a short while. Here he does not explicitly name the Commercial Press' *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*. Towering above all these, he writes, was the recent publication *Xiaoshuo shibao*, in which, as he does not fail to mention, his own meager translations of stories by Charles Garvice had been published. We can only assert at this stage of research into literary journals of the 1910s that it appears strange for the editor of one magazine to pour so much praise on a successful competitor. We may assume that there was no sense of competition between these two publications and thus no major fight for a market even in 1915.

There is, however, mention of the Commercial Press' other literary journal in the opening statement of intent of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* was also the first literary journal of the type referring specifically to the new, or rediscovered, genre of *xiaoshuo* in its title to have been published in China. The Declaration of Intent[7] *(bianji dayi)* in the first issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* explains that the previous publication had been successful for some time[8] and that the new journal wished to carry on in roughly the same vein, but at the same time intended to enlarge upon the former's scope and present a broader spectrum of works to its readers. From the start, then, those responsible for the journal

were staking a new claim but, in the same breath, demonstrating that they had been important players in the field for some time. This was presumably a kind of marketing strategy: they were referring to past experience of a successful product and insinuating that their new product was to be even better. Moreover, there had been a gap of some four years between the demise of the one and the beginning of the new journal, and since *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* was the only other literary publication that the Commercial Press had published, it can come as no surprise that the publishing house chose to take its own product as its stated exemplar and not a journal from a competing publisher.

Xiuxiang xiaoshuo was a great commercial success; a large number of reprints of the individual issues were made, the earliest issues even being reprinted up to a year after their original publication.[9] One contemporary, and a man also involved in the world of printing himself at a later date, testifies to its success when he describes how his whole family, from their grandmother down, devoured in turn each issue of the magazine.[10]

The opening Declaration of Intent clearly spells out the aim of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*: "This magazine considers its goal to be the translation of famous works *(yiyi mingzuo)*, the retelling of old tales *(zhuishu jiuwen)*, the introduction of new principles of organization *(guanru xin li)*, and the bringing about of an increase in general knowledge *(zengjin changshi)*." The declaration continues by saying that the publishers wish to invite all kinds of people of worth *(mingren fenmen)* to shoulder the responsibility for the quality of the contents. The forms in which contributions are to appear in print are listed: long and short stories *(changpian, duanpian)*, in the classical or the vernacular language, original compositions, and translations. The criterion for selection is that the texts be "beautiful." Unfortunately, this term is not explained. An understanding of what the makers of the magazine meant by this word would probably offer a number of useful insights into contemporary attitudes to writing.[11] Its usage is unusual, since it would appear that the term was not generally used in either traditional literary or art appreciation.[12] It does, however, reoccur briefly, and equally nebulously, in a discussion of the forms and functions of literature published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1911.[13]

Following this general introductory statement are the stipulations for the content: the magazine will comprise detective stories and stories of love, politics, history, science, and society. The categories will be complemented by a translations section, a miscellany section, sections con-

taining random jottings *(biji)* and notes on various topics *(wenyuan)* as well as a section dealing with "new knowledge" *(xin zhishi)*, *chuanqi* tales, and "reform drama" *(gailiang xinju)*. Even if, as the editors say, it may not be possible to publish all these sections in each issue of the magazine, they promise that each issue will contain at least eight of them.

The depiction of form and content is followed by the information that each issue of the magazine will be opened by a number of photographs or reproductions of various kinds and that these will be selected according to strict principles of quality: there will be no dogged adherence to the fashion but a presentation of the pictures and paintings of the famous as well as photographs of historical sites and landscapes, all motifs that are intended to arouse particular interest. The short declaration ends by saying that each monthly issue will comprise between eighty and a hundred pages (about sixty thousand characters), will be well bound, and will be good-quality print. The price is given at 15 fen per issue and an additional 2 fen postal charges. For those subscribing for a whole year, the price will be a total of 1.50 yuan and 24 fen postal charges per annum, the price increasing proportionately in leap years. Compared with *Xiaoshuo shibao*, this was a very reasonable price: a quarter of the price of its "competitor." The contemporary journal cost 80 cents for the first issue and 60 cents for further issues. It had a larger format and, according to Link, contained attractive photography.[14]

The aims of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and the organization of its contents were not radically new within the pages of contemporary publications. Yet there is a new quality to them. Compared with those of other magazines, these bland statements take on a more sober and matter-of-fact character, recognizing that there is an educational quality to writing—the introduction of new concepts and the promotion of general knowledge among readers—but not expounding upon the qualities of national transformation and renewal that had been attributed to works of fiction at least since the turn of the century.[15] This refusal to claim such high aims may, in part, explain why *Xiaoshuo yuebao* has never been accorded a respectable position within the hierarchy of such magazines: it never stated that its aims were lofty, and thus it has been assumed that it had no other aim than "mere" entertainment, an epithet that Chinese observers past and present had little difficulty in condemning.

It may be worthwhile at this point to compare this simple declaration with similar statements of intent from magazines that were either more or less contemporaneous with or forerunners of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. The first issue of *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* in 1903, for instance, carried

an explanation from the publishing house, in fact from the director *(zhuren)*, that makes great claims for itself and its contents.[16] Readers are informed that in both Europe and America stories *(xiaoshuo)* have played a large role in changing people for the better *(hua min)*, an echo of Yan Fu and Xia Zengyou in their article explaining their inclusion of fiction (which they termed *shuobu*) in their publication, the Tianjin *Guowen bao* [National news] of 1897.[17] Yan and Zeng had thus been the first to attempt an explanation of the function of such writings; they were to civilize, or, perhaps better, to modernize the people *(shi min kaihua)*.

This explanation was followed up by the more widely treated articles issuing from the pen of Liang Qichao, first in his *Qingyi bao* [Journal of disinterested criticism] in 1898, with his introductory remarks on why the paper was going to translate political fiction, and then by his famous article "Fiction and the Guidance of the People," which appeared in his *Xin xiaoshuo* in 1902.[18] *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*, as mentioned above, had taken up this line of argument. It went on to describe the writers of the West as people of high standing and great learning who, on the basis of their experience and of their deep insights into the principles that maintain human life *(renlei zhi yili)*, are able to anticipate future developments. They understand and know what is right for people. They can write this down and, in doing so, make their readers consciously aware of sociopolitical realities. These writers-cum-sage harbingers, the text continues, strike out at long-standing failings in their countries, and their motivation for writing is, without exception, to be found in their desire to bring benefit to their countries. China, a nation with a long history, had only produced writers who depicted sex or the weird and wonderful, with hardly one of them ever writing anything of benefit to the nation. The intention behind the publication of the magazine is defined as the gathering of like-minded individuals to collect the best works they can find at home and abroad and republish them, as well as translating and producing original works. The text ends with a call for patriots to take up the challenge and pull together and not to consider writing fiction too lowly an activity.[19]

Similarly, and four years before the appearance of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, *Yueyue xiaoshuo* also stated its aims in clear political and didactic terms and linked the publication to the necessity of giving the uneducated the wherewithal to deal with the new political and civil duties that would be incumbent upon them as a result of the introduction of a state constitution. Those whose knowledge was equal to the task of coping with the new requirements were to take the lead in passing on the vital information. The opening statement insists that the classical language is

unfit for the task since it is not accessible to enough people. Note that the classical language or refined style is not rejected: there is simply a statement of "fact" that the more rough-and-ready style of the popular unpolished tale *(cusu xiaoshuo)* is the better method of instruction, especially since such tales tend to contain an element of entertainment. Indeed the statement conveys the impression that there is no question of competition between the two modes of writing. They are merely suited to different tasks, a sentiment that is echoed somewhat in the declaration in the first issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. The later publication also passes no judgment in its first issue on the advantages or disadvantages of one style or the other. It states that both are welcome as contributions, but they must be good. Finally, *Yueyue xiaoshuo* calls upon Western experience with fiction and insists that the West views this genre as having a great effect upon the human mind.

Xiaoshuo lin even felt the need to publish two lengthy articles on the reasons for publishing and on the attitude of those involved to their work.[20] Their position, it is true, did require some justification since it entailed a call for the aesthetic appreciation of literature as opposed to its being functionalized in the service of national salvation. It also included a fuzzy vindication of its approach using the aesthetics of Hegel and the mid-nineteenth-century German jurist and philosopher Kirchmann (1802–1884).[21] This was a new and different approach that, it seems, was taken up by very few and generally remained outside the popular discussion of literature or fiction. At least it was hardly taken up by contemporaries. One exception was Wang Guowei (1877–1927). Wang took up an unusual stance within the ranks of concerned thinkers or intellectuals of his day. As Joey Bonner has written, Wang, unlike the great many of his generation, was "preoccupied not with his country's immediate political, economic, and military problems . . . but rather with the enduring, if elusive, questions of higher belief, artistic form, and moral value."[22] He found the popular notions of literature as an instrument of national salvation and renewal "particularly repugnant"[23] and was an ardent champion of aesthetic education as a necessary complement to intellectual and moral teachings.[24]

These examples of introductory articles or statement should suffice to illustrate the general situation in which *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was called upon to find a position or niche for its work.

Of particular interest in the context of the two publications that issued from the Commercial Press *(Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* and *Xiaoshuo yuebao)* is that the former was introduced by an announcement from the publishing house (*Benguan bianyin* Xiuxiang xiaoshuo *yuanqi*

[Why the Commercial Press is publishing *Fiction Illustrated*]), the latter by an announcement of the intentions of its editors. It is not surprising that the publishing house itself introduced its new journal to the reading public. It was new in a double sense—a new publication and a new type of publication—thus the announcement from the higher echelons of the publishing house. At the time of the appearance of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* within the ranks of literary journals, it was one of a number of similar publications that had appeared, albeit short-lived in most cases, between 1903 and 1910.

As a publication of the Commercial Press of Shanghai (which began in 1897), *Xiaoshuo yuebao* had the support of a successful business venture that had begun some thirteen years before the first issue of the new literary journal was launched. The Commercial Press did not specialize in publications of a literary bent. *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* had been one of its many publishing ventures, yet until the appearance of *Xiaoshuo shijie* in 1923, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was to remain its only literary journal.

The Commercial Press, a Sino-Japanese joint venture until 1914,[25] largely concentrated on the lucrative market for school textbooks that had developed particularly since the instigation of school reforms in 1902. In the period 1902–1911, it was China's leading publisher for the textbook market. On the basis of this profitable foundation, it diversified its activities to include various periodicals, best known of which is probably *Dongfang zazhi*, an influential and originally monthly newspaper strongly supporting the constitutional movement in China.[26] Other periodicals published for the period between the beginning of the century and 1915 dealt with political, diplomatic, economic, educational, scientific, or military matters.[27] Education was very much a priority in Commercial Press policy, and the publishing house also opened a number of schools for its employees in 1906, adding a kindergarten in 1910.[28] It is not surprising then that the major part of advertising to be found in the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* concerns educational matters, reading materials, aids to learning, and the like.

Editors and Contributors

Numerous factors contributed in various ways to the success of the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, yet the following section concentrates on one particular and important aspect of its makeup: the people

involved in the planning, running, and organization of the magazine and those who wrote for it. Looking at who the policy makers and editors were and at who contributed to the magazine and whether these individuals had any social, artistic, or political affiliations and preferences that may have bound or separated them may help to fill in some of the gaps that are inevitably left when periodical publications fail to provide the observer with a ready-made corporate identity.

Since there is little reliable information on a number of these individuals, recourse has had to be made to contemporary appraisals of their work, to biographical sketches and comments made by their colleagues and friends. Clearly, we have to question the objectivity of these sources. They may be equally as unreliable as many of the later judgments of the character of the journal since they will tend to show how contemporaries wished to see their colleagues portrayed, not how they were. Yet this picture should provide an important counterweight to the negative appraisals regularly propagated by subsequent generations. These sources can, if treated with the requisite distrust, shed a new light on a number of individuals. Thus the questions addressed here will deal with the lives of individuals and the connections between them before the founding of the journal and in the period of their involvement in it. The answers gained will show that those involved in the publication of the journal and those who wrote for it took their wide-ranging political, social, and literary activities seriously. They did not appreciate or produce writings of the sentimental and entertaining type nor were they, at this time, professional writers.

It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that this piecing together of the lives of the individuals from the most varied and incomplete of sources is a task that is essential to any understanding of the making and the workings of the journal. The information it can bring to light not only reinforces doubts about later opinions and underlines the generally serious intentions of those involved; it may even provide part of the explanation for the success of the journal. The intricate network of connections and affiliations that will arise out of the individual biographies points to readers from the same sections of society and from the target groups envisaged for the various reform activities the writers and editors favored: the educated elite, those with a modern education, those involved in reform, and those to be educated and reformed.

There are no records about the founding of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Thus we cannot reconstruct exactly why it was brought into being, whether there were particular individuals involved at its inception, or whether it

was simply deemed a viable economic undertaking at the time given the situation of the market for reading materials—that is, the general political and not only entertainment-biased interest in what may be broadly termed "fictional" writings since the turn of the century. We simply have the Declaration of Intent published at the outset.

Those involved in the planning of the publication did not compose a clear artistic or political manifesto, nor does any such manifesto-like announcement appear within the pages of the magazine until it was revamped in 1921.[29] Thus for the present purposes, we may safely assume that there was no need felt to provide one. The initial declaration does little more than tell its readers what they may expect to find on the pages of the journal and inform potential contributors of the kind of writings they may submit. A lack of such basic statements and position takings may mean a number of things. We could, of course, assume that those involved had not considered sufficiently what they were doing and thus had no idea of the position they wished to take. This is unlikely. Evidence to the contrary is provided, for instance, not only by the observations made already on the basis of the advertising sections, but also by the traditionally nonflippant approach to writing in China and by the wealth of articles dealing with the supposed power of fictional writings to transform the very fabric of the nation. Writers of all hues shared this view—even if it was more a result of wishful thinking than rational deduction—and thus there may, at this particular moment, have been a greater agreement about what one was doing as a writer or as a publisher of literary work than during the later, post-1919 period. This observation presupposes a homogenous group of actors or agents within the world of publishing, people sharing common social, political, and cultural aspirations and assumptions, and, as a result, not yet tending toward the debates and factional strife that were to characterize later developments.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, a manifesto is a means of asserting one's position as a newcomer, a way of imposing "new modes of thought and expression, out of key with the prevailing modes of thought and with the doxa."[30] They are intended to "disconcert" the establishment. In this case, the lack of a manifesto is tantamount to saying that the "field of cultural production,"[31] or the field of writing, the complex set of circumstances (namely, struggles for standing and positions) that determines the production, reception, and status of all types of cultural production, was in a sense less sophisticated in 1910. It could, however, also mean that what we are observing are the beginnings of a field of

activity that was to become more complex, diversified, and developed with time. A period in which ideas can settle and subsequently positions be refined, diversified, and defined is required before sophisticated positions and attitudes to one's own cultural activities can be evolved. This, of course, also applies to the development of attitudes toward the work of others involved in the same type of activity. Minutely differentiated positions and distinctions from other possible ones are thus the result of a period of digestion and reflection.[32]

The individuals involved in the magazine, inasmuch as they can be ascertained with any degree of certainty, will be dealt with in a more or less hierarchical manner. That is to say, the direct "makers" of the magazine—those involved in the policy of the Commercial Press and the publishing and selection of manuscripts—will be considered first. These will be followed by a survey of some of the contributors. It is difficult to pack them neatly into clear-cut groups, but the first grouping will be those who were linked to the leading figures of the magazine through political aims such as educational reform, individuals who rarely continued a career of writing. The second grouping will comprise contributors who were members of the Nanshe or the Southern Society, a literary-political grouping founded in Suzhou in 1909. The third will look at contributors who have not been found to belong to either of the two groups but who were prominent figures of the day who were especially active in the world of publishing or who were to become so. It is, and probably will remain, impossible to identify all of the contributors. However, those whose identity can be ascertained should provide a representative general outline of the people involved in the making and writing of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, as well as of what their general assumptions concerning this activity were.

Reform Affiliations

For a number of reasons Zhang Yuanji (*zi*: Xiaozhai; *hao*: Jusheng, 1867–1959) provides an excellent starting point for the examination of affiliations and networks between contributors. Originating from Zhejiang province, he was holder of a *jinshi* (metropolitan graduate) title and a member of the Hanlin Academy; he was also a political and educational activist[33] in touch with all the leading reform circles since the reform movement of 1898. Moreover, he was also in charge of

general editorial policy at the Commercial Press. Zhang was a man with much professional experience of translating and publishing work; he had been headmaster and head of the translation department at the Nanyang gongxue until joining the Commercial Press in 1903. Unlike others, he had managed to survive the termination of the reform movement by the Qing court practically unscathed and without having been forced to leave the country.[34]

The Nanyang gongxue, where he spent a number of years, was the college set up in Shanghai in 1896 on the instigation of Sheng Xuanhuai (1844–1916) and of great importance in bridging the transitional period during the final years of the doomed imperial examinations as the lone qualification and prerequisite for prestige and office, and for establishing an acceptable and accepted "modern" educational system. The school was not only conceived as a technical institute to serve the various enterprises established by Sheng;[35] it had the aim of educating its pupils to respond to the various requirements of all aspects of a modern society.[36] This school, according to Grieder, was to serve "as an academic *pied à terre* for several of the senior generation of radicals-in-the-making."[37]

It was during his time at the school that Zhang tried to implant ideas about modernization into the minds of the coming generation by encouraging his pupils to read the translations of Yan Fu[38] as well as radical literary imports from Japan.[39] It was here, too, in 1901, that Zhang first made the acquaintance of Cai Yuanpei, whom he was later to provide with financial support through translation work for the Commercial Press.[40]

The Nanyang Public School was also the first institution to produce new textbooks for a modern Chinese education system. Its new Chinese reader *(Mengxue keben)* was conceived purely with regard to educational considerations and its suitability for young children. It did not rely on or emphasize the vocabulary of the Chinese classics and the requirements of future readers of these works.[41] As head of the translation section at the school, Zhang Yuanji was concerned about countering the lack of good teaching materials during his period there[42] and gained valuable experience in preparing and publishing manuscripts.

His interest in textbook translation and publication continued when he left his post at the Nanyang gongxue and joined the Commercial Press in Shanghai. Together with Gao Fengqian (1869–1936) and Jiang Weiqiao (1873–1958), he formed the publishing house's editorial board for school textbooks from 1902.[43] Further activities and posts underscore

his close links with educational reform: in 1911 he was appointed vice-president of the Central Committee for Education (Zhongyang jiaoyu hui) by the court. In this capacity he also set up the Educational Association of China (Zhongguo jiaoyu hui) in 1911 to liaise and strengthen the ties between groups in Shanghai and in the capital. The point of liaison was to be the Commercial Press.[44] Zhang also continued to take an active interest in the political structure of China as a member of the Committee for Preparation for Constitutional Government.

Despite all his obligations, Zhang joined Xu Zhongke (1869–1928), a regular contributor to the poetry sections of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, in the editing of the diplomatic journal *Waijiao bao* between 1901 and 1910.[45] He may also have had a hand in the editorial policies of the Commercial Press' literary publication *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*,[46] thus also providing a framework for those whose outlet for their ideas was not associations or other groups but belles lettres.

Even this brief summary of Zhang's activities clearly shows him to have been a towering figure of both national and local Shanghai significance during the period in question. Through his involvement in politics and reform, publishing and writing, Zhang brought together many of those involved in the new literary journal.

Zhang had personally requested the two early editors of the journal to take up their posts. Both the first, Wang Yunzhang (1888–1942), and his successor, Yun Tieqiao (1878–1935),[47] were natives of Jiangsu. Both well illustrate the pattern of relationships that brought certain people together. Wang, as a member of the Southern Society[48] and later editor of the Commercial Press' *Funü zazhi* [The women's magazine], was well known in the world of publishing and had participated in numerous publishing ventures. Yun was connected to Zhang Yuanji through the Nanyang gongxue and his interest in educational matters.

The First Editor, Wang Yunzhang

Little information is readily available on the life and career of Wang Yunzhang.[49] He was traditionally educated, having been awarded the title of *juren* (provincial graduate) at the early age of fifteen (1902). That he was entrusted with the editorship of the Commercial Press' new literary magazine by Zhang Yuanji speaks for his standing among reform-minded men of letters of his day. Yet there is further evi-

dence of a clear revolutionary shade to Wang Yunzhang's life that may explain his connections with Zhang.

Wang acted as editor of the magazine for the first three years, 1910–1912, reassuming these duties between 1918 and 1921.[50] At some point, and for reasons his biographers do not state, he left his job at the Commercial Press and went to Southeast Asia. Zheng Yimei says that he went there on the invitation of Shen Manyun.[51] Shen (1869–1915) was a wealthy merchant in Shanghai who took a leading role in both reform and revolutionary activities, and he had close connections with the press.[52] Of him Joseph Fewsmith writes,

> The most critical link between the revolutionary movement and the merchant community appears to have been Shen Manyun, manager of the Xincheng Bank, member of the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, director of the Shanghai City Council, and member of Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance *(Tongmeng hui)*. Apparently Shen first came into contact with the revolutionary movement by seeking out Yu Youren after reading some of his articles in the paper. Shen then became a major contributor to the *People's Stand*. It was through Shen that other important merchants . . . came into contact with the revolutionary movement.[53]

This connection with the press and the *People's Stand (Minli bao)*, an organ of the Revolutionary Alliance and edited by Yu Youren (1867–1964), may serve to explain the connection between Shen and Wang Yunzhang. Both Shen and Wang were from the same town of Wuxi in Jiangsu, but the further link is provided by Yu Youren's membership of the Southern Society.[54] Yu was a prominent figure in the radical anti-Manchu daily press from about 1909[55] and no doubt also had contacts with Wang through the latter's position as editor of *Xinwen bao*.[56]

Shen Manyun, on the other hand, points to a clear connection between Wang and Zhang Yuanji. Shen was not only a successful and innovative businessman; he, like Zhang, was also committed to educational aims. In 1906 he participated in the founding of the Jinghua nüzi shifan xuetang (Jinghua women's normal school) in Shanghai, his wife acting as director of the school. Moreover he was asked to be the head of the Fudan Public School (Fudan gongxuexiao), and he was one of the founders of an orphanage in Shanghai.[57] Like Zhang, he too was an active supporter of plans for constitutional government and had been the special envoy of the Shanghai merchants to Beijing in May 1910 to present a petition requesting an establishment of a national assembly.[58] The support of merchants such as Shen was important to reformers and

revolutionaries. It was one of the factors, for instance, that had ensured an easy take-over of Shanghai from government troops after the 1911 uprising.[59] After 1912 the Revolutionary Alliance entrusted Shen with its financial matters and made him their special representative for Southeast Asia. He was a director of the Chinese Industrial Bank (Zhonghua shiye yinhang), whose shareholders met officially for the first time in May 1912 and whose aim was to secure money for the industrialization of China.[60] Shen had raised some five million dollars "by touring Southeast Asia, visiting Singapore, Java, and Rangoon, and making use everywhere he went of introductions given him by Sun Yat-sen,"[61] and his financial support of the revolution and of the subsequent military government, whose minister of finance he was to become, gave him no little standing and sway in Shanghai.[62] It was no doubt in the context of fund-raising for the new republic and the Revolutionary Alliance that Wang Yunzhang was requested to travel to Southeast Asia. The timing would fit in well with what we know of Wang's career: he left his post with *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1912, returning to take over *Funü zazhi* in 1915,[63] the year that Shen Manyun died.

A text published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1919[64] and dedicated to Wang's lifework provides some further details, even if it still does not give us a definitive picture of Wang Yunzhang's career. It is a eulogy clearly written for those readers who knew both Wang's experiences and career and who could fill in the contemporary background from their own knowledge of national events. Although its cryptic and complex style blurs the concrete details, the text maintains that Wang's writings were moving and interesting, sometimes even shocking. He is said to have been steadfast in his intention to awaken his readers' sensibilities to the problems of the world.[65] He is described as having actively and practically participated in the uprising of 1911, taking on some sort of administrative and logistic tasks for the revolutionary forces.[66] He had been abroad—as far afield as Holland—in pursuit of his ideals and the good cause. This is presumably a reference to his activities on behalf of the Revolutionary Alliance and Shen Manyun. After his return home he became pessimistic and disillusioned on seeing that much of his effort had been in vain. Here we may see an allusion to the outcome of the revolution for which he had exerted so much energy: the warlord situation and the imperial aspirations of Yuan Shikai. He took to drinking. The text continues by stating that his friends deserted him and spread vicious rumors about him: "He has no brother, but he is said to have stolen his sister-in-law."[67] He had to give up his job. This can only

be a reference to his post as editor of *Funü zazhi*: one year after he had been entrusted with the position, announcements were placed in numerous publications to introduce the new editor of the women's magazine.[68]

Other sources fill in parts of his biography. There are reports of his activities as a professor at various universities after his return to Shanghai.[69] He had knowledge of both English and Japanese, skills that had enabled him not only to become an English teacher but also to translate numerous scientific and educational texts into Chinese and to write a regular column on the events of the First World War between 1918 and 1919.[70] Suggestions of collaboration with the Japanese during his later life brought him into disrepute.[71] Yet the short biographical sketch of him as a member of the Southern Society[72] suggests that this disrepute may have stemmed from the fact that he led a life of inactivity and succumbed to an addiction, presumably opium or alcohol abuse. The negative image Wang appears to have accrued in the years following the uprising of 1911 probably also explains why little information has been collected and recorded about him.

Finally, and as editor of the women's magazine *Funü zazhi*, his personal commitment to an improvement in the lot of Chinese women and equality of the sexes is generally acknowledged, and he is hailed as "a first ray of light in the education of women."[73] According to Link, the contents of the *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were very much linked to the activities of the Southern Society as a result of Wang's membership of the group. This made the journal and its contents in tune with the spirit of the period: "the spirit of discovery, the sense of a fathomless variety of things in the world, and so on."[74] This interest in women's issues links him once again with Shen Manyun.

Regardless of the information that is still lacking to fill in the unfortunate blanks around the life and activities of Wang Yunzhang, it is no exaggeration to say that he was an active campaigner for political and social change in his country, an individual well known to leading reform circles. It was surely no coincidence that he was called upon to edit the Commercial Press' new literary magazine. Given these preconditions, it is also highly unlikely that such a man would take on a task that involved the production of "mere" entertainment for an urban readership that required an amusing and distracting leisure-time occupation. This impression is corroborated by information supplied by his contemporaries and immediate colleagues. They do not speak of his writings as entertaining or sentimental but emphasize their seriousness and even erudite nature.

With regard to his literary output, two of Wang's contemporaries, Yan Fusun[75] (1901–?) and Zhao Shaokuang[76] (born 1891), themselves writers and publicists of the day, judge him to have been a good writer. Although Zhao states that Wang did not regard writing as his real calling, Yan Fusun is adamant that his stories were greatly sought after by all the magazines of the day. He also states that there was a great change in the style of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* after Wang left his post there.[77] Yan included Wang's biographical sketch in the collection of biographies of famous Chinese writers that he published in 1923 *(Quanguo xiaoshuo mingjia zhuanji)*.[78] This, in itself, speaks for the reputation of the writer Wang Yunzhang during his own lifetime. In 1923 Wang was a relatively young man of thirty-five, but even earlier, in 1919, his biographer had insisted that Wang's writings were intended to rouse his fellow countrymen and -women to combat customs detrimental to progress in China.[79] Yet in 1983, and despite the fact that he himself quotes this 1919 text in full, the later commentator on the early years of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Fan Mingli, states categorically that both early editors, Wang and his successor, Yun Tieqiao, were closely associated with the "Butterfly school" *(yuanyang hudie pai)* of writing and that they produced writings of a bourgeois character. However, as I have already noted above, none of Wang's contemporaries even mentioned this term and, as we shall see below, Yun Tieqiao rejected the entertainment and sentimental writings of this type out of hand.

It is much more reasonable to view Wang Yunzhang as one of the many educated and politically active and committed individuals of his day—committed not necessarily to any one narrow ideology, but to a wish to reform the country and to strengthen it. These individuals took the new opportunity to engage actively and open-mindedly in the developing public political debate and in the new openings offered by the growing journalistic possibilities in Shanghai. He disappeared with little fuss or, perhaps, in dejection from the public sphere for reasons we cannot yet reconstruct. What we can say is that he did not forge a public image for himself that lasted beyond his own active involvement in publishing.

The Second Editor, Yun Tieqiao

In the years 1912 to 1918 Yun Tieqiao edited the journal. Yun, like many of his colleagues, was from the city of Wujin in Jiangsu

(modern Changzhou).[80] He cannot be traced as a member of the Southern Society nor can any association with it be found. There is also little evidence of any political activities or direct political involvement or activity in his career. He contributed to various journals during his writing career: he wrote and translated for *Xiaoshuo shibao*,[81] published an article in *Dongfang zazhi* in 1911 discussing the powers in the Pacific,[82] was a frequent contributor to the *Chenbao fukan* [Morning post supplement] in 1919, either as the translator of Tolstoy stories or with his own works, and published in the Shanghai daily *Minguo ribao* [Republican daily] as late as 1922.[83]

Yun's early life appears to have been dominated by a love of literature and by teaching. Having studied English at the Nanyang Public School, he devoted much of his time to introducing foreign authors and works to the Chinese audience[84] and took a great interest in supporting and helping young literary talents. After about 1918, however, Yun concluded that the life of the writer, living by the pen, was too arduous and difficult; he took up medicine, a profession in which he was later to become famous.[85] Here we may detect an indirect reference to the increasing commercialization or competitive and politicized atmosphere within the printing industry or the world of writing at the close of the 1910s.[86] Thus, even if he did retain a public image after leaving the Commercial Press, it was an altered one. He had changed the field of his activities radically.

It is curious to see someone giving up literature for medicine. The period abounds in the use of metaphors of sickness in conjunction with writing as a remedy—that is, recognizing the ailments of the country and prescribing and writing down the correct treatment. Lu Xun, of course, was the most well known of writers to have turned his back on his medical studies to take up literature to serve his country.[87] Yun appears to have understood the doctor-patient situation in quite the opposite manner and to have asserted the sociopolitical context of the practice of medicine: he saw good doctors as being of greater importance than good government ministers.[88] Nevertheless, he did remain true to his vocation as a teacher and a guide to others; he published acclaimed medical textbooks and was in charge of a Chinese correspondence school for medicine for some time.[89]

The connection between Yun Tieqiao, the Commercial Press, and Zhang Yuanji is obviously the school Yun attended, Nanyang gongxue.[90] After receiving the title of *xiucai* and first earning his living as a school *(shuyuan)* teacher, he went to the new school in 1904 at the age of twenty-six. He is described as a gifted pupil whose efforts were duly

supported by the school. His solid knowledge of both English and Chinese at the end of his education there enabled him to take teaching jobs in Shanghai. When his first work was published it impressed Zhang Yuanji, then general manager at the Commercial Press, who invited Yun to take the position of editor in chief of the new literary journal.[91]

Yun Tieqiao was a man of some standing in the field of literary publishing in the first half of the 1910s. During his time as editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* he searched out and encouraged young writers to contribute to the improvement of fiction writing in China. It was under his guidance that a number of later well-known writers developed, and his editorial policy was always to write to would-be authors telling them why their manuscripts had been accepted or not. He took the time to meet those individuals whose work had pleased him. Recognition from him was felt to enhance one's literary standing.

In 1913 he published Lu Xun's first short piece of fiction writing. At this time Lu Xun had published some translations in Japan, but he had not yet displayed any talent or gained any recognition in Chinese literary circles. Writing under the pseudonym Zhou Chuo, Lu saw his story "Huai Jiu" [Thoughts of the past] published in the first issue of the fourth year of the magazine.[92] Yun Tieqiao not only had the work of this unknown young writer published; he also appended a comment to the published text saying that he found the work exceptional. He voiced his admiration for the young man's descriptive abilities in his commentary and entered into correspondence with him.[93] Other young writers whom he discovered and to whom he offered support were Cheng Zhanlu (?–1943),[94] Cheng Xiaoqing (1893–1976),[95] and Xu Jinfu.[96] All of these were to become well-known figures in publishing circles in Shanghai. Cheng Zhanlu was to become editor of *Xiaoshuo ribao* and was a regular contributor of fictional writings to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Cheng Xiaoqing was a master of the detective story and later edited *Detection World (Zhentan shijie)*. It appears that his enthusiasm for detection was so great that he even took an American correspondence course on criminal psychology to improve his knowledge of the subject. His Chinese Sherlock Holmes stories (*Dongfang Fuermosi Huo Sang tan'an* [The cases of the Chinese Sherlock Holmes, Huo Sang]) were a great success.[97] Xu Jinfu was later to edit *Xiaoshuo ribao* and to write a biographical sketch of his friend Yun in that journal. He contributed to a wide range of literary publications of the day. All of these individuals (apart from Lu Xun, of course) are always counted among the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly school. They clearly did not see themselves as such. They

were respected individuals, whose abilities were recognized and publicly acclaimed, *in their time*. They were part of an as yet undifferentiated field of writing and publishing in Shanghai of the 1910s and certainly not the second-rate hacks many later commentators (and opponents) like to see them as. As an article celebrating the man who had discovered the great writer in *Renmin ribao* [People's daily] of 15 December 1988 points out, Lu Xun corroborates this impression when he reflects upon the respect he had for the man who had been the first critic of his published writings: Yun Tieqiao.[98]

Further corroboration of the position Yun Tieqiao occupied in the world of publishing in Shanghai in the 1910s is furnished by an anecdote related by a friend of the painter Xu Beihong from the year 1915.[99] At this time the friend was employed at the Commercial Press and met Xu, the as yet undiscovered artist, on his first visit from his native Jiangsu to the city of Shanghai. Xu had two letters of introduction with him from Mr. Xu Pei from Jiangsu, one for the head of Fudan University and the other for Yun Tieqiao. Xu Beihong was duly put in touch with Yun over the telephone and was told to go to his office the next day. Here Yun told Xu that the Commercial Press needed illustrators for their textbooks and that he should prepare some examples of his work to show him. When Xu showed Yun the pictures some time later, Yun was very impressed and introduced Xu's work to the three managers of the Chinese Section (Guowen bu), Zhuang Boyu, Jiang Weiqiao, and Lu Bohong (=Lu Feikui). The latter two men were also impressed by Xu Beihong's abilities, but Zhuang was not and thus stymied Xu's attempts at finding a job with the Commercial Press. Yun is reported to have told Xu Beihong that he had no say in the policies of the Chinese Section—he had only been able to bring about the introduction—and that he was unable to help Xu any further. Whatever the truth of the situation, we can recognize that Yun was at least conceived of as having a position of some sway in Shanghai and that he was able to provide the necessary initial introductions and openings for job seekers.

Bao Tianxiao remarks in his memoirs[100] that jobs at the Commercial Press were to be had only through personal contacts. This anecdote serves to verify Bao's observation. Yun's range of basic decision making obviously only lay within the scope of what was printed on the pages of "his" magazine. Yet it becomes clear that he was at the hub of the printing and writing industry in Shanghai at the time and something of a celebrity. It may be well worth recalling at this point that both the first editor, Wang Yunzhang, and Yun Tieqiao, who followed

in his footsteps, had been asked to take on the job of editing the magazine by Zhang Yuanji personally.

Contemporaries report that, after Yun Tieqiao took over as editor in chief of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, he soon became a widely known man of letters, and he made an effort to write something for each issue. He seldom wrote in the vernacular, and he was known for his serious attitude to writing and as a strict editor in his choice of manuscripts. Thus, one contemporary writes, "The monthly's contents were always superior to those of other magazines."[101] The main criterion for the selection of manuscripts for publication is said to have been refinement in expression. Writings were to be simple and to the point, not pompous showpieces. There should be none of the worn-out phrases of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly school *(bugao yuanyang hudie pai de landiao)*, and translated works were to change the country's habits; there should be no more pointless sighing at flowers and groaning at the moon, and the reading material was not intended as the pastime of the leisured classes.[102] Yun's own contributions to the early years of the journal certainly fulfill these criteria.

The above collage of the various strands of biographical information on the man and the writer Yun Tieqiao shows him to have been considered a man of some literary and professional standing by his contemporaries. He is said to have made the magazine very popular throughout the country. Moreover, he is specifically said to have rejected the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly type of writing, which, according to most later scholars, was the mainstay of the journal.[103]

The character and contents of Yun's and other contributors' writings have been described and analyzed in chapter 2 of this study, but one may note here that not only do all contemporaries attest to the seriousness of his attitude to writing and literature in general, not one of them —even those involved in writing that they expressly wished to serve the purpose of entertainment and may be found in magazines such as *Libai liu* [The Saturday magazine]—mentions Yun's involvement or interest in entertainment.

All of these testimonies to Yun's serious attitude toward fictional writings and his genuine interest in young writers and their development are reflected in the comments of Zhang Henshui (1894–1967), himself very soon to become a famous author, about his attempts to have his work published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Although he had not been as successful as Lu Xun, he too had chosen *this* particular journal to which to send his manuscripts, and he too had entered into correspon-

dence with the editor, Yun Tieqiao, and been encouraged by his comments. He had been attracted to the journal, Zhang states, as a means of "modernizing" his own thinking.[104]

Thus those individuals directly involved in the running and the shaping of the magazine were all considered highly educated by their contemporaries, and they were all men with a traditional educational background. This is hardly surprising since they were all of an age to start schooling at a time when there was little discussion of the abolition of the traditional examination system or teaching curriculum. It was precisely this group that took the opportunities offered them within the new climate of public discussion and involvement in the years at the beginning of the twentieth century; they were all conversant with their own tradition and, moreover, curious about the possibilities offered by Western ways, be they in education, politics, or literature.

Zhang Yuanji was involved in most of the reform efforts at the turn of the century, in the concerns of constitutional government, education, and the transmission of new knowledge and ideas from abroad. Both of the early editors had experience of teaching and were interested in educational reforms. Wang Yunzhang was a member of the politically involved Southern Society and politically active in the service of the Revolutionary Alliance and the new republic after 1912. Yun Tieqiao was active in the recruiting, encouraging, and guiding of young writers. Later he became involved in society at a very direct level through his medical studies and activities as a doctor. Both Wang and Yun were competent in at least one foreign language, in English. Wang, as we have seen, was competent enough to teach others, and Yun would have learned his English at the Nanyang gongxue, which placed great emphasis on the study and teaching of foreign languages. Furthermore, both Wang and Yun were natives of Jiangsu, a fact that applied to a large number of contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.[105] Here again Bao Tianxiao (himself a contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*) is verified in his observation that the staff of the Commercial Press was almost wholly made up of Jiangsu people, from either Changzhou or Wuxi.[106]

Educationalists and Writers

Zhang Yuanji was the major link between the Commercial Press and *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and the career choices of the two editors

of the early phase of publication. Zhang also forms the link between many of the contributors and the journal. This applies most particularly to those individuals who have entered Chinese history in capacities other than the literary, and especially those whose later careers were to be closely linked with educational reform.

In the introduction to his study of education in China in the early twentieth century, Paul Bailey speaks of a kind of "educational 'lobby,' "[107] a group of educated men, some of whom had studied abroad, who participated in a whole range of educational activities such as the founding of schools, conferences, publications, and administration at central and local levels. Bailey continues,

> Their activities, in fact, were part of a wider process in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century China in which gentry sought to increase their role in public affairs. This "educational lobby" has been neglected in western accounts of modern China, yet their contribution to the evolution of educational ideas and practice in early-twentieth-century China should not be underestimated. They not only advised officials and helped devise the new regulations and procedures concerning education but also, in introducing new ideas and approaches and analysing problems and their solutions, they contributed to a lively educational debate which was to have relevance well beyond the early years of the Republic.[108]

Of the eight people he names as members of this lobby, three contributed to the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao:* Lu Feikui (whom Bailey wrongly names as Lu Feigui), Huang Yanpei, and Jiang Weiqiao.

Lu Feikui (1886–1941)[109] from Zhejiang province was the son of an official's family. His mother was a niece of Li Hongzhang. Lu was the first editor of the Commercial Press' influential educational journal *Jiaoyu zazhi*, which began publication in 1909 and continued to be published until 1948.[110] It was doubtless the leading educational periodical in its day, describing new trends in teaching, translating foreign works on education, and conducting a large number of educational surveys within China.[111] Lu was also a teacher and a textbook compiler. He had studied in Japan and had joined the Commercial Press in 1908 as the head of the publications department. In 1912 he set up his own book company, the Zhonghua shuju (China bookstore), becoming a competitor to the Commercial Press in the textbook market. He was active after 1912 in the drawing up of regulations for general education. As a member of the Zhongyang jiaoyu hui [Central committee for education], Lu would have been familiar with its vice-president, Zhang

Yuanji, both in this capacity and through his post at the Commercial Press. Moreover, he was one of the eighty-one participants at the 1912 conference on education convened by the Ministry of Education to gather various opinions pertinent to the country's educational future and planning.[112]

Also on the payroll of the Commercial Press as one of the three members of the Chinese Section or editorial board for textbooks at the Commercial Press was Jiang Weiqiao (1873–1958). A contributor to the new literary journal his employers published, Jiang was a close associate of the editor in chief at the Commercial Press, Zhang Yuanji. He and Yun Tieqiao were almost of the same age and both were from the same town of Wujin in Jiangsu province. Apart from his contribution to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*,[113] Zhang cooperated with Lu Feikui as editor and contributor to *Jiaoyu zazhi* until about 1919.[114] Jiang was directly involved in a large number of educational reform activities: he was general advisor to the Education Society of Jiangsu,[115] head of the vocational school opened by the Commercial Press from 1909 to 1912[116] and of a further Commercial Press school founded in 1910. He gave up this position after the 1911 uprising and took on an advisory post to the Minister of Education,[117] becoming head of the Jiangsu provincial education bureau in the 1920s.[118]

Jiang, who had qualified as a *xiucai* at the age of twenty *sui*, was also a close associate of Cai Yuanpei in the founding of the Patriotic Society (Aiguo xueshe) and head of the Patriotic Girls' School (Aiguo nüxuexiao) from 1909.[119] His involvement in women's education and concerns is also reflected in his editorship of the women's magazine *Nüzi shijie* [Women's world] from 1904 to 1906.[120] In 1917, and together with Lu Feikui, Zhuang Yu,[121] Chen Baoquan (1874–1937), Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), and Huang Yanpei (1878–1965), he set up the Chinese Vocational Education Center (Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyu she) as well as an organization dedicated to carrying out educational surveys *(jiaoyu kaocha tuan)*.[122]

The last named member of this group of six, Huang Yanpei, was to become the most famous and active in educational circles. Huang, a native of Jiangsu, was commissioner of education in Jiangsu from 1911 to 1914, and from 1911 to 1912 he undertook inspections in the province for the Society of Education for Jiangsu.[123] He had always been a close associate of Jiang Weiqiao and Lu Feikui, having been a pupil of the former at the Patriotic School in Shanghai. Moreover, in 1909 he had been a pupil at the Nanyang gongxue, where he studied foreign lan-

guages and statecraft. This was the school attended by the second editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Yun Tieqiao, and although they would not have met at the school (Yun had entered it in 1904), the connection would no doubt have served to connect them later during the time when Huang and his associates from the world of education were also involved in the work of the Commercial Press in Shanghai.

In this context, one may add the name of Zhu Shuren, an individual who also provides a link between the Nanyang gongxue, educational activities, the Commercial Press, and *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Zhu, who contributed three translations of short stories to the magazine in 1911 (issues 9, 10, and 11), had been a pupil at the Nanyang Public School in its very early years[124] and had been involved in the production of textbooks for this school. He was the editor of the first Western-style Chinese reader for elementary teaching *(mengxue keben)* in 1901,[125] that is, during the period when Zhang Yuanji was in charge of the school and himself interested in the requirements of the textbook market.

From 1914 the travelogue section was usually filled by contributions from Yun Tieqiao, Huang Yanpei, and Jiang Weiqiao. In the early years, however, someone writing under the name of Wo Yi[126] was a further frequent, highly critical, and observant contributor to this section. His descriptions of trips around China pinpoint situations caused by a lack of education, by superstition and ignorance. He may, moreover, be reckoned to belong also to the group of educationalists and reformers since his poems[127] and reports were also published in *Jiaoyu zazhi*. His link with the others is further strengthened by the fact that he wrote a special report *(tebie jishi)*[128] on the 1912 conference on education held in Shanghai to collate ideas for reform and which was attended by Lu Feikui, Huang Yanpei, and Jiang Weiqiang. All their names appear in the list of delegates he appended to his report.

We may take Lu Feikui's contribution to the journal as a pointer in an attempt to reconstruct the standing or contemporaries' assessment of the literary, social, and political acceptability of the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. It offers further evidence of the "respectability" of the publication.

It is eye-opening first of all to take a look at "Sex and Education," an article that Lu Feikui published in 1911 in *Jiaoyu zazhi*.[129] In this article he rails against students' disregard for traditional moral values. He traces this disregard to a mixture of both modern ideas and traditional Chinese decadence. In this context Bailey refers to the corrupting influence of Mandarin Duck and Butterfly fiction and how it was

much criticized by educators in general and seen as a sign of the poor moral fabric of society. He goes on to say that this corrupting fiction "often took the form of serialized short stories appearing in such journals as *The Novel Monthly* [*sic*] (founded in 1909) [*sic*], *The Amusement Review* (founded in 1912) [*sic*] and *The Saturday Magazine* (founded in 1913) [*sic*], many of which were themselves published by the major presses (like the Commercial Press) as a lucrative sideline to their main business of producing textbooks and other more serious works."

The suggestion that *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was a repository of the kind of literature that Lu Feikui was attacking would seem unlikely inasmuch as Lu himself contributed to it. As a high-level employee of the Commercial Press, he would scarcely have been unaware of the general contents of the magazine or of the policies of the publishing house whose editorial offices, according to a contemporary active in the world of writing and publishing in Shanghai, had an "all-too-scholarly" atmosphere.[130] Lu would no doubt have been well acquainted with the editorial staff of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* since he was one of the three members of the Chinese Section of the Commercial Press textbook department, the very department to which Yun Tieqiao had recommended the work of Xu Beihong in 1915.

Like the majority of cultivated individuals of his generation, he was not a specialist. Thus his interests covered the whole range of concerns important for China of the day. These naturally included literature, which had become an acceptable literary activity for the man of letters particularly since the theoretical discussion of writing and reading fiction that had erupted at the beginning of the twentieth century. Fiction had become more than just an acceptable occupation. It had developed into a must for all those concerned with the fate of China, a matter of national salvation. Thus, and quite naturally again, the education journal that Lu edited for many years also contained a literary section.[131] In its opening issue *Jiaoyu zazhi* called for literary contributions stipulating that the literary section was to contain stories, poems, or school songs; they could be original compositions or translations, the stories could be long or short, contributions could be in the classical or the vernacular language, but they had to have some connection with education.[132] Thus there is no reason to believe that Lu would have unwittingly placed any of his writings in a magazine that expressly published the kind of work he and his fellow educationalists condemned.

It is not unthinkable, of course, that Lu published lighthearted writings of his own in the magazine; poems in a light vein, for instance,

would not necessarily have been out of character for a member of the Chinese reformer-elite. However, a glance at the contents of his contribution—which was published in 1911, in the eighth and ninth issues of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*—shows that it was not out of character. In was, on the contrary, what one might expect of a man so engrossed in the problems of education in China. The two-part text bore the title "Jing-Jin liangyue ji"[133] [Report on a two-month stay in Beijing and Tianjin], and it is his report on the meeting of the Central Committee for Education (Zhongyang jiaoyu hui) convened by the Qing government in July and August 1911. He recounts his trip from Shanghai to the north, on which he was accompanied by his wife and her brother, and describes the social and educational conditions they observed during the course of their travels: the streets around the foreign consulates are clean and tidy, the Chinese streets damp and dirty, a condition he attributes to the fact that the self-government plans instigated somewhat earlier do not seem to have had any effect. He complains of the waste of time on his journey resulting from unnecessary ceremony and protocol and remarks upon the separation of men and women within a social context, whether at inns, theaters, public events, or exhibitions, where separate visiting hours are set up for men and women. He comments that reform measures in the capital have been carried out halfheartedly, and he describes a number of girls' schools visited in Tianjin and remarks upon the quality of teaching.

Still further contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* may be listed to illustrate common affiliations. These include Meng Sen (1868–1937/8),[134] also a Jiangsu man and, like Zhang Yuanji and Huang Yanpei, a close associate and an adherent of the well-known reformer-industrialist Zhang Jian (1901–1912).[135] He, too, was an active member of both the Educational Association of Jiangsu and of the Association for Preparation for Constitutional Government, where he and his brother, Meng Zhaochang, were assistants to the president of the association, Zheng Xiaoxu (1860–1938; also a close associate and supporter of Zhang Jian). Zheng, moreover, was also involved in the early years of the Commercial Press in Shanghai[136] and even wrote a short contribution to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* that was published in 1914 under the pen name Su Kan.[137]

Meng Sen was deeply involved in political journalism and translation work. He became the editor in chief of the Commercial Press' very influential journal *Dongfang zazhi* in 1908 or 1909 and set up a special section in the newspaper for the propagation and popularization of constitutional government.[138] The advertisement sections in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* testify to his great industry in the translating of legal texts and

manuals in particular. He contributed to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* from 1914 onward, that is, after the dissolution of the National Parliament in 1913, a time, it seems when he started to concern himself even more with writing.[139] His texts included both short fictional pieces and miscellaneous notes on cultural topics.[140]

The links and overlapping elements in the lives and careers of the individuals mentioned above cannot be coincidental. There were definite ties between all of them. Some indeed worked closely together in a number of capacities, and thus it cannot come as any surprise that these men, almost exclusively from Jiangsu, all interested in education, and each of whom was involved in the world of publishing and politics and regularly present in the editorial offices of the Commercial Press, should have found themselves once again united on the pages of a literary journal. As we have seen in chapter 2, their contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* are elegant enough testimony to their intentions and concerns; their biographies nevertheless serve to support the impressions their writings convey.

In her study of the Educational Association of Jiangsu between 1905 and 1914, Xiaohong Xiao Planes has remarked that one frequently comes across the same individuals as leading figures in the most disparate of institutions—educational, economic, and political—and that they often also seem to have the same assistants in their various positions.

> On retrouve donc fréquemment les mêmes personnalités à la tête de differentes institutions educatives, économiques et politiques et les mêmes assistants dans leurs structures vives. Shen Enfu, Huang Yanpei et d'autres activistes secondent, par exemple, les présidents Zhang Jian, Wang Tongyu, Tang Wenzhi à la SGEJ [Educational association of Jiangsu], tandis que Meng Sen et Meng Zhaochang assistent Zheng Xiaoxu à l'APRC [Committee for preparation for constitutional government].[141]

To these names we can now add those of Jiang Weiqiao and Lu Feikui, who also figure prominently in Planes' study of the Jiangsu Educational Association. Not only need one thus not be surprised that their names reappear together, as it were, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*; that they do so appear suggests strongly that this journal was, at this period in its history, in no way regarded as second rate. While one of this group may conceivably have stooped to publish something in a mere entertainment magazine, all of them would hardly be likely to do so. One might even go as far as to say that, stringing together all the names of these contributors so far, and adding the range and density of their various interconnections, one could paint a picture of the whole network of reform

activities that were being carried out in China at the time by committed members of the national elite. Theirs is a network that spans voluntary educational societies, government education initiatives and committees, preparations for changes in the country's system of government, and the commitment to an improvement in the situation of women in China.

Yet there is still another link with the Commercial Press' *Jiaoyu zazhi*. As already mentioned above, the journal included a section on the arts, which was to publish poems, stories, songs, and the like with some connection to the basic aim of the publication—to study educational reform *(yi yanjiu jiaoyu gailiang xuewu)*.[142] It regularly had a literature section with "stories of education" *(jiaoyu xiaoshuo)*. The majority of these were written by Tian Xiao or Tian Xiaosheng. The latter was Bao Tianxiao (1876–1973),[143] a most prolific writer of all genres in the Republican era.

Like most of the other individuals discussed thus far, Bao was a Jiangsu man, and a member of the Southern Society since 1910. His contributions to *Jiaoyu zazhi* probably result from his membership of the Jiangsu Educational Association, which, as we remember, also numbered among its members Lu Feikui, Huang Yanpei, and Jiang Weiqiao.

Bao Tianxiao was active in the world of publishing and fiction from the beginning of the twentieth century: the publications he edited in his early years included the vernacular newspaper for Suzhou, *Suzhou baihua bao*, one of the burgeoning vernacular magazines intended to educate and inform the population in a language it could easily understand and supplements to the *Shibao* [Times] such as *Funü shibao* [Women's times] and *Xiaoshuo shibao* [Fiction times]. Later he was involved with numerous fiction magazines such as *Xiaoshuo daguan (The Grand Magazine)* and *Xiaoshuo congbao*. In 1912 he was a member of the Commercial Press' translation department and assisted in the translation of textbooks. His contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao,* mainly published in 1914, include original compositions and translations of both short and long fiction.

The Southern Society and *Xiaoshuo yuebao*

The person of Bao Tianxiao suitably bridges the gap between those contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* whose subsequent careers

were to be within the wider field of politics, notably education, and those who were to continue their careers in writing and in publishing fiction journals. Numerous contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* had already begun, or were to develop, their literary careers, and many of these were closely associated with the Southern Society. The group of contributors who were also members of this society includes a total of twenty-one authors whose work appeared in the magazine in the first years of publication.[144] Of these twenty-one, fifteen were from Jiangsu province and the others mainly from Zhejiang, with a mere three exceptions: Lin Baishui from Fujian and Hu Jichen and Wang Tiansheng from Anhui. This constellation of provinces mirrors that of the editorial offices at the Commercial Press, which, as Bao Tianxiao remembered, was also largely made up of Jiangsu and Zhejiang men who obtained their positions through personal connections.

The Southern Society, which has yet to become the subject of a detailed and systematic analysis, was an organization opposed first to the autocracy of the Qing government and later to that of Yuan Shikai. It emphasized the southern or central provinces of China (with the connotations of reform or revolution and the Han Chinese) against the northern (connoting the alien Manchu dynasty and autocratic rule) and stated its aim as the wish to make use of literature as a form of political opposition. According to Chen Qubing, "It [the society] regarded a literary revolution as its mission, yet the real aims were not contained within the literary."[145] According to Boorman, "Its members were not formally committed to any political ideology, but the participation of such men as Huang Hsing [Huang Xing], Sung Chiao-jen [Song Jiaoren], and Ch'en Ch'i-mei [Chen Qimei] lent a revolutionary hue to the society during the period of the anti-Manchu revolt of 1911 and the early years of the Chinese republic."[146]

Significantly, two of the founder members of the Southern Society, Liu Yazi (1887–1958) and Gao Tianmei (1877–1925),[147] were regular contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Also of particular interest in this regard is that the society was integrally involved in the development of publishing at the beginning of this century and that its influence pervaded most undertakings involving the printed media. The majority of members, most of whom originated from Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, were involved in and carried some sway in the developing field of journalism in China.[148] Many Southern Society members had also joined the Tongmeng hui, the Revolutionary Alliance around Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing formed in Tokyo in 1905.

That the element of personal contact should be in the foreground in the case of a literary political society goes without saying. In fact, the first stipulation of the society's rules stated that anyone wishing to become a member had to be of good behavior and literary ability and be introduced by someone who was already a member *(pinxing wenxue liang you, de sheyou jiechaozhe, ji ke rushe)*.[149] Thus there are strong local, personal, and political (that is, reform interest) connections between the writers. Connections appear even closer when one remembers that one of the early editors was a member of the Southern Society and the other, although not a member, was from the same province, even the same town, as some of the members and enjoyed close links with them on both a literary and a personal level.

The extent of the influence of the Southern Society members in the world of writing and publishing in the early 1910s should not be underestimated. This influence was not a specific political one in the sense of one particular ideology. The members of the society were reform-oriented individuals covering the vast spectrum of political attitudes of the day.[150] What is important in this influence is the network of writers and editors it constituted within the publishing world in Shanghai at the end of the Qing dynasty. A very large number of newspapers and journals were literally in the hands of members of this group, and the constellations of members working together on and in charge of various projects was constantly changing.[151] These constellations doubtless offered numerous opportunities for the group members to publish their own work and to make sure that the work of fellow members found a wider audience; it also proffered chances of mutual support and employment. This involvement thus encompassed such publications as *Shenzhou ribao*, *Shenbao*, *Shibao*, *Xinwen bao*, *Minli bao*, *Minquan bao*, *Minsheng ribao*, *Zhonghua minbao*, *Taipingyang bao*, *Minguo xinwen*, and *Shishi xinbao*.[152]

A few examples can suffice to illustrate the web of connections between Southern Society contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Xu Zhongke, for instance, edited the Commercial Press' diplomatic journal *Waijiao bao* between 1901 and 1910 together with Zhang Yuanji. Bao Tianxiao was in charge of the *Times* supplements and, in this capacity, took Zhou Shoujuan under his wing, forming an extremely close personal relationship with him.[153] Liu Yazi and Hu Jichen became sworn brothers and collaborated closely on a number of projects including *Taipingyang bao* and the earlier *Jingbao*.[154] Liu Yazi was an extremely active journalist in Shanghai between 1911 and 1912,[155] and, like the other founder-

member of the Southern Society who wrote for *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Gao Tianmei, he was an important member of the Revolutionary Alliance and deeply involved in the founding of schools and the question of educational reform.[156] Liu was also one of the few leading members of the Revolutionary Alliance who took a serious interest in the women's movement.[157]

Wang Dungen was in charge of the mighty *Shenbao*'s column "Ziyou tan" [Unfettered talk] from 1911 to 1914. In 1913 he took on the editorship of both *Ziyou zazhi* (also a *Shenbao* publication) and *Youxi zazhi* [Recreation magazine], and in 1914 *Libai liu*, always trying to enlist new talent and young writers.[158] At *Libai liu* he met up again with one of the prominent contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and *Ziyou zazhi*, Zhou Shoujuan, who was to take over the "Unfettered Talk" column in 1920.[159]

The Southern Society influence was thus spread out over the landscape of writing and publishing in the 1910s. It cannot surprise, then, that it is also present in the leading literary journal of the time, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Moreover, the evidence clearly shows that it was to continue in later literary journals through the work of such men as Zhou Shoujuan, Bao Tianxiao, and Wang Dungen.

There is without doubt a good deal more that one might add to the depiction of these relationships and, especially, to the role that the Southern Society played in the literary, publishing, and political arenas during the 1910s. Yet it would lead too far from the topic at hand to look into all the biographies of the individuals involved. For the present purpose, however, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that the contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were not a heterogeneous mass of writers who happened to have submitted their manuscripts for the scrutiny of the editorial board; rather, concrete connections drew certain individuals to this magazine and provided them with a fairly sure forum for their work. This is not to maintain that nonmembers of the various groupings were excluded from the publication. It merely suggests that some found access to the pages of the journal less difficult than others.

Other Contributors

A very famous contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, and one who was neither an employee of the Commercial Press nor a member

of the Southern Society, was Lin Shu (1852–1924). Lin had failed the *jinshi* examinations a number of times and had taken up teaching, finally accepting a post at the Imperial University in Beijing from 1905 to 1913. In his own day, then, he was a man of standing. Contemporaries and later commentators alike have generally seen Lin Shu as the towering figure within the realm of late-Qing and early-Republican literature.[160]

Translating a French story into Chinese for the *Educational Review* in 1912, Bao Tianxiao prefaces his translation with the remark that he had been deeply moved by Lin Shu's translation of Dickens' *David Copperfield* and that his own work could not attain to the high literary qualities reached by Lin.[161] Now, this may have simply been a conventional show of modesty on the part of the translator, but it also demonstrates the general acclaim accorded to Lin Shu's translations and his position of respect—he is named as the highest point with which one could measure oneself—within the literary arena of the day. Writing in 1963, Qian Zhongshu—himself a celebrated essayist, critic, and fiction writer[162]—testifies to the effect Lin Shu's translations had had on him: they had opened up his horizons to a new world. Qian writes that he had read various translations by Liang Qichao and others and had been bored by them. "It was not until I came into contact with Lin Shu's translations that I realized how captivating Western fiction could be."[163] The greater compliment and testimony to the value of Lin Shu's work can be seen when Qian states that he had gone back to the translations and "found most of them worth reading."[164]

In this connection we recall that Yun Tieqiao had also been set off on his literary pursuits by reading the translations of Lin and of Yan Fu, a friend of Lin's. Despite the criticism Lin was later to receive at the hands of the iconoclasts of the May Fourth generation,[165] he may be regarded as a milestone in the reception, translation, and appreciation of Western fiction in China. Soon to become outmoded as a result of the sheer speed and radicalism of the events that were to take place within the Chinese cultural scene within the next decade, he was still "progressive in the context of his own time,"[166] and he was keenly aware of the problems facing his country during his day. He was sometimes active and often vociferous with regard to them.[167] Moreover, as Denton rightly observes, his work was "read avidly by most of the figures who would emerge as leaders of the May Fourth Movement, and they both sowed the seeds for a modern vernacular fiction based on Western models and contributed to the antitraditionalism of this generation."[168]

Evidence of this great influence abounds in Zheng Zhenduo's eloquent appraisal of the man and the translator Lin Shu published a month after Lin's death in 1924.[169] Zheng points to Lin's opening up the minds of his contemporaries and the next generation of writers both with regard to the world at large and to possibilities of writing not envisaged within the Chinese tradition.[170] Lu Xun's and Zhou Zuoren's attempts at translating Western short stories, begun in 1905 and published in 1909, could not create the enthusiasm for Western literature that Lin's work produced, simply because their writing was nowhere near as elegant.[171]

Lin was one of the best paid writers of his day[172] and a regular contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* with his translations of Western novels, for which projects he generally collaborated with Chen Jialin. His contributions spanned the whole period from 1910 to 1913 and later. They were all serialized translations of novels, with one introduction to a translation that was published in the *wenyuan* section in 1913.[173] In the last four issues of 1914 he contributed some translations of short stories. Lin was also to meet up again with the earlier editor of the magazine, Wang Yunzhang, at *Funü zazhi*, being one of the early contributors to this publication.[174] His interest in and concern for women's issues had already been manifest in his early poems and his antifootbinding sentiments.

When there were no contributions to the serialized novel translations from Lin Shu, Gan Yonglong filled the gap. It has not been possible to ascertain the identity of this writer, who also appears to have translated novels under the name Gan Zuolin.[175] The names Gan Yonglong, Gan Zuolin, and Zuolin, however, would have been familiar to readers of the Commercial Press' *Dongfang zazhi* since regular contributions appear under these names in the period 1908 to 1917. These articles are also largely translations from American or British newspapers or periodicals and deal with a large variety of topics including the financing of naval forces in various countries, the Turkish revolution, new knowledge, the Panama Canal, Christianity, science, and women's rights in Xizang.[176] Gan's translating activities also included texts for Commercial Press educational journals. He was on the editorial staff of the press' *Yingyu zhoukan (English Weekly)* in 1917 and was a regular contributor to the magazine, which focused on language study and translation.[177] His contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were all published in 1912, issues one to seven inclusive, and are a translation of Anthony Hope's *Prisoner of Zenda* under the title *Lugong mishi* [The secret history of the Court of Lu].

Another prominent contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*—whose name and achievements, however, have not received the same acclaim as Lin Shu's—was Xu Zhuodai (1879/80/81–1958). Short sketches of his life and work were written by his contemporaries and fellow writers Yan Fusun and Zhao Shaokuang. Yan describes Xu's career in his collection of famous Chinese writers of 1923,[178] and Zhao provides his description in an introduction to a collection of Xu's stories.[179] Their biographies are in agreement about the details of Xu's life, and they are substantiated by an acquaintance of Xu's in an interview given to Perry Link.[180] These sources also appear to form the basis of the information provided in Chinese biographical dictionaries.[181] Both of these sketches state that Xu was from Jiangsu. He had gone to Japan in 1904 and had been the first Chinese student to complete a course of study of physical education. On his return to Shanghai he gathered quite a following and set up physical education in the school curriculum. He also published a number of books on the subject. Yet this was only one of his areas of interest. He was also the first to demand a new kind of theater as a means of educating and advancing society. This aspect of his activities commenced in 1911, when he started a drama column in Bao Tianxiao's *Shibao*. He also wrote a number of plays himself. For some time he is said to have written fiction, his speciality being humorous works. His writings are reported to have been greatly sought by magazines and very popular with readers. He published his work in a huge variety of journals and newspapers. The financial rewards from his various activities were invested in a soy sauce factory, which he ran with his wife.

Written under the name Zhuo Dai, his contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* comprise drama and serialized novel translations as well as short and long fiction of his own composition. Like many other contributors, he enjoyed some fame and social acclaim in the arena of literary magazines in general during the period. His name can be found in such different publications as Chen Duxiu's early vernacular newspaper *Anhui suhuabao* as a writer of poems and letters to the editor,[182] in *Jiangsu*, in *Zhonghua xuesheng jie* [Chinese students' world], and in *Xiaoshuo daguan*, to name but a few.

It has only been possible to present a small selection of the contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in any detail. Yet we have seen that all of them were reform-minded individuals in some way, representatives of an elite group that had had access to education, if not necessarily to money, and that was conducting a dialogue within this elite circle to ascertain the requirements of the day and to be able to respond ade-

quately.[183] None of them appears to have viewed publishing and literary or fictional writing in Shanghai in the 1910s solely as a means of making a living, a profession in which commodities were sold purely for financial gain. They were generalists and patriots at a time when specialization in one area of particular interest was not felt to be necessary; they were trying to give their attention to all the areas of the country's life that they felt required reform. Moreover, they were making use of all the modes of participation that had recently become available to them: committees and associations, political and educational journals, and fiction. An examination of their later career developments shows rapid specialization within one area of particular concern.

The field of literary production in Shanghai at the beginning of the 1910s was not well developed. There was some diversification in the sense that a number of journals existed side by side, but the idea of competition among journals, of different groups of players vying for the audience's attention, does not present itself to the observer. The individuals we have seen as contributors to and editors of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* at this period in its history also contributed to and edited the other literary and nonliterary journals of the day. Differences between journals, their aims and actors, are not articulated. The individuals involved were, as yet, not driven by divergent ideas of the form and function of *xiaoshuo* within their society. On the contrary, although there is a clear consensus about the importance of writing, there is, as yet, little conscious reflection upon the creative process, even though we can sense the tensions and problems within the writings themselves. Those participating in the publishing project *Xiaoshuo yuebao* saw their activities as an integral part of a general push toward renewal of their country, a general move toward modernization through gradual reform. In other words, they were largely all guided by nonliterary (Bourdieu's heteronomous) principles in the creation of their contributions to journals and newspapers.

The market for *xiaoshuo* journals had just established itself. It was to diversify and become far more complex after 1914 partly as a result of the literary predilections of many of the original contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, who founded their own journals and took up various specializations. We can also trace the growing dominance of the Commercial Press in literary publishing and the artistic influence of the editor, Yun Tieqiao, and his standing in Shanghai's cultural life. However, despite the variety of their interests and activities, contributors to this and the majority of other *xiaoshuo* journals were still connected by a

fine web of common aspirations for the future of their country and by a desire to write about their impressions and attitudes. The lack of self-presentation with regard to artistic aspirations or principles may be one of the reasons why the literary activities and achievements of these writers have been neglected by literary history. The conscious neglect of these individuals stems, however, equally clearly from the aggressive self-presentation of the following generation, precipitated as it was by the great diversity of writing by the end of the decade and by the necessity of establishing themselves as the creators of (again) something new and different.

CHAPTER 5

Literary History

The present study has emphasized seeing the contents and character of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* within their own context. It has been based upon judging the materials upon the criteria of their times and, to a large extent, disregarding later judgments. As absolutely essential as this synchronic view is to our reconstruction of the literary activities and production of the early years of the twentieth century in China, we cannot ignore the diachronic approach. In the light of the present findings we must ask why *Xiaoshuo yuebao* has fared so badly at the hands of literary history. In particular, two topics have to be addressed: the place of the short story in modern Chinese literature and the ubiquitous accusation that the journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* dealt in a sentimental literature of entertainment and escape.

The Short Story

The short story is generally assumed to have entered China with the May Fourth Movement. Like so many assumptions linked to this period of Chinese history, this one, too, must be questioned.

Even relatively recent surveys of Chinese literature insist that the short story did not appear in Chinese literature until the publication of Lu Xun's "Kuangren riji" [Diary of a madman] in the journal *Xin qingnian (La Jeunesse)* in April 1918.[1] Like the discussion of the short story in the English language (and particularly in the nineteenth century), the answer hinges on definitions and ideological positions.[2] C. T. Hsia, for instance, stated that "the short stories featured in late-Ch'ing fiction journals are of little or no interest and the Western-style short story was not cultivated until the Literary Revolution of 1917."[3] Milena Dolezelová[4] has written that the Chinese audience of 1909 was not ready for the short story, and she illustrates her argument with the "fact" that Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren's *Yuwai xiaoshuo ji* [Collection of foreign stories] published in that year and containing the works of such European "greats" as Sinkiewicz, Maupassant, Wilde, and Chekhov was not a commercial success and thus not a suitable commodity for the contemporary Chinese reading public. Henry Zhao also observes that "short stories produced at this time, of no matter what type, failed to impress the readers who were still eager for lengthy works. The authors themselves regarded their short story writings as by-products."[5] These assessments appear to be underscored by the fact that there is no survey of short stories prior to the 1920s, and the one survey of the short story for the period 1900 to 1949 fails to include any example of the genre published before 1921.[6]

As we have seen, however, short stories did exist in abundance before the second decade of the twentieth century; and if one takes a close look at the literary magazines that sold, it becomes apparent that there was a clear trend toward a popular short form of writing and that readers were interested in reading and authors in writing such works. In the case of Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren's publication, it may well be of more interest to look into the place of publication, and indeed its quality,[7] or the form of distribution of the work to ascertain why it did not sell. It is misleading, if not actually wrong, to assert, as one recent study does, that the term "*duanpian xiaoshuo*" "for serious short fiction was introduced in 1918 by Hu Shi."[8] Such "serious short fiction" was not the prerogative of the May Fourth generation of writers. What is more, since none of the commentators above define what they actually mean by the term "short story," their statements are so vague as to be of little practical benefit when trying to assess what was happening in writing in the early 1910s.

As the preceding chapters have shown, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* published

a number of different kinds of text including a good many short stories, which were given the label *duanpian xiaoshuo*. Indeed, the editors put out a call for short stories at a time when the short story, a foreign form, was in its infancy in China. That there is a large number of short and aesthetically pleasing or well-constructed fictional forms within the Chinese tradition of the *xiaoshuo* does not alter the fact that this generation of writers perceived the short story, the *duanpian xiaoshuo*, to be a radically new entity. This new short story had a recently defined function and *raison d' être* that was felt to be modern in itself. Since the writers—through the very activity of writing—were actually working with this form, they were also automatically developing it in some manner, if only by increasing native awareness of its limitations and possibilities. Moreover, they were actively translating the works of Western writers of short stories, either as faithful translations of the original or as more fanciful sources of inspiration for their own works.

Various factors account for the lack of critical attention paid to short stories of this period. First, critics and scholars have not read them or are unaware of their existence. This failure can perhaps be best explained by noting that critics rarely discuss individual short stories as they appear in a periodical, waiting instead for them to be collected and published in anthologies and thus worthy of criticism as "books." Of obvious importance with regard to possible later critical appreciation and acclaim is that few of the writers who contributed to such journals as *Xiaoshuo yuebao* continued a literary career or published their collected works at later dates. Moreover, subsequent critical and scholarly categorization of the writings in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* as Butterfly literature and thus unworthy of critical scrutiny has relegated the writings of this period to a sector that until recently has not been included within the scope of "modern Chinese literature."

If we review the evidence, we can see that the Declaration of Intent in the first issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* clearly stated that both long and short stories *(changpian, duanpian)* would be acceptable. Most earlier journals had tended to publish the longer narrative forms in their pages, but in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* we can discern a clear trend toward the shorter story.[9]

At this juncture some concrete statistical information about the contents of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in comparison to previous and following publications can help to clarify the situation with regard to the importance of the short narrative. The earliest literary magazine, *Xin xiaoshuo* (1902–1906) did not publish anything like short fiction. It had

no section for such stories, and of the approximately 180 pages per issue, the literary section—*changpian xiaoshuo*, *chuanqi*, and drama—fill all but about thirty pages. The remaining pages contain patriotic songs and anecdotal material, with an additional two pages per issue for photographs.

Xiuxiang xiaoshuo (1903–1906) also did not emphasize short fictional forms at the onset, its first issue concentrating largely on the serialized novel, plays, and patriotic songs. Of its approximately eighty pages per issue, all but some thirteen were dedicated to literary sections. However, it did translate a small number of short stories from Japanese sources. Sinkiewicz' highly emotional and patriotic story "The Lighthouse Keeper" was translated in *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*[10] along with works by Swift, Sudermann, and Mark Twain. As its name suggests, the journal had a large amount of illustrative material alongside the texts, and it provided about twelve additional pages of illustrations at the beginning of each issue.

Of the journals published from 1902 onward and available for the present research, only *Yueyue xiaoshuo* (1906–1909) had a section dedicated to short fiction *(duanpian xiaoshuo)* from its inception. The section contained between two and five short stories per issue. A Ying notes that *Yueyue xiaoshuo* had already done much to further the cause of the short story,[11] and the very creation of a section called "short stories," the splitting up of what previously had simply been the genre of *xiaoshuo* into different types according to form and not to content, was a first step to acknowledgment of a new and different form of writing. Moreover, this first and early appearance of a section dedicated to short stories and the publication, side by side, of stories written by Chinese authors and stories by foreigners may have served to underscore the newness and the foreign and modern qualities associated with the genre. It is worth mentioning in this context that the majority of contemporary nonliterary journals of various political and reformist hues also included fiction in each issue. However, short stories were very rarely written or translated before 1910.[12]

Finally, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* included short stories from the first issue. It also regularly published translations of short stories by such foreign authors as Washington Irving and Guy de Maupassant. A number of factors can be seen as clear indicators of the increasing popularity of the genre. In early issues of the journal short stories appeared in a section of their own, following the serialized novels. In the last issue of the first year of publication, however, they were accorded the first position

in the magazine after the introductory illustrations and photographs. In 1911, the second year of publication, there were three short stories on average in each issue. As a short announcement (somewhat hidden at the beginning of a section of Miscellaneous Notes) betrays, the editors were aware of and pleased about the deluge of manuscripts and contributions they were already receiving at the beginning of this second year of publication (i.e., after the publication of a mere seven issues).[13]

In the last issue of the third year of publication (February 1913), the editors made two special announcements, both of which were concerned largely with the question of short pieces of writing.[14] At the beginning of the special announcement, the editorial staff states that the magazine had been selling extremely well and put the circulation figures for each issue at ten thousand copies. Even though such figures are difficult to assess because we have relatively little comparative statistical material, this would be a large number for the time. For women's magazines, Nivard mentions circulation figures of between four hundred and seven thousand copies, although she feels that some of the higher numbers may have been inflated to attract advertisers.[15] Link quotes Bao Tianxiao as stating that magazines in Shanghai had a minimum circulation target of three thousand copies to ensure a profit.[16] Even allowing for some exaggeration, this would make *Xiaoshuo yuebao* a profitable undertaking. Moreover, if we accept, with Britton, Link, and Nivard, that each copy of a magazine would find at least four to five readers,[17] we can assume that the texts published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* found a considerable readership within the general reading public.

After thus establishing the popularity of their journal, the editorial staff then pledges to continue its efforts in the future and announces an important change: from the fourth year of publication, serialized novels are to run through only four issues of the magazine, that is, they are to have only four installments. Moreover, each issue is to contain more than four short stories. The specific call for short story manuscripts stipulates the actual form of the writings that are to be submitted for scrutiny. A short text is considered one that has between one thousand and eight thousand characters, which would amount to between approximately one and a half and eleven pages of the magazine since each page was divided into two sections of usually sixteen columns of twenty-one characters, later to become sixteen columns of forty-two characters apiece. The remaining three points in this five-point call deal with the more administrative aspects of submitting manuscripts: the prospective contributor's name and address should be written clearly at the bottom

of the manuscript; payment for manuscripts would be in accordance with the scales of pay announced or, in special cases, in accordance with the quality of the contribution; manuscripts found to be unacceptable would be returned to the addressee at once; contributors would be informed of the fee decided upon by the editorial staff for accepted manuscripts; and should the writer not agree with the sum proffered, the manuscript would be returned to the author.

The stipulations for short stories prescribed by the editorial staff of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* are hardly an attempt at an aesthetic appreciation of the "short story" or an attempt to define the short fictional form in comparison to the novel. Just as the late-Qing classifications of types of story (political, historical, social, love, detective, scientific) concentrated on the contents rather than any artistic quality, these first definitions of *duanpian xiaoshuo* also stipulate quantities instead of quality. Yet it is the beginning of a delineation of an increasingly popular literary product, one that had clearly found the pleasure of readers.

Short fiction was clearly growing in popularity during the early 1910s. The constant increase in the number of short fictional pieces published in the journal can be interpreted as a reflection of a variety of factors: Chinese writers may have found this form to be more conducive to their aims, or it may have been a more simple way of writing for a regular publication, since a short form would have been easier to complete in a short time. This assumption, of course, suggests the professional writer at work, one who makes his living by writing; and indeed Fan Mingli and Wei Shaochang both attribute the beginnings of a system of payment for writers to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.[18] This assertion is, in fact, not quite true: *Xiaoshuo lin* had also offered payment to its authors. The pay scale had been published on the opening pages directly after the table of contents. The pay scales were identical in the two publications except that *Xiaoshuo yuebao* offered four kinds of remuneration (either five, four, three, two, or one yuan per thousand characters), whereas *Xiaoshuo lin* offered only the first three scales. Such payment is indicative of the professionalism of the going concern that was the Commercial Press; it is, moreover, clear indication of the professionalization of the work of the writer. It in no way points to a lack of literary quality in the writings in question.[19]

Another important factor contributed to the popularity of the form. It can be seen as a reflection of new, or modern, predilections or the changing lifestyles of a predominantly urban readership with less time or inclination to indulge in the reading of lengthy works, preferring

instead briefer reading materials that could be read during the breaks provided by the newly structured working day. Such reading was definitely welcomed by the public. In his memoirs of his early days, Zhang Jinglu, later to become a famous publicist himself, speaks of the almost addictive quality of the reading matter.[20] There was no doubt something of a liberating feel to it; here were writings that were popular in the proper sense of the word: they were freely and openly available to all.[21] Moreover, the freeing of the *xiaoshuo* genre from the stigma of past centuries had also made reading stories an acceptable and even modern activity, just as being a story writer was now also an acceptable modern profession.

Thus the short fictional form—the short story—had already found reader and author acceptance in the 1910s. The journal's call for manuscripts and the gradual increase in the number of stories published provide clear evidence: editors of a popular commercial journal would not have introduced any innovation that could have alienated readers or not have met with their expectations and wishes. If their turning to the short fictional form had proven to be a mistake, they would undoubtedly have quickly changed their policy toward it. A Western observer of the development of the Chinese press notes the following with regard to the condition of writing in the early twentieth century:

> The periodical press became so popular that authors generally chose to contribute to the magazines and newspaper supplements rather than to write books. Short fiction and essays were characteristic of such a time, when high emotion and changeful events were too distracting for the sustained effort of book writing. Apart from translation almost all the literary work of the early 20th century was in short forms, and most of it was published in the periodical press. For years the periodical press left the book press little more than a reprint and school-book business. The typical book of transitional China is a compilation of articles and open letters originally published in magazines and newspapers. Early in the century some of the newspapers even printed their fiction supplements in a form ready to be stitched and bound into home-made book covers.[22]

With all due regard to the fact that writing books was not a preoccupation of the educated gentleman in traditional China, Britton's observations still not only touch upon the predilections of the writers, but also presuppose a healthy market for the short literary products these writers allegedly preferred. It would seem pointless to ask at this juncture whether the market—reader preferences—determined the output of those depending on writing for their income or whether an increased

output of shorter writings changed existing reading habits. The most likely configuration would be an intermingling and interaction of the two elements combined with a new urban environment that required, even dictated, new readings habits as a result of altered work routines and thus a changed segmentation and regulation of the day.[23] A further contributing factor would be a heightened sense of social and political urgency and change that was not conducive to the more leisurely pursuit of intensive reading. These factors can be related soundly to one another only on the basis of detailed and systematic statistical research into the development and structure of the whole field of writing at this time. Only after such research is done will it be possible to avoid and revise some of the sweeping and sadly unsubstantiated statements that have been made on the subject thus far.

Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies

Given the observations we have made on the theoretical writings contained in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and on the structural characteristics of a number of contributions and combining them with observations on the basic character of the magazine, the contents of the stories, and the topics and issues the writers were trying to grapple with in their contributions, it has become clear that *Xiaoshuo yuebao* did not aim at escapist entertainment. We may quibble about the creative or purely literary-artistic value or beauty of these texts, but we cannot ignore that many of the writers contributing to the journal were concerned with the problems of their day and were attempting to present them in a new form, a form that we may term "fictional" in the broadest sense of the word. They were, in many cases, remaining as close to reality as possible, even trying to create the sense of a lack of fictionality, in order to drive home the urgency and the importance of the problems they raised and depicted to their readers. This was what was new and modern in the "new writing" of the day. That their theoretical discussions were more concerned with questions of verisimilitude and "rightness," with the possibility that mental constructs could be as "real" as actual fact, shows them, once again, preoccupied with the situation of their country and not with self-reflection, with reflections on art and any independent status it could have beyond its possible contribution to the ordering, describing, and rethinking of social and political realities. These writers

did not provide a soothing ointment for the distressed souls of a readership in search of the vicarious pleasures that escapist writings can and do offer, writings that remove the reader from the pressing questions of the day. On the contrary, they were consciously confronting their readers with these very problems, couching them in a structure that made escape into the land of fantasy and pure fiction impossible, and thus urging them, both directly and indirectly, not only to consider the situation of their country vis à vis national, international, or global conditions, but to reconsider their attitude toward it, to alter the limits of their own personal horizons much as China as a country needed to expand its horizons and come to terms with a new world. This quality in writing has been defined by Hans Robert Jauß as a creating an "aesthetic distance" *(ästhetische Distanz)*, a distance that requires of or promotes in the reader a "change of horizon" *(Horizontwandel)*. Jauß defines the literature of entertainment as that which does not allow such a change of horizon, as writing that fulfills the expectations of prevailing tastes by reproducing dominant conceptions of what is good or beautiful and by confirming the public's wishes and aspirations as well as the traditional sense of moral value:

> The aesthetic appreciation of literature of entertainment may be characterized as not requiring a change of horizon but as actually fulfilling the expectations prescribed by the tastes of the day. It does this by satisfying a desire for the reproduction of familiar ideas of beauty, confirming familiar feelings, sanctioning wishful thinking, making unusual experiences palatable by presenting them as "sensational," or raising moral problems only to "solve" them in a predetermined and didactic manner.[24]

The texts published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in the years 1910 to 1913 cannot be seen as a means of bolstering up the traditional order of things, cementing the status quo, or providing comfort to the readers and acting as a form of "remedial protest," "an outlet and forum for the certain human feelings the system left underaccounted."[25] Too many of the stories are inherently disturbing, too many endings not completely resolved in a reassuring manner, and too many comments made by authors and publishers to allow the readers this sense of satisfaction and security.

These observations also tally with what we know about the contributors. We have seen that they were a homogenous body of people with certain common characteristics. They were of the educated elite and largely of a traditional educational background or returned students

from Japan—two factors that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. At this time they were what one might term "generalists," men of diverse activities who also wrote contributions to literary and nonliterary journals. Specialization, in the sense that they channeled their energies into but one sphere of activity, had not yet set in. Thus a man such as Wang Yunzhang, the first editor until 1913, could be a teacher, active within dissident or revolutionary circles, a man of letters, and a fighter for the rights of women. The second editor, Yun Tieqiao, also a member of the teaching profession at first, could attain celebrity status within the empire of the mighty Commercial Press in Shanghai, be a revered critic of literature and discoverer of new writers, and then, finally, turn with equal success and ability, if we may believe his biographers, to the medical profession. Other contributors, such as Lu Feikui and Huang Yanpei, were to specialize later in education. Others still, such as Wang Dungen, Bao Tianxiao, Zhou Shoujuan, and Xu Zhenya, were to specialize in fiction writing and editorial activities of the most varied kinds. Some, such as Liu Yazi, were to become best known as men of poetry and politics. What bound them at this time was their concern for the wide range of problems facing their country and their affiliations in various nonofficial and official structures, such as the Southern Society, the Educational Society of Jiangsu, and the deliberative committees involved in the restructuring of the forms of national political participation. The question of how their work developed, in the case of those who took up the career of the writer, novelist, or man of the literary world, is not the question here. During the period between 1910 and 1913, few of them, as their work of these years shows, had entertainment on their minds.

Thus it makes little sense to characterize this first phase in the life of the literary journal *Xiaoshuo yuebao* as one in which there was a preponderance of writings of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly type on its pages. The term has come to be used in a general and pejorative sense to mean anything that was popular before and after the May Fourth Movement of the late 1910s and that does not accord with its definitions of the forms and aims of writing. To that extent, one may well agree that this was the case in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*: it was very popular, it did find a wide audience, and it quite obviously did not and could not share the views of those later critics who attacked the kind of writing that it and similar magazines had published. The later generation defined the work of its predecessor generation as old-style writings that had to be overcome.

This insight, however, is a recent one among scholars, and prevailing views are still very much attuned to value judgments that were made at a time when the scholarly field felt it possible to distinguish between the "good" and the "bad" in modern Chinese literature. Thus Marian Galik may be said to have made a typical judgment when he wrote that

> [f]rom its very foundation in 1910, *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* had been an eminent forum of the old literature. Even the well-known translator Lin Shu (1852–1924) published in it. Together with *Li-bai liu* (Sunday) [*sic*], it was the most influential paper between 1910 and 1920. *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao*, like every other prominent periodical of that period, was dominated by the Mandarin Duck and Butterflies Group which had been set up sometime in 1908 and which dominated Chinese literature after the Revolution of 1911. It was not a uniformly organized group but the contents and style of their works [were similar]. . . . [T]heir principal aesthetic criterion for any writing was that it had to be entertaining. Thematically their work turned for the most part around marriages and wedding nights.[26]

A more recent judgment retains the flavor of the former. According to Leo Ou-fan Lee in 1983, May Fourth intellectuals

> [g]radually . . . managed to wrest editorship of newspaper supplements and magazines away from the Butterfly writers. The most celebrated case was the change-over of format and content of the *Hsiao-shuo yueh-pao* (Short story monthly [*sic*]), published by the august Commercial Press, which had been a bastion of Butterfly literature until Mao Tun assumed the editorship in 1921 and turned it into a major organ for New Literature.[27]

The language of criticism frequently betrays the underlying attitudes of the critic, and here the choice of the terms "wrest" and "bastion" add an interesting nuance to the depiction of the process that supposedly took place. Commentators in China also have seen the early years of the magazine as belonging quite clearly to a period of Butterfly literature that was superseded and overcome by a period of literature proper with the advent of the May Fourth generation of writers.[28] It is thus of some interest and importance to trace the genesis of the term that is used practically as an accusation of low standards.

One of the earliest uses of the term in critical histories of literature may be found in A Ying's study of late-Qing writings.[29] A Ying accuses Wu Jianren (Wu Woyao, 1866–1910) of being responsible for the "Butterfly craze" *(yuanyang hudie pai kuangyan)*. This madness was brought about, according to A Ying, as a result of Wu's talk of "describing sentiments" *(xieqing)* in his novels. This led to others imitating him and

thus ultimately to the said "Butterfly craze." A Ying, however, states that Wu was really only continuing the old feudal way of thought and, moreover, merely camouflaging the fact that he was writing the same old scholar-beauty romances *(caizi jiaren xiaoshuo)* that Chinese tradition had been producing for a long time. Thus "Butterfly literature" is defined as sentimental writings that ultimately refer back to the old feudal system.

In the two Chinese collections of materials on Butterfly literature that have become almost standard reference works on the subject, editors continue to make use of and expand A Ying's vocabulary in their introductions or afterwords. Butterfly literature is generally portrayed as a Shanghai phenomenon that set in during the early years of the twentieth century. Definitions of the term clearly emphasize that the authors involved only wanted to entertain their readers and that they considered literature to be nothing more than a means of whiling away one's leisure hours.[30] The "breeding ground" *(wenchuang)*[31] for the works of such writers, who, of course had usually received a feudal literary education *(fengjian shehui de wenxue jiaoyang)*,[32] was the imperialist concession areas in China.[33] Thus Butterfly literature is portrayed as "the typical product of a semi-feudal and a semi-colonial society."[34] The assessment is stated as a fact:[35] a semifeudal and semicolonial society, it would appear, cannot but produce writings for entertainment and distraction. Although one critic goes so far as to say that most of the works of this school, which he likens to a filthy river, belong on the rubbish heap of history,[36] it is generally acknowledged that these writings were immensely influential and popular and that their influence was not diminished by the fact that writers of the May Fourth Movement aimed strong criticism at them.[37] Almost all of the commentators agree that these Butterfly writers wrote a great many love stories, or stories of sentiment, but that they also produced historical, detective, and social novels and stories, as well as stories of science and adventure.

None of the above critical interest in the so-called Butterfly school of writing provides a definition of Butterfly literature, or writings of a Butterfly school, to act as a useful basis for the investigation of literary works. Perry Link, perhaps, was the first to see the term "Butterfly literature" in a somewhat more realistic light.[38] The label "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly school," Link writes, "was first used in the late 1910s to refer disparagingly to the classical-style love stories of a small, but very widely read, group of authors who made liberal use of the traditional symbols of mandarin ducks and butterflies for pairs of lovers." And,

"beginning in the 1920s, the term was given a dramatically larger scope by ardent young writers of the May Fourth Movement. Cheng Chen-to [Zheng Zhenduo], Mao Tun [Mao Dun] and many others began using the term to lead an attack on *all* kinds of popular old-style fiction."[39]

In other words, the term has largely been used to mean something that was considered unrespectable from about the 1920s, a time when the May Fourth generation of more youthful writers (many of whom had grown up reading *Xiaoshuo yuebao*), with its radical demands and a radical and iconoclastic rejection of its own cultural heritage, was insisting on *its* definition of the new literature as opposed to the definition of what was new in writing in the wake of Liang Qichao's article "The Relationship between Fiction and the Guidance of the People" of 1902—the article in which Liang insisted that fiction as a genre could ensure the renewal of China's spirit and value, at the same time defining fiction as an acceptable literary activity for the man of letters. More even, fiction became a must for all those concerned with the fate of China, a matter of national salvation. But Liang's agenda had become old-fashioned by the late 1910s, and the new groupings that now began to work out new trajectories for Chinese literature had changed. The new Chinese literature was no longer to be built upon an altered concept of a Chinese genre *(xin xiaoshuo)*, but was to repudiate the past and issue in a new phase of literary history as "new literature" *(xin wenxue)*.

We cannot, then, usefully discuss this transition in terms of *bad* writing versus *good* writing. We are confronted not with *good* or *bad*, but with different definitions of what writing was to be, or what certain groups felt the function of writing should be. There was a fight, but it was not the battle described by subsequent critics in which modern literature defeated feudal or colonial scribblings. It was a wrangling over definitions. Between the two definitions of "literature" *(xin xiaoshuo* and *xin wenxue)* was a period of approximately ten years, a period in which much happened and in which many experiments had been started, new beginnings tested, and muscles flexed in the fight for the territory of "real" literature. It is a situation reminiscent of Bourdieu's characterization of what is generally at stake in any literary field. In other words, the field of cultural production is the site of struggles in which what is at stake is the power to impose the dominant definition of the writer and therefore to delimit the population of those entitled to take part in the struggle to define the writer. The established definition of the writer may be radically transformed by an enlargement of the set of people

who have a legitimate voice in literary matters. It follows from this that every survey aimed at establishing a hierarchy of writers predetermines the hierarchy by determining the population deemed worthy to establish it.[40]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the monopoly of the power to define who and what the writer was had been with people like Liang Qichao, those who had eloquently pleaded the case for a new kind of writing on what they conceived to be Western models, that is, what they had discovered in Japan, what they had chanced upon and translated, a literature that would change the Chinese world. The next generation of writers turned to different models of "good writing," albeit for similar reasons. Foremost in this generation's mind was still the ardent desire to save China and make it respectable and respected internationally, but the new actors on the literary stage were living in a completely different and quite radically altered world. The fundamental optimism of reformers and writers of the late Qing period, the belief that something could be done over time to change the thinking and the worldview of the Chinese to bring them into line with the rest of the world had been shattered, partly through the experience of the aftermath of the First World War and partly as a result of internal developments in China: the failure of the revolution and the Republic, the fiasco of Yuan Shikai's presidency, the warlord situation. Inevitably, past ideas about a "new literature" were no longer tenable and—given the political situation of the day and the personal biographies of some of the participants—the demands of the new "new literature" were bound to be more extreme. The proponents of the new were, this time, generally much younger than the writers publishing in magazines in the period of the 1910s and, what is perhaps more important, they entertained radically different basic assumptions about life. Nevertheless, by their constant production of writings in new and varied forms, the first generation of writers had already provided a space in which fiction had established itself as a medium of expression and could thus, with time, be molded into ever new shapes and patterns. This space not only comprised the physical space of the literary journal; it also included the politico-cultural acceptance and desirability of a genre of writing that, some few decades previously, had even been proscribed.

It was at this time of transition, as Fan Boqun has remarked, that Zhou Zuoren probably made first loose use of the term "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly literature" during a lecture at Beijing University in 1918 and that it was instrumentalized by proponents of the "new litera-

ture" *(xin wenxue)* in the process of staking out their claims upon the "territory of literature" *(wenxue lingdi)*.[41] That this kind of vocabulary has been internalized by subsequent generations of scholars of Chinese literature has not facilitated a more reasonable view of the kind of writing contained in popular magazines of the pre–May Fourth era.[42] Therefore, the fundamental issue that needs to be considered when discussing the kind of literature to be found on the pages of literary journals in the era before the 1920s in China is not whether it may be integrated into an arbitrary definition of Butterfly literature, but rather whether the writings it presented to its readers and requested of its contributors were serious and modern (i.e., *not* old-style writings) in their own times. In other words, we must try to view them and their medium in their own terms. Studies from different and later perspectives then become *part* of the story of modern Chinese literature; they are not *the* story.

Afterword

In taking up this contextual study of the late-Qing and early-Republican literary periodical *Xiaoshuo yuebao* I was motivated by an interest in a journal that had been soundly rejected by literary histories East and West and that nevertheless had never been studied. Mine was a curiosity born of a distrust of the monumental figures of history and literature, their very monumentality being largely a result of their own attempts at self-portrayal combined with the ensuing scholarly attention paid to exceptionally well-known figures. In the case of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* we have found a personal reticence on the part of the writers and editors involved: most of the actors in this story did not stand in the limelight of literary history or—more to the point—attempt to do so. The result is a dearth of information either of the autobiographical or biographical kind, and scholarly neglect.

A serious reading in context of the writings contained in the journal, however, can and did paint the truer picture. Indeed, the combined findings of this study of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in its early phase provide an astonishingly rounded and cogent picture: *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was a journal of serious appearance and intent, and it was run, managed, and contributed to by educated men deeply involved with matters of national reform, education, and improvements in the state of the nation.

Xiaoshuo yuebao did not provide light reading for bored urbanites in search of cheap thrills and mental distraction in their leisure hours. The reading matter may have been entertaining, but this is not synonymous with trivial, bad, feudal, or any of the other pejorative adjectives that have since been marshaled to characterize a wide range of writing activity in the period between 1900 and 1913. The present study has revealed that a concerned body of writers attempted to consider the issues and requirements of their day in their narratives, that they felt they were doing something new, something patriotic, and something very necessary. Writing, for them, then, was at once a political and an artistic venture. It was a different political and artistic venture from the one formulated by the following generation of May Fourth writers; it was not less serious.

The contributors were confronting their own present and their future. Theirs was a modern project that, at one and the same time, made an attempt to look at their country's past and present—traditional patterns of behavior and their contemporary reverberations—and to introduce new patterns of behavior and organization on national and local, public and personal levels, new concepts of law and order, social organization, and personal attitudes to life. They were not radical, but they were certainly new. These writers felt it their duty to lead their fellow countrymen toward the new future that seemed to beckon. Moreover, and quite importantly, at this time the social and political climate was tolerant and open enough for them to do so. Thus we find them involved in political and social reform groups, in revolutionary activities, in teaching, in the furtherance of women's liberation, and in artistic societies that, once again, combined writing with political affairs. Not surprisingly then, all these issues are also reflected in their writings. The writer-reformers of the pre–May Fourth generation gave voice to their modernity by consciously distancing themselves from those elements in their society that they felt to have become obsolete. Moreover, they were not bound to China in their insights and probing. They looked abroad to the international community and tried to imagine ways in which China could become part of this community. In some cases they were even up to date with respect to foreign writings. Some Sherlock Holmes stories were brand new in Britain when they were translated into Chinese and published in the journal. Both in the West and the East the scientific detective was a modern phenomenon, and narrative structures of texts published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* bear strong resemblances to stories in comparable Western journals.

The writers applied their minds to the realities of their society, to all the urgent problems of their day as they perceived them, and they were trying to adhere to the principles of "new fiction." What they did not do was embrace the "new" in conscious opposition to all that was "old."[1] They were keenly aware of the historical moment in which they lived —the opportunities it could provide and the dangers it might harbor— and they were acutely aware of the need for China to develop within a new and much wider framework than the one offered by traditional modes of thought. Indeed, the writers of this generation illustrate much of the particular stance that Leo Lee has eloquently attributed to the May Fourth generation:

> What makes for the qualitative difference in the May Fourth formulation lies rather in its implicit equation of newness with a new temporal continuum from the present to the future. In other words, the notion and value of "newness" are defined in a context of unilinear time and a unilinear sense of history that is characteristically untraditional and Western. The most eloquent manifestation of this new historical consciousness was the notion of epoch *(shidai)*—the heightened awareness that China had entered into a "new epoch" of world history which rendered its destiny no longer separate but an integral part of mankind.[2]

It is, moreover, particularly important to remember that in the course of their reform-through-fiction project these writers and publishers also managed to secure a commercial success. With their application of new fiction they were able, at one and the same time, to win over an audience and to hold it for a long period.

The influx of people to the modern city of Shanghai doubtless offered a growing market for stories about new realities and new attitudes to life. Publications such as *Xiaoshuo yuebao* were also doubtless an urban phenomenon in China, even though they were read by those in the hinterland of cities or in the faraway provinces, even by Chinese abroad. They were written and produced largely by writers gathered in the urban center of Shanghai, those witnessing the great changes going on in China and often trying to make some sense of them for themselves and their readers. The field of publishing and writing diversified quickly after about 1914, but during the early years of its appearance, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* shared (and possibly created) a large portion of a growing market for literary journals. As the market grew, and together, perhaps, with a more restrictive general political situation, magazines such as *Libai liu* began to cater specifically to those with leisure time

for reading. Authors began to specialize in particular kinds of textual work as writing gained a stronger foothold as a profession. At the time of publication of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1910 this was not the case. The contributors did not, as yet, see themselves as authors alone; they were concerned members of a still traditionally influenced elite who responded in various modes to what they saw as the requirements of their day. At the most, then, we can speak of a nascent literary field in the Bourdieuian sense in China in the early 1910s.

At the beginning of the twentieth century in China, the development or the burgeoning of printed media gave rise to an exceptionally broad range of possibilities to publish opinions and writings of all kinds. The situation of creative writing, like so many other aspects of Chinese life and society, was at a stage of reorientation, and thus we find in journals of the kind discussed in this study a sometimes uneasy mixture of information, entertainment, and political journalism that frequently defies simple categorization. However, when this and other contemporary literary journals have been studied in detail and with reference to their times, their social and literary context, and their relationships with one another within a field of writing in China in the 1910s, they can provide a wealth and range of detailed information that need not lead to new definitions of literature or its development in the Chinese context but that can enable its development to be seen in a much wider and richer perspective.

APPENDIX 1

Glossary of Chinese and Japanese Names and Terms

Afensuo 阿芬瑣
aiguo baozhong 愛國保種
Aiguo nüxuexiao 愛國女學校
Aiguo xueshe 愛國學社
"Aiguo zhenquan" 愛國真詮
Anhui suhua bao 安徽俗話報

baicheng 稗乘
baihua 白話
"Bailun zheng xila zhi jun ge" 擺崙征希臘之軍歌
baishi 稗史
Ban Jieyu 班婕妤
Banyue 半月
Bao Tianxiao 包天笑
Baoyu 寶玉
ben xianzai zhi shishi 本現在之事實
"Benguan bianyin *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* yuanqi" 本館編印綉像小說緣起
"Benguan fuyin shuobu yuanqi" 本館附印說部緣起
"Benshe gaobai" 本社告白
"benshe jizhe fuzhi" 本社記者附
bianji dayi 編輯大意
biji 筆記
Bing Xin 冰心
Bixue hua 碧血華
"Biyu huan" 碧玉環
"Bolan wangguo canshi" 波蘭亡國慘史
Boleideng 勃雷登
Boxing lang 薄幸朗
bubai 補白
bugao yuanyang hudie pai de landiao 不搞鴛鴦蝴蝶派的濫調
Buru gui 不如歸
busi 不私
Butong 不同

Cai Erkang 蔡爾康
Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培
caizi jiaren 才子佳人
caizi jiaren xiaoshuo 才子佳人小說
changpian xiaoshuo 長篇小說
Changzhou 常州
Chen Baoquan 陳寶泉
Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀
Chen Qimei 陳其美
Chen Qubing 陳去病
Chen Xianghui 陳香慧
Chen Xianglan 陳香蘭
Chenbao fukan 晨報附刊

Cheng Dequan 程德全
Cheng Xiaoqing 程小青
Cheng Zhanlu 程瞻盧
chouwai zhi xin zhuan wei meiwai 仇外之心轉為媚外
Chu ci 楚辭
chuanqi 傳奇
Chunliu she 春柳社
Chunyang she 春陽社
Chuyan bao 刍言報
ci 刺
ci 詞
Cidie ying 雌蝶影
cizhang 詞章
"Cun laoyu" 村老嫗
cusu xiaoshuo 粗俗小說

Dahan bao 大漢報
daju 大局
dang 黨
daode xin 道德心
datong 大同
Daxue 大學
Dazu 大足
Delin junzhu 德林郡主
Dengmisi 鄧米司
Di Chuqing 狄楚青
Dianshi zhai huabao 點石齋畫報
difang zizhi 地方自治
"Dili jiaoxi" 地理教習
Ding Richang 丁日昌
Dongfang Fuermosi Huo Sang tan'an 東方福爾摩斯霍桑探案
Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌
Dong-Ou nühaojie 東歐女豪杰
"Dongwuyuan sou" 動物園叟
doupou guafen 豆剖瓜分
Du Fu 杜甫
duanpian xiaoshuo 短篇小說
Duoqing zhi yingxiong 多情之英雄
dushu lüe tong wenyi 讀者略通文義
duzhuan 杜撰

Ensuhuobo 恩蘇霍伯
Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang 二十年目睹之怪現狀
Ertong jiaoyu hua 兒童教育畫

fangshi 方士
Fanhua meng 繁華夢
feikexing 沸克興
feikexing zhe, ji jin suoyicheng qiqing xiaoshuo 沸克興，者即近所譯稱奇情小說
fen 分
Feng Menglong 馮夢龍
fengjian shehui de wenxue jiaoyang 封建社会的教养
"Fengliu daizi" 風流呆子
fu 婦
Fudan gongxuexiao 復旦公學校
"Fuermosi zhentan an" 福爾摩斯偵探案
fulu 附錄
Funü shibao 婦女時報
Funü zazhi 婦女雜誌
Fusheng liuji 浮生六記

gailiang xinju 改良新居
Gao Fengqian 高鳳謙
"Geming jun" 革命軍
geren mingyu 個人名譽
Geweilian 葛威廉
gong 公
gong'an xiaoshuo 公案小說
gongchou 公仇
gongdang 公黨
gonghe ren 共和人
gongjia 公家
gongli 公理
"Gongren xiaoshi" 工人小史
gongsi zhi di 公私之敵
gongyi 公義
guafen zhi lun 瓜分之論
Guan Daru 管達如
Guanchang xianxing 官場現形
Guangling chao 廣陵潮
Guangxu 光緒
guanru xin li 灌入新理
Guihua 姽嫿
guizheng yulun 規整輿論
guojia 國家
Guowen bao 國聞報
"*Guowen bao* fuyin shuobu yuanqi" 國聞報附印說部緣起

Guowen bu 國文部
gushi zhenli weiming 古時真理未明

haike congtan 海客叢談
Haishang qishu 海上奇書
haiwai zhuling 海外珠鈴
Han Nie'ren 漢孽人
Hanshou xuexiao 函授學校
Hanshu 漢書
He Zhen 何震
Hehuan cao 合歡草
Henhai 恨海
Hong Caitai 紅菜苔
Honglou meng 紅樓夢
Hu Shi 胡适
Huai 淮
"Huai jiu" 懷舊
"Huaijun hou qi zhi mingjiang tan" 淮軍後起之名將談
Huang Moxi 黃摩西
Huang Xing 黃興
Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲
huangtang 荒唐
huaqiao 華僑
"Huawai tu" 化外土
"Huohua fu" 火花斧

"Jiabonali dang" 加波拿里黨
jianer 健兒
Jiangsu 江蘇
jiaoyu kaocha tuan 教育考查團
Jiaoyu shijie 教育世界
jiaoyu xiaoshuo 教育小説
Jiaoyu zazhi 教育雜誌
Jiaren zhi qiyu 佳人之奇遇
jiating geming 家庭革命
jie 節
jie 界
Jiehua xiaoying 劫花小影
"Jieling ren" 解鈴人
Jilong 基隴
jin 浸
Jin Shengtan 金聖嘆
Jingbao 京報
Jinghua bixue lu 京華碧血錄
Jinghua nüzi shifan xuetang 竟化女子師範學堂
Jinghua yuan 鏡花緣
"Jing-Jin liangyue ji" 京津兩月記
jinshi 進士
jishi 記事
jishi shu zhi zongcheng 記事書之總稱
jiu xiaoshuo 舊小説
"Ju you huanghua" 鞠有黃花
junguomin zhuyi 軍國民主義
junshi 軍事
junshi xiaoshuo 軍事小説
junzheng fenfu 軍政分府
juren 舉人

Kang Youwei 康有為
"Keju lei" 科舉泪
Kexue 科學
kexue xiaoshuo 科學小説
Kinkoodoo 金港堂
Kong Shangren 孔尚任
kuang 狂
"Kuangren riji" 狂人日記
"Ku'er liulang ji" 苦兒流浪記

Lao She 老舍
Laocan youji 老殘游記
laoru 老儒
li 禮
Li Boyuan 李伯元
Li Hanqiu 李涵秋
Li Hongzhang 李鴻章
Li Qingzhao 李清照
Li Ruzhen 李汝珍
Li Xiangjun 李香君
Li Zhuowu (Zhi) 李卓吾 (贄)
Liang Jin yanyi 兩晉演義
Liang Qichao 梁啓超
Liangshan (Langson) 諒山
liaoshi zhi jizhi 料事之機智
Libai liu 禮拜六
Lienü zhuan 烈女傳
Liji 禮記
Lin Qinnan (Lin Shu) 林琴南 (林紓)
"Lingbo ying" 凌波影
lishi 歷史

lishi xiaoshuo 歷史小說
lishijia 歷史家
Liu E 劉鶚
Liu Xiang 劉向
liu zhenxiang yu jianglai 留真相於將來
lixiang 理想
Lu Xun 魯迅
"Lüemai canshi er" 掠賣慘史二
"Lüemai canshi yi" 掠賣慘史一
Lugong mishi 盧宮秘史
"Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi" 論小說與群治之關系
"Lun yanqing xiaoshuo zhuan buru yi" 論言情小說撰不如譯
Luotuo xiangzi 駱駝祥子
"Luoyin zaju" 洛茵雜劇
Luqiao 鹿樵

Ma Guigong 馬貴公
Ma Junwu 馬君武
Ma Yukun 馬玉
"Maihua sheng" 賣花聲
"Maiyao tong" 賣藥童
Mao Dun 矛盾
Mao Zonggang 毛宗崗
Maodong yixie 泖東一蟹
maoxian 冒險
maoxian xiaoshuo 冒險小說
Mazhini 瑪志尼
mei 美
Meiguo dang zhimin shidai, wu suowei wenxue ye 美國當殖民時代，無所謂文學也
Meiroku zasshi 明六雜誌
Meirokusha 明六社
meishu 美術
Meng Zhaochang 孟昭常
Mengdilai 孟第來
Mengxue keben 蒙學課本
"Mimi shi" 秘密室
mingren fenmen 名人分門
mingsheng yu wanguo 名勝於萬國
Minguo ribao 民國日報
Minguo xinwen 民國新聞
"Mingzhu baojian" 明珠寶劍
Minhu bao 民呼報
Minli bao 民力報
Minquan bao 民權報
Minsheng ribao 民聲日報
minzheng zhang 民政長
mofan 模範
"Mofang zhuren" 磨坊主人
Mokelanbao 墨克蘭堡
mou sheng 某生

Nakamura Masanao (Keiu) 中村正直(敬宇)
nan bu yan nei, nü bu yan wai 男不言內，女不言外
nanbeizhong sanpai 南北中三派
Nanshe 南社
Nanyang gongxue 南洋公學
"Neize" 內則
Nie Shicheng 聶士成
Niehai hua 孽海花
novel zhe, chuyu ren zhi yiwai, you ruyu ren zhi yizhong zhe ye Novel 者出乎人之意外，又入乎人之意中者也
nüjie 女界
nüshi 女士
"Nüshi Zhang Zhujun zhuan" 女士張竹君傳
Nüzi shijie 女子世界
Nüzi tongmeng hui 女子同盟會
Nüzi xingxue baoxian hui xu 女子興學保險會序

"Ouliao ruping" 歐寥乳瓶
"Ou-Mei xiaoshuo congtan" 歐美小說叢談

piao 票
pinxing wenxue liang you, de sheyou jiechaozhe, ji ke rushe 品行文学两优，得社友介绍者，即可入社
polama 潑拉禡
Popoluoxi 婆婆羅希

qi 妻
qi 欺
qi shi ze wuyou 其事則烏有
qiahao 恰好

Qian Zhongshu 钱鐘树
qianze xiaoshuo 譴責小説
Qianzi wen 千字文
Qing 清
Qingyi bao 清議報
"Qishiwu li" 七十五里
Qiu Jin 秋僅
"Qiushan ying" 秋扇影
Qu Yuan 屈原
Quanguo xiaoshuo mingjia zhuanji 全國小説名家傳記
Que'ersi Jiawei 卻爾司佳維
quxiang 去向

rendao suokai zhi hua 人道所開之花
renlei jingshen zhi suo gouzaozhe 人類精神之所構造者
renlei zhi yili 人類之頤理
Renmin ribao 人民日报
"Ruonü jiaoxiong ji" 弱女救兄記

Saigoku risshihen 西國立志編
San Ai 三愛
Sanguo yanyi 三國演義
Sanzi jing 三字經
"Seyu yu jiaoyu" 色欲與教育
Shan Kai 善鎧
shangjie 商界
Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館
shaonian 少年
Shaonian congshu 少年叢書
Shaonian zazhi 少年雜誌
shehui 社會
shehui quxiang 社會去向
shehui xiaoshuo 社會小説
shehuizhuyi zhi xiaoshuo 社會主義之小説
Shen Enfu 沈恩孚
Shen Fu 沈複
Shen Manyun 沈縵雲
Shenbao 申報
Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷
shenguai 神怪
shenguai xiaoshuo 神怪小説
shensheng zhi ziyou 神聖之自由
Shenzhou ribao 神州日報
shi min kaihua 使民開化
Shibao 時報
shijian 識見
shishi 時事
shishi 事實
Shishi xinbao 事實新報
Shitou ji 石頭記
Shixin 時新
"Shizi bei" 十字碑
shou wenming jiaoyu 受文明教育
Shuangxiong jiaojian lu 雙雄較劍録
Shuihu zhuan 水滸傳
shuji 書籍
Shujing 書經
Shunhua 蓀華
"Shuo xiaoshuo" 説小説
shuobu 説部
shuyuan 書院
si 私
si da qishu 四大奇書
"Sibada xiaozhi" 斯巴達小志
"Sibada zhi hun" 斯巴達之魂
sidang 私黨
"Sihou" 死後
siqing 私情
Song Jiaoren 宋教仁
Song Qing 宋慶
Su Yuanchun 蘇元春
Subao 蘇報
Sunxing 孫行
Suosiwosi nüshi 鎖司倭司女士
Suzhou baihua bao 蘇州白話報

Taigong jiajiao 太公家教
Taiping 太平
Taipingyang bao 太平洋報
Tang Caichang 唐才常
Tang Wenzhi 唐文治
"Taohua shan" 桃花扇
ti 提
tianli 天理
tianshang xingzhou 天上行舟
Tianyi bao 天義報
Tianzu hui 天足會
Tiying 緹縈
Tonghua 童話
Tongmeng hui 同盟會
Tong Sheng 侗生

Tong zhi 同治
tuoqu nüer kouwen, you gong yu shidao renxinzhe 脱去女兒口吻，有功於世道人心者
tuanlian 團練
"Tuizu yu" 退卒語

Waijiao bao 外交報
Wang Guowei 王國維
Wang Xiaoqi 王孝祺
Wang Yun 王筠
wangfa 王法
Wanguo gongbao 萬國公報
Wei Zizhi 魏自治
Weilie 韋烈
wen 文
wen yi zai dao 文以載道
wenchuang 溫床
wenguan bi du 文官必讀
wenming 文明
wenming buyong xiu 文明不用羞
Wenming xiaoshi 文明小史
Wenxuan 文選
wenxue 文學
wenxue lingdi 文学领地
wenxuejia 文學家
wenyi 文藝
wenyi zhi 文藝志
wenyuan 文苑
"Wenzi yinyuan" 文字姻緣
wu 武
Wu Gongheng 吳恭亨
Wu Woyao (Jianren) 吳沃堯 (趼人)
wu xiong yue dao sao 無兄曰盜嫂
wu Zhongguo qingnian bukebu yidu yan 吾中國青年不可不一讀焉
"Wuhu" 嗚呼
Wujin 武進
wuli 武力
wuli 兀立
"Wushi nian" 五十年
wusi yundong 五四運動
Wuxi 無錫
wuxia 武俠
wuxia xiaoshuo 武俠小說

Xia Zengyou 夏曾佑
xian hao 賢豪
"Xianzheng pian" 憲政篇
xiaoshuo 小說
Xiaoshuo congbao 小說叢報
"Xiaoshuo conghua" 小說叢話
"Xiaoshuo congkao" 小說叢考
Xiaoshuo daguan 小說大觀
Xiaoshuo lin 小說林
xiaoshuo quanti zhi guanjian 小說全體之關鍵
Xiaoshuo ribao 小說日報
Xiaoshuo shibao 小說時報
Xiaoshuo shijie 小說世界
xiaoshuo wei wenxue zhi zuishang cheng ye 小說為文學之最上乘也
Xiaoshuo yuebao 小說月報
"*Xiaoshuo yuebao* tebie guanggao" 小說月報特別廣告
Xiaoxue 小學
"Xiaoxuesheng lüxing" 小學生旅行
Xie shouyin 血手印
Xie Zuantai 謝纘泰
"Xieluoke qi'an kaichang" 歇洛克奇案開場
xieqing 寫情
"Xihu youji" 西湖游記
xiju 戲劇
Xin chao 新潮
"Xin guizhong shier qu" 新閨中十二曲
"Xin Luoma" 新羅馬
Xin qingnian 新青年
Xin Shi 心史
"Xin wangu chouqu" 新萬古愁曲
xin wenhua 新文化
xin wenhua yundong 新文化運動
xin wenxue 新文學
Xin xiaoshuo 新小說
xin xiaoshuo 新小說
Xin xin xiaoshuo 新新小說
xin zhishi 新智識
Xin Zhongguo weilai ji 新中國未來記
"Xing er mian" 辛而免
Xing you diyu ji 醒游地獄記
Xingshi yinyuan zhuan 醒世姻緣傳
"Xinjiu yingxiong" 新舊英雄

xinju 新居
Xinmin congbao 新民叢報
xinshi 信史
Xinwen bao 新聞報
xinxue zhi shi 新學之士
xitian 西天
xiucai 秀才
Xiuxiang xiaoshuo 綉像小說
Xixiang ji 西廂記
Xiyou ji 西游記
Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻
Xu Jinfu 許廑父
Xu Pei 徐佩
Xuantong 宣統
"Xuehua yimu" 血花一幕
xueshi 學士
xun 薰
Xuwu dang 虛無黨
"Xuwudang fuchou ji" 虛無黨復仇記
xuzao 虛造

Yan Fu 嚴復
Yan Fusun 嚴芙孫
Yangnian 養年
yanjiu zhi si 研究之思
yanju tancijia 演劇彈詞家
yaoguai zhi xiaoshuojia 妖怪之小說家
Yesou puyan 野叟曝言
yi 意
yi pinglun wei zhu 以評論為主
yi xi ziyou zhi kongqi 以吸自由之空氣
yi yanjiu jiaoyu gailiang xuewu 一研究教育改良學務為宗旨
yicong 譯叢
"Yidali ji Tuerqi zhanshi jilüe" 意大利及土耳其戰事紀略
"Yidali jianguo sanjie zhuan" 意大利建國三杰傳
yijing 意境
ying 英
Yinger 鶯兒
Yingguo shiqi shijijian zhi xiaoshuojia 英國十七世紀間之小說家
Yingguo zhengzhi . . . bugong, fengsu . . . wochuo 英國政治…不公，風俗…齷齪
Yinghuan suoji 瀛寰瑣紀
"Yinghuang Aidehua zhi yiwen pianpian" 英皇愛德華之遺聞片片
"Yinghuang Zuozhi diwu zhi yulun yiban" 英皇佐治第五之輿論一斑
yingqiao 英僑
Yingyu zhoukan 英語周刊
yishu 譯述
yiyi 意譯
yiyi mingzuo 移譯名作
"Yiyin zhengzhi xiaoshuo xu" 譯印政治小說序
"Yongyu manmo" 傭餘漫墨
Youxi zazhi 游戲雜誌
youxian shi 游仙詩
Yu Chu 虞初
Yu Dafu 郁達夫
Yu Youren 于右任
Yuan Shikai 遠世凱
yuanyang hudie pai 鴛鴦蝴蝶派
yuanyang hudie pai kuangyan 鴛鴦蝴蝶派狂焰
yuanyang hudie pai wenxue 鴛鴦蝴蝶派文學
Yueyue xiaoshuo 月月小說
Yun Tieqiao 惲鐵樵
yusi fengpian 雨絲風片
Yuwai xiaoshuo ji 域外小說集
yuwu zhi jingshen 御侮之精神
yuyan 寓言
Yuyi nüshi 羽衣女士

zazuan 雜纂
ze xiaoshuozhe you wei zhengshi zhi gen yi 則小說者又為正史之根矣
Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
Zeng Pu 曾樸
zengjin changshi 增進常識
Zhang Bishi 張陛士
Zhang Gaoyuan 章高元
Zhang Henshui 張恨水
Zhang Jian 張謇
Zhang Mojun 張默君
Zhang Taiyan 張太炎

Zhang Yuanji 章元濟
Zhang Zhujun 張竹君
zhanghui 章回
Zhao Shaokuang 趙苕狂
Zhejiang 浙江
zhengdang xiaoshuo 政黨小說
"Zhengqiu duanpian xiaoshuo" 征求短篇小說
zhengshi 正史
zhengzhi xiaoshuo 政治小說
zhentan 偵探
zhentan xiaoshuo 偵探小說
"Zhentan nü" 偵探女
Zhentan shijie 偵探世界
zhidao guomin 指導國民
zhiguai 志怪
Zhili 直隸
Zhongguo jiaoyu hui 中國教育會
Zhongguo xinnüjie zazhi 中國新女界雜誌
Zhonghua minbao 中華民報
Zhonghua shiye yinhang 中華事業銀行
Zhonghua shuju 中華書局
Zhonghua xuesheng jie 中華學生界
Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyu she 中華職業教育社
Zhongwai jiaosui 中外交綏
Zhongyang jiaoyu hui 中央教育會
Zhou Zuoren 周作人
Zhu Xi 朱喜
Zhuang Boyu 莊百俞
zhuishu jiuwen 綴述旧闻
"Zhuiyan" 贅言
zhuren 主人
"Zhuzai huanguo ji" 豬仔還國記
Zi Shu 自樹
Ziai 自愛
Zili 自利
zili zizhong zhi xin 自立自重之心
ziyou jiehun 自由結婚
"Ziyou tan" 自由談
Ziyou zazhi 自由雜誌
Zizhi difang 自治地方
Zizhu lun 自助論
Zizun 自尊
Zou Rong 鄒容
"Zuanshi an" 鑽石案
zuiyou 最幼
Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠
"Zuozhe qiren" 作者七人

APPENDIX 2

Alphabetical List of Contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao,* 1910–1914

Identified members of the Southern Society (Nanshe) are marked with an asterisk.

Names as they appear in Xiaoshuo yeubao	*Original names or names under which the individuals are better known*
Ai Hua 哀華	
Ai Quan 愛權	
An Shu 庵述	
Ba Ke 拔可	Li Xuangong, 1880–1950/1876–1953, Fujian 李宣龔
Bai Zhonglei 白中壘	
Ban Nong 半儂	Liu Shoupeng (Bannong), 1891–1934, Jiangsu 劉壽彭（劉半儂）
Bao Zhen 抱真	Pan Pu ?–?, Guangdong 潘璞
Beiqiu sanren 悲秋散人	Hong Lianyuan, ?–1917, Zhejiang 洪楝園
Bo Yan 伯嚴	Chen Sanli 1852–1937, Jiangxi 陳三立
Bu Cai 不才	Xu Zhiyan, ?–1923, Jiangsu 許指嚴
Bu Yun 步雲	
Cai Nan 采南	
Can Lü 慘綠	
Cang Yuan 蒼園	
Cao Cao 草草	

Chang An 悵庵	
Chang Fo 長佛	
Chang Mu 長木	
Chen Jialin 陳家麟	Chen Jialin, ?–?, Zhili 陳家麟
Chen Renxian 陳任先	
Cheng Yuxiong 程玉熊	
Cheng Zida 程子大	Cheng Songwan, 1865–1932, Hunan 成頌萬
Chu Gou 刍狗	
Chun Nong 純農	Wang Yunzhang, 1884–1942, Jiangsu 王蘊章
Chun Sun 莼孫	Meng Sen, 1868–1937, Jiangsu 孟森
Dai Xiao 呆笑	
Dan Qiusheng 澹秋生	
Dong Xia 東俠	
Dongya Bingfu 東亞病夫	Zeng Pu, 1872–1935, Jiangsu 曾樸
Du Xian 蠹仙	
Dungen zhongsheng* 鈍根眾生	Wang Dungen, 1888–1950?, Jiangsu 王鈍根
Fei Wu 非吾	
Fen Tuo 芬陀	?Lü Peilin, 1889–1947, Zhejiang 呂沛林
Fen Yong 分	
Feng Chu 鳳雛	
Feng Zhiqing nü shi 馮芝卿女士	
Fu Jiansheng 負儉省	
Fu Zhang 撫掌	
Gan Yonglong 甘永龍	Gan Yonglong, ?–? 甘永瀧
Gan Zuolin 甘作霖	Gan Yonglong, ?–? 甘永瀧
Gong Duan 公短	
Gong Yi 共誼	
Guan Daru* 管達如	Guan Yihua, 1892–1975, Jiangsu 管義華
Guang Ping* 廣平	Li Shutong, 1880–1942, Zhejiang 李叔同
Hai Cheng 海澄	
Hai Nian 海年	
He Yinglian nü shi 何英蓮女士	
He Zaoxiang 荷藻翔	
Hen Ren 恨人	Zheng Chang, ?–? 鄭萇
Hong Juan 紅鵑	Zhou Shoujuan, 1895–1968, Jiangsu 周瘦鵑
Hong Shen 洪深	Hong Da, 1894–1955, Jiangsu 洪達
Hu Kancun 胡欿村	
Hu Xin 胡昕	
Hua Yinmei nü shi 華吟梅女士	

Huaman anzhu 華鬘庵主	
Huang Yanpei 黃炎培	Huang Yanpei, 1878–1965, Jiangsu 黃炎培
Ji Chen* 寄塵	Hu Huaichen (Jichen), 1886–1938, Anhui 胡寄塵
Ji Chi 季遲	Zhu Yiren, ?–?, Zhejiang 諸以仁
Ji Ou 寄漚	?Liu Jizeng, ?–1913, Jiangsu 劉繼增
Ji Yuan 霽園	Xu Jiong, 1862–1936, Sichuan 徐炯
Jian Cheng 劍丞	Xia Jingguan, 1875–1953, Jiangxi 夏敬觀
Jian Er 繭爾	
Jian Gong 繭公	
Jian Lu 繭廬	?Cheng Xiaoqing, 1893–1976, Shanghai 程小青/?Yang Tianji, 1880–1960, Jiangsu 楊天驥
Jian Qing* 劍青	Chen Ziyue, ?–?, Jiangsu 沉次約
Jian Shuang* 劍霜	Chen Ziyue, ?–?, Jiangsu 沉次約
Jiang Rumo 姜汝謨	
Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬	Jiang Weiqiao, 1872–1958, Jiangsu 蔣維喬
Jiang Yuling 蔣玉棱	
Jiao Mu 焦木	Yun Tieqiao, 1878–1935, Jiangsu 惲鐵樵
Jin Yi 金夷	
Jing Fu 競夫	
Jing Mou 鏡眸	
Jing Quan 靜銓	
Jing Xiang 晴薌	
Jingyi tangzhu 經義堂主	
Jinzhegu guanzhu 金鷓鴣館主	
Juan Hong 鵑紅	
Jue Hua 覺華	
Jue Lu 覺廬	
Jue Min 覺民	?Zhou Shichao ?–? 周世超
Jun Fu 君復	
Ke Yuan 客鴛	
Kong Tong 崆峒	
Kong Xianjia 孔憲甲	
Kuang Mei 況梅	
Kui Sheng 夔笙	Kuang Zhouyi, 1859–1926, Guangxi 況周頤
Lai Zhen 來軫	
Lao Jian* 老劍	Pan Feisheng, 1857–1934, Guangdong 潘飛聲
Lao Tan* 老談	Tan Shanwu, 1868–1937, Jiangsu 談善吾
Li Ruzhi 李汝稷	
Li Weixiang 李薇香	
Li Wen 李雯	

Lian Xin 連心	
Lian Yuan 楝園	?Hong Lianyuan, ?–1917?, Zhejiang 洪楝園
Lianxi Yufu 練溪漁父	
Liao Xiukun 廖琇昆	
Liao Xuren 廖旭人	
Lin Shu 林紓	Lin Qinnan, 1852–1924, Fujian 林琴南
Ling Xuan 靈萱	
Ling Xuan 靈諼	
Lu Feikui 陸費逵	Lu Feikui, 1886–1941, Zhejiang 陸費逵
Lu Renzhuo 陸仁灼	
Lu Tan 鹿潭	
Lü Tianweng* 綠天翁	Sun Yuxiu, 1871–1922/1869–1939, Jiangsu 孫毓修
Man Er 蠻兒	
Maodong Yixie 泖東一蟹	Qian Jingfang, ?–?, Jiangsu 錢靜方
Mei 梅	
Mei An 眉庵	
Mei Meng 梅夢	
Meng Shu 孟曙	
Miao Lu 藐盧	
Min Mingsun 閩明孫	
Miyue louzhu 麋月樓主	
Mo Jun 墨君	Zhang Mojun, 1888–1964, Hunan 張默君
Moxiang Cike 墨香詞客	?Chen Moxiang, 1884–1943, Hubei 陳墨香
Nan Ming 南溟	
Nanhu yuyin 南湖漁隱	
Ou Yun 歐雲	
Ouyang Xiaocen 歐陽嘯岑	
Ouyang Zhao 歐陽兆	
Pan Shusheng 潘樹聲	
Po Nong 破農	
Qi Hong* 泣紅	Zhou Shoujuan, 1895–1968, Jiangsu 周瘦鵑
Qi Qingsheng 綺情生	Hong Lianyuan, ?–?, Zhejiang 洪楝園
Qian Du 前度	?Miao Ruogui, ?–? 繆若桂
Qian Fu 潛夫	Qian Jibo, 1887–1955, Jiangsu 錢基博
Qian Jibo 錢基博	Qian Jibo, 1887–1955, Jiangsu 錢基博
Qian Ren 前人	?Xu Jiarui, 1895–1977, Yunnan 徐嘉瑞
Qin Jiao 嗆椒	Liu Yupan, ?–?, Zhejiang 劉毓盤
Qin Xianglang nü shi 秦湘蘭女士	
Qing Meisheng 情眉生	
Qing Xia 情俠	

Qing Xu 清虛	
Qiu Seng* 仇僧	Yu Shouyi, 1883–1930, Jiangsu 余壽頤
Qu An 臞庵	
Que Ming 闕名	
San Lang* 三郎	Yu Shouyi, 1883–1930, Jiangsu 余壽頤
Se Gong 瑟公	
Shan Kai 善鍇	
Shan Yu 善餘	
Shan Zhi* 善之	Ding Sanzai, ?–1918, Zhejiang/ 丁三在 Cheng Shanzhi 程善之
Shen Min 深民	
Shi Chan* 石禪	Jing Hengyi, 1872–1938, Zhejiang 經亨頤
Shi Ling 詩舲	?Zuo Shiling? 左詩舲
Shi Lu 詩盧	Hu Chaoliang, 1877–?, Jiangxi 胡朝梁
Shi Mu 十目	
Shi Xiao 謚蕭	
Shi Yi 石遺	Chen Yan, 1856–1937, Fujian 陳衍
Shoujuan* 瘦鵑	Zhou Shoujuan, 1895–1968, Jiangsu 周瘦鵑
Shoulan 瘦蘭	
Shu Sheng 澍生	
Shu Zi* 叔子	Xiao Tuian, 1863–1958, Jiangsu 蕭蛻安 肖蛻安
Shuang Fu 雙斧	
Shuang Ying 雙影	
Shui Xin 水心	?Zhang Zhongliang, ?–? 張仲良
Song Feng 松風	Gang Cuiren, ?–? 棡翠仁
Song Zhi 誦之	
Su An 甦庵	?Zheng Xiaoxu, 1860–1938, Fujian 鄭孝胥
Su Kan 蘇堪	Zheng Xiaoxu, 1860–1938, Fujian 鄭孝胥
Su Qiu 蘇秋	
Sui Bo 隨波	
Sun Guiding 孫貴定	
Sun Yuxiu 孫毓修	Sun Yuxiu, 1871–1922/1869–1939, Jiangsu 孫毓修
Tan Hua 彈華	?Xu Zhiyan, ?–1923, Jiangsu 許指嚴
Tan Lu 澹盧	?Yu Songhua, 1843–1947, Jiangsu 俞頌華
Tao An 韜庵	Chen Baochen, 1877–1925 陳寶琛
Tao Shi 逃時	
Tian Le 天樂	
Tian Lu 天祿	
Tian Mei* 天梅	Gao Tianmei (Gao Xu), 1877–1925, Jiangsu 高天梅（高旭）
Tian Tu 天徒	
Tian Xiao* 天笑	Bao Tianxiao, 1876–1973, Jiangsu 包天笑
Tian Xiaosheng* 天笑生	Bao Tianxiao, 1876–1973, Jiangsu 包天笑

Tie 鐵	Yun Tieqiao, 1878–1935, Jiangsu 惲鐵樵
Tie Qiao 鐵樵	Yun Tieqiao, 1878–1935, Jiangsu 惲鐵樵
Tong Bo 通伯	Chen Yuan, 1896–1970, Jiangsu/ 陳源 Ma Qichang, 1855–1930 馬其昶
Tong Sheng 侗生	?Wang Zhenyong 汪振鏞
Wan Chen 琬塵	
Wang Hanzhang 王漢章	Wang Hanzhang, ?–1951, Shandong 王漢章
Wang Jianhong 汪劍虹	Wang Jingxing, ?–? 汪景星
Wang Mengsheng 王夢生	
Wang Shanyu 王善餘	
Wang Shifen 王士芬	
Wang Shuqin 王述勤	?Wang Jizeng, 1882–?, Fujian 王繼增
Wang Yunzhang* 王蘊章	Wang Yunzhang, 1884–1942, Jiangsu 王蘊章
Wang Zengnian 王增年	
Wei Tingtao 衛聽濤	
Wo Yi 我一	
Wo Yuan 臥園	
Wu Mei* 吳梅	Wu Mei, 1884–1939, Jiangsu
Wu Taodan 吳檮亶	
Wu Xianglin 吳祥麟	
Wu Ze 無擇	
Xi Gu 西顧	
Xi Shen 西神	Wang Yunzhang, 1884–1942, Jiangsu 王蘊章
Xia Hua 俠花	
Xia Jiancheng 夏劍承	Xia Jingguan, 1875–1953, Jiangxi 夏敬觀
Xiang Ji 湘畸	
Xiang Ping 湘屏	
Xiang Sheng 翔聲	Zhuang Qingxiang, ?–?, Jiangsu 莊慶祥
Xiangzhong Yulin 項仲毓麟	
Xiao Hou 嘯侯	
Xiao Tiansheng* 嘯天生	Xu Xiaotian, 1868–1946, Zhejiang 許嘯天
Xijiao laoren 洗焦老人	
Xin Chan 心禪	
Xin Lao 辛老	
Xin Shi 心史	Meng Sen, 1868–1937, Jiangsu
Xin Shi 心石	
Xin Yi 心一	
Xin Yue 心月	
Xing An* 醒庵	?Tian Xingliu, ?–?, Hunan 田星六
Xing Ru 星如	Sun Yuxiu, 1871–1922/1869–1939, Jiangsu 孫毓修
Xiong Fei 雄飛	?Wen Xiongfei, ?–1929, Guangdong 溫雄飛
Xiong Xiaocen 熊曉岑	
Xishen Canke 西神殘客	Wang Yunzhang, 1884–1942, Jiangsu 王蘊章
Xiu Lu 修盧	

Xu Da 徐大	
Xu Dan 虛丹	
Xu Junxi 徐均曦	
Xu Xiangpu 徐湘浦	
Xu Youqing 徐佑清	
Xu Yuan 徐遠	
Xu Zhongke* 徐仲可	Xu Zhongke, 1869–1928, Jiangsu 徐仲可
Xuan Fan* 宣樊	Lin Baishui, 1874–1926, Fujian 林白水
Xue Xiang 雪香	
Ya Lu* 亞盧	Liu Yazi, 1887–1958, Jiangsu 柳亞子
Ya Zi* 亞子	Liu Yazi, 1887–1958, Jiangsu 柳亞子
Ye Cheng 葉誠	
Yi 逸	?Zhu Xi, ?–? 朱溪
Yi Han 毅漢	Zhang Yihan, ?–? 張毅漢
Yi Lanfu 逸蘭甫	
Yi Suo 頤瑣	Tang Baorong, ?–1932, Jiangsu 湯寶榮
Yi Xie 一蟹	
Yi Yuan 逸園	
Yin Fu 喑夫	
Yong Nisheng 咏霓生	?Zhang Shouyong, 1876–1945, Jiangsu 張壽鏞
You Dan 幼丹	?Liu Xinyuan, ?–1915, Hubei 劉心源
You Dian 又點	
You Xin 幼新	
You Yuan 幼園	
Yu Hua 毓華	
Yu Nong 語農	
Yu Shi 語石	
Yuan Hui 元鐬	
Yuan Sheng 遠生	?Cha Shiyuan, ?–? 查士元
Yue An 月庵	
Yue Hou 越侯	
Yuling Jingzhi 虞靈靖之	
Yun Gui 耘桂	Guo Zhuoying, ?–1931?, Hunan 郭焯榮
Yun Qian 韵倩	
Yun Qiu 韵秋	?Lu Kuifeng, Guizhou 盧夔風 ?Lu Baohua 盧葆華
Yun Shujue 惲樹珏	Yun Tieqiao, 1878–1935, Jiangsu 惲鐵樵
Yun Weng 韞翁	
Yushan binghe 虞山病鶴	
Yushi laoren 玉獅老人	Chen Liang, 1814/1822–1895, Jiangsu 陳良
Ze Min 則民	
Zhan Lu 瞻盧	Cheng Zhanlu, ?–1943, Jiangsu 程瞻盧
Zhang Wanyi 張婉儀	
Zhang Xiang 張相	?Zhang Xiang, 1876–1945, Zhejiang 張相
Zhang Yunhai 張雲海	

Zhao Fuzhang 趙紱章	Zhao Huanting, ?–?, Hebei 趙煥亭
Zhao Kai 趙開	
Zhen Chang 貞長	Zhu Songyuan, 1889–1937, Zhejiang 諸宋元
Zhen Ya* 枕亞	Xu Zhenya, 1889–1937, Jiangsu 徐枕亞
Zhi Ji 知幾	
Zhi Yan* 指嚴	Xu Zhiyan, ?–1923, Jiangsu 許指嚴
Zhi Yi 質疑	
Zhong Ke* 仲可	Xu Zhongke, 1869–1928, Jiangsu
Zhong Yu* 仲玉	Xu Zhongke, 1869–1928, Jiangsu
Zhou Chuo 周逴	Lu Xun, 1881–1936, Zhejiang 魯迅
Zhou Er 周二	
Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑	Zhou Shoujuan, 1895–1968, Jiangsu 周瘦鵑
Zhu Bingxun 朱炳勛	
Zhu Chengfang nü shi 朱承芳女士	
Zhu Er 珠兒	
Zhu Nong 鑄儂	
Zhu Shuren 朱樹人	
Zhu Yiren 諸以仁	Zhu Yiren, ?–?, Zhejiang 諸以仁
Zhuang Zhongxian 莊仲咸	
Zhuo Dai 桌呆	Xu Zhuodai, 1879–1958, Jiangsu 徐桌呆
Zi Da 子大	Cheng Songwan, 1865–1932, Hunan 成頌萬
Zuo Shiling 左詩舲	

NOTES

Introduction

1. For an interesting comparison with the situation in France, see André Lévy, *Études sur le conte et le roman chinois*. For a discussion of changing attitudes to and definitions of literature in the English-speaking world, see Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory*.

2. Ken Follett, "Fiction Is Sacred."

3. Ibid., 12.

4. Ibid., 13.

5. The influence of popular authors upon their readership should not be underestimated by those who do not read these authors. This fact was brought home to me on attending a lecture by the extremely successful popular writer John Le Carré in Glasgow. When the time came for the audience to ask questions, individuals rarely asked about aspects of his writing or the creative process. The majority of questions requested the author's opinion on and information about the contemporary situation of Russia, Russian politics and reform, and the development of relations between the East and the West.

6. Liang Qichao, "Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi" [On fiction and the governance of the people]. The article was originally published in the first issue of *Xin xiaoshuo* [New fiction] in 1902. It is reprinted in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu yanjiu juan*, 14–19, and in Chen Pingyuan and Xia Xiaohong, eds., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo lilun ziliao*, 33–37. For a complete translation into English, see Gek Nai Cheng, "On the Relationship between Fiction and the Government of the People."

7. "Xiaoshuo yuebao tebie guanggao" [A special announcement concerning *Xiaoshuo yuebao*], *XSYB* 3, 12. Reprinted in Chen Pingyuan and Xia Xiaohong, *Ershi shiji*, 393–394.

8. Mark Elvin has provided very stimulating insights and hypotheses on the subject of the intellectual difficulties involved in China's modernization since the mid-nineteenth century. See Mark Elvin, "The Double Disavowal." For a more general and broader discussion of the question, see Gilbert Rozman, ed., *The Modernization of China*. For a short summary of the various factors involved in modernization efforts to 1900 and of the historiographical debate about this period, see Paul Bailey, *Strengthen the Country and Enrich the People*, 1–13.

9. Ray Huang, *China, a Macro History*, 213–214.

10. Rozman, *Modernization of China*, 214.

11. A decree of October 2, 1901, acknowledged reform suggestions of high-ranking officials and pronounced that these should be put into action. For an English translation of the suggestions, see Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West*, 197–208.

12. Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912*, 1.

13. For a survey of negative assessments of the period of reform before the Revolution of 1911, see Norbert Meienberger, *The Emergence of Constitutional Government in China*, 9–13. See also Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912*, 193–194.

14. The range and number of periodicals was enormous. We still have no reliable statistics for the period. Roswell Britton's survey of the panorama of publishing at the period, which was originally published in 1933, is still one of the most detailed in English. His study is also one of the few sources of circulation figures for early periodicals. See Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912*. For a very useful bibliography of studies of the press in Chinese and Japanese, see Stephen R. MacKinnon, "Toward a History of the Chinese Press in the Republican Period," 20–29.

15. Writing in 1919, J. P. Donovan, himself a former commissioner of the Chinese postal service, saw the development of the press in China as the focal point for agitation for reform. It was also the means of spreading progressive ideas. The press, he writes, "created a desire and a demand for a Constitution and a Parliament." Donovan is, moreover, of the opinion that the development of the press in China awakened the political consciousness of the Chinese and opened their minds to political issues in the world outside China. See J. P. Donovan, "The Press of China," 163.

16. For recent approaches to the question and an introduction to various standpoints on this issue, see William Rowe, "The Public Sphere in Modern China," a review article of the repercussions of the translation of Habermas' *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* into English. See also *Modern China* 19, 2 (April 1993), a symposium issue on "Public Sphere"/"Civil Society" in China. A more recent development in the arguments surrounding public sphere and China, particularly Shanghai in the late nineteenth century, is provided in Rudolf G. Wagner, "The Role of the Foreign Community in the Chinese Public Sphere."

17. Joan Judge has argued that periodicals were also instrumental in the development of political parties. See Joan Judge, "The Factional Function of Print."

18. See note 6.

19. It is not surprising, then, that the radical changes in literary activities in the late Qing were concerned with *xin xiaoshuo* (new fiction) and that those of the "literary revolution" some fifteen years later with *xin wenxue* (new culture). The latter changes also concentrated to some large degree on fiction, yet there was no longer any need to insist upon the particular genre, and fiction had become firmly ensconced in the realm of the literary *(wen* and *wenxue)*.

20. See Milena Dolezelová-Velingerová, ed., *The Chinese Novel at the Turn of the Century*, for a detailed discussion of these and other novels of the period. See also Christel Ruh, *Das Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi*.

21. Robert E. Hegel, *The Novel in Seventeenth-Century China*, 219.

22. Ibid., 220–227.

23. Ibid., 228.

24. See Joan Judge, *Print and Politics*, 3–13.

25. Liang Qichao's *Xin xiaoshuo* had begun publication in 1902, one year before *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*. Both journals stopped publication in 1906.

26. Helmut Martin maintains, for instance, that Liang Qichao's *Xin xiaoshuo* annoyed its readers by appearing at very irregular intervals and that the installments of serialized novels were too short. See Helmut Martin, "A Transitional Concept of Chinese Literature, 1897–1917," 219. *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* may well have stopped publication with the death of a major contributor, Li Boyuan, in 1906.

27. Despite this obvious popularity, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* has surprisingly always been disregarded in studies of the writing of the period. See, for example, the most recent book-length study of late-Qing fiction by David Der-wei Wang. Wang does not refer to the magazine even in passing: David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*. See especially pages 2–3 for useful figures on the extent of late-Qing publishing.

28. Judge, *Print and Politics*.

29. See, for example, Wagner, "The Role of the Foreign Community," 423–443.

30. See, for instance, MacKinnon, "Toward a History," 3–32.

31. Two examples of this approach to different areas of research are Paul Bailey, *Reform the People*, and Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity*.

32. See C. T. Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as Advocates of New Fiction"; Martin, "Transitional Concept"; Shu-ying Tsau, "The Rise of 'New Fiction' "; Leo Ou-fan Lee and Andrew J. Nathan, "The Beginnings of Mass Culture."

33. Perry Link is somewhat of an exception here, but his study of the popular fiction of the period does display a strong bias toward the novel. When stories are discussed, the criteria for their selection is not always evident. Such choices, however, do seem to determine those of other researchers. Thus certain stories become constant points of reference. Compare, for example, the selections made by Perry Link, Fan Mingli, and Fan Boqun. See E. Perry Link, Jr., *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 188–189; Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 82–109, esp. 95; Fan Boqun, *Zhongguo jinxiandai tongsu zuojia pingzhuan congshu*, 7:205–207.

34. Ding Shouhe, ed., *Xinhai geming shiqi qikan jieshao*.

35. Bonnie S. McDougall and Kam Louie, eds., *The Literature of China in the Twentieth Century*, 84.

36. A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*.

37. Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*.

38. Zhang Nan and Wang Renzhi, eds., *Xinhai geming qian shinianjian shilun xuanji*.

39. Zhang Jinglu, ed., *Zhongguo chuban shiliao bubian*.

40. This is one of the great drawbacks of Perry Link's study of popular literature in early-twentieth-century China. At times he relies much too heavily on the memoirs of Bao Tianxiao or on statements given to him in interviews by elderly writers and does not consider the possible pitfalls of such interview techniques. Sometimes one would prefer to know the questions he asked rather than the answers he was given. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, passim.

41. *Xiaoshuo yuebao (The Short Story Magazine)*, 87 vols. (Tokyo: Toohoo shoten, 1979).

42. In his paper for the conference "Chinese Modernism: New Perspectives on Chinese Culture in the 1910s" (Prague 1998), Michel Hockx suggested that some literary journals could (or perhaps should) be read as works of literature in themselves. Whatever may be the case, Hockx's suggestion certainly points to the fact that we should be aware of *how* we are reading our materials. See also Michel Hockx, "Mad Women and Mad Men," 308.

43. Leo Lowenthal, *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society*, xv.

44. Introduction to Merle Goldman, ed., *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*, 5.

45. In an article celebrating the third anniversary of the publication of the magazine *Xin qingnian* [New youth] in 1919, Chen Duxiu describes his and his associates' aims. Only a few of these aims are missing, albeit in less radical form, in the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. According to Chen, they wished to destroy "Confucianism, the code of rituals, the 'national quintessence,' chastity of women, traditional ethics (loyalty, filial piety, and chastity), traditional arts (the Chinese opera), traditional religion (ghosts and gods), and ancient literature, as well as old-fashioned politics (privileges and government by men alone)." Quoted in Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement*, 59.

46. Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*.

47. Ibid., 74.

48. Ibid., 47.

49. Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, 16. For a different approach to literary canons and the determination of those variables that are chosen as constitutive parts of literature, see Ruth Klüger, *Frauen lesen anders*, 83–105.

50. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*.

Editors' Declaration of Intent

1. Possibly a reference to the death of Li Boyuan, the editor of *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* [Fiction illustrated] in 1906.

2. Yu Chu was a diviner *(fangshi)* of the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. He is mentioned in the section on literature *(wenyi zhi)* of the *History of the Han Dynasty (Hanshu)* as the father of *xiaoshuo* and also identified as such in the literary anthology or *Wenxuan*. The stories devised by *fangshi* for the entertainment and edification of imperial courts were considered to be far-fetched. See William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed. and comp., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 379.

Chapter 1: A Modern Journal

1. See the introduction to Stephen Vlastos, ed., *Mirror of Modernity*. Vlastos' succinct discussion of the problems involved in the use of the term "tradition" and developments in scholarship on this topic are extremely informative. See also Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912*, 207–208, n. 27, for a careful consideration of the terms "tradition" and "modernity."

2. For a stimulating discussion of the May Fourth attempt at a radical break with what was perceived as Chinese tradition, see Liu Huiru, "Die 4. Mai-Bewegung aus heutiger Sicht," 48–49.

3. Elvin, "Double Disavowal," 5.

4. For an extremely useful and succinct introduction to the term "modernism" and its various connotations, see Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, "The Name and Nature of Modernism."

5. Paul Bailey's study of popular education at the beginning of this century also attests to the "boundless confidence" of all those involved in the educational discussion, be they radicals or moderates, and sees in their writings a "pervading sense of optimism." See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 81, 83.

6. This is not to ignore radical political ideas and activities in China at this period. However, radical ideas, such as the anarchist ideas reflected in the journal *Tianyi bao* [Natural justice], 1907–1908, were not the norm.

7. David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, 5.

8. For a very useful discussion and depiction of the development of the constitutional movement and the actors involved, see Meienberger, *Emergence of Constitutional Government*, and Chang P'eng-yuan, "The Constitutionalists."

9. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 83.

10. Ibid., 81.

11. Chow Tse-Tsung, *May Fourth Movement*, 269.

12. For studies on the development of the press in China, see Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, and MacKinnon, "Toward a History." The former, first published in 1933, is the account of someone who was very close to many of the developments described; the latter provides a very useful bibliography to date. The printed media in the late-Qing period have also attracted special attention at the University of Heidelberg, where Professor Rudolf Wagner and his research group, the Chinese Public Sphere, have held a number of stimulating workshops. See also Joan Judge, *Print and Politics*, for a study of one particular newspaper, the *Shibao* [Times], and the development of journalism in the period.

13. See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 74. See also the relevant sections on the vernacular press in Zhang Nan and Wang Renzhi, *Xinhai geming*, which provide an insight into the aims and contents of the publications.

14. Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 115.

15. For an eyewitness account of the rapid growth and expansion of Shanghai at the beginning of this century, a development "that must be seen to be fully appreciated," see A. Gorton Angier, *The Far East Revisited*, 149–156. For a recent study of the city and the nonelite population, see Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights*.

16. For a fascinating study of how this new urban space constituted a powerful force in, and the setting for, particular lifestyles during the late-Qing period, see Catherine Vance Yeh, "The Life-style of Four *Wenren* in Late Qing Shanghai." For a discussion of the development of a Chinese "public sphere" under these particular conditions, see Wagner, "Role of the Foreign Community," esp. 428–432.

17. For pictorial documentation of the changes that the city underwent, see Lynn Pan, *Shanghai: A Century of Change*, and Deng Ming, ed., *Shanghai bainian lüeying*.

18. See Zhang Yinjin, *The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film*, 117.

19. I am consciously adopting a narrow definition of literary journals here. I concentrate on those in the wake of Liang Qichao's *Xin xiaoshuo* (1902) and to those that refer to the new—or newly rediscovered—genre of the *xiaoshuo* in their titles. Many claims have been made for individual periodicals as the first literary journal in China. The *Zhongguo wenxue dacidian*, for instance, cites *Haishang qishu*

as the first, an assessment that has also been adopted by Idema and Haft in their recent survey of Chinese literature. However, not only did this or other journals (such as the *Shenbao* supplement *Yinghuan suoji*) not refer to the genre of the *xiaoshuo* in their titles, they also did not have the scope or the diversity of the later generation of journals. See *Zhongguo wenxue dacidian*, 4623–4624; Wilt Idema and Lloyd Haft, eds., *A Guide to Chinese Literature*, 224.

20. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 251.

21. The photograph was published in the fifth issue of 1912. Zhang Mojun (1884–1965) was asked to manage the *Dahan bao* in 1911 by Cheng Dequan, the governor of Jiangsu. The republican newspaper was founded after the secession of the province in November 1911 and propagated rule by the people and universal harmony (*datong*). See Lin Weihong, "Tongmeng hui shidai nügeming zhishi de huodong," 301 and n. 28. See also Charlotte L. Beahan, *The Women's Movement and Nationalism in Late Ch'ing China*, 306. For a biographical sketch of Zhang Mojun, see *MRW*, 975. Zhang Mojun published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* under the name Mo Jun.

22. *XSYB* 2, 10, and 12.

23. A short biography of Xie Zuantai can be found in *MRW*, 1578.

24. Their omnipresence is attested by their use in such radically different periodicals as Liang Qichao's *Xinmin congbao* [New people's miscellany], the anarchist journal *Tianyi bao* [Natural justice], the vernacular newspaper for Anhui province, *Anhui suhua bao*, as well as in specialist publications such as *Jiaoyu zazhi* [The educational review] or in other literary journals like *Xiaoshuo lin*.

25. Andrew H. Plaks, "Full-length *Hsiao-shuo* and the Western Novel," 163. Plaks' article is a very useful general introduction to some of the problems involved in the transfer of the term "novel" to the Chinese context.

26. *XSYB* 1, 1–5 incl.

27. *Fuermosi* is just one of the many transcriptions into Chinese of the surname of the famous detective. The initial syllable is *fu* and not *hu* in this case because of the southern Chinese confusion of the two sounds. I am grateful to Dr. Lawrence Wong for pointing this out to me.

28. Zhu Xizhou, ed., *Chunjue zhai zhushuji*, pt. 3, 46.

29. *XSYB* 2, 12, 1985–2006. The original story was published in the 252nd issue of *The Strand Magazine* (December 1911). See J. F. Whitt, *The Strand Magazine, 1891–1950*, 16.

30. See *XSYB* 1, 1–5 incl.

31. Anthony Hope enjoyed some publicity in China at the time. *Yueyue xiaoshuo* published his photograph in the fourth issue of the magazine (January 1907). Lin Shu also translated another of his works, *A Man of Mark*, which was published by the Commercial Press in 1908. See Zhu, *Chunjue zhai*, pt. 3, 45.

32. *XSYB* 2, 1–12 incl., but not including the supplementary issue for the intercalary month six of that year.

33. E.D.E.N. (Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte) Southworth (1819–1899) is practically forgotten today, but in her own day she was a particularly well-known, popular, and prolific American writer of sensational, sentimental, and domestic novels. According to one recent publication, her novels "deserve much more attention than they have received" since she "exposed the dark underside of domesticity and, as such, revealed much about the realities women faced in her day." See Cathy N.

Davidson and Linda Wagner-Martin, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Women's Writing in the United States*, 831–832.

34. *Yueyue xiaoshuo* (December 1906).

35. See Davidson and Wagner-Martin, *Oxford Companion*, 831.

36. *XSYB* 2, 2–9 incl. See Sandra Kemp, Charlotte Mitchell, and David Trotter, eds., *Edwardian Fiction*, 42–43.

37. *XSYB* 1, 12; *XSYB* 2, 1.

38. Yadong yilang, *Xiaoxuesheng lüxing* [The junior school students' journey], *XSYB* 2, 2–5 incl.

39. See Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 108.

40. For the beginnings of portraits of the weak and pining woman in love in the poetry of the Southern Dynasties period of the fifth and sixth centuries, see Anne M. Birrell, "The Dusty Mirror."

41. I have been able to consult the original copies of seven of the magazines from the second year of publication (2–8 incl.). The Japanese reprint includes some advertisements only at the beginning and the end of the individual issues for the first year.

42. See Jean-Pierre Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai*, 16–20.

43. *XSYB* 1, 2, 142.

44. See Peter L. Smith, "G. T. Fulford," 4–5. Ironically enough, by the time this particular miracle cure had established itself on the Chinese market, the days of patent medicines were coming to an end in Canada and America as a result of government clamp downs. See ibid., 6.

45. *XSYB* 2, 4.

Chapter 2: Discussing Modern Questions

1. David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, 5.

2. See Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State in Modern China*, particularly chapter 3 (48–76), for a useful narrative account of the period. For a translation of various documents of the period and illustrations of various approaches to the question of dealings with the West, see Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response*. For a Chinese account of the foreign relations of the period, see Hu Sheng, *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao wusi yundong*, 308–346. See also Yen-p'ing Hao and Erh-min Wang, "Changing Chinese Views of Western Relations."

3. Representative examples would include Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*; Kung-chuan Hsiao, *A Modern China and a New World*; Chang Hao, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China*, or, more recently, Tang Xiaobing, *Global Space*.

4. Perry Link's study of popular literature does deal with these questions, but it examines them from the very broad perspective of understanding "popular ideas and attitudes in Chinese cities during the 1910s and 1920s through the study of urban popular fiction" and placing "China's popular fiction of the 1910s and 1920s in the context of literary history." The very scope of his study precludes detailed examination of any particular periodical. It also means that the main focus is on novels. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 6, 7.

5. "Yinghuang Aidehua zhi yiwen pianpian" [Some stories of Edward of Great

Britain], *XSYB* 1, 1, 94–95; "Yinghuang Zuozhi diwu yulun zhi yiban" [An opinion on George V of Great Britain], *XSYB* 1, 2, 201–202.

6. For a detailed discussion of the two texts see Denise Gimpel, "Beyond Butterflies."

7. Bourdieu, *Cultural Production*, 31.

8. Ibid., 31–32.

9. See Chang P'eng-yuan, "The Constitutionalists," 143–184. Unless otherwise stated, facts and figures on the petition movement are taken from this article.

10. Comments to this effect are numerous in the text of the petition. For typical examples, see the reprint of the petition in Jian Bozan et al., eds., *Wuxu bianfa shiliao*, esp. 146, 152. For a German translation, see Bernd Eberstein et al., trans., "Kang Youweis 'Eingabe der Prüfungskandidaten.' " Such comments were also common within traditional criticism. The ruler, however, was not expected to go out among his people but to employ more competent advisors.

11. See Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China*, 148–149.

12. John Fincher, "Political Provincialism and the National Revolution," 214.

13. The column began in the seventh issue of the fifth year of publication (1908) and was called "Xianzheng pian" [On constitutional government]. Meng Sen, or Xin Shi, as he sometimes called himself in the 1910 issues of the periodical, was a frequent contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.

14. Whether the portraits in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* amounted to true likenesses of the two monarchs is irrelevant in the present context. We are not looking for the historical Edward or George but how the Chinese chose to portray them.

15. See Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 248; Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Power and Politics in Late Imperial China*, 211; Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War*, 26–27; Gabriele von Sivers-Sattler, "Die Reformbewegung von 1898," 69.

16. Von Sivers-Sattler, "Die Reformbewegung von 1898," 69.

17. Michael Godley, "The Late Ch'ing Courtship of the Chinese in Southeast Asia," 385.

18. For a useful discussion of the various ways in which the Chinese abroad were approached by a number of groups and how their position was changing as a result of new perceptions of a Chinese nation, see Prasenjit Duara, "Nationalists among Transnationals."

19. Godley, "Late Ch'ing Courtship," 363; Michael Godley, *The Mandarin-capitalists from Nanyang*, 66–67. Godley may be right in assuming that Ding was a "modernizer" in many respects. His attitude to Chinese culture, especially fiction *(xiaoshuo)*, however, was anything but tolerant. As governor of Jiangsu in 1868 he attempted to eradicate fictional reading materials that were, to his mind, undesirable, and drew up a list of 268 titles that were prohibited. See Lévy, *Études sur le conte*, 7. For a short account of Ding's official career, see *JXDRW*, 2.

20. See Godley, "Late Ch'ing Courtship," 369, and Kamachi, *Reform in China*, 185.

21. Quoted in Godley, "Late Ch'ing Courtship," 374.

22. Ibid.

23. See Huang Tongdi et al., eds., *Huaqiao zhi*, 427.

24. Godley, "Late Ch'ing Courtship," 385.

25. Ibid., 369, 375.

26. Ibid., 374, 381.

27. Archery has a ritual importance—albeit in the sense of being able to correct one's mistakes—in texts such as the *Liji* [Book of rites]. See Seraphin Couvreur, *Li Ki*, tôme 1, 2me partie, 668–680.

28. There is to date no scholarly investigation into the social and political influence of new ideas on sport and physical training that arose at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet even a short perusal of the photographic material in the most important educational periodical of the day, *Jiaoyu zazhi*, demonstrates the centrality of sporting activities (football, baseball, dance) to discussions of physical education. The aim was not simply to develop physical strength but to promote the sense of group activity, teamwork, and a new sense of identity among the population. In other words, a heightened intellectual awareness was to be accompanied by a heightened ability to take an active part in national affairs.

29. Texts such as the *Sanzi jing* [Three-character classic], *Qianzi wen* [Thousand-character text], and *Taigong jiajiao* [Great-grandfather's domestic instructions] stress these matters. See Herbert A. Giles, trans., *San tzu ching;* Francis W. Paar, ed., *Ch'ien tzu wen;* P. Demiéville, trans., *L'Oeuvre de Wang le Zelateur.*

30. *XSYB* 1, 1, 202. A new type of naval force had been discussed since the days of the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1866) because the Taiping forces had had some successes on water and could not be matched by government forces in this respect. Later naval defeats at the hands of the French, British, and Japanese fleets in the late nineteenth century gave further impetus to the attempts to create a seagoing fleet. In 1908 the Qing government even began a campaign among the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia to collect money to finance the fleet. Despite some very high donations, little progress was made. See Huang Pei, "The Yangtse Navy," 98–99; Dreyer, *China at War*, 15; Godley, "Late Ch'ing Courtship," 379.

31. MacKinnon, *Power and Politics*, 118. The martial spirit was praised in numerous literary works at the turn of the century. See, for instance, Zi Shu, *Sibada zhi hun.*

32. Alfonso XIII, who ruled 1886–1931.

33. *XSYB* 1, 5, 499.

34. Leopold I, reigned 1835–1909.

35. *XSYB* 1, 5, 505.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., 505–506.

38. Ibid., 505.

39. See H. L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:138.

40. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 48.

41. See Jian, *Wuxu bianfa*, 146; Eberstein, "Kang Youweis 'Eingabe,' " 166.

42. *London Times*, March 13, 1902, 8. Quoted in MacKinnon, *Power and Politics*, 37–38.

43. Edward VII of Britain had been said to do just that. See *XSYB* 1, 1, 94.

44. For a short résumé of Ma's career, see *MHCD*, 16–17.

45. *London Times*, March 13, 1902, 8. Quoted in MacKinnon, *Power and Politics*, 38.

46. See Michael Gasster, "Reform and Revolution in China's Political Modernization," 72–76; Spence, *Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 48.

47. This would be Wilhelm (1882–1951), the eldest son of Wilhelm II.

48. *XSYB* 2, 1, 713.

49. The lack of an explanatory note on Sparta or the Spartans indicates that many of the Chinese readers would have understood this reference to antiquity. These "translations" were bits and pieces of information selected from various foreign publications for their reader interest, and whenever translators would have considered something foreign to be puzzling to their readership they provided explanatory notes, as in the case of the image of the monarch to be found on Western coins. Sparta/Spartan was not deemed to require any explanation; indeed, Sparta had already been introduced to the Chinese readership by Liang Qichao in his *Sibada xiaozhi* [Short account of Sparta], which had been published in *Xinmin congbao* [New people's miscellany] in 1902. See *Xinmin congbao*, 1902, 12 and 13. The text is also reprinted in Liang Qichao, *Yinbing shi wenji*, 367–380.

50. *XSYB* 2, 1, 716.

51. Events were to prove that this training had been useful to Wilhelm and that he had become a competent leader of men when he took command of a company of soldiers during the First World War. See Cyril Falls, *The First World War*, 158–161.

52. *XSYB* 2, 1, 713.

53. Empress Augusta (1811–1890), wife of Emperor Wilhelm I. She had an active interest in the politics of her times, looked after the wounded in the Franco-Prussian War, and was well known for her charitable acts. See *Neue deutsche Biographie*, 1: 451–452.

54. See Charlotte L. Beahan, "In the Public Eye," 231.

55. Jonathan D. Spence and Annping Chin, *The Chinese Century*, 28.

56. See Beahan, "In the Public Eye," 225.

57. Ibid., 222.

58. See Roger R. Thompson, *China's Local Councils in the Age of Constitutional Reform*, 38. Here Thompson also cites the *North China Herald* of September 29, 1905, on this public appearance of ladies: "It is a bold move on the part of our advanced Viceroy. We believe His Excellency is honestly desirous of bringing China into the line of real and true progress—into line with Western nations so far as her venerable customs will permit." That the action is termed "bold" by the reporters is proof enough of how unusual it must have been felt to be.

59. See Beahan, "In the Public Eye," 235. At the turn of the century, even meetings for women alone were unusual and a source of initial bewilderment for the upper-class ladies who attended them. Chinese women of the higher classes seldom left their homes except on ritual occasions. According to one missionary lady of the time, "In the middle of the cakes and tea, the speeches seemed to bewilder the guests who could not make out what they were meant to do." The occasion was a first meeting of the Natural Foot Society in Chongqing. Quoted in Elisabeth J. Croll, "Like the Chinese Goddess of Mercy," 49–50.

60. This photograph is reproduced in Spence and Chin, *Chinese Century*, 36–37.

61. Isaac Taylor Headland, *China's New Day*, 62–63.

62. Ibid., 64–65.

63. On the growing public role of Chinese women, see Elisabeth J. Croll, *Feminism and Socialism in China*, 78–79.

64. *XSYB* 2, 2, 826.

65. *XSYB* 2, 5, 1135.

66. "Yidali ji Tuerqi zhanshi jilüe" [A short account of the war between Italy and Turkey], *XSYB* 2, 10, 1800. A similar account on the war was published at around the same time in *DFZZ*. See *DFZZ* 9, 1911, 35.

67. Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 228.

68. At this point the Chinese reader is informed that the half moon was the emblem on the Turkish flag.

69. Quoted in Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State*, 137.

70. "Huaijun hou qi zhi mingjiang tan" [On famous generals since the establishment of the Huai Army], *XSYB* 3, 1, 2131–2136.

71. According to *ZJRDC*, Wang, from Hefei in Anhui, was a good military tactician but he is not named as the major factor in the battle of Langson (Chinese: Liangshan). His date of birth is unknown. He died of illness, which also forced him to retire from military service, in 1899. See *ZJRDC*, 832–833. Arthur W. Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* has no entry for him.

72. Su Yuanchun (d. 1908) was given the Chinese command in Guangxi in March 1885 during the war with France. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 246. He was a member of the Xiang army and not of the Huai army like the three generals in the text. This may well explain the rivalry. See *ZJRDC*, 710.

73. Zhang Gaoyuan was from Hefei in Anhui. Like Wang Xiaoqi, he fought against the Taiping and the Nian rebels. See *ZJRDC*, 1073.

74. Song Qing from Shandong. He was a member of Zuo Zongtang's Fujian army, thus also not a member of the same faction as the three generals in the text. See *ZJRDC*, 700.

75. Nie Shicheng from Hefei in Anhui. See *ZJRDC*, 601.

76. See Dreyer, *China at War*, 12–13. On the structure, abilities, and failings of these forces, see Ralph L. Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power*, 6–20.

77. See Dreyer, *China at War*, 26.

78. Powell, *Chinese Military Power*, 191.

79. MacKinnon, *Power and Politics*, 117–118. On the situation in the Ming dynasty, see Jerry Dennerline, *The Chia-ting Loyalists*, 252–261.

80. See Powell, *Chinese Military Power*, 316.

81. Yuan Shikai had been offered the presidency by Sun Yat-sen and his followers for diplomatic reasons: Yuan was the head of the strongest army in the country, an army that had shown itself well capable of beating any other army of the day, revolutionary or dynastic. To this offer Sun's party had attached a number of conditions, one being that Nanjing was to be the capital of the new republic. Yuan accepted these conditions to all appearances, but he was prevented from traveling to Nanjing for the inauguration (another of the conditions) by the violence in Beijing. It was generally feared that such unrest would precipitate foreign intervention. Later historians have largely agreed that this violence was tailor-made by Yuan. See Hu Sheng, *Cong yapian*, 898; Dreyer, *China at War*, 41; Spence, *Chinese Century*, 50.

82. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Fall of Imperial China*, 248–251; Hsüeh Chün-tu, ed., *The Chinese Revolution of 1911*, 2–5; Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 275.

83. Man Er, "Tuizu yu" [The ex-soldier's words], *XSYB* 2, 9, 1623–1626.

84. *XSYB* 2, 1, 714.

85. Wo Yi, "Xihu youji" [Trip to the West Lake), *XSYB* 1, 1, 101.

86. *Qianze xiaoshuo*, literally "fiction that reprimands," was characteristic of the late-Qing period. This kind of writing is typified by works such as Zeng Pu's *Niehai hua* [Flower in an ocean of sin] of 1905 or Li Boyuan's *Guanchang xianxing ji* [Bureaucracy exposed], 1901–1905. According to Lu Xun's account, this "trend in fiction was to expose social abuses and lash out at contemporary politics, sometimes at social conventions as well. Though this attack on abuses has something in common with the novels of satire, the criticisms were made openly without innuendo . . . and the spirit of these works is intolerant." Lu Hsun, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, 352–353. For the Chinese text, see Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, 9:282. See also Bai Weiguo and Zhu Shizi, eds., *Gudai xiaoshuo baike dacidian*, 771–772.

87. *XSYB* 1, 6; and *XSYB* 2, 1, 569–589, 687–710.

88. *Shenbao* (1872–1949) was founded by Ernest Major in Shanghai. On the character and contents of the newspaper, see Natascha Vittinghoff, "Freier Fluss"; Wagner, "Role of the Foreign Community."

89. Thompson, *China's Local Councils*, 3.

90. Lu Feikui, "Jing-Jin liangyue ji" [Report on a two-month stay in Beijing and Tianjin], *XSYB* 8, 2, 1597–1600.

91. Thompson, *China's Local Councils*, 3. Thompson's detailed study of the developments in local politics between 1898 and 1911 well documents the serious attempts at self-government and the many abuses of the system.

92. [Yun] Tieqiao, "Cun laoyu" [The old village woman], *XSYB* 3, 10, 3007–3009.

93. Bu Cai, *Xing you diyu ji* [A journey through hell with open eyes], *XSYB* 2, 6–10.

94. [Xu] Zhiyan, "Zhuzai huanguo ji" [The pig's return home], *XSYB* 3, 9, 2917–2920.

95. Miao Lu, "Xin wangu chouqu" [A new song of endless suffering], *XSYB* 2, 7, 1482–1485.

96. "Benshe gaobai" [Publisher's announcement], *XSYB* 3, 3, 2354.

97. "Xuehua yimu" [Bloody flowers, a scene], *XSYB* 3, 4, 2373–2384; "Ju you huanghua" [A martyr at all costs], *XSYB* 3, 5, 2483–2492.

98. *XSYB* 3, 4, 2375.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid., 2376.

101. Ibid., 2378.

102. Ibid., 2377.

103. Ibid., 2379.

104. Ibid., 2377. Foreign clothing was also often seen, and worn, as a sign of political dissidence. See Antonia Finnane, "What Should Chinese Women Wear?", 107.

105. Sericulture and silk-weaving schools for women were part of educational reform thrusts in the early years of the twentieth century. They would thus be considered "modern" institutions. The leading reformer, Zhang Jian (1853–1926), had set up just such a school for women in Jiangsu. See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 115.

106. *XSYB* 3, 4, 2381.

107. In a comment appended to this narrative, Yun Tieqiao tries to justify writing about events of recent history that will probably never be considered momentous

enough to enter into orthodox histories. He seems to be uncomfortable in a realm that is neither fiction nor history. Yet he insists that the relatively minor events of the narrative can still warn and reprimand the reader. See *XSYB* 3, 4, 2384. The relationships between fiction *(xiaoshuo)* and history *(zhengshi)* will be considered in chapter 3.

108. *XSYB* 3, 5, 2483–2492.

109. Ibid., 2483. Yun Tieqiao does not mention the name of the author of this work. The only reference I have found to such a work in secondary sources states that it was by one of the most famous female dramatists of the Qing period, Wang Yun, and that it contained strong feminist thought including an opening poem in which the author regrets that, since she is a woman, she cannot take up a career of her own as men can. See Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, 192.

110. For an interesting eyewitness report of a participant in the Women's Dare-to-Die Squad, see Du Wei, "Shanghai nüzi beifa gansidui." There is also a photograph of this "Death Squad" as a frontispiece to the book. See also Ron Tiesheng, "The Women's Movement in China before and after the 1911 Revolution," 158–159. For further, very short, summaries of women's military activities at this period, see Bao Jialin, "Xinhai geming shiqi de funü sixiang," 290–291; *Zhongguo funü yundong shi*, 50–52; Ono Kazuko, *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution*, 73–80; Croll, *Feminism and Socialism*, 62–65.

111. See Edwin J. Dingle, *China's Revolution*, 45.

112. Ibid., 48.

113. Beahan, "In the Public Eye," 228.

114. *XSYB* 3, 5, 2488.

115. Ibid., 2490. As early as 1907, He Zhen, editor of the radical anarchist periodical *Tianyi bao*, had also attacked men for using the issue of women's liberation purely to bolster up their own egos and standing and not because of any real interest in the subject. *Tianyi bao* 8–10 (1907). The article is reprinted in Zhang and Wang, *Xinhai geming*, 959–968, esp. 963.

116. For a summary of the activities of various groups demanding women's suffrage and participation in politics during and after the revolution as well as the growing political disinterest, see Ron, "The Women's Movement," esp. 160–167. See also Finnane, "What Should Chinese Women Wear?", 112; Croll, *Feminism and Socialism*, 75–79.

117. See Beahan, "In the Public Eye," 228–231.

118. Yun's continued interest in the political participation of women is reflected in the choice of illustrations for the covers of the journal in the year 1913, the fourth year of publication. Almost every issue was opened with a cover picture of a foreign woman who was active in the world of politics, business, education, or letters.

119. See *MRW*, 915, for a very summary biography.

120. See Leslie E. Collins, "The New Women," 364.

121. Bao Jialin, "Xinhai geming shiqi," 291.

122. Ma Guigong, "Nüshi Zhang Zhujun zhuan." Ma was later to translate John Stuart Mill's *On the Subjection of Women* into Chinese. It was published in the thirtieth issue of *Xinmin congbao*. See Bao Jialin, "Xinhai geming shiqi," 281.

123. Two hundred million did not only mean "very many" in this context. Since women constituted "half of the world" and the population of China was generally

accepted to be four hundred million, this was the figure regularly quoted in texts of the period.

124. Her articles included "Lun zuzhi nüzi jundui" and an opening address for the Society for the Securing of Women's Education (Nüzi xingxue baoxian hui), published in *Zhongguo xinnüjie zazhi* [The new world of Chinese women] in 1907. In this latter article, she expressly linked weak women with a weak nation. The article is reprinted in Zhang and Wang, *Xinhai geming*, 896–899. See also Beahan, *The Women's Movement*, 265–266. On her activities, see Beahan, "In the Public Eye," 217; Ron, "The Women's Movement," 160. Zhang also introduced a health training course in the Patriotic Girls' School in Shanghai. Her views on this were printed in an article in *Jingzhong ribao* [Alarming bell daily] of 1904. See "Weisheng jiangxi hui yanshuo" [A lecture to the Health Training Society], *Jingzhong ribao*, May 25, 1904. Ono Kazuko wrongly dates this article as May 24, 1904. See Ono, *Women in a Century*, 216, n. 10.

125. It seems there had always been a tendency, even for writers of historical records (usually men), "to bifurcate everything associated with women into the very good . . . and the frightful." Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, 18.

126. See Monika Motsch, "Ehegeschichten zur Erleuchtung der Welt," 82; Richard C. Hessney, "Beautiful, Talented, and Brave," 38; James J. Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight Errant*, 87–90.

127. See Robert Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction," 169–170, 173; James Liu, *Chinese Knight Errant*, 4–7. Liu provides a good general introduction to the knight errant story. This is not to say, however, that such stories never met with criticism from those in power. Those dealing with rebels or rebellious behavior, in particular, had always been subject to hefty attacks and prohibitions. See Lévy, *Études sur le conte*, 1–13. See also part 3 of this study.

128. A good survey of the "scholar-beauty" type of story is provided by Hessney, "Beautiful, Talented, and Brave."

129. Motsch, "Ehegeschichten," 82–84; Keith R. McMahon, "Shrews and Jealousy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Vernacular Fiction," in *The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History*, also provides a general discussion of shrews and jealousy in eighteenth-century vernacular fiction.

130. Patricia Buckley Ebrey's extremely readable study of marriage and the lives of women in the Song period also shows how active women were in their own realm. See Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*.

131. Nancy J. F. Evans, "Social Criticism in the Ch'ing," 57.

132. See Motsch, "Ehegeschichten," 81; McMahon, "Shrews and Jealousy," 306, 316; Evans, "Social Criticism," 53. See also James Robert Hightower, *Topics in Chinese Literature*, 76–80 and 102–107.

133. See McMahon, "Shrews and Jealousy," 315, 320.

134. *Ruonü jiuxiong ji*. The play, a modern "reformed" theater piece *(gailiang xinju)*, was by someone writing under the name of Xia Hua and was published in 1911 (*XSYB* 2, intercalary special edition, 1351–1369); the story was by Yun Tieqiao and published in 1914 (*XSYB* 5, 2, 4957–4959). At the close of his story, Yun states that he had first seen the text in a collection of twentieth-century short stories while he had been at school and that it had originally been translated by a Mr. Kong Ru of the Second Hubei Infantry.

135. Tiying, a classic example of filial piety, was mentioned in Liu Xiang's *Lienü zhuan* [Biographies of exemplary women] of 16 B.C. For the story of Tiying and how she rescued her father, see *ZWDCD*, 7:514.

136. Xiao Tiansheng, *Duoqing zhi yingxiong* [A hero of emotion], *XSYB* 2, 1, 725–745.

137. For information on the life of Xu Xiaotian, see Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 497–498; Xu, *Zhongguo xiandai zuozhe*, 189.

138. From today's perspective one can easily be cynical about this attitude of male writers. Of course they were functionalizing women for the patriotic aims and needs of a male-dominated society, and of course they soon lost interest in such symbolic uses of female images when the political situation no longer required them. These images of women as the touchstone of the nation had been applied in traditional writings to the role of the woman in the household. However, we cannot suggest that the men of the day were somehow aware of this and that their actions were a conscious misappropriation of the tenets of the budding "women's movement." On the use of the female as a symbol, see Finnane, "What Should Chinese Women Wear?"

139. *XSYB* 2, 1, 725. I have been able to find only one really negative attack on women's role in society in the texts in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Kuang Mei discusses the terrible consequences of a love affair between a general and his wife. Unlike the majority of heroic figures in the stories discussed in this chapter, the general allows troops (Manchus!) to march into the capital of Ming China to save his wife. The author comments that this was not the only example of the catastrophes brought on by the mixture of women and politics. However, this may have been more a criticism of the Empress Dowager Cixi than a general attack on women. Moreover, the man's real crime was to place his sentiment before the fate of the nation. See *XSYB* 1, 6, 593.

140. *XSYB* 2, 1, 743. Byron's poetry would not have been familiar to many Chinese readers of the day. However, Byron had certainly been functionalized as the heroic poet. Liang Qichao had cited particularly heroic-sounding stanzas—in the original English—from both *The Giaour* and *Don Juan* in chapter 4 of his attempt at writing "new fiction" of the turn of the century, *Xin Zhongguo weilai ji* [The future of new China]. The text of the novel is reprinted in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo yi juan*, 1–82. For the quotations from Byron's works, see ibid., 45–48. The protagonists of Liang's novel hear someone reciting Byron's poems in the next room and immediately recognize which works the quotations are from and, amazingly enough, the exact stanza!

141. This was not a new sentiment to plays in Chinese. The late-seventeenth-century play *Taohua shan* [The peach blossom fan] by Kong Shangren also closes with an admonition from a Daoist hermit to the lovers that they should not think of love when their country is in a state of turmoil. See Richard E. Strassberg, *The World of K'ung Shang-jen*, 251–252.

142. A similar sentiment of "the country first and then one's personal emotions" is uttered by the heroine of a love story with an unhappy ending that was serialized in two installments in 1911. When her fiancé goes off to finish his education, she tells him that a real man thinks of his country first and, after serving it, turns to his personal love. The old scholar-beauty romances have thus undergone a change: no longer does the scholar go off to earn examination honors and then return to claim

his lady. Patriotism now gives him the right to love and marriage. See "Shizi bei" [The gravestone with the cross], *XSYB* 2, 10 and 11, 1765–1774, 1887–1898. Note, too, that the tenth issue of the magazine in this year also carried photographs of a leader of the Women's Army and of Zhang Zhujun.

143. *XSYB* 2, 1, 743. The terms "*doupou*" and "*guafen*" were listed by a contemporary observer compiling a book dealing with the new terms the Chinese had invented or reintroduced to their language to deal with new ideas and a changed world. Of these terms he says they were "a figure first used by a newspaper writer, and now constantly heard, meaning division among many foreign nations" (A. H. Mateer, *New Terms for New Ideas*, 4). On the dangers inherent in the spheres of influence wrested from China from foreign powers, see Ray Huang, *Macro History*, 214–215.

144. Liang Qichao had offered a picture of the situation of Poland in his *Jiaren zhi qiyu* [Strange adventures of beauties], which was serialized in *Qingyi bao* in 1902. Military training as a means of inculcating a fighting spirit and the enlarged school curriculum required for the Chinese to save themselves both from the foreign slicing up *(guafen)* of China and the incompetence of the Qing government are also the topic of a military story *(junshi xiaoshuo)* of 1912. See Bu Cai, "Xinjiu yingxiong" [Heroes new and old], *XSYB* 3, 7, 2711–2718; 3, 8, 2843–2858; 3, 9, 2965–2982.

145. See Bernd Eberstein, *Das chinesische Theater im 20. Jahrhundert*, 21.

146. *XSYB* 3, 1, 2131–2136.

147. I am grateful to Nadja Rackwitz-Ziegler for drawing my attention to the fact that this text was first published in *Anhui suhuabao* 11 (September 1904). It later appeared in very similar form in 1905 in *Xin Xiaoshuo*. The article is reprinted in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 52–54.

148. *Subao* [Jiangsu journal *or* Jiangsu report] was published in Shanghai between 1897 and 1903, when it was banned after the publication of a review and recommendation of Zou Rong's *Geming jun* [The revolutionary army], a call for violent revolution. See Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 94, 113; Lee-hsia Hsu Ting, *Government Control of the Press in Modern China*, 33; Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State*, 156–158.

149. The *Minhu ribao* [People's cry] is probably meant here. It was a revolutionary paper and appeared in Shanghai in two different guises between 1909 and 1913. The editor and director was Yu Youren. See Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 114; Ting, *Government Control*, 40.

150. Biographical information has been taken from Zheng Yimei, a fellow writer and a colleague of Xu's while teaching at school. Zheng's short biography of Xu Xiaotian is reproduced in Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 497–498. The *Chunyang she* (Spring Sun Society) was founded in Shanghai in 1908. See Lu Jiye, *Zhongguo xiju gailun*, 63, 276.

151. *Xie shouyin* [Bloody fingerprints], *XSYB* 2, 4, 1037–1040.

152. *Bixue hua*, *XSYB* 2, intercalary special edition, 1333–1343. Chun Nong was the pen name of the first editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Wang Yunzhang.

153. "Maihua sheng" [The call of the flower seller), *XSYB* 1, 6, 549–556.

154. See Jay Bergman, *Vera Zasulich*, esp. 19–62.

155. *XSYB* 2, 11, 556.

156. See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 68. A brief survey of the contents of journals such as *Xinmin congbao* or *Jiaoyu zazhi* illustrates that the education or development

of new citizen was a perennial topic. Liang Qichao's journal, moreover, already dedicated itself in its title to a "renovation of the people."

157. Don C. Price, *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution.*

158. See ibid., esp. 164–192.

159. There would seem to be some disagreement about the identity of Yuyi nüshi. Whereas the Chinese commentator Shi Meng cites A Ying and insists that Yuyi nüshi was none other than Zhang Zhujun, Beahan states that it was someone called Luo Pu. See Shi Meng, *Wan-Qing xiaoshuo*, 114; Beahan, *The Women's Movement*, 165. The text of the novel is reproduced in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo yijuan*, 83–166.

160. For a summary of the contents and aims of the novel with examples from the original text, see Shi, *Wan-Qing xiaoshuo*, 114–117; A Ying, *Wan-Qing xiaoshuo shi*, 103.

161. Spence, *Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 77; see also 78. Spence attributes the many debates over assassination in China and the frequent espousal of the idea of killing someone as a means of inducing political leaders to instigate reform to the moving story of Sofya and Grinevitsky during and after their assassination of the Tsar. He also sees Wu Yue's attempt to kill the imperial commissioners on their way to study the constitutions of foreign countries in 1905 as a conscious imitation of the Russian model. Bao Jialin states that heroic female figures such as Madame Roland, Sofya, or Joan of Arc were a mainstay of revolutionary periodicals in the period between 1898 and 1911. See Bao Jialin, "Xinhai geming," 284.

162. For further sources on Sofya Perovskaya, see Beahan, *Women's Movement*, 305, and, in particular, Spence, *Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 425, n. 46. For a further discussion of such heroines in fictional writings, see Price, *Russia and the Roots*, 193–197.

163. Shuang Ying, "Wuhu" [Alas!], *XSYB* 2, 11, 1853–1859. Further contributions set among Russian anarchists and revolutionaries and including women who are called upon to take revenge upon an enemy are *Yinger* (*XSYB* 3, 1–5), a new reformed play in which love and patriotism and personal and national freedom are coupled (Yinger, the heroine, kills the wicked aristocrat and finally commits suicide), and "Xuwudang fuchou ji" [An account of revenge by the anarchist party], *XSYB* 3, 5, 2467–2474. This is a detective-like story translated by Xin Yi from an English original by an author whose name has been transcribed into Chinese characters as "Geweilian." This is most probably William Le Queux (1864–1927). Le Queux, a much forgotten writer, specialized in spy stories and stories of nihilists and anarchists. Translations of his stories are listed in *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, 2 and 3 of 1906. His name is also transcribed in a similar fashion to the one used in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. On Le Queux, see Kemp, Mitchell, and Trotter, *Edwardian Fiction*, 239–240.

164. *XSYB* 2, 11, 1858.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid., 1858–1859.

167. Voluntary cooperation instead of the pursuit of individual or group interests is, of course, one of the basic tenets of anarchism. Anarchism itself was well documented in printed media in China by the 1910s. Dirlik estimates that it had the most comprehensive coverage of all the competing political philosophies of the day and "enjoyed widespread distribution among the reading public" (Arif Dirlik, *Anar-*

chism in the Chinese Revolution, 26–27). Thus, stories of anarchists would be associated with ideas as well as with romantic ideals.

168. Not only Chinese writers found such a backdrop apposite to the depiction and discussion of the demands placed on human beings in the face of modern social and political upheavals. Joseph Conrad's acclaimed novel, *Under Western Eyes*, which was first published in 1911, also did just this. Conrad frames his story and attributes his protagonist's actions to "an event characteristic of modern Russia in the actual fact: the assassination of a prominent statesman—and still more characteristic of the moral corruption of an oppressed society where the noblest aspirations of humanity, the desire of freedom, an ardent patriotism, the love of justice, the sense of pity, and even the fidelity of simple minds are prostituted to the lusts of hate and fear, the inseparable companions of an uneasy despotism" (Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, 7).

169. *XSYB* 1, 3, 315–317.

170. For a selection of articles dealing with the "women's question" in the May Fourth period, see Mei Sheng, ed., *Zhongguo funü wenti taolunji*.

171. *XSYB* 1, 3, 322.

172. *XSYB* 2, 2, 827.

173. "Jiabonali dang" [The Carbonari party], *XSYB* 3, 1, 2053–2056.

174. See Paul Johnson, *The Birth of the Modern*, 667, 670–671.

175. *MRW*, 1303.

176. See Zheng Yimei, *Nanshe congtan*, 197–198.

177. Liang's "Yidali jianguo sanjie zhuan" [Biographies of the three heroes who founded Italy] was published in *Xinmin congbao* 9, 10, 14, 15, 16. It is also reprinted in Liang, *Yinbing shi*, 380–410. His *Xin Luoma chuanqi* [New Rome] was published in *Xinmin congbao* 10, 11, 12, 13, 15. It is also reprinted in Liang, *Yinbing shi*, 475–486. For a lengthy discussion of the presentation of Italy in a patriotic context, see Tang Xiaobing, *Global Space*, 82–102. Martin, "Transitional Concept," also makes short reference to these texts; see 228–231.

178. Zhou Shoujuan, "Mofang zhuren" [The mill owner], *XSYB* 3, 9, 2921–2925.

179. See Hu, *Cong yapian*, 900–905; see also Mary Wright, "The Rising Tide of Change," in *China in Revolution*, 54–57.

180. A prime example, of course, is Li Xiangjun in Kong Shangren's "Peach Blossom Fan" *(Taohua shan)*. See K'ung Shang-jen, *The Peach Blosson Fan*.

181. See Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, 257.

182. The saying *(nan bu yan nei, nü bu yan wai)* goes back to the *Liji* [Book of rites], chapter 10, "Neize" [Domestic rules]. It was cited again by Zhu Xi (1130–1200) in his *Xiaoxue* [Elementary learning].

183. Xiang Ping, "Lingbo ying," *XSYB* 1, 2, 196–199.

184. A not uncommon practice in China. See Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*, 63–64.

185. A symbol of a well-matched couple and of marital bliss, since mandarin ducks retain their mates for the whole of their lifetime.

186. *XSYB* 4, 1, 3341–3346.

187. This was not an unusual attitude for Yun Tieqiao. He discusses this kind of problem in a text published in 1915, in which he explains why it is better for the Chinese to translate love stories than to write them themselves. His argument runs that the Chinese have no tradition of social occasions where men and women may

meet naturally and thus they must look to the West to see how things are arranged there and then select what could be appropriate to China. He is very much against "cutting off one's toes to make the shoes fit," that is, transplanting foreign concepts to Chinese circumstances uncritically. Yun Tieqiao, "Lun yanqing xiaoshuo zhuan buru yi" [Stories of sentiment should be translated and not written (by Chinese)], *XSYB* 6, 7, 7927–7931.

188. Zhu Shuren, trans., "Fengliu daizi" [Bohemian fool], *XSYB* 2, 8, 1529–1539.

189. Ou Yun, trans., "Qiushan ying" [Autumn fan], *XSYB* 3, 2, 2157–2170. The title is a reference to a poem by Ban Jieyu, a sister of Ban Gu and an imperial concubine of the Han dynasty whose poems were included in the sixth-century *Wenxuan* [Anthology of literature]. The poem speaks of discarding a fan once the autumn chills arrive. This image of the discarded fan came to symbolize a woman who had been rejected. See *ZWDCD*, 6:1577.

190. A recent collection of late-Qing and early-Republican short stories does not record this story as a translation. See Yu Runqi, *Qingmo-Minchu xiaoshuo shuxi*, 7–20.

191. See Margaret Drabble, *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 766.

192. Hong Shen and [Yun] Tie Qiao, "Xing er mian" [A lucky escape], *XSYB* 4, 9, 4275–4280.

193. Chinese readers, especially those not living in such an international and basically un-Chinese place as Shanghai, may well have required such explanation. Respectable Chinese women did not wander freely, or indeed in the company of men, on the streets or in public places, and public parks and gardens were just coming into fashion in foreign settlements in China. See Yeh, "Life-style," 419–428.

194. *XSYB* 2, 1, 727.

195. Yun Tieqiao, "Lun yanqing xiaoshuo." See also Lao Tan's [Tan Shanwu, 1868–1937, *Nanshe* member] "Xin guizhong shier qu" [Twelve songs from the new inner chambers], *XSYB* 1, 4, 417. Tan says that young men and women who are attracted to one another should arrange a meeting and should not be ashamed of doing so: "There is no need to be ashamed of civilized [behavior]" *(wenming buyong xiu)*. The problem of how to bring men and women together in an adequate social context had also been felt acutely in Japan somewhat earlier. See Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan*, 48.

196. *XSYB* 4, 7, 4001–4007.

197. Roxane H. Witke, "Transformation of Attitudes towards Women during the May Fourth Era of Modern China," 89.

198. In the majority of stories, other characters who have no real names of their own are generally called *mou sheng*, "a certain gentleman" or *shaonian*, "the young man." Married women are generally, and in accordance with Chinese custom, designated by their maiden name and the affix *shi* (family). For a discussion of such forms of appellation, see Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*, xvii.

199. For a detailed discussion of the themes and structure of this story, see Denise Gimpel, "Yun Tieqiao's 'Gongren xiaoshi.' "

200. The story is mentioned in Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 188–189; Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 95; Yang Yi, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo shi*, 54–55. For a complete translation of the story, see Gimpel, "Yun Tieqiaos 'Gongren xiaoshi,' " 67–79. It is difficult to know why this story alone has been accorded such

scholarly attention. The literary historians who have mentioned it do not seem to have registered other short stories of similar type and interest in journals.

201. Yang, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 54.

202. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 189.

203. Yang, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 54.

204. Realistic in the sense of reflecting the actual conditions of the day. See Peter Schier's summary of working conditions in China at the time. It is almost an exact replica of the conditions depicted by Yun Tieqiao. See Peter Schier, "Die chinesische Arbeiterbewegung," 263.

205. Lao She's *Luotuo xiangzi* was not published until the 1930s. See Volker Klöpsch, "Lao She," 369.

206. See Gimpel, "Yun Tieqiaos 'Gongren xiaoshi,' " 79–111.

207. For a discussion of various positions in the debates on labor problems, trade unions, foreign capital, etc., see Li Yu-ning, *The Introduction of Socialism into China*. See also Schier, "Chinesische Arbeiterbewegung," 257–280.

208. *XSYB* 1, 6, 399–406. According to the closing comments of the author, the title refers to a woman (the pearl) meeting a man (the sword).

209. *XSYB* 3, 3, 2265–2269.

210. On the separation of the sexes in traditional China and the beliefs underlying the practice, see Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*, 23–29; Tienchi Martin-Liao, *Frauenerziehung im alten China*, 12–32.

211. This was (and is, of course) not a particularly Chinese phenomenon, nor does it mean that there were no cases in which parents looked to the wishes of their children in the choice of a spouse. For a fascinating study of marriage conceptions, preparations, and forms in traditional China, see Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*.

212. On the companionate marriage in life and literature, see Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, 183–185; Dorothy Dauber, "Zur Rekonstruktion der Biographie Li Qingzhaos (1084–1155?)." Shen Fu's *Fusheng liuji* [Six chapters of a floating life] is available in translations in various languages. See Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, 392–393 for a list of the translations and a summary of the contents. There is also a later German translation: Shen Fu, *Sechs Aufzeichnungen über ein unstetes Leben*. It was more frequent for men to portray the joys of common interests and companionship in literary pursuits in connection with highly educated courtesans. See Wolfgang Bauer, *Das Antlitz Chinas*, 503–505.

213. *XSYB* 1, 4, 414.

214. *XSYB* 1, 6, 593; 2, 11, 1921.

215. See for instance *XSYB* 1, 4, 413, 416; 2, 1, 715; 2, 10, 1826; 3, 7, 2710.

216. Fu Zhang, "Hong Caitai," *XSYB* 3, 6, 2599–2612. The story is classified as a *shehui xiaoshuo* (story of society) and thus aims at investigating the condition of Chinese society. Such labels may seem strange to present-day readers, yet they may be taken as indicators of what the contemporary writer or publisher (for we do not know who assigned the label) felt to be the theme of the story in question. The fact that having a marriage partner determined by parents alone can mean a great sacrifice to the individual in question is also central to Zhuo Dai's story in two installments of 1911. See "Sihou" [After death], *XSYB* 2, 11 and 12, 1875–1877; 1973–1983.

217. The phrase occurs seven times in the narrative.

218. See for instance *XSYB* 1, 4, 408; 2, 2, 825–826; 2, 12, 2031.

219. See *XSYB* 2, 4, 1042. The playful fairy was a traditional motif for a poem. It was first taken up by a poet of the Wei dynasty (ca. 4th–6th centuries). The fairies of that day, of course, would also have not had bound feet. See *ZWDCD*, 5:1359.

220. See Henry Y. H. Zhao, *The Uneasy Narrator,* 194–198.

221. Sebastian Faulks, *The Fatal Englishman*, ix.

222. Jiao Mu [Yun Tieqiao], "Wushi nian" [Fifty years], *XSYB* 4, 5, 3773–3782.

223. *XSYB* 3, 4, 2451.

224. Ai Quan, "Jieling ren" [The savior], *XSYB* 4, 11, 4529–4539. Readers of Lin Shu's translations of Sherlock Holmes stories would have been familiar with a negative view of Mormons. The second part of Doyle's first Holmes story, "A Study in Scarlet," is a depiction of how the crime solved by the master detective was a result of intolerance and attempts at forcing women into marriage by a Mormon community.

225. [Yun] Tieqiao, "Ouliao ruping" [Ouliao the milk bottle], *XSYB* 2, 12, 1943–1947.

226. The story is obviously set in a Western country; thus Ouliao would be an approximation to the pronunciation of a Western name, perhaps Oliver. The story is not marked as a translation; thus we must assume it was either an original composition by Yun Tieqiao or a retelling of a story he had heard or read elsewhere. In the latter case, however, it was usual for Yun to mention any such circumstances.

227. [Xu] Zhiyan, "Lüemai canshi yi" [A first sad tale of kidnaping], *XSYB* 2, 10, 1731–1740; idem, "Lüemai canshi er" [A second sad tale of kidnaping], *XSYB* 2, 11, 1845–1851.

228. See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 198.

229. The question of a theory and practice of writing will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.

230. [Xu] Zhuodai, "Maiyao tong" [The boy selling medicine], *XSYB* 2, 1, 661–666; Gong Yi, "Huohua fu" [The sparking axe], *XSYB* 2, 10, 1727–1729.

231. [Yun] Tieqiao, "Qishiwu li" [Seventy-five *li*], *XSYB* 3, 8, 2799–2807.

232. A cursory glimpse at the photographs that opened almost any issue of the educational journal *Jiaoyu shijie* is enough to convey the impression that Chinese schools were intent on physical exercise for both male and female pupils.

233. *XSYB* 2, 3, 926; 2, 4, 1034.

234. *XSYB* 2, 8, 1594.

235. For a summary of this discussion and a presentation of the relevant texts, see Chen and Xia, *Xiaoshuo shi*, esp. 196–198.

236. Ibid., 197.

237. See *XSYB* 3, 7, 2775.

238. See T. J. Binyan, "*Murder Will Out,*" 1–19. See also Nakamura Tadayuki, "Shinmatsu tantei shōsetsu shikō."

239. On traditional Chinese tales of crime and detection, see Sabine Schommer, *Richter Bao—der chinesische Sherlock Holmes*. We should not, of course, forget the Judge Dee stories recorded and enlarged by Robert van Gulik. On van Gulik's Chinese crime stories, see William P. Alford, "Rober van Gulik and the Judge Dee Stories."

240. See, for instance, Leon Comber, trans., *The Strange Cases of Magistrate Pao*, 15–16; van Gulik quoted in Schommer, *Richter Bao*, 46–47.

241. See John A. Sutherland, ed., *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction*, 197. See also Reginald Pound, *Mirror of the Century*, 41–42.

242. As early as 1898, Tang Caichang, for instance, called for energetic scientific scholarly research in most areas of learning and in mathematics in particular, in order to lead China into the civilized world. See Tang Caichang, "Liuyang xing suan ji," 508–509. I am grateful to Jens Hürter for drawing my attention to the writings of Tang Caichang.

243. See *XSYB* 2, 8, 1593; 2, 12, 2034.

244. Two advertisements for correspondence schools in particular expressly link personal advancement with service to the country. Both were published in English, which presumably gave them a modern and an international character, and both emphasize the need for technical and scientific knowledge. The courses advertised include almost all aspects of modern business and technology from electrical, mining, civil, telegraph, marine, and concrete engineering to commercial law, banking, advertising, teaching, poultry farming, and automobile running. See *JYZZ* 4 (1912). Such texts were a regular feature in *JYZZ* and *DFZZ* in the years 1910 to 1913.

245. Examples of the new hero can be found in the two novels that were serialized in the first year of publication: *Shuangxiong jiaojian* [Heroes cross swords] (original: Rider Haggard's *The Fair Margaret*), and *Hehuan cao* [The plant of auspicious union] (original title unknown). Both were published in *XSYB* 1, 1–5 incl. Other detective stories include "Zuanshi an" [The diamond case] by Wang Yunzhang, *XSYB* 1, 1, 79–86; "Zhentan nü" [The woman detective], a translation of a story by a French author transcribed as Dengmisi, possibly Dumas, *XSYB* 3, 6, special intercalary issue, 1275–1279.

246. Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, 252–312.

247. Ibid., 253.

248. Ibid., 252–253.

249. The first story to be published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* was "The Disappearance of Lady Frances Carfax," translated as "Fuermosi zhentan'an" in 1911; see *XSYB* 2, 12, 1985–2006.

250. *Lugong mishi*, *XSYB* 3, 1–8 incl.

251. The title of the story in Chinese was "Xieluoke qi'an kaichang" [Sherlock (Holmes') strange cases begin]. It was, of course, a Commercial Press publication.

252. See Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Penguin Complete Sherlock Holmes*, 19–25. For Lin Shu's comments on the story and its ability to arouse the spirit of the nation's citizens, see Zhu, *Chunjue zhai*, pt. 3, 55.

253. Ibid., 33.

254. "Mimi shi," *XSYB* 3, 3, 2271–2280.

255. "Dongwuyuan sou," *XSYB* 3, 8, 2809–2814.

256. See Nakamura, "Shinmatsu tantei," 12; Martin Bernal, *Chinese Socialism to 1907*, 22–24.

257. *XSYB* 3, 8, 2812.

258. There are numerous examples of the rational thinking that helps individuals to solve mysteries or save themselves (or both). See, for instance, *Hehuan cao* [The plant of auspicious union], where the hero of the translated novel wakes up in a strange place. He observes his surroundings and combines his observations to make a correct guess about what had happened to him. He then uses his enforced

imprisonment and idleness to make a mental list of the three problems he has to solve. *XSYB* 1, 1–5, 64–66.

259. Sayers, *Great Stories*, 44.

260. See, for instance, James Liu, *Chinese Knight Errant*, 1, 4–7; Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes."

261. See Julian Symons, *Bloody Murder*, 16–17.

262. Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden*, 265.

263. See John Dickson Carr, *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, 135.

264. Wang Shanyu, "Keju lei" [The sad state of the examination system], *XSYB* 3, 10, 3011–3018.

265. Many of the protagonists in the stories are called *shaonian*, literally, "youngster." This can also be interpreted as a sign of how important the topic of youth was and, since they are all called "youngsters," readers may be more inclined to generalize in their assumptions about the text.

266. Wang Yunzhang, "Biyu huan" [The jade bracelet], *XSYB* 1, 1, 87–91. It is difficult to date this story. It would appear to be set at some time when the examination system still existed; at least, the protagonist's "friends" make use of the vocabulary of the examination system to suggest high honors to the gullible young man. Basically, he is promised first place on official listings and an official position through bribery.

267. On the significance of the piano in Japan as a symbol of the modern woman and as social tool, see Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 35, 39, 48.

268. "Biyu huan," *XSYB* 1, 1, 90.

269. Much the same reaction to adversity can be seen in Yun Tieqiao's "Gongren xiaoshi" [The worker's story]. The worker, too, is prevented from committing suicide by a chance acquaintance. Tears and suicide had been the ultimate form of the protagonist's resignation in the face of financial hardship. See Gimpel, "Yun Tieqiaos 'Gongren xiaoshi,' " 80–91.

270. For a discussion of the term "*dang*" in Chinese history, particularly in the early-Qing period, see Pei Huang, *Autocracy at Work*, 81–110. For the development of factions into political parties during the late-Qing and early-Republican eras, see Judge, "Factional Function," 123–124. The question of *dang* serving either selfish or communal interests is raised in "Xuehua" [Bloody flowers], a story of the Revolution of 1911. See *XSYB* 3, 4, 2382.

271. Ao and Tie [Yun Tieqiao], "Dili jiaoxi" [The geography teacher], *XSYB* 2, 12, 1939–1941.

272. The queue, or pigtail, became a symbol of oppression under the Manchu yoke toward the end of the dynasty. Cutting off the pigtail was a sign of rebellion, although the majority of Republican troops still sported a queue during the fighting. On the significance of the queue and the symbolic removing of it, see Spence, *Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 97. See also Dingle, *China's Revolution*, photograph opposite page 61 and passim. By late 1912, the queue had clearly not been discarded by the majority of Chinese. *Xiaoshuo yuebao* published the text of a public speech made on the occasion of the first national holiday of the Republic (Double Ten Day). It concentrates on pointing out how barbaric the custom of wearing a queue was and how unhygienic and cumbersome the pigtail. See *XSYB* 3, 7, 2791–2792.

273. For a contrasting photograph of the "budding mandarins" in traditional lin-

eage schools, see Spence, *Chinese Century*, 22–23. See also the photographs of modern schools on 40, 41.

274. For various testimonies, both positive and negative, to the state of schooling and teaching in China at this time, see Guo Moruo, *Kindheit*, 92–94; Bailey, *Reform the People*, 165, 166, 198, 207; Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912*, 88–90.

275. See Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help*, vi. Robert Graves notes in his autobiography that, in the 1920s, a copy of Smiles' book figured on the shelves of a reform-minded Egyptian student eager for the modernization of his country. See Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That*, 270.

276. Quoted in Smiles, *Self-Help*, vii. It is not without some irony that Smiles' book has been reprinted at the end of the 1990s and that it has been hailed by Lord Harris of High Cross as the basis for "a new consensus for the millenium" and as anticipating "the cumulative failure of the 'modern' welfare state." Once again, Smiles is being offered to the world as the guide to the new kind of thought necessary to a new era. See Lord Harris' foreword to the recent edition of Smiles' *Self-Help*, ibid., iv–xi.

277. The Japanese title of the work was *Saigoku risshihen* (roughly, "A treatise on fixing one's aim in life in Western countries"). In Chinese, the translation was given the title *Zizhu lun* [On self-help].

278. See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 78.

279. Like many other advertisements, this one was also not included in the Japanese reprint of the magazine of 1979. It appeared in *XSYB* 2, 8.

280. Nakamura was a member of the Meirokusha [The Meiji six society], a society whose discussions of foreign news gave rise to its own journal in which it intended to inform the population and present modern issues to less well-informed countrymen. See William R. Braisted, trans., *Meiroku Zasshi*, xvii. For a short note on Nakamura's life and ideas, see ibid., xxx–xxxi. Braisted also includes translations of Nakamura's "Outline of Western Culture" serialized in *Meiroku zasshi* in 1874. On Samuel Smiles and Japan, see Earl H. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought*, 11–20 and passim.

281. *XSYB* 1, 4, 407–409.

282. This is quite a different approach and attitude to that shown in early pictorial magazines. Just before the turn of the century, there had been a clear sense of marvel and wonder at the technological advances of Western nations. *Dianshizhai huabao* [Pictorial magazine of the inkstone studio] had reported on Westerners and their "boating in the air" *(tianshang xingzhou)* and had published a drawing of a sailing boat riding on the clouds. The text accompanying the drawing praises the inventiveness of the Westerners. See Bodo Wiethoff, "Berichte über Europa und Europäer in einem frühen chinesischen Bildermagazin," 120–121.

283. See Günther Schmitt and Werner Schwipps, *20 Kapitel Frühe Luftfahrt*, 63.

284. Xie was an extremely interesting and active man of the times. He had been involved in education in Hong Kong as well as in journalistic work, antiopium campaigns and societies, and an antifootbinding society. He had taken part in and helped to plan various Republican uprisings in southern China. For a short sketch of his career, see *MRW*, 1578.

285. The results of the tests showed that there was no difference in size on the basis of race or sex.

286. See Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman, eds., *Fins de Siècle*, 184.
287. Allan Bullock, "The Double Image," 59.
288. Ibid., 66.

Chapter 3: Fiction and Writing

1. "Guowen bao fuyin shuobu yuanqi" [The reasons why the *Guowen bao* is adding a fiction section] was published in the Tianjin *Guowen bao* [National news] in 1897. The article has been reprinted in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 1–12, and in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 1–12, here with the title "Benguan fuyin shuobu yuanqi" [Our reasons for adding a fiction section]. The reproduction of the page of the newspaper on which this text was published shows the latter title to be the original one. The reproduction is printed in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, as a frontispiece illustration.

2. This is not to say that nothing new had been written before these more theoretical treatises appeared in print. The development of printed journals and thus of a commercial press and a new reading public would no doubt have led to the production of a different kind of storytelling before high-class theorists such as Yan Fu and Liang Qichao began to make general statements on the subject of new writing. An approach that sees writing starting at this point would be subjugating literary history to political history. Compare W. L. Idema, "Milena Dolezelová-Velingerová," 352–355. The theoretical, or rather, political, discussion of "new fiction" since the turn of the century has been dealt with in a number of articles and studies. For further information, see Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao"; Yang, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, esp. 1–65; Chen Pingyuan and Xia Xiaohong, *Xiaoshuo shi*, esp. 186–199 and 227–242; Tsau, "Rise of 'New Fiction' "; Martin, "Transitional Concept."

3. The *Guowen bao* text reads, "Ze xiaoshuozhe you wei zhengshi zhi gen yi" (Fiction is, moreover, the root of orthodox history). It should come as no surprise that traditionally educated scholars such as Yan Fu should have called upon the realm of the orthodox dynastic histories in their espousal of the less highly rated form of the *xiaoshuo*. The writing of dynastic history had always been a political affair, and, moreover, the Qing dynasty was still very much in existence at the time. Thus, bringing *xiaoshuo* into the realm of *zhengshi* was at once an attempt to raise the value of the new and remain within traditional, and now expanded, limits. The publishers' arguments were reinforced by their suggestion that these *xiaoshuo* were similar to dynastic history but reached more people and were thus more effective. Interestingly enough, Tang Caichang made use of a similar argument for newspaper publishing in the same year. He saw newspapers as the orthodox histories of the common man and newspaper publishers in the West as the equivalent of historical compilers in China. See Tang Caichang, "Shixue lunlüe," 196. See also Jens Hürter, "Tang Caichang," 86. In his "Yiyin zhengzhi xiaoshuo xu" [Introduction to the publication of political fiction in translation] published in 1898 in *Qingyi bao*, Liang Qichao also uses the same argument for fiction. See the reprint in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 13. On official historiography in China, see Hans H. Frankel, "Objektivität und Parteilichkeit in der offiziellen chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung vom 3. bis 11. Jahrhundert."

4. For a detailed discussion of this and Yan Fu's earlier text, see Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao."

5. See Lévy, *Études sur le conte*, 7. Lévy's survey, which compares the attempts to forbid works of fiction in China and France, still provides a useful discussion of the development and fate of fiction in general.

6. The problem of fictionality versus historical verisimilitude is, as will be discussed in more detail below, at the core of the problems surrounding the Chinese discussion of the term *"xiaoshuo"* at the turn of and during the early years of the twentieth century. What I have termed the late-Qing "rediscovery" of a form *(xiaoshuo)* is really a discovery and a process of consecration of a mode of writing, one that does not proscribe the imaginative as the foundation of an acceptable literary work. This distinction would go a long way toward explaining much of the need for discussion of the new form felt by Chinese writers and critics at the time.

7. See Shimada Kenji, *Die Neo-konfuzianische Philosophie*, 184–187; John Ching-yu Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*, 16–17.

8. See David T. Rolston, *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, 152–195, esp. 192; John Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*, 65–66.

9. Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 77.

10. The four terms used by Liang to denote the power of fictional works were *"xun,"* immersion in something like a cloud of smoke that pervades one's senses and affects one's judgment; *"jin,"* immersion, whereby the reader is captured by the work and thus influenced; *"ci,"* pricking or stimulation; and *"ti,"* being raised to the level of the hero and thus being encouraged to imitate his deeds. For a discussion of this article, see Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao"; Martin, "Transitional Concept"; Tsau, "Rise of 'New Fiction.' " For a translation of the complete text, see Gek, "Fiction and the Government."

11. Tsau, "Rise of 'New Fiction,' " 29.

12. Keiko Kockum, *Japanese Achievement, Chinese Aspiration*, 42.

13. Joan Judge emphasizes this type of role for the *Shibao* journalists involved in what she calls the crucial political "middle realm" in the early years of the twentieth century. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, esp. 5–10.

14. Tsau, "Rise of 'New Fiction,' " 33.

15. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 7.

16. Tong Sheng, "Xiaoshuo conghua" [Notes on fiction], *XSYB* 2, 3, 931–933. The text is also reprinted in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 451–455, and in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 363–366.

17. Sir Henry Rider Haggard (1856–1925) is famous for his thirty-four adventure novels. For Lin Shu's translations, see Zhu, *Chunjue zhai*, 4–62.

18. *Shitou ji* is also known as *Honglou meng* [Dream of the red chamber].

19. This was the Chinese translation of the novel *Hototogisu* [Cuckoo] by Tokutomi Ryoka (1868–1927). It was published 1898–1899 and was the most widely read novel of the Meiji period. It sold nine thousand copies in its first year of publication and some half a million copies within the next twenty-five years. See Edward Fowler, *The Rhetoric of Confession*, 139, n. 21. As early as 1904 it was translated into English by Sakae Shioya and E. F. Edgett under the title *Namiko*. It was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons of London. I am very grateful to Dr. Steven Dodd for providing me with the details of publication.

20. Li Hanqiu (1874–1923). He was also well known for his novel *Guangling chao* [Tides of Yangzhou], a social panorama of his home area. After going to Shanghai sometime in the 1910s, he became active in the publishing world and the world of writing. For a brief description and appraisal of the man and his activities in the latter part of his career by his friend Zhou Shoujuan, see Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 507–510. For his early life and career, see Bai and Zhu, *Gudai xiaoshuo*, 46–47. Bao Tianxiao's amusing reminiscences of Li Hanqiu are discussed in Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 163. The story of his novel *Cidie ying* is set in Paris and gives a close description of Parisian society. It is a story of detection and adventure, of a man disguising himself as a woman in order to take revenge, and of love. For a summary of the plot, see Bai and Zhu, *Gudai xiaoshuo*, 375.

21. A novel by Zeng Pu (1872–1935) that was highly critical of contemporary society and contained a number of characters who were thinly disguised versions of actual people. For a short depiction of Zeng Pu as a "political novelist and francophile man of letters," see Catherine Yeh, "Life-style," 449–458. For a discussion of the novel, see Peter Li, "The Dramatic Structure of *Niehai hua*."

22. The novel by Li Boyuan (1867–1906), published in 1903 and satirizing "the pseudo-reformers who were not quite able to cope with the problems and complexities of modernization." Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, 548. For a discussion of the novel, see Donald Holoch, "A Novel of Setting." See also Bai and Zhu, *Gudai xiaoshuo*, 362–363.

23. A novel by Liu E (1857–1909) that displays the evils of Chinese society. For a discussion of the novel, see Donald Holoch, "The Travels of Laocan." For an English translation and an introduction to the novel, see Harold Shadick, trans., *The Travels of Lao Ts'an*.

24. A novel by Wu Woyao published in 1906. Aspects of the novel are discussed in Michael Egan, "Characterisation in *Sea of Woe*." The novel has recently been translated into English. See Patrick Hanan, trans., *The Sea of Regret*, 103–205.

25. On the idea and history of the four great works of fiction *(si da qishu)*, see Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel*.

26. Many of the "critics" of the time sought to apply the new categories of fiction (such as social, detective, scientific, historical) to traditional works. Thus, for instance, Tianlu Sheng saw in *Shuihu zhuan* a "novel of socialism" *(shehuizhuyi zhi xiaoshuo)* and in *Honglou meng* a novel of social mores *(shehui xiaoshuo)*. See Tianlu Sheng, "Lun xiaoshuo yu gailiang shehui zhi guanxi" [On the relationship between fiction and the reform of society], *Yueyue xiaoshuo* 1, 9 (1906). The text is reprinted in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 37–39. Since a really systematic survey of these critical articles has yet to be undertaken, it is difficult to generalize. Unfortunately, commentators tend to dwell on the well-known and constantly cited articles by those who have come to represent the period and have neglected to survey the whole field. An early fiction magazine, *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, published between 1906 and 1909, had had a regular column that discussed new translations and new works on the market, but this seems to have been unusual at the time. The column, usually about five pages long, was called "Shuo xiaoshuo" [Talking of fiction] and contained short comments by a variety of contributors.

27. Guan Daru, "Shuo xiaoshuo" [Talking of fiction], *XSYB* 3, 5, 7–11, 2563–2564, 2773–2776, 2881–2884, 2993–2995, 3095–3097, 3200–3203. Guan Daru is possibly a

pen name of Guan Yihua (1892–1975). Guan Yihua's biography certainly links him with a number of leading figures at the Commercial Press and on the staff of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. He was a native of Jiangsu, had attended the Nanyang gongxue, and was a member of the Southern Society. See *MHCD*, 936, and Huang Lin, *Zhongguo wenxue piping shi*, 635–643.

28. See the reprint of the article in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 14–19, or Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 33–37.

29. *XSYB* 3, 5, 2564.

30. Liang's text runs, "Thus if the protagonist of our stories is Washington, the reader will transform himself into Washington. If the protagonist is Napoleon, the reader will transform himself into Napoleon." The same applies, according to Liang's argument, in the case of a protagonist who is Buddha or Confucius. For the Chinese text, see A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 17; Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 35.

31. *XSYB* 3, 8, 2882.

32. Ibid., 2883–2884.

33. Martin, "Transitional Concept," 218.

34. See Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 34.

35. Chu Qing's article "Lun wenxue shang xiaoshuo zhi weizhi" [On the place of fiction in literature] of 1903 is reprinted in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 27–31, and in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 61–64.

36. See A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 28; Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 61. Chu writes, "Fiction is truly the highest form of literature" *(Xiaoshuozhe shi wenxue zhi zuishang cheng ye)*. Chu's article, in fact, constantly repeats the phrases used by Liang Qichao in his earlier article. It is difficult to decide whether this is meant as reverent allusion to the previous publication or whether it is simple imitation.

37. The exact connotations of these terms with the character *mei* denoting beauty are difficult to gauge. The term *"meishu"* meaning "art" was certainly a recent introduction to China from Japan. This term, again, was a relatively new coinage in the Japanese language. See *ZWDCD*, 7:11427, for the basic and traditional connotations of the character *mei* and 11433 for the term *"meishu,"* which is listed as a translation of the concept of "fine art." See Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice*, 344 and 350 for Chinese compounds with *mei* imported from Japan. We can only accept that at the time, this character and its various combinations denoted something "good." This term, as was noted above, was also listed in the editors' Declaration of Intent as one of the general criteria for acceptance of contributions to the magazine *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.

38. The *zhanghui xiaoshuo* was the traditional form of the long and complex narrative. It was split into parts or chapters and often had introductory verses or summaries of or pointers to the development of the story at the beginning of chapters. It is not a particularly Chinese form of narrative: most English novels of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided headings or titles to their chapters that pointed to the main episode in the chapter to follow. See, for instance Rider Haggard's *Joan Haste* or Anthony Hope's *Prisoner of Zenda*. For a Chinese definition of the term, see Bai and Zhu, *Gudai xiaoshuo*, 768.

39. Chen and Xia, *Xiaoshuo shi*, 187–199.

40. Liang Qichao, "Yiyin zhengzhi xiaoshuo xu," in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 13–14, and in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 21–22. The name of the journal, which appeared at ten-day intervals, has been variously translated as "Public Opinion Journal," "Journal of Disinterested Criticism," "China Discussion." Like so many others, it was edited by Liang Qichao and was published between 1898 and 1902. It was published in Yokohama. See Price, *Russia and the Roots*, 89.

41. "Zhongguo weiyi zhi wenxuebao xin xiaoshuo" [China's only literary magazine new fiction]. This article was not included in A Ying's collection of the 1960s, but it has been reprinted in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 41–47.

42. Chen and Xia, *Xiaoshuo shi*, 194–195. As an example of an attack on those who diverge from "real" history, Chen quotes Wu Jianren's preface to his *Liang Jin yanyi* [Popular history of the two Jin dynasties] of 1906–1908. Ironically, this work does not appear to have appealed to the readership. The excess of historical fact and the lack of imagination may have contributed to its lack of popularity. See Bai and Zhu, *Gudai xiaoshuo*, 358.

43. *XSYB* 3, 7, 2775.

44. According to Wm. Theodore de Bary, Chinese historiography has "always kept in mind that history was a guide to moral and political action." History never came to "have a value in itself or aspire to a kind of detachment and objectivity which rose above all doctrinal considerations." Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Some Common Tendencies in Neo-Confucianism," 43. See also Frankel, "Objektivität und Parteilichkeit."

45. We should note some similarities here between Guan Daru's attitude toward history and fiction with that of Mao Zonggang, a famous critic of the late seventeenth century. Mao had praised the *Sanguo yanyi* [Romance of the three kingdoms] largely because the author had embellished historical fact and thus made the meaning of history more accessible to the reader. He places the artistic treatment of history far above the dry recording of pure fact. Thus, here, too, even though Mao would doubtless have called for more than one-tenth fact to nine-tenths fabrication, we already find an appreciation that a slight remolding of historical detail can serve to make the story more true, that is, more in accordance with the predominant worldview. For a translation of Mao Zonggang's commentary and appreciation of the *Sanguo yanyi*, see Rolston, *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, 152–195, esp. 156–162, 192–193.

46. Quoted in Chen and Xia, *Xiaoshuo shi*, 197.

47. In 1915 (*XSYB* 6, 7, 7927–7931), Yun Tieqiao also discussed the question of translation. In his "Lun yanqing xiaoshuo zhuan buru yi" [It is better (for the Chinese) to translate stories of sentiment than to write them (themselves)], he insists that love stories cannot be written by the Chinese because the social conditions for a public and normal meeting of the sexes have not yet been provided in China. Thus foreign works can illustrate possibilities of relationships between men and women that the Chinese can then appraise as to their merits and suitability. Yun also insists that the audience writers should be addressing is "the middle classes downward." Ibid., 7929.

48. Karl S. Y. Kao, ed., *Classical Chinese Tales of the Supernatural and Fantastic*, 21.

49. Ibid., 6.

50. The perception of the distinctions between "truth" and "fiction" have been shown to be culturally determined. They depend on socially learned patterns of perception. Thus, they can and do alter during the course of cultural change. See Louis James, *Print and the People*, 48.

51. *XSYB* 3, 11, 3203.

52. Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 371–387.

53. Huang Moxi was cofounder of the magazine *Xiaoshuo lin* in 1907. He had been an elegant advocate of the aesthetic value of fiction. See Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao," 249–251.

54. Yang, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 14–15.

55. See Huang Lin, "Jindai wenxue piping shi," 635–636.

56. *XSYB* 4, 1, 3391. According to *MHCD*, Maodong yixie was the pen name of Qian Jingfang (no dates known), a native of Jiangsu. The short entry under his name also states that *Xiaoshuo congkao* was published in book form at a later date. See *MHCD*, 738.

57. *XSYB* 3, 7, 2775.

58. "Zhuiyan" [Superfluous words], *XSYB* 4, 1, 3404. This text is also included in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 396–397. As Chen comments, the author of this notice was most probably Yun Tieqiao, since there is a final note to it in which he refers to himself as Shujue. This was his given name.

59. *XSYB* 4, 1, 3404.

60. *XSYB* 4, 1–8. Parts of the discussion have been reprinted in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 397–407. However, Chen falsely dates the texts to 1916, although he does place them within the fourth year of publication of the journal.

61. Huang's two-page discussion of Sun's treatment of Western literature does not provide any dates of birth or death. See Huang Lin, *Jindai wenxue piping*, 623–625.

62. Sun Yuxiu, "Yuanxiyu zongwang zhi Falanke wang shu kao," *DFZZ* 8, 3 (May 23, 1911). The advertisement appeared in *XSYB* 2, 6, immediately following the table of contents. This advertisement was unfortunately not included in the Japanese reprint of the magazine of 1979.

63. Sun Yuxiu, "Tang xieben gongdu qiyue kao," *DFZZ* 8, 2 (April 23, 1911).

64. See Mary Ann Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China*.

65. Advertisements for the two periodicals were published in *XSYB* 2, 6 and 8. These advertisements were not reproduced in the Japanese reprint of the magazine of 1979. The texts of the advertisements show *Tonghua* to be the earlier publication; *Shaonian zazhi* was produced, according to the publisher's announcement, as a result of the popularity of the former publication. It intended to enlarge the scope of the former, which seems to have provided easy and exciting reading matter for youngsters of about ten years of age, by including reports on contemporary events *(shishi)*, biographical material, and information on natural history and models of human behavior along with sections on hygiene, travel, art, and amusement. *Shaonian zazhi* was to appear monthly. Mao Dun mentions these magazines and Sun Yuxiu's involvement in them in his memoirs of his days at the Commercial Press' translation department. According to Mao Dun, these magazines were based on texts from English publications such as *My Magazine* or *Children's Encyclopaedia*. See Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 96, 108.

66. This observation is borne out by Mao Dun's later recollections of Sun Yuxiu.

In a chapter dealing with his work at the translation department of the Commercial Press from 1916, Mao does not paint a positive picture of Sun. He describes Sun as being about fifty years of age at the time, a tall, thin man with the affectations of the scholar. According to Mao, Sun also felt inferior because his English was not good (unlike Mao's, of course). It goes without saying that we must treat this assessment by the later editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* with the requisite care. In fact, in this essay, Mao Dun has few positive comments to make about the Commercial Press or those working there. What Mao's memories do tell us is that Sun Yuxiu was a member of the translation department of the Commercial Press in Shanghai for a good many years. See Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 96–103. Huang Lin is of quite the opposite opinion about Sun's abilities, both as a scholar of Chinese and of Western culture and as a translator. See Huang, *Jindai wenxue piping*, 625.

67. Perhaps we should just see his criticism as a strategy to justify his and his colleagues' takeover of the journal: they were replacing the bad and incompetent with the good and qualified.

68. Alexander Pope (1688–1744); John Dryden (1631–1700).

69. *Xiyou ji* is a late-Ming novel, generally attributed to Wu Cheng'en, that depicts Xuanzang's pilgrimage to India in search of Buddhist scriptures (629–645). See C. T. Hsia, *The Classic Chinese Novel*, 115–164. See also Andrew H. Plaks, "Allegory in Hsi-yu Chi and Hung-lou Meng."

70. Sunxing (Sun Wukong) is the ape king and one of the companions of Xuanzang on his pilgrimage. He himself is in search of immortality. For the reasons for his search and on his devotion to his pilgrimage or journey, see Hsia, *Classic Chinese Novel*, 133–135; Plaks, "Allegory in Hsi-yi Chi," 183 and passim.

71. *XSYB* 4, 1, 3407.

72. Sun's "three schools" *(nanbeizhong sanpai)* are presumably a reference to three dialect forms of English prevalent at the time. Ibid., 3410.

73. *XSYB* 4, 2, 3523–3528, and *XSYB* 4, 3, 3633–3637.

74. None of Richardson's works (such as *Pamela* [1740–1741] or *Clarissa* [1748–1749]) is mentioned expressly. Sun dwells on the fact that Richardson had been the son of a joiner and had started writing fiction at a late age, on his method of writing, and on his broad and international influence. See *XSYB* 4, 2, 3527.

75. Years of birth and death do not appear in Sun Yuxiu's text. They have been supplied here for easier appreciation of the historical range provided.

76. *XSYB* 4, 2, 3524.

77. Ibid., 3523–3524.

78. "*Shuobu*" is a difficult term to translate adequately. According to *ZWDCD*, it is generally used to designate writings not included in the thirteen classics. See *ZWDCD*, 8:13499. It had been used by Yan Fu and Xia Zengyou in their article "*Guowen bao* fuyin shuobu yuanqi" on their reasons for adding a fiction section to their newspaper. It would seem that *shuobu* was generally felt to be something "made up" and trivial.

79. The eighteenth-century novel *Honglou meng* comprises 120 chapters and is, by any reckoning, a very long piece of writing.

80. *Yesou puyan* is a novel in 154 chapters of the Qing dynasty. It has been classified as a "knight-errant" story by some and is still criticized for its lack of realism in Chinese reference works. See Bai and Zhu, *Gudai xiaoshuo*, 307.

81. *XSYB* 4, 2, 3524.

82. Ibid., 3527.

83. Sun uses these phrases in the original English.

84. Qu Yuan and Du Fu were both exalted poets of Chinese tradition. Qu Yuan (340?–278 B.C.) is reputed to be the author of *Chu ci* [Elegies of Chu]; Du Fu (712–770) is one of the best-known poets of the Tang dynasty. They thus represent poetry at its best in the context in which they are named here. On *Chu ci*, see Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature*, 231–254. For a short description of Du Fu's life and writings, see Bauer, *Das Antlitz Chinas*, 256–261.

85. *XSYB* 4, 3, 3634.

86. Ibid., 3634–3635.

87. It is hard to ignore the similarities between Sun's depiction of Dickens and his importance to society and Edward Bellamy's characterization of the author through the words of his character Dr. Leete in the novel *Looking Backward* (1888). Discussing literature with Julian West, he finds that their tastes are similar, even though a hundred years separates them. Dr. Leete says, "Ah, Dickens! You admired him then! That is where we moderns agree with you. Judged by our standards, he overtops all the writers of his age, not because his literary genius was highest, but because his great heart beat for the poor, because he made the cause of the victims of society his own, and devoted his pen to exposing its cruelties and its shams." See Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 73. The translation of Bellamy's novel had made a great impression on readers in China, especially on Liang Qichao, who later selected it for special distinction among translated books. It will never be possible to prove that Chinese conceptions of Western authors and their social function came from sources such as Bellamy's novel, but they must have constituted part of the general intellectual background for their assumptions about Western literature. On the influence of Bellamy's translation in China, see Bernal, *Chinese Socialism*, 22–26.

88. Articles commemorating the centenary are also mentioned in the "Translations" section of the magazine in 1911. The relatively long passage also describes Dickens' poverty in his own day: the lack of copyright had meant that the author, whose fame had, by now, spread throughout the world, had not been able to make a good living from his own writings. See *XSYB* 2, 4, 1023–1024.

89. *XSYB* 4, 3, 3636–3637.

90. *XSYB* 4, 4, 3745–3749.

91. Sun Yuxiu gives no dates for the life or death of Samuel Johnson.

92. Li Zhuowu, also known as Li Zhi (1527–1602), was an unconventional thinker in almost all respects and, as we have seen above, also a champion of popular literature. For a sketch of his life and thought, see Shimada, *Neo-konfuzianische Philosophie*, 173–194. It seems almost to be Li's fate to be compared with one figure or another in European history. For a summary of Li Zhi's reception, see Jonathan D. Spence, *Chinese Roundabout*, 103–104.

93. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) is, of course, best known for his *History of England*, published in 1849 and 1855. The now famous biography of Samuel Johnson, published in 1791, was written by his friend James Boswell (1740–1795). However, as an announcement among the opening pages of the third issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in its second year shows (April 1911), a copy of this biography by Macaulay was in circulation in China. It had been brought onto the market in the

early months of 1911 by the Commercial Press of Shanghai and was, as the advertisement states, an annotated version of the text with an afterword in Chinese. This biography is, in fact, a little-known contribution by Macaulay to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1856. See *The Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, 372–394. Unfortunately, the advertisement was not included in the Japanese reprint of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.

94. *XSYB* 4, 5, 3855–3862.

95. Ibid., 3855.

96. Drabble, *Oxford Companion*, 941. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* also aroused great public feeling among the Chinese, at least among the rebellious Chinese student population of Japan, and was the source of the first spoken drama to be staged (in 1907) by Chinese actors in Japan. The subjugation of the black slaves was often compared at this time with the situation of the Han Chinese under the foreign—Manchu—rule. See Davis, "Out of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' " 33–34.

97. Drabble, *Oxford Companion*, 942. This information was not included in Lin Shu's preface to his translation of the novel of 1901. For Lin's preface to the translation, see Zhu, *Chunjue zhai*, 24.

98. *XSYB* 4, 5, 3855.

99. Ibid., 3856.

100. Ban Jieyu, a high-ranking palace lady of the first century B.C. who wrote a sorrowful poem on falling out of grace. Her biography and the poem were included in the history of the early Han dynasty. See Bauer, *Das Antlitz*, 103–104. See also Ute Fricker, *Schein und Wirklichkeit*, 25.

101. *XSYB* 4, 5, 3856.

102. Ibid. The section dealing with the life and works of the princess continues to page 3857.

103. Here, of course, as with many of the texts examined, it is not a question of the historical accuracy of the events or situations described in connection with this particular princess; what is important is how such events or persons were portrayed, the image of them that was transmitted or created through depiction.

104. *Taohua shan*, a music drama of 1699, was written by Kong Shangren (1648–1718). It is noted for its detailed historical research of the previous dynasty, the Ming, especially of the Hongguang reign (1644–1645). See Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, 520–522. The mention of this play in connection with a woman writer and a woman who is shown to be engaged in something like the politics of the day is of further interest here. The play's heroine, Li Xiangjun, is, in the words of a present-day commentator, "a symbol of heroic resistance against the corrupt forces of the Southern Ming court." A seventeenth-century biographer of the historical personage behind the female character commented on her being able to "discern the integrity or lack thereof among scholar officials." The reader of the day may well have understood the reference to *Taohua shan* in both these manners—historical writings and patriotism—given the tendency, noted in chapter 2 of the present study, of stories and plays in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* to depict women in such roles. See Wai-yee Li, "The Late Ming Courtesan," 69, for both of the above quotations. On the plot of *Taohua shan*, its principal characters, and Kong Shangren's use of historical sources, see Strassberg, *World of K'ung Shang-jen*, 244–260.

105. First published in 1850.

106. *XSYB* 4, 5, 3859.

107. Ibid., 3860.

108. As a sign of his "madness," Sun cites the episode in which Alexander the Great goes to visit Diogenes and offers to help him. Diogenes replies by saying that if the great king would simply "retreat ninety *li* and stop blocking the sun, that would be reward enough." Ibid., 3862.

109. The mountains of Beishan and Baodingshan in Dazu, Sichuan Province, are the site of many Buddhist rock carvings and sculptures. From the mid-ninth century until the Song period (960–1280), some twenty thousand figures had been carved into the rocks on these two mountains. See *Zhongguo mingsheng cidian*, 924, 926. See also Roger Goepper, *Das alte China*, 448.

110. Ivan Andreevich Krylov (in today's spelling; 1769–1844) was a satirical journalist and editor of the *St. Petersburg Mercury* until it was closed down in 1805. He then began translating the fables of La Fontaine, eventually creating his own fables and publishing them. See Drabble, *Oxford Companion*, 541.

111. Nicholas Udall (1504/5–1556) was a scholar and headmaster of Eton and Westminster. His *Ralph Roister Doister* is generally cited as the earliest known English comedy. See Drabble, *Oxford Companion*, 1013; *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon*, 6: 7998.

112. *XSYB* 4, 8, 4240–4241.

113. Ibid., 4249.

114. Kam Louie sees a national literature as "part of the basic paraphernalia of nationhood." See Kam Louie, *Between Fact and Fiction*, foreword.

115. Lin Shu's translations are listed in Zhu, *Chunjue zhai*, pt. 3, 3–65, together with his prefaces to the translations. His "classic translations" have also been listed in *Renditions* 5 (Autumn 1975): 22–23. However, all these figures and dates must still be treated with some skepticism. Most refer to the date of the printing of the book editions and do not refer to possible prior serial publication. It is not clear when Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* was translated. However, since specific mention is made of the book and its main character in one short story published in 1913, the story was clearly well known at this date. See *XSYB* 4, 5, 3775.

116. Lu Xun's *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe* was not published until 1923. It was the result of a series of lectures he had been holding. For publication details, see *Lu Xun quanji*, 9:2. It has been hailed as the first of its kind and as having "laid the foundation" for research into Chinese fiction. See *Zhongguo wenhuashi nianbiao*, 867. The first history of Western writing that I have been able to discover is that by Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zuoren. *Ouzhou wenxue shi* [The history of Western literature] was published in 1922. It is reprinted in *Minguo congshu* 3:57.

117. Smiles, *Self-Help*, 202. Of course, exhortations to good behavior were nothing new to the Chinese; they may be found in any number of books, from children's primers and readers to canonical texts and manuals for proper exercise of power in official positions.

118. Smiles, *Self-Help*, 203.

119. Ye Ziming is one of the few observers of this period of the development of Chinese writing who acknowledges the enormous energies the cultural elite of the country put into the task of considering their writing *and* that of other countries. He sees the period at which Sun Yuxiu was writing as the beginnings of compara-

tive studies of literature. See Ye Ziming, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo shi*, 29. Huang Lin shares this view and specifically mentions Sun's contribution to the process. See Huang Lin, *Jindai wenxue piping shi*, 625.

120. "Yishu jiaotong gonghui baogao" [Announcement of the translation and communication guild], *Yueyue xiaoshuo*, 2 and 3. The names have been listed alphabetically and with no intention of insinuating any kind of hierarchy.

121. See Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 108.

122. David Trotter, *The English Novel in History*, 175.

123. On the fashion for Ruritanian romances, see Kemp, *Edwardian Fiction*, 348–349.

124. *XSYB* 3, 1–8 incl.

125. See Trotter, *English Novel*, 151–152. Anthony Hope, of course, also fulfilled a number of criteria that would render him the perfect fiction writer to Chinese eyes at the time: he had been a barrister and had entered the House of Commons in 1906. Thus he combined the political and the artistic. On Hope's life and career, and on his contributions to *The Strand Magazine*, see Pound, *Mirror of the Century*, 99–102.

126. See Pound, *Mirror of the Century*, 172. Mrs. Meade was a regular and extremely productive contributor to *The Strand Magazine* in the years 1893 to 1903. See Whitt, *The Strand Magazine*, 8–13.

127. See Whitt, *The Strand Magazine*, 50, and Kemp, *Edwardian Fiction*, 241.

128. Whitt, *The Strand Magazine*, 42–43. On Braddon's life and writing, see Jennifer Uglow, introduction to *Aurora Floyd*, v–xviii.

129. For a list of Kuroiwa Ruikō's translations of detective stories, see Nakamura Tadayuki, "Nitchū bungaku kōryū no itchi shiten," 108, n. 28. For a detailed survey of the detective story and its translators in the late-Qing period, see idem, "Shinmatsu tantei."

130. The detective story was a fairly new genre of writing in the West at the beginning of the twentieth century; the spy story developed in the first years of the century, and it would be possible to see this "fashion" in the West as giving birth to the Chinese view that the detective story was of paramount importance in literature. Any Chinese reader of the day would surely have been conscious of the great number of stories printed that dealt with these themes. On crime fiction in the Edwardian era, see Kemp, *Edwardian Fiction*, 81–82. On spies and the spy story, see Trotter, *English Novel*, 167–180.

131. *XSYB* 3, 4, 2384.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. *XSYB* 3, 9, 2917–2920.

135. *XSYB* 4, 11, 4529–4539.

136. Again, as in a number of stories, the woman initiates activity. A number of female figures on whom the narrative proper does not center provide the catalyst for courses of action that lead to the "saving" of the floundering male. See, for instance, the discussion of just such a female figure in Gimpel, "Yun Tieqiaos 'Gongren xiaoshi,' " 93–95.

137. The narrator explains the historical development of the Mormons at the opening of the story.

138. For a discussion of the way in which Chinese reformers and revolutionaries frequently saw their struggle in an international or global context, see Price, *Russia and the Roots*, 213–216 and passim.

139. There is clear proof, for instance, that contributors to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* used *The Strand Magazine* as a source of materials for translation and for illustrations. This becomes even more evident after 1913, when stories were translated and embellished with exactly the same illustrative materials as the originals. See, for example, the story "Bogdan Shipkin," by V. Nemirovich-Danchenko, which had been translated by Alder Anderson and published in *The Strand Magazine* in 1915. It was translated into Chinese by Yun Tieqiao under the title "Aiguo zhenquan" [A true example of patriotism] and illustrated with the same original drawings without any reference to the original illustrator, Warwick Reynolds. *XSYB* 7, 1, 8843–8854.

140. *The Strand Magazine* 12 (July–December 1896): 57, 169, 259, 401, 529, 664.

141. See, for instance, Man Er, "Tuizu yu" [The ex-soldier's words], *XSYB* 2, 9, 1623–1626; Zhi Yan, "Lüemai canshi" [A sad tale of kidnapping], *XSYB* 2, 10, 1731–1740, and 1845–1851; Bu Cai, "Simao sou" [The old man who cared for the cats], *XSYB* 3, 4, 2369–2372; Bu Cai, "Qiufen duanyun" [The melody is silenced at the autumn grave], *XSYB* 4, 8, 4149–4155.

142. The choice of Max Pemberton as an example is not as arbitrary as it may seem. His photograph had been published in *Yueyue xiaoshuo* in 1906 along with those of Conan Doyle, Anthony Hope, Rider Haggard, and others. See *Yueyue xiaoshuo* 7, 4 (1906).

143. *The Windsor Magazine* 12 (June–November 1900): 33.

144. The historical context of stories was frequently specified. However, where criticism or comment was intended, political realities were set in historical garb to draw attention to the present. See Hegel, *The Novel in Seventeenth-Century China*, especially chapter 3, "Political Realities in Fictional Garb."

145. *The Windsor Magazine* 12 (June–November 1900): 650.

146. Maggie Gee, "Clinging to the Coat-tails of Fact," 10.

147. Clara Reeve (1729–1807), novelist and author of *The Progress of Romance* (1785), from which the quotation is taken. See Drabble, *Oxford Companion*, 815–816.

148. Zhao, *Uneasy Narrator*, 117. See also 115.

149. Zhu Bingxun, "Huawai tu" [The region beyond civilization], *XSYB* 1, 2, 195–196.

150. In his short study of the early years of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Fan Mingli does note that the magazine had emphasized its interest in short stories at a very early date. He also goes on to state that writers "had all begun to pay more attention to the theoretical questions of composing short stories." However, the examples he names in this respect, the writings of Zhang Yihan, were all published in 1919 issues of the magazine, a period that falls well outside the scope of this present study. It is also fairly difficult, if not misleading, to speak of one period spanning the years 1910 to 1919. In fact, they were worlds apart, politically, socially, and artistically. However, Fan might well have taken some of the really early stories as illustrations of his point. In general, his essay lacks interest in the years before 1915 and thus has little to add to any discussion of an early period. Fan, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 93.

151. Hong Shen and Tie Qiao, "Xing er mian" [A lucky escape], *XSYB* 4, 9, 4275–4280.

152. Zhao, *Uneasy Narrator*, 223.

153. Ibid., 223. Zhao is quoting Yu Dafu here on "the real beginning of modern fiction."

Chapter 4: A New Field of Activity

1. Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*.

2. See Michel Hockx, ed., *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), esp. Hockx's introduction.

3. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 249. In her study of *Shibao*, Joan Judge does not characterize the journal's fictional supplement. It remains to be seen whether we can really regard this supplement as a serious contender on the fiction market. See Judge, *Press and Politics*, 42.

4. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 165.

5. See *Zhongguo wenxue dacidian*, 2:472.

6. Yun introduces Conan Doyle as the most famous of authors in the West. Doyle, he states, is closely followed by one Que'ersi Jiawei, a writer I have been able to identify as Charles Garvice (1851–1920) who was, indeed, a very well-known and popular author of stories with a love interest. He published widely in *The Strand Magazine*. More important, he is second in the list of authors portrayed in an article in *The Strand Magazine* whose title "How I Broke into Print" was translated and introduced by Yun under the Chinese title "Zuozhe qiren" (Seven authors). See *The Strand Magazine* 290 (February 1915): 154–159; *XSYB* 6, 7, 7780–7785. The other five authors were Alice Hegan Rice, W. W. Jacobs, J. J. Bell, Jeffery Farnol, and W. Pett Ridge.

7. *XSYB* 1, 1, 3.

8. *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* is generally said to have stopped publication on the death of its editor Li Boyuan in 1906. See *Zhongguo da baikequanshu: Zhongguo wenxue*, 1111–1112. There would, however, appear to be little concrete evidence of Li Boyuan's editorship, although he did contribute to the journal. At least one Chinese observer has been tempted to posit that it appears unlikely that Li did actually perform the duties of editor and that the position may have been held by Zhang Yuanji (1867–1959), the man in charge of general editorial policy at the Commercial Press. See Wang Jiarong, "Shangwu yinshuguan chuban de banyuekan 'Xiuxiang xiaoshuo.' "

9. Wang Jiarong, "Shangwu yinshuguan," 223–224.

10. Xu Yishi (1870–1971), quoted ibid., 223.

11. Here one may well call to mind Pierre Bourdieu's insistence that the reconstruction of the connotation of words is of particular importance in understanding "the mood of the age." See Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, 32.

12. It was, however, a term that figured greatly in Wang Guowei's unusual approach to the arts and life. See Joey Bonner, *Wang Kuo-wei*, esp. 102–110.

13. Guan Daru "Shuo xiaoshuo" [Talking of fiction], *XSYB* 2, 5, 7–11. The text is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

14. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 249–250.

15. For a collection of articles discussing the range of expectations placed in this newly rediscovered genre, see A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*.

16. "Benguan bianyin Xiuxiang xiaoshuo yuanqi" [The reasons why this publish-

ing house (Commercial Press) is publishing *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo*]. The text is reproduced in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenyi baokan shilüe* (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958), 17; idem, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 144; and in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 51–52.

17. This long article was originally serialized anonymously in the newspaper in 1897. For a discussion of this article, see Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao," esp. 221–231. See also Wang Jiarong, "Shangwu yinshuguan," 222. There is a photographic reproduction of the first installment in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, as a frontispiece; the complete text of the article is on pp. 1–13. It is also reproduced in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 1–12.

18. "Yiyin zhengzhi xiaoshuo xu" and "Lun xiaoshuo yu qunzhi zhi guanxi." These two articles are also reproduced in A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenxue congchao: xiaoshuo xiqu*, 13–19, and in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 21–22 and 33–37. They are discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

19. The text is reproduced in Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 51–2.

20. *Xiaoshuo lin* 1, 1.

21. After a controversial career as a judge, Julius Hermann von Kirchmann "retired" and spent his time editing and publishing series of philosophical works. Among works he wrote himself was *Aesthetik auf realistischer Grundlage*, published in Berlin in two volumes in 1868.

22. Joey Bonner, *Wang Kuo-wei*, ix–x.

23. Ibid., 104.

24. Ibid., 34.

25. In 1903 the Chinese owners went into partnership with the Japanese company Kinkoodoo, which held 50 percent of the shares until the Japanese were required to quit the partnership in 1914. See Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai*, 12–13.

26. See ibid., 173.

27. For a complete list of Commercial Press periodicals, see ibid., 172–179.

28. Ibid., 20–21. See also *The Commercial Press*, 35–36.

29. *XSYB* 12, 1, 18478–184780.

30. Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, 58.

31. The "field of cultural production" has been demonstrated, discussed, and analyzed in depth by Pierre Bourdieu. See ibid., esp. 29–73, for a detailed explanation of the term.

32. Chow Tse-tsung has illustrated this process within the course of the May Fourth Movement, especially with regard to literary trends. See Chow, *May Fourth Movement*, esp. chap. 9.

33. Xiaohong Xiao Planes, *La Société Générale d' Éducation du Jiangsu*, 9.

34. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1:138–140; Drège, *La Commercial Press*, 241. For further short biographical sketches, see *MHCD*, 431; *MRW*, 905.

35. Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State*, 152.

36. See Christine Nguyen, "L'Ecole Publique de Nanyang," 74.

37. Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State*, 152.

38. Yan Fu (1853–1921), best known as the translator of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology*, John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, Thomas H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, Montesquieu's *De l'Esprit des Lois*, and the like. See Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*.

39. See Mary Backus Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 62.

40. Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State*, 155, 217.

41. For a discussion of these first educational attempts through textbooks, see Nguyen, *L'Ecole Publique*, 116–125.

42. See ibid., 125.

43. Xiao Planes, *La Société Générale*, 48.

44. Ibid., 263, 265.

45. Drège, *La Commercial Press*, 11, 177.

46. Wang Jiarong, "Shangwu yinshuguan," 225–226.

47. See Drège, *La Commercial Press*, 117.

48. See Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 583.

49. For sketches of his life, see Yan Fusun's short biography of 1923 reprinted in Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 453; Zhao Shaokuang's note on Wang in a collection of Wang's stories published in 1924 is reprinted in Rui Heshi et al., eds., *Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao*, 312; see also Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 102–104, and Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 82, 84.

50. Wang Yunzhang did not contribute a great number of articles and stories to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* while he was its editor between 1910 and 1912. Under the name Wang Yunzhang, he wrote two short fictional pieces for the first issue, one a detective story set in America and the other a tale of how a young man is led astray by false friends: "Zuanshi an" [The diamond case], *XSYB* 1, 1, 79–86; "Biyu huan" [The jade bracelet], *XSYB* 1, 1, 87–92. As Chun Nong, he contributed a patriotic *chuanqi* tale in 1911: *Bixue hua* [From spilt blood a flower springs], *XSYB* 2, supplementary issue for the intercalary month, 1333–1343. During the editorship of his successor, Yun Tieqiao, he contributed more regularly, either under the name Chun Nong (poetry and discussions of poetry, *chuanqi* tales, a translation done in collaboration with Yun Tieqiao) or under the names Xi Shen or Xishen Canke (short stories and a translation of a Maupassant story). See *XSYB* 4, 12, for poetry; 5, 1 and 2, for the *chuanqi* tale; 5, 1–10, incl. for the poetry discussion; 5, 3, for the translation with Yun Tieqiao; 5, 10, for poetry; 5, 5, for the Maupassant translation; 5, 8 and 11, for the short stories.

51. Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 103.

52. See Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 120.

53. Joseph Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China*, 43–44.

54. Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 90–91.

55. See Ting, *Government Control*, 40–41.

56. *Xinwen bao* or *Sin Wan Pao*, as it was called, a progressive paper and major competitor to the other "modern" Shanghai newspapers at the turn of the century, *Hu pao* and *Shen pao*, was founded in Shanghai in 1893 by a group of Chinese merchants and originally edited by Cai Erkang. In 1900 it was taken over by an American, John C. Ferguson. It was a very popular paper and had a circulation of 4,000 at the beginning of the century and 150,000 in the 1930s. See Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 74, 114, 132; Lee and Nathan, "Beginnings of Mass Culture," 362. Wang Yunzhang published a large number of short texts that were later collected and published by a pupil of his. See Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 103.

57. See *MRW*, 437.

58. Marie-Claire Bergère, "The Role of the Bourgeoisie," 255, n. 66.

59. See Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites*, 44; and *MRW*, 437.

60. See Bergère, "Role of the Bourgeoisie," 285.

61. Ibid., 284.

62. See Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 208, 209, 212.

63. Jacqueline Nivard, *Histoire d'une Revue Feminine Chinoise*, 16.

64. The text is reprinted in Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 84–85.

65. See ibid. Wu Gongheng, the author of this text, cannot be referring exclusively to Wang's contributions to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Certainly in the first three years of publication, contributions from Wang himself are rare. Wu is clearly praising Wang's work and activities as a whole.

66. See also Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 312.

67. Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 85. The text reads "*wu xiong yue dao sao*." Whatever the exact meaning of the phrase, it was certainly an unpleasant accusation.

68. Nivard, *Histoire d'une Revue*, 17.

69. See Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 312; *MHCD*, 56.

70. Nivard, *Histoire d'une Revue*, 16.

71. Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 82.

72. Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 102–104.

73. Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 85.

74. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 251.

75. See *MHCD*, 344; Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 453. Yan was an author and journalist and editor of the magazine *Banyue* (Half-monthly) from 1920 to 1932.

76. See Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 312, for Zhao's short biographical notes on Wang Yunzhang. Zhao, a former pupil of the Nanyang Gongxue, edited a number of publications himself, wrote for Bao Tianxiao's *Xiaoshuo daguan (The Grand Magazine)* as well as for *Xiaoshuo shijie*. See Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 471, for Yan Fusun's short sketch of Zhao.

77. This is an interesting comment that cannot be verified on the basis of the contents of the magazine. There was also no apparent change in format. Since Yan Fusun was also an admirer and personal friend of the subsequent editor, Yun Tieqiao, this remark cannot be put down to difference of opinion or animosity. It remains to be explained but may refer to changes in illustrative and photographic material at the beginning of Yun's editorship. An announcement to this effect is reprinted in Fan Boqun, *Zhongguo jinxiandai*, 201–202. Pictures of courtesans are to be replaced by those of exemplary ladies from the West. The announcement is not reproduced either in the reprint of the magazine or in collections of articles or texts.

78. Yan's biographical sketch is reprinted in Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 453.

79. Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 84–85.

80. For short biographical sketches, see *MRW*, 1170; *MHCD*, 681.

81. See *XSYB* 6, 7, 7800.

82. *DFZZ* 8, 7, "Taipingyang zhong zhi lieqiang" [The powers in the Pacific].

83. See Xu, *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue zuozhe*, 500.

84. See *MRW*, 1170.

85. See *Cihai*, 979; Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 471.

86. See, for instance, MacKinnon, "Toward a History," 9–11, for a short discussion of the political press, and Chow, *May Fourth Movement*, 215–253, for ideological debates.

87. At least this was the *later* explanation that Lu Xun gave for his career choice.

88. See Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 471.

89. I have found no details about his involvement with a correspondence school for medicine. However, it may point to a continued connection with the Commercial Press, which set up its own correspondence school *(hanshou xuexiao)* in the early 1910s. The school initially concentrated on technical training but diversified from 1914 and included Chinese language and literature and arithmetic. See Drège, *Commercial Press*, 21; *Commercial Press*, 35–36.

90. The following details are taken from biographical sketches by his contemporaries reprinted in Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 470–471; Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 353–354; Mao Xueqin, "Yun Tieqiao zhuanlüe," 48–51. This biographical sketch is based on materials on the history of the Commercial Press of Shanghai *(Shangwu yinshuguan guanshi ziliao)* and on a collection of short biographies of famous individuals from Piling (Changzhou in Jiangsu) of the Qing dynasty *(Qing-dai Piling mingren xiaozhuan gao)*. Unfortunately, the text itself bears no date.

91. At this point the biography by Mao Xueqin states that Yun had taken over this post from Xu Zhiyan (1875–1923), not from Wang Yunzhang. Xu, who was a regular contributor to *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, is also named as the sometime editor in other sources, but no details are given. Yet there was a closer connection among Zhang Yuanji, Yun Tieqiao, and Xu Zhiyan, since, according to Shao Yingwu, Xu had taught at the Nanyang gongxue at the request of its founder, Sheng Xuanhuai, since 1903, leaving the school to take up a post at the Commercial Press. See Shao Yingwu, *Nanshe renwu yinping*, 68.

92. Zhou Chuo, "Huai Jiu," *XSYB* 4, 1, 3323–3329.

93. *XSYB* 4, 1, 3330. See also Vladimir I. Semanov, *Lu Hsün and His Predecessors*, 30–31.

94. For biographical sketches of Cheng Zhanlu, see *MHCD*, 884. For contemporary biographical sketches, see Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 468–469; and Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 389–390. On Yun's correspondence and relationship to Cheng, see also Fan Boqun, *Zhongguo jinxiandai*, 199.

95. For biographical information on Cheng Xiaoqing, see *MRW*, 1145; *MHCD*, 878. Biographical sketches from the 1920s by Zheng Yimei are reprinted in Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 388–389; and Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 469.

96. For information on Xu Jinfu, see *MHCD*, 236.

97. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 22, 147; and Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 469.

98. Zhang Weiyuan, "Yun Tieqiao huiyan shi Lu Xun."

99. Huang Jingwan, "Xu Beihong kanke shaonian shi."

100. Quoted in Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 87.

101. See Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 353.

102. Mao, "Yun Tieqiao zhuanlüe," 49.

103. Fan Mingli, for instance, categorically insists that there can be no doubt about his being a member of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School. Fan, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 85.

104. Hsiao Wei Wang Rupprecht, *Departure and Return*, 7. For the Chinese text, see Fan Boqun, *Zhongguo jinxiandai*, 198.

105. See also appendix 1 for the native places of authors.

106. Quoted in Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 87.

107. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 4–5.

108. Ibid., 5.

109. For a short summary of Lu's life, see *MRW*, 992.

110. See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 5, and nn. 13, 41.

111. For a useful discussion of the contents of *Jiaoyu zazhi* and the educational debate in China in this period, see ibid.

112. See ibid., 66–67, 74, 151.

113. See *XSYB* 5, 6, 5727–5732. Jiang wrote a report on a trip to Mount Putuo in northeastern Zhejiang in 1914.

114. See Drège, *La Commercial Press*, 175.

115. Xiao Planes, *La Société Générale*, 158.

116. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 67.

117. Drège, *La Commercial Press*, 208, n. 39, and 238.

118. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 5

119. *MRW*, 1379–1380.

120. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 67, 75.

121. Zhuang Yu is probably identical with Zhuang Boyu, a colleague on the editorial board at the Commercial Press, a regular contributor to *Jiaoyu zazhi*, and one of the most prolific textbook producers of the period. See ibid., 67, 148.

122. Ibid., 208; *MRW*, 1379.

123. See Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy*, 328, n. 109; Marianne Bastid, *Educational Reform in Early Twentieth-Century China*, 220, n. 28.

124. See Nguyen, *L'Ecole Publique*, 117–118.

125. See Zhang Jinglu, *Zhongguo chuban shiliao bubian*, 276.

126. Wo Yi, whom I unfortunately have not been able to identify, was an almost regular contributor of travelogues or notes on trips made, including comments on matters observed. He also wrote some texts dealing with matters foreign. His work spans almost every issue from 1910, 3, to 1914, 6.

127. For poems signed Wo Yi, see, for instance *JYZZ*, 1909, 7, 606; *JYZZ*, 1909, 9, 808.

128. *JYZZ*, 1912, 6, 4121–4136.

129. "Seyu yu jiaoyu," *JYZZ*, 1910, 9, 75–78. See Bailey, *Reform the People*, 189–190. Quotation on 190.

130. Bao Tianxiao's memoirs, quoted in Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 181. I do not suggest that Bao's memoirs are any more reliable than other information available. It is not the veracity of the information provided that is central here. The question is how did people "see" the Commercial Press and its activities. Their assumptions about its character will have guided their decisions to submit or contribute manuscripts, seek a job, and so on.

131. In fact the majority of late-Qing and early-Republican nonliterary journals contained a section headed *xiaoshuo*. These sections of such different journals as *Qingyi bao*, *Xinmin congbao*, *Dongfang zazhi*, *Minbao*, and *Jiangsu* have yet to analyzed.

132. *JYZZ*, 1908, 1, 1–5.

133. *XSYB* 2, 8 and 9, 1597–1600, 1699–1701.

134. See Bastid, *Educational Reform*, 168; *MRW*, 552; *MHCD*, 629.

135. Bastid, *Educational Reform*, 166, 168, 171. This also applies to Chen Sanli (1852–1937), who wrote in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* under the name Bo Yan (165).

136. See Bastid, *Educational Reform*, 171.

137. *XSYB* 5, 8, 6068. See *MRW*, 1480, for a list of Zheng's pseudonyms and a short biography.

138. Xiao Planes, *La Société Générale*, 277, 288.

139. See *MRW*, 552.

140. For his *duanpian xiaoshuo*, published under the pseudonym Xin Shi, see *XSYB* 5, 7, 5845–5851. After 1914, he seems to have contributed fictional pieces even more regularly. For his other texts, see *XSYB* 5, 1, 2, 3, and 4. These texts appeared either under the name Xin Shi or Chun Sun.

141. Xiao Planes, *La Société Générale*, 11–12.

142. *JYZZ*, 1908, 1, 5.

143. *MRW*, 170; Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 106–108.

144. See appendix 1 for a list of contributors and those who were members of the Southern Society. The following works have been consulted to ascertain the identities of contributors: Xu Naixiang, *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue zuozhe*; Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*; *MRW*; *MHCD*. Of course, there may be a false identification among this list, especially where contributors wrote under one name only or under a pseudonym that was fairly common. Yet it is equally likely that some of the names I have not been able to find in any reference work thus far—or to ascertain through chance reading—were also those of members of the Southern Society.

145. Quoted in Li Xin, *Zhonghua minguo shi*, 402.

146. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:421.

147. The third founder member was Chen Qubing (1874–1933).

148. See Hu Huaichen, *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao*, 491. There is an interesting correlation here: Hu Huaichen was a member of the Southern Society and published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* under the name Ji Chen.

149. Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 9.

150. In the introduction to his collection of materials on the Southern Society, Zheng Yimei lists the various political positions taken by members. Some supported revolutionary attitudes, opposing either the Qing dynasty, Yuan Shikai, or warlords and the later puppet regime under the Japanese, or the Guomindang and Jiang Jieshi's dictatorship. Other members favored a narrow-minded form of nationalism and were anti-Manchu and pro–Han Chinese. Others again displayed largely conservative views. See Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 1–4.

151. See Bao Tianxiao, "Xinhai geming qianhou de Shanghai xinwenjie," 4:89; Hu Huaichen, *Shanghai yanjiu*, 19, 491.

152. For details of those involved in the various publications, see Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 2 (introduction) and the various individual biographical sketches on 89–265.

153. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 148, 164.

154. Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 228.

155. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, 421.

156. For further information on Liu Yazi and Gao Tianmei, see *Zhongguo da*

baikequanshu, 1:460 and 1:175–175 respectively; and Zheng, *Nanshe congtan*, 210–213 and 239–240 respectively.

157. See Ron, "Women's Movement," 167. See also Beahan, *Women's Movement*, 225.

158. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 165. Many of his associates in these activities were, of course, also Southern Society members.

159. Ibid., 117.

160. See, for example, Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*, 41–57; Lin Wei, "Lin Shu diyi bu zizhuan de duanpian xiaoshuo ji," 12.

161. "Tian Xiao, "Ku'er liulang ji" [The tale of the poor vagabond], *JYZZ*, 1912, 4.

162. See *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue cidian*, 246.

163. Ch'ien Chung-shu, "Li Ch'in-nan Revisited," 10.

164. Ibid., 11.

165. For a summary of some of these comments, see Ye, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 66–68.

166. Lee, *Romantic Generation*, 52.

167. As early as 1897, Lin had written and published a collection of satirical poems which addressed a variety of contemporary and controversial issues such as footbinding, taxes, corruption, diplomacy, education. See ibid., 53. He also wrote a novel, *Jinghua bixue lu*, which related the events of the Hundred Days' Reform and the Boxer Uprising in the final years of the reign of the Guangxu emperor. See Zhu, *Chunjue zhai*, 19.

168. Kirk Denton, ed., *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, 67. See also the positive reactions to such reading of Zhou Zuoren and Guo Moruo quoted in Ye, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 67.

169. For an English translation of a good portion of this article, see Cheng Chen-to, "The Translator Who Knew No English—Lin Shu."

170. Ibid., esp. 28–29.

171. Ye, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 70.

172. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 153–154.

173. *XSYB* 4, 1, 3383–3384.

174. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 251.

175. Little information is to be found on Gan in biographical dictionaries. See Xu Naixiang, *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue zuozhe*, 80, and *MHCD*, 88.

176. For the various articles under these names, see *Dongfang zazhi zongmu*, esp. 103–189.

177. *Yingyu zhoukan* 81 (April 14, 1917), inside cover and 2096, 2101.

178. Reproduced in Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 460–461.

179. Reproduced in Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 383.

180. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 158.

181. See *MHCD*, 749.

182. *Anhui suhuabao*, 5, 11 (May 1904), and 13–15 (August–October 1904). I am grateful to Nadja Rackwitz-Ziegler for drawing my attention to these articles.

183. Christine Nguyen sees this as typical of the mood of the age. There was no initial ambition to universalize new concepts, to make them available to the whole population of the country. According to Nguyen, the reformers "visaient avant tout

à dégager de la masse une élite qui peut répondre aux besoins du pays au plus vite." See Nguyen, *L'Ecole Publique*, 74.

Chapter 5: Literary History

1. See Idema and Haft, *Guide to Chinese Literature*, 267

2. For a survey of some of the many discussions of what actually makes a short story, see Alfred Weber and Walter F. Greiner, eds., *Short-Story-Theorien*.

3. Hsia, "Yan Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao," 224.

4. Milena Dolezelová-Velingerová, "Die Ursprünge der modernen chinesischen Literatur," 36. On the contents of Lu Xun's selection of short stories, see Lennart Lundberg, *Lu Xun as a Translator*, 49–55.

5. Zhao, *Uneasy Narrator*, 29.

6. See Zbigniew Slupski, ed., *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature*.

7. Tsuen-hsuin Tsien comments on this collection of translations saying that Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren "first used the so-called literal method in the classical style in their translation, but it was not acceptable to their readers. Only twenty-one copies of their first book were sold in the period of ten years following its publication." Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, "Western Impact on China through Translation," 323; see also Ye *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 70–71.

8. McDougall and Louie, *Literature of China*, 84.

9. Wei Shaochang also notes the comparatively large number of short fiction contributions in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. See Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 282.

10. The story was published in two consecutive issues of the magazine just before it closed in 1906 (issues 68 and 69). It was based on a Japanese translation. The serialization of the fairly long story is, in itself, not surprising. What is surprising is that the first part breaks off more or less in midsentence. See also A Ying, *Wan-Qing wenyi baokan*, 18.

11. Ibid., 25.

12. The following journals have been consulted for comparative purposes: *Xinmin congbao*, *Jiaoyu zazhi*, *Minbao*, *Jiangsu*, and *Dongfang zazhi*. The latter published two short stories in 1907 issues of the journal. Otherwise only serialized novels or longer stories were printed.

13. *XSYB* 2, 2, 843.

14. "Xiaoshuo yuebao tebie guanggao" [A special announcement concerning *Xiaoshuo yuebao*] and "Zhengqiu duanpian xiaoshuo" [A call for short stories]. Neither of these texts has been included in the Japanese reprint of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*. Yet they have, fortunately, been reproduced in Chen Pingyuan's collection of theoretical materials on twentieth-century Chinese fiction; see Chen and Xia, *Ershi shiji*, 393–394.

15. See Nivard, *L'Histoire d'une Revue*, 14–15.

16. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 90.

17. Britton states that the really popular periodicals would even find some ten to twenty readers. See Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 129; Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 16; Nivard, *L'Histoire d'une Revue*, 15.

18. Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 83; Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, 282. The Japanese

reprint of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* does not include this announcement in the very first issue of the magazine. It is, however, featured in all other issues from the second (28 September 1910 [twenty-fifth day of second year Xuantong]). It was placed at the end of each issue. See, for instance, *XSYB* 1, 2, 136.

19. Such payment was perfectly normal in "respectable" European and American magazines, although many "respectable" authors, or those who have become such, decline to mention the payments they received. See, for example, the autobiography of Edith Wharton, who received payment for the publication of her stories in such magazines as *Scribner's*, but often only mentioned such payment in contexts that were distasteful to her. See Edith Wharton, *A Backward Glance*.

20. See, for instance, Zhang Jinglu's description of his compulsive reading of literary magazines and his own first attempts at writing in Zhang Jinglu, "Zai chubanjie ershi nian," 38–42.

21. This attitude is adequately illustrated by Q. D. Leavis, who would wish to see "popular" writings as the exact opposite of works of real literature that presuppose the "mental alertness, suppleness and concentration" required for the comprehension of works by someone like Virginia Woolf. He also opines that "the principal endeavour of the . . . popular novelist . . . is to persuade the ordinary prosperous citizen that life is fun." Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*, 61, 79.

22. Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 122–123.

23. It is difficult to assess the readership of the magazine with any precision. There are no letters to the editor and few comments by readers that would point in one direction or another. We do know that it was widely read and that the readers must have had a relatively acceptable level of education to be able to enjoy *all* sections of the magazine. Selective reading, which is probably the more usual method of approaching periodical publications, would have made some sections accessible to the less educated. We may assume, then, that it was read by educated men (such as those who produced most of the texts), by educated women, by students, and by the urban population who were involved in work that required a certain level of literacy. This should not obscure the fact that many would have been able to enjoy the texts by having them read aloud to them.

24. Hans Robert Jauß, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation*, 177. My translation.

25. Perry E. Link, Jr., "Traditional-style Popular Urban Fiction in the Teens and Twenties," 341.

26. Marian Galik, *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, 48.

27. Leo Ou-fan Lee, "Literary Trends I," 466.

28. See, for instance, Fan Mingli, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 82; Su Xingliang, "Xiaoshuo yuebao," 1086.

29. A Ying, *Wan-Qing xiaoshuo shi*, 175–176. The study was originally published in 1955. This same view is echoed in Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, 907. The latter work makes no other reference to Butterfly writing at all.

30. See Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, III; Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 901.

31. Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, III. This is a term also used by Leo Lee when speaking of the rise of popular magazines. See Lee, *Romantic Generation*, 5.

32. Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, III.

33. The vocabulary used by Wei Shaochang in his introduction is repeated —sometimes verbatim—by Fan Boqun in his article on Butterfly literature in

the encyclopedia of Chinese literature of 1986. See Fan Boqun, "Yuanyanghudiepai."

34. Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, iii.

35. These collections of materials are important study aids and provide very useful documentary evidence to the careful user, but they are uneven in themselves and not focused enough to substantiate or back up the claims they make about the writings they purport to illustrate.

36. See Yang, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo*, 54. Yang's study of modern Chinese fiction, from which this comment is taken, was first published in 1986.

37. Wei, *Yuanyang hudie*, iii; Rui, *Yuanyang hudie*, 901–902.

38. Link has been harshly attacked by Rey Chow for the manner in which he approached the subject of Butterfly literature. Chow's own contribution to the definition of the term "Butterfly literature" is not particularly helpful since she makes use of unnecessarily affective vocabulary, saying that the writings have an "intrinsically inferior nature." She also limits her view of works to those that provide evidence in support of this marginalized group of writings that occupy the "feminized positions" in "institutionalized criticism's erudite and persuasive *mishandling* of popular cultural forms." Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity*, 39 and 55.

39. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 7. Link does, however, see *Xiaoshuo yuebao* as a magazine specializing in popular literature of the Butterfly type. See ibid., 251–252.

40. Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, 42. Of course, Bourdieu's observations are just as applicable to the situation of scholarly treatises of literature, East and West, as they are with regard to the situation in China around 1918.

41. See Fan Boqun, *Zhongguo jinxiandai*, 4. Fan makes these remarks as part of a general introduction to a series of books on the lives of popular authors of the modern period. This is, surprisingly enough, the same Fan Boqun who, somewhat earlier, had poured extreme ideological criticism upon Mandarin Duck and Butterfly literature in his article for the *Encyclopedia of Chinese Literature*. See Fan, "Yuanyanghudiepai," 1189–1190.

42. Leo Ou-fan Lee can be cited as an example. In a similar manner to his opinions on *Xiaoshuo yuebao* cited above, his very readable study of what he calls the "romantic generation of modern Chinese writers" is marred by the constant underlining, in his choice of words, of the almost salvational achievements of the later generation of writers who had to do battle with the "host of popular semi-literary magazines," "wrest" second-rate publications from their hands, and "transform" them to make them worthy receptacles of "New Literature." See Lee, *Romantic Generation*, 7–9. A more legitimate question in this regard would, I feel, be *why* the writers of the later generation wanted or needed to take over such magazines at all. Were they trying to save their readers' souls or to benefit from healthy circulation figures? At the very least, one may assume that this generation of "serious" writers was not averse to profiting from the huge popularity of a magazine like *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.

Afterword

1. See Leo Ou-fan Lee, "In Search of Modernity," 110.

2. Ibid., 111.

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