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Notes

Unless otherwise stated, translations of quotations are mine.

Introduction

1. Wright, introduction to China in Revolution, pp. 1–3.
2. Martin, preface to The Awakening of China, vi.
3. For the most recent example, see Gimpel, Lost Voices of Modernity, pp. 27–29.
4. Liu’s words seem an uncanny echo of Lord George Macartney’s characterization of China in January 1794, toward the end of the latter’s famous mission to China: “The Empire of China is an old, crazy, First rate man-of-war, which a fortunate succession of able and vigilant officers has contrived to keep afloat for these one hundred and fifty years past, and to overawe their neighbors merely by her bulk and appearance, but whenever an insufficient man happens to have command upon deck, adieu to the discipline and safety of the ship. She may perhaps not sink outright; she may drift some time as a wreck, and will then be dashed to pieces on the shore; but she can never be rebuilt on the old bottom” (An Embassy to China, pp. 212–213).
6. Mao’s full phrase to characterize pre-1949 is “semifeudal, semicolonial.” For a concise description, see Hershatter, Dangerous Pleasures, pp. 7–8.
7. The Ottoman Empire is, of course, another example of this process, although its historical links with the West were vastly more substantial than in the case of China and Japan.
9. As part of his effort to define neocolonialism, Philip Altbach notes that it is “more difficult to describe [than traditional colonialism],” but he goes on to say: “[I]t does not involve direct political control, leaving substantial leeway to
the developing country. It is similar, nevertheless, in that some aspects of domination by the advanced nation over the developing nation remain” (“Education and Neocolonialism,” p. 452).

10. See, for example, Jonathan Spence’s recent *Search for Modern China*, perhaps the most successful comprehensive history of post-1600 China ever published. The second section of the book, entitled “Fragmentation and Reform,” duly begins with 1840 but concludes with the overthrow of the Qing in 1911–1912. Of course, Joseph R. Levenson, in his *Liang Ch’i-ch’ao and the Mind of Modern China*, alerted us to this great transformation almost fifty years ago, and Mary Wright followed up by initiating a series of highly detailed examinations, but later scholars have tended to stay at either end of the continuum or to look at events in this zone as representing either continuity with “tradition” or, more frequently, the advent of “modernity.”


13. A conspicuous exception is Douglas R. Reynolds’ *China, 1898–1912*, a heroic attempt to provide the final decade of the Qing with a unique identity of its own. Even Reynolds, however, does not include the period between 1912 and 1919.

14. I will take up the first of the *ti/yong* question in detail below. Levenson’s focus on the late Qing can be gauged qualitatively by the fact that pp. 49–129 of a 163-page text of the first volume of his trilogy, *The Problem of Intellectual Continuity*, is set in the late Qing (Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*). For a summary of Chinese views of the period as failure, see Luke S. Kwong, *A Mosaic of the Hundred Days*, pp. 2–4.

15. While I agree with Wang’s findings in this important study of a profusion of literary diversity in the late Qing, I can’t help thinking that the term “modernities” prejudges the period as being a backward extension of the overt desires to catch up with the world developed by the “May Fourth generation.”


18. Wright, introduction to *China in Revolution*, p. 63.


20. For a perceptive critique of the intellectual damage caused by such binarisms, see Wang Hui, “Contemporary Chinese Thought,” esp. p. 157.

21. There was, for instance, the *Zouxiang shijie congshu* (Collectanea on moving toward the world), a series dating from the early 1990s in which reprints of important writings of late nineteenth-century thinkers were published.

22. The pioneering work on this movement is Mary Wright’s *Last Stand*.
23. Xie, “Xing shi congshu zongshu,” p. 3.
24. Hu Shi’s extraordinarily tendentious Baihua wenxue shi (History of vernacular literature), in which he attempted to show that all Chinese literature worthy of the name was written in the vernacular, is one of the most conspicuous examples of bending history to a presentist agenda. That he only wrote the first volume can perhaps be taken as evidence that he had a hard time convincing even himself of the validity of the enterprise.
27. Levenson, Confucian China and Its Modern Fate, p. 108.
29. On this term, see Lydia Liu, Translingual Practice, p. xix.
30. Ibid., p. 39.
31. The idea that modern Chinese history can be most fruitfully explored in indigenous terms was given its most careful justification in Paul Cohen’s Discovering History in China. A more recent explication of this idea in a reform thinker’s terms can be found in Xiaobing Tang, “‘Poetic Revolution,’ Colonization, and Form at the Beginning of Modern Chinese Literature.”
32. This thesis has been advanced by Chen Xiaomei in her book Occidentalism. Chen focuses, however, largely on the period after 1920, in which a new dynamic had come to operate.
33. This thesis was given its initial currency by Edward Said in Orientalism (1978) and has given rise to an entire rubric of critical studies since.
34. On journalism’s view of itself as vital to the reform effort, see Judge, Print and Politics, p. 7.
35. One of the best accounts of the centrality of Hegelian thinking to Europe’s sense of its historical mission can be found in Robert Young, White Mythologies, esp. pp. 1–20.
38. Readings, The University in Ruins, p. 70.
40. Luce Irigaray, “This Sex Which Is Not One,” p. 100.
41. Ibid., p. 106.
42. Butler, Gender Trouble, pp. 31–32.
43. Bhabha, “Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817,” in The Location of Culture, p. 119.
44. Reischauer and Fairbank, East Asia, p. 293, quoted in Ernest Young, The Presidency of Yuan Shih-k’ai, p. 20. The classic definition of the dichotomy is to be found in Levenson, Liang Chi-ch’iao, pp. 109–122.
45. Reynolds, China, 1898–1912, p. 194.
46. For instance, in The Presidency of Yuan Shih-k’ai, Young notes: “Admissions
of borrowing from Japanese experiences were understandably rare in the wake of the [1915] Twenty-One Demands” (p. 305 n. 82).


49. Dickinson, “An Essay on the Civilizations of India, China, and Japan,” pp. 71–72. Dickinson’s perspicuity as an observer of the Chinese scene can perhaps be ascertained from his comment made no later than November 1913, in distinct contrast to the contemporary observations of many of his fellow foreigners, that Yuan Shikai “will not appear to history to be more than an astute and tenacious opportunist” (p. 72). On the generally favorable views toward Yuan held by John Newell Jordan, His Britannic Majesty’s minister to China at the time, see Ernest Young, *The Presidency of Yuan Shih-k’ai*, pp. 169–170.


51. McDougall, *Fictional Authors, Imaginary Audiences*, p. 36.

### 1. China as Origin

1. For a detailed analysis of the history of this discussion, see Quan, “Qing mo de ‘xixue yuan chu Zhongguo shuo.” There was considerable satire of these views in post–May Fourth literature. See, for example, Lu Xun, “Gushu yu baihua,” 3.213. In reading in his father’s sinological library in preparation for a speech on Sino-Western relations, Fang Hongjian, the protagonist of Qian Zhongshu’s *Weicheng*, encounters numerous absurd assertions of Chinese epistemological preeminence; see pp. 33–35.


3. Traces of the idea did remain, however, for a number of years thereafter. As I will show in chapter 6, one of Wu Jianren’s most important novels seems to build from this premise, and the prominent jurist Xu Qian (1871–1940) was arguing as late as 1911 for the Mencian origins of democratic thought, which were discovered by Western thinkers only much later. Xu does not, however, posit a causal connection between the Chinese discovery and later Western development of the idea. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, p. 62.


5. For a concise account of the Kangxi emperor’s scientific career, see Kessler, *K’ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch’ing Rule*, pp. 146–154.

6. Literally, “heaven-origin unit.” Joseph Needham refers to this as “the unity symbol (I [yi]) placed at the left-hand top corner of the counting board before the beginning of the most important parts of the operation of [indeterminate analysis].” It first appears in the calendrical calculations of Qin Jiushao in

7. From *Chi shui yi zhen* (Pearls lost in the Red Sea), quoted in Quan Hansheng, "Qing mo," p. 219.

8. From *Kangxi zhengyao* (Key policy documents of the Kangxi period), quoted in Quan Hansheng, "Qing mo," p. 219.

9. The best account of the school of evidentiary research is to be found in Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*.

10. See, for instance, "Ziming zhong shuo" (On the alarm clock), in Ruan, *Yanjingshi ji*, pp. 700–701.

11. Joseph Needham's attitude toward claims of Chinese origins is a good indicator here. He is more than willing to entertain Chinese claims to independent development of algebra (although he remains considerably more skeptical about claims of Chinese influence on the West), but he is abruptly dismissive of most of the nineteenth-century claims. See Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 1, p. 48.


14. Feng Guifen, "Zhi yangqi yi," in *Jiaobinlu kangyi*, p. 197. Much of the remainder of this essay is translated in Wright, *Last Stand*, p. 65. Wright cites the 1885 edition of Feng's work, to which I have not had access, but she incorrectly gives the title of the essay from which it was taken as "Cai xixue yi" (On adopting Western learning), the essay that actually precedes "Zhi yangqi yi" in the collection. It is worth noting that in this text Feng in many ways demonstrates himself to be ahead of his time. Although compiled by Feng in 1861, this collection of essays circulated for many years only as a manuscript passed among reform officials. First printed in its entirety in 1883, it achieved its greatest influence in the late 1890s, with the Guangxu emperor distributing one thousand copies to high officials as part of the reform effort of 1898. See Dai Yangben, "Feng Guifen yu Jiaobinlu kangyi," pp. 2–3.


17. Wang Tao, "Yuan xue."

18. An extraordinary and remarkably balanced eyewitness account of these battles can be found in Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay*, pp. 143–201. John Newsinger has a fine revisionary analysis of this war in his "Elgin in China."

19. For an account of the key events of these years, see Wright, *Last Stand*, pp. 12–20.


21. *Yangwu yundong*, 2.24. The set of memorials covering the 1866–1867 debate over the Tongwen Guan’s curriculum is one of the best-covered events in

22. *Yangwu yundong*, 2.25.

23. The documents advocating reform were translated and published in the Shanghai *Court and Consular Gazette* and immediately reprinted in the *North China Daily News (NCDN)* and the *North China Herald (NCH)*. A translated version of the court document submitted on January 28, 1867, for instance, appeared almost in full in the *NCDN* issue of March 12 (p. 2687) and was reprinted in the *NCH* issue of March 16 (pp. 43–44). Some indication of their impact—at least on Western educators—can be gleaned from the fact that John Fryer clipped later articles on the subject published in the editions of May 1867 and January 16, 1868 (before he went to work as a scientific translator for the Chinese government in March 1868), and maintained them in his files. See Bennett, *John Fryer*, pp. 22–23.

24. For an excellent study on Woren, see Li Xizhu, *Wanqing baoshou sixiang*.

25. *Yangwu yundong*, 2.30. The translation is my own; other translations can be found in Jerome Ch’ien, *China and the West*, p. 429, and in Teng and Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West*, p. 76. The empress dowager Cixi also echoed these sentiments during an emergency audience held at court in June 1900 to discuss official policy toward the Boxer rebels. Interrupting a minister speaking against the Boxers, she countered: “Perhaps their magic is not to be relied upon; but can we not rely on the hearts and minds of the people? Today China is extremely weak. We have only the people’s hearts and minds to depend upon. If we cast them aside and lose the people’s hearts, what can we use to sustain the country?” Quoted in Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, p. 289.

26. *Shi run*, literally, “to fail to insert intercalary months within the lunar calendar at the appropriate times.”

27. *Yangwu yundong*, 2.45.

28. From Liu’s *Yingyao siji* (Private diary of the journey to England), quoted and translated in Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation*, p. 1. This sense of complete otherness manifested by Chinese observers of the West was matched by Western observers of China in the same period. As J. O. P. Bland recalled in 1912: “[I]n our earlier geographies and text-books, China figured generally as a sort of fantastic topsy-turvy land, a land of pagodas and pigtails and porcelain, where people ate birds’ nests and chow dogs, where merchants and missionaries struggled eternally with elusive mandarins, against a background of willow-pattern serenity chequered by periodic cataclysms. The Chinaman, as an individual, was regarded as a bundle of hopeless contradictions . . .” (*Recent Events*, p. 4).

29. David Pong in his *Shen Pao-chen*, p. 333, estimates that those in favor of technologically based reform in that body were always a relatively small minority.

30. Min Tu-ki cites a letter of Li Hongzhang’s in which the statesman discussed a petition he made to Yixin in 1874, pleading for the construction of railroads. Although Yixin agreed that such a plan would be a good idea, he was ada-
mant that “there would be no one [within officialdom] to implement it.” Min, *National Polity and Local Power*, pp. 65–66.

31. For a detailed account of these events focusing on Woren’s role, see Li Xizhu, *Wanqing baoshou sixiang*, pp. 159–186.

32. For the specifics of Woren’s relationships with young scholars, see ibid., pp. 173–78.

33. For more detail on how the Zongliamen reform worked out, see Mary Wright’s accounts; Kuo and Liu, “Self-strengthening”; and Kwang-Ching Liu, “Politics, Intellectual Outlook, and Reform.”

34. Ding and Chen, *Zhongxi tiyong*, p. 140.

35. This line of argument also was prominent in the new Shanghai newspaper, *Shen bao*. For some examples, in this case tracing Western ideas about popular education back to the Chinese classics, see Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?* pp. 163–164.


37. It is important to note that Wang Tao, one of the first Chinese to attain a high level of literacy in both Chinese and English, seemed to change his mind on this question. In his writings of the 1870s and 1880s he voiced the orthodox view about ultimate Chinese origins (see Ding and Chen, *Zhongxi tiyong*, p. 145). In a later text, however, Wang takes issue with the notion that algebra was imported into Europe from China. For a translation of Wang’s statement on this matter, see Paul Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity*, pp. 177–180.

38. I follow here A. C. Graham’s translation of the term; see Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, pp. 41–45. The idea that a diaspora of Mozi’s disciples and theories lies at the heart of Western ideas of science and religion is most fully developed in Huang Zunxian, *Ribenguo zhi*, “Xueshi zhi” (Treatise on learning), as quoted in Xiong Yuezhi, *Xixue dongjian*, p. 718.

39. For the consonance of these works with the categories used in science fiction, see Ming, *In Search of a Position*, chaps. 3–4.

40. Actually, Jesuit writings of the seventeenth century had already had recourse to the flames of Qin Shihuang to explain the disappearance of any number of religious and scientific phenomena. See Hart, “The Jesuits as Missionaries of Science,” pp. 28–29; cf. the claims made by Xu Guangqi (1562–1633) for the loss of Euclidian thinking in the Qin holocaust: “Xu’s assertion of the loss of mathematical treatises and the decline of Ming mathematics was not an evaluation of the development of Chinese mathematics of which he knew little, but part of a theory that asserted the original meaning of the classics—lost in the burning of the books in the Qin dynasty—had been recovered in Jesuit teachings” (Hart, p. 38). For the Jesuits’ arguments on the religious doctrines lost, see Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact*, p. 28.

41. There is a textual variant here. The 1894 edition in 5 juan says “tiandi” (the earth), whereas the 1895 edition in 14 juan says “tianxia,” or “realm.”

42. At first glance, the *doo/qi* distinction seems difficult to differentiate from
the ti/yong dichotomy. As Min Tu-ki explains, however, “... the tao-ch'i [dao-qi] idea stresses the universal tao (that is, no specifically Chinese tao is assumed), while the principle/utility [i.e., ti-yong] dichotomy emphasizes specific Chinese values (chung [zhong]). Since tao-ch'i tends to center on an argument for the unity of tao and chi, it was easy for its advocates to accept Western culture and institutions as chi, thanks to the universality of tao itself” (Min, National Polity and Local Power, p. 85).

43. Runwei, literally, “interregnum.”
45. On Kang, see Hsiao, A Modern China and a New World, pp. 409–435.
47. This theme was also set out as early as 1861 by Feng Guifen in his Jiao-binlu kanyi.
48. This a remark attributed to Confucius in the Hanshu, based on the notion of cultural dispersal of the fruits of a central civilization to the periphery and the need to recover them from there.
52. Tang Zhen, Weiyan, 1.8b.
53. An allusion to the Guliang zhuan (The Guliang commentary), in Shisan jing zhusu (2.2392a) 7.28, “Xi gong er nian.” The story is also in Han Feizi “Shi guo” (The ten faults), in Han Fei, Han Fei Tzu, trans. Burton Watson, pp. 51–52.
55. In the 1920s, for instance, the poet-scholar Guo Moruo (1892–1978) asserted similarities among ancient China, ancient Greece, and Germany but discarded any notion of influence. See Guo Moruo, “Lun Zhong-De wenhua shu.”
56. Xiong Yuezhi in his comprehensive Xixue dongjian, p. 722, notes the paradox involved here.
58. Xiong, Xixue dongjian, p. 723.
59. For Zhang’s explanation of his thesis, see the extensively annotated version of his 1904 essay that introduced his Qiushu (The book of compulsion): “Xu zhongxing” (The origin of names and races), in Zhang Binglin, Zhang Taiyan xuanji, pp. 194–263. On the source of these ideas having been through Japan, see Bernal, “Liu Shih-p’ei and National Essence.”
2. Appropriations

2. The best account of Yan’s life and of his translations of English works into Chinese is to be found in Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*.
3. Hao Chang goes so far as to label this a “crisis of orientational order.” See Chang, *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis*, p. 8.
4. “Su” roughly means “years old plus one.”
5. The letter itself bears no date. For the reasons behind assigning the 1902 date, see Yan Fu, *Yan Fu shi wen xuan*, p. 155 n. 1.
6. Yan’s quotation here is from *Lunyu* 19.23, a text originally posing a metaphor for the difficulty of comprehending Confucius’ learning, sequestered as it was behind extremely high walls. Yan takes some liberties with the original wording, thereby stressing the aptness of the analogy to one who has never had the chance for an official position. Translation based on Lao, *The Analects*, p. 156.
8. “Yuan qiang” had been significantly amended by the time it was republished in 1901. See Niu and Sun, *Yan Fu yanjiu ziliao*, p. 472.
9. The actual wording is “toward the end of spring in jiawu” (*jiawu chunban*), which would more correctly refer to early 1894. It is seems likely from the context, however, that Yan is referring to events that transpired in the winter of 1894–1895.
11. See Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?* p. 166, for some of the complications involved in breaking with the old notion of Chinese origins of important ideas. As Mittler finds in her reading of *Shen bao*, it seems to have become safe after 1895 simply to declare Western superiority, but some examples from 1882 and 1892 say the same thing, at least when talking of education. The idea of ultimate Chinese origins, however, continues to be featured in *Shen bao* articles, as Mittler, shows on pp. 163–165.
12. *Yan Fu ji* 1.1.
13. Although the slogan “Zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong” (Chinese learning as the essence, Western learning as the application) has been almost universally attributed to Zhang, the closest he actually came to this in *Quanxue pian* was the following: “the old learning as the essence, the new learning as the application; neither can be emphasized at the expense of the other” (*jiuxue wei ti, xinxue wei yong, bushi pian fei*). Zhang Zhidong, *Quanxue pian (Waipian)*, “Shexue disan” (Village schools, third essay), p. 121.
14. Yan’s attack comes in a 1902 letter to the editors of the periodical *Waijiao bao* (Foreign relations), in which he is extremely abrupt: “The differences between Chinese and Western learning are as clear as the difference in appearance between the races. We cannot force them to resemble one another. Therefore, Chinese learning has its own substance and function, as does Western learning. If they are kept separate, they will both subsist, but if they are combined, they will
both perish. Advocates who insist upon wishing to combine them such that they become one entity, with one substance and one function, are simply not making sense. How can one expect that just by saying such things they can thereby be implemented?" ("Yu Waijiao bao," Yan Fu ji 3.559). A number of important contemporary voices also saw problems in this formulation. Even the Yangwu theorist Zheng Guanying, for instance, in his preface to his Shengshi weiyan expresses similar sentiments:

Excellent are the words of Zhang Jingda: "Although their rituals, music and cultivation are all inferior to China’s, Westerners in establishing their countries all have essentials and nonessentials (benmo), and in gradually attaining to wealth and power, they have their substance and function. Educating talent in schools, discussing policy in legislatures, the sovereign and people being united, high and low of one mind, devotion to matters of substance (shi) and abstention from the frivolous, once a plan is established to then make a move—these are all the essentials. Steamboats and firearms, guns and mines, railroads and electric wires—these are all the functions. Were China to abandon the essentials and pursue the functions, no matter how we hasten, we will still never catch up. Even if we succeed with ranks of iron ships and have railroads going in every direction, will these be enough to rely on?" This discussion truly hits the target. ("Shengshi weiyan zixu," p. 51)

As Min Tu-ki has noted, "Principle [ti]/utility [yong] as a formula for modernization has generally been denigrated in both the late Ch’ing and the Republican contexts" (Min, National Polity and Local Power, p. 55).

15. Yan Fu ji 1.2.


17. In a letter he composed in 1891, Kang Youwei stated virtually the same sentiments. In Hsiao Kung-chuan’s paraphrase: "In China the ‘Three Bonds’ became the ruling principle of social life; in the West equality became the cardinal principle” (A Modern China and a New World, p. 535 n. 50).

18. Yan Fu ji 1.3.


21. One can note an immediate explosion of this new discourse on the disposition of "gong" and "si." An article entitled "Gongli shuo" (On public profit) that was published in the Shanghai newspaper Shen bao on January 9, 1897, for instance, devotes itself to showing how the pursuit of profit in the West is in the public good, unlike in China, where profit is strictly a personal pursuit. See Mittler, A Newspaper for China? pp. 144–149.
22. That the characters of young women in Wu Jianren’s Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang become the spokespersons for a specifically Confucian reform is one early indicator of this gender marking of ideas. See, for example, chapter 21, where the protagonist’s female cousin gives him instruction on how Confucian verities need to be reinterpreted in modern times (pp. 149–151). The key text in redefining certain traditional cultural values as female is Liang Qichao’s “Lun nüxue” (On female education), part of his influential 1896–1897 essay “Bianfa tongyi” (Comprehensive discussion on reform). For an excellent analysis of the genderization process, with traditional China depicted as female, see Hu Ying’s introduction to her Tales of Translation. Note also Chen Duxiu’s categorization of gender in his essay “Yijuyiliu” (“1916”): “For all of humanity, men are the conquerors and women the conquered; Caucasians are the conquerors and non-whites are the conquered; among Far Eastern peoples, the Mongols, Manchus, and Japanese are conquering peoples and the Han are the conquered people” (p. 172).

23. Yan Fu ji 1.31.


25. It must be noted, however, that this formulation seems to represent a revision of Liang’s idea from only a year or two earlier—in 1900—where Liang had noted the value assigned to gong in Chinese thought, and the corresponding condemnation of si, as well as the importance of si, or self-interest, in the development of Western democracy (mingquan). See his “Shizhong dexing.”


27. Yan Fu ji 1.3, p. 5.

28. As Wang Hui says in a slightly different context: “The point from which Yan Fu’s advocacy of ‘Western studies and science (gezhi)’ is the pursuit of wealth and power, so his understanding of science (hexue) has a distinct utilitarian coloration to it” (“Sai xiansheng’ zai Zhongguo de mingyun,” p. 73). For an English translation of this article, see Choy, “The Fate of ‘Mr. Science’ in China”; the relevant passage is on p. 21.

29. Here Yan makes a number of references to the Dynastic Histories: (1) “By the seventy years [following] the beginning of [Han] Wudi’s reign, the country had no problems, and when there were no floods or droughts, then there was self-sufficiency for every person and family” (Han shu 24a—Ban Gu, “Shi huo zhi” 4, 4.1135). (2) “Wang Mang submitted a memorial that said: ‘In the era of the sages there were many worthies in the country, so in the time of Tang and Yu [i.e., Yao and Shun], every household could be enfeoffed’” (Han shu 99a—“Wang Mang zhuan” 69a, 12.4089). (3) “In the time of Kings Cheng and Kang [of the Zhou, 1115–1053 BCE], the realm was at peace, and punishments were not used for more than forty years” (Sima, Shiji 4—“Zhou benji,” 4.42, p. 68b).

30. Yan Fu ji 1.24. The critique of the contemporary West implied here is spelled out more explicitly in chapter 10 of Zeng Pu’s Niehai hua, where the Russian “Pierre” explains the viewpoint of the Russian anarchists, based on an in-
terpretation of Saint-Simon’s egalitarianism: “Contemporary people talk extravagantly of equality, but it is only a facade. If one gets to the truth of the matter, the real power in the world is mostly in the hands of the rich, with very little for the poor. The capitalists loom large and the working people figure for very little. Where is the real equality here?” (1990, p. 90).

31. On this point, see Wang’s essay “Yan Fu de sange shijie,” pp. 34–35:

When comparing China and the West by explaining the features of modern Western thought, “China” is a negative image and value. If, however, one pursues the investigation more deeply, I also think that these “negative” images and values have already penetrated [Yan Fu’s] understanding of the “positive West.” This leads me to believe that Yan Fu’s revelation of the premises underlying European thought of which the European thinkers were themselves unaware, such as the notion of collective strength and nationalism, cannot in fact exhaust the limits of his own thought. In the worldview constructed by Yan Fu, there exist a certain logic and a set of values that directly conflict with these premises. (Emphasis added)

For the idea that Yan reveals aspects of Western ideas that their originators had not noticed, see Hartz, introduction to Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power, pp. vii–ix.

32. The former phrase dates to the early 1930s and is primarily associated with Hu Shi. See Chow, The May Fourth Movement, p. 332. The latter phrase was coined by Lin Yu-sheng in his Crisis of Chinese Consciousness.

33. Yan Fu ji 1.49.

34. “Pi Han,” Yan Fu ji 1. 34. Note that here Yan shares his conviction of the evils of post-Qin China with Chen Chi and the Yangwu theorists. See chapter 1 above.

35. Yan Fu ji 1.52.

36. Yan Fu, “Yi Tianyan lun zixu,” Yan Fu ji 5.1320.

37. Ibid.


39. Yan Fu ji 5.1319–1320.

40. Yan Fu ji 5.1320. Writing a few years later, Liang Qichao is considerably more explicit about the problems involved in claiming Chinese origins: “I despise the shoddy scholars who toy with words and are ever anxious to engraft Western learning upon Chinese learning under the pretext of introducing new things but who, in fact, want to preserve [the old ones]. They nurture a slavish spirit in the intellectual world.” Liang quotes himself in his Intellectual Trends in the Ch’ing Period, trans. Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, p. 104; original in Qingdai xueshu gaijun, p. 89.

41. Levenson, Confucian China and Its Modern Fate, pp. 112–113.

42. Yan Fu ji 1.4.

43. Hegel, Introduction to the Philosophy of History, p. 91.
45. Dirks, Castes of Mind, pp. 52, 82.
47. Ibid., p. 395.
48. Ibid., p. 8.
49. Bland, Recent Events, p. 1. For a sympathetic assessment of Bland’s character that stresses his understanding of the Chinese situation, see Trevor-Roper, The Hermit of Peking, pp. 30–33. For Liang Qichao’s similar comments, see Xiaobing Tang, Global Space, p. 36.
50. Bland, Recent Events, p. 2.
51. Ibid., p. 13. For a contemporary version of what is essentially the same story, compare Paul Cohen’s account: “If, from the fact that Japan defeated China in 1895 and went on to become a world power while China continued to flounder in weakness, we conclude that Japan’s ‘response to the west’ was rapid and successful, China’s, slow and unsuccessful, we ignore a fundamental fact about modern Japanese history, namely that Japanese modernization had begun long before the arrival of the Westerners” (Between Tradition and Modernity, pp. 148–149).
54. Chatterjee, The Nation and Its Fragments, p. 76.
55. Wu Jianren, Xin shitou ji, p. 52.
57. Yan is probably referring here to the arrest and cashiering of Zhang Peilun (1848–1903), the son-in-law of Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), and Li’s nephew for peculation in sending defective ammunition to the Chinese fleet in the summer of 1894, during the early stages of the war against Japan. See Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, pp. 33–34.
58. Yan Fu ji 1.30.
59. While the editors of the Yan Fu ji point out that these translations came from foreign papers both in China and abroad, it should be noted that the Shanghai North China Daily News and the North China Herald (the weekly edition of the NCDN), by far the most important foreign newspapers in China at the time, also carried extensive reprints from the foreign press and that were always labeled as such. In other words, just because a translation in the Guowen bao was cited as coming from a newspaper in Europe or America did not rule out its having been obtained from the North China Herald.
60. Yan Fu, “You ru sanbao,” Yan Fu ji 1.82.
62. See Michie, Missionaries in China. One indication of the lack of interest in how Yan felt about contemporary Western opinion of China is that Schwartz makes only two brief mentions of Michie in his book on Yan Fu, In Search of Wealth and Power. The Chinese sources are silent on the matter, and the translation by
Yan seems never to have been reprinted in any of the retrospective editions of his work published in the decades after his death.


64. Yan Fu, “Zhina jiaoan lun tiyao,” *Yan fu ji* 1.55.


66. Ibid., p. 240.


71. For Lu Xun’s praise of Yan Fu, see Lu’s “Suigan lu ershiwu,” p. 24–27.


74. Fu Sinian, “Yishu ganyan,” p. 532. Fu’s criticism of Yan bears a striking resemblance to Zeng Pu’s critique of Lin Shu, the famous stylist who rendered foreign novels into classical prose, without knowing any foreign languages himself. In taking Lin to task for not being more selective, Zeng characterizes him thus: “If we could remove those works [he translated] that are without value, reduce his tendency to translate all the work of one author, and add the representative works of great authors, even if his translations were too free and thereby approached infidelity, his achievement would have been more satisfactory than it now is” (emphasis added). Zeng also says in regard to Lin’s renderings: “[T]hey will have no great influence on the future of Chinese literature. The guiding principle in translating should be to extend our own literary territory, and not to show off our own stylistic skill” (“Zeng Mengpu xiansheng fu Hu Shizhi,” pp. 418–419).

75. Quoted in He Lin, “Yan Fu di fanyi,” p. 238. He Lin is here quoting Zhang from his article entitled “Shen bao guan ‘zuijin zhi wushi nian’” (“The last fifty years” of *Shen bao*).

76. Zhou Zhenfu in Yan Fu, *Yan Fu shi wenxuan*, p. 99. Zhou’s notes to this text, which runs barely more than two pages, contain at least seven explicit refutations of Yan’s “forced interpretations” (pp. 97–98).


78. *Yan fu ji* 1.16.


80. See ibid., pp. 70–71, where Schwartz points out how Yan had realized “[t]he wonderful paradox of the West . . . [.] that self-interest and the interest of the social organism reinforce one another.”

81. Levenson, general preface to *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, p. xv.
The marginalization that I am referring to, however, lies in the rejection of any claims to the universal in Yan by Chinese thinkers who came after him, not in any sense in Yan’s part of his own inadequacy. As far as I can see, Yan never hints at any regrets that he lacks what we would now refer to as discursive authority to reach an audience outside of China, which Levenson seems to wish to claim for him. One could, perhaps, just as readily detect a bit of projection here on Levenson’s part: why must one be condemned to be but a historian of China, rather than a universal theorist of the general historical process?

82. See, for instance, the entries in Niu and Sun, Yan Fu yanju ziliao. Of the two sections that each occupy about half the book, the first is entitled “Yan Fu’s Life and Literary Activities” (“Yan Fu shengping ji wenxue huodong”), and the second, “Research Essays on Yan Fu’s Translations” (“Yan Fu fanyi yanjiu wenzhang”). There is no section devoted to his “thought” or general intellectual activity.

83. See Qian Zhongshu, “Lin Shu de fanyi.”

84. Zhou Zhenfu, Yan Fu sixiang shuping, pp. 211–212. Note that on p. 24 of the same work Zhou sketches out a periodization of Yan’s intellectual life. He categorizes the period between 1895–1899 as that of “complete Westernization,” but this seems less than a good fit with many of Yan’s thoughts in his preface to his translation of Evolution and Ethics.

85. See the examples cited by Quan, “Qing mo,” pp. 221, 223, 224. Ding and Chen note the underlying pattern of this argument: “… in following out the logic of ‘Chinese origins for Western learning,’ it becomes a theoretical rejection of ’China is not as good as the West,’ as well as a theory of cultural archaism, in which ’the present is not as good as the past.’” (Zhongxi tiyong, p. 151).

86. The architecture of this argument even coincides with the essential position of Song neo-Confucianism, with its claim of an interrupted daotong, or line of transmission from the sages that only thinkers starting with Han Yu (768–824) had been able to resume after a long hiatus. See Birdwhistle, Transition to Neo-Confucianism, p. 40. Daniel Gardner suggests another point in common between Song and late Qing scholarly motivation, namely resistance to accepting ideas of foreign origin: “Thus, Confucians stressed some ideas found in Buddhist teachings, but at the same time they were eager to reject any suggestion, however slight, that they had been influenced by the foreign doctrine. Indeed, that eagerness to reject such suggestions suggests how threatening they were” (Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh, p. 14).

3. New Ways of Writing

1. For the details of the Subao case, see Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, pp. 88–95.

2. Jiang, one of the editors of the State Historiographer’s Office, after 1765 compiled this book from original documentary evidence to which he had access.
It is thus considered an early and authoritative source for official actions during the Qianlong period.

3. Dai and Zeng were both executed by the Manchu government for sedition. Zha died in prison after being sentenced on the same charge, his body being desecrated after his death.

4. Wang Fuzhi was a patriotic scholar who never gave up his loyalty to the Ming state and, in his scholarship, expressed persistent opposition to non-Han rule of China.


7. For an extensive list of this lexicon and a critical discussion of it, see Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice*, pp. 259–378.

8. *Yan Fu ji* 1.126. For an alternative translation, see Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*, p. 34.

9. The locus classicus is *Lunyu* (Analects) 11.2. The four categories (*sike*) are *dexing* (virtuous conduct), *yanyu* (speech), *zhengshi* (government), and *wenxue* (culture and learning).


13. The literary scholar Huang Ren (1866–1913) was the first fully to explain the European origins of the term. See his “Zhongguo wenxue shi” (History of Chinese literature), in Tang Zhesheng and Tu, *Huang Ren*, p. 67.

14. The Tongcheng scholar Wu Rulun (1840–1903) used the term in its older, broader sense as late as 1898, but as we shall see below, many other writers adopted the new sense of the word soon after 1895. Raymond Williams in *Keywords* (pp. 150–154) has traced the evolution of the word “literature” in English and found a similar change of meaning, from “letters” in general to a more restricted use for “imaginative writing” or “creative writing,” occurring under the auspices of Romanticism.


17. On the political side to this movement, see Polachek, *The Inner Opium War*.


20. These two phrases are almost invariably trotted out in any defense of the need for embellished writing. The former can be found in *Lunyu* 15.41, and the latter in the *Zuo zhuan*, “Xianggong” (Duke Xiang) 25.
21. Yan Fu, “*Tianyan lun yi liyan,*” *Yan Fu ji* 5.1321.
24. Ibid., 4.145.
27. An excellent discussion of Lin Shu and his translations is to be found in Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation*, pp. 67–103.
32. On the post-1901 changes in the examination system, see Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung*, pp. 211–216.
33. Li Xiang, “*Lun Tongcheng pai, *” p. 3b.
34. An excellent introduction to the history of the parallel style can be found in Knechtges, introduction to Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan*.
36. The following account of Liu Shipei’s life is based largely on the detailed biography in Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, esp. pp. 32–45.
38. For a detailed profile of the Minbao and its contents, see Zhao Jinyu, “Minbao.” This article is marred by the author’s apparent determination to pay as little attention to Liu Shipei as possible.
39. Zhao claims that each number went through four or five printings and sold as many as forty to fifty thousand copies. Ibid., pp. 504–505.
40. This breakup is surrounded by any number of lurid stories about its nature and causes. Wu Fang, for instance, claims that He Zhen and her “lover” Wang Gongquan (described as her nephew by Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, p. 34) poisoned Zhang’s tea. See Wu, “Liu Shenshu xiansheng xiaozhuan,” p. 404.
41. Martin Bernal claims that Liu Shipei had already gone over to Duanfang before he ever arrived in Tokyo, and letters turned up in 1934 supposedly demonstrating that Liu joined forces with Duanfang during a trip to China in December 1907. I follow Zarrow in his skepticism. For the evidence, see Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, p. 269 n. 10.
43. Ibid., pp. 101–102.
47. See, for instance, Doleželová-Velingerová, introduction to *The Chinese Novel*, p. 6. See also Li Ruiteng, *Wan Qing wenxue sixiang lun*, p. 84. Li does, however, note the contradictions in Liu's position.
49. Ibid.
50. For similar sentiments in modern Britain, see Williams, *The Long Revolution*, pp. 156–172. As Williams notes, “the argument about [literary] quality and the argument about democracy are here so deeply intertwined as to appear inseparable” (p. 158).
51. Li Ruiteng, *Wan Qing wenxue sixiang lun*, p. 84.
52. Liang, *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*, trans. Hsü, p. 102; original in *Qingdai xueshu gaigai*, pp. 85–86. The translation here is based on Hsü’s.
55. For more on Yao Nai and the Tongcheng school, see Huters, “From Writing to Literature,” pp. 70–83.
57. Ibid., p. 281.
59. Published in 1850, this book is one of the first texts on world geography produced in China. For information on Xu and his work, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 309–310.
61. Hu Shi, “Wushii nian lai,” p. 33. For a rare positive assessment of the “eight-legged essay,” see Qian Zhongshu (Qian Jibo’s son), *Tan yi lu*, pp. 32–33. Even Hu Shi is quite tolerant of the form in this section of his essay: “To say this genre [i.e., the ‘new style’] is influenced by bagu wen is something that many people will not wish to hear. In fact, however, to say this is not to be completely pejorative.”
4. New Theories of the Novel

1. On this new urban culture, see Bergère, *The Golden Age*, pp. 37–60.
2. See Cai, "Wan Qing xiaoshuo lilun chulun."
6. The best account of the Chinese novel over the course of the nineteenth century can be found in David Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*.
7. For the highlights of this text, see Huang, "Ribenguo zhi," 4.117–118. In his later years, Huang expressed his enthusiasm for fiction to Liang Qichao, but this was after the New Fiction movement was well under way.
10. See, for instance, Zhou Zuoren’s assessments in his 1918 “Ren de wenxue,” 1.219–225; a translation by Ernst Wolff is available in Denton, *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, pp. 151–161. Note that while Zhou’s condemnations are against Chinese literature in general, his specific examples are all from the realm of *xiaoshuo*.
13. Dagenais labels the letter from which this quotation is taken as being from Bishop George Smith (the Anglican prelate at Hong Kong) to Henry Venn and dated September 28, 1863. I think this is mistaken, as the letter seems to have been written by Fryer himself, and the date is almost certainly 1865. Given that the letter contains a reference to waiting in Shanghai for “the river to be open” before being able to proceed to Beijing, it was probably written in January or February. In Dagenais, *John Fryer’s Calendar*, 1865, p. 1.
14. Fryer to Venn, letter of July 4, 1865, in Dagenais, *John Fryer’s Calendar*, 1865, p. 3.
16. Fryer to Venn, letter of July 4, 1865, p. 2.
17. The best account of this scandal—to which I am greatly indebted—can be found in Wang Yangzong, *Fu Lanya*, pp. 13–17.
18. Bennett, in his *John Fryer*, p. 15, incorrectly identifies the newspaper Fryer edited as the *Jiaohui xin bao* (Mission news); Jonathan Spence in *To Change China*, p. 145, follows Bennett.
21. For a highly favorably assessment of this organization in the 1860s and early 1870s, see Wright, *Last Stand*, pp. 211–212.
22. For figures and a description of the way the translations were done, see Wang Yangzong, *Fu Lanya*, pp. 33–38.
23. A good account of the founding of these educational institutions can be found in Bennett, *John Fryer*, pp. 46–55.
28. See Bennett, *John Fryer*, pp. 43–44.
30. See, most conspicuously, *Chinese Characteristics*, by Arthur H. Smith, an American Presbyterian. This exhaustive catalog of Chinese character flaws was published first in Shanghai in 1890 and in the United States in 1894. For many years thereafter, it appeared on basic reading lists as an introduction to China for the casual reader.
33. Chang, *Liàng Ch’i-ch’iao*, p. 118. The text Chang is discussing is “Xixue shumubiao houxu,” 1.740, in which Liang says that “one should realize that the various schools of the Zhou and Qin dynasties had already discussed much of the Western learning of today.”
34. *Yán Fu ji* 2.439–440.
36. Ibid.
38. The profound influence of this article was first affirmed by A Ying (Qian Xingcun) in his 1937 Wan Qing xiaoshuo shi, p. 2.
39. Liang’s identification of the long-lost Yu chu as the originary text in the genre is presumably based on the Han shu commentary by Yan Shigu (581–645), which cites “Western Metropolises Rhapsody” (Xijing fu), by Zhang Heng (78–139), to the effect that “the nine hundred xiaoshuo begin from Yu chu.” See Han shu, p. 1745. Zhang Heng’s line can be found in “Xijing fu,” in Xiao, Zengbu liu chen chu wenxuan, 3.23b.
41. See Hsia, “Yen Fu and Liang Ch’i-ch’ao,” p. 232, for the translation and a discussion of the obvious exaggeration that marks Liang’s analysis of the novel’s power in the West.
42. On Qu Qiubai’s determination to see nothing useful in the literary languages available to Chinese writers in his day and his utopian calls for completely new forms, see Huters, “The Difficult Guest,” pp. 135–149.
43. Hsia, for instance, poses the question in “Yen Fu and Liang Ch’i-ch’ao,” pp. 230–231.
44. The principal imitators include Xiuxiang xiaoshuo (Embroidered fiction, 1903–1906), Yueyue xiaoshuo (Monthly fiction, 1906–1909), and Xiaoshuo lin (Forest of fiction, 1907–1908).
46. See Chen Pingyuan, Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi, pp. 41–42.
48. Ibid., 1.385.
49. Xia, Wan Qing shehui yu wenhua, pp. 71–72.
51. For a succinct account of this revival, see Chang, Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis, pp. 12–15.
52. Chang, Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, pp. 236–237.
53. Liang, “Xuyan” to Xin Zhongguo weilai ji, p. 2.
56. On Di’s career as a journalist, see Judge, Print and Politics.
57. Di, “Lun wenxueshang,” 4.237. Lu Xun, on the contrary, in his “Wenhua pian zhi lun,” is intent upon drawing attention to the dangers of the utilitarianism he saw pervading Chinese intellectual life in the first decade of this century. It should be remembered that Lu Xun regarded himself as a profoundly isolated voice.
58. Cai, “Wan Qing xiaoshuo lilun chulun,” p. 415. For a specific instance of this way of reading the traditional novel, see Wang Zhongqi, “Zhongguo lidai xiaoshuo shi lun,” 4.259–260. For Xia Zengyou and “Yan Fu’s” thesis on this point, see Hsia, “Yen Fu and Liang Ch’i-ch’ao,” p. 250. The most famous example of such a reading of a Qing novel is, of course, Cai Yuanpei’s “suoyin” (hidden meaning) school of *The Story of the Stone*, in which the family relationships depicted in the novel are taken as a network of political allegory. For a brief description of Cai’s approach, see Rolston, *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, pp. 482–483.


67. In chapter 18 of Zeng Pu’s *Niehai hua* (1990), p. 185, the character representing the linguist Ma Jianzhong (1844–1900, author of the grammar book *Ma shi wentong* [Ma’s comprehensive treatise on letters]) is quoted in thinly fictionalized form about the importance of novels in the world and about China’s inferiority in that category.


5. Wu Jianren

1. Wu Jianren, “Yueyue xiaoshuo xu.”

2. Wang Yiliang, “Qichi shenqu da zhangfu.”

3. Wu Jianren, *Ershi nian*, pp. 219–224 (chap. 29). This edition, published in first-list simplified characters, is both well annotated and easily accessible. An abridged English translation of approximately one-third of the 108-chapter text, by Liu Shih Shun, is available as *Vignettes from the Late Ch’ing*. The translation focuses on the early chapters and omits most of the commentary by the characters on the import of the events they are witnessing. It also leaves out many of the personal episodes of the narrator and most of his evaluations.


8. See, for example, *Jianyi waibian*, in Wu Jianren quanji 8.12–13. See also Zheng Guanying, “Zhongxi hebi pinpan.”


12. Ibid.
14. A full account of this movement can be found in Guanhua Wang, In Search of Justice.
15. The others are Liu E’s Travels of Lao Can, Li Baojia’s Guanchang xianxing ji (Exposure of officialdom), and Zeng Pu’s Flower in a Sea of Retribution.
16. In his study of Strange Events, Chen Xinghui calculates that, in fact, only fifteen years elapse during the course of the novel. But Chen also allows that Wu seems to have every intention of giving a comprehensive account of the twenty years in question. See Chen Xinghui, “Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang” yanjiu, pp. 54–55.
17. Patrick Hanan makes a case for regarding Karl Gützlaff’s Huizui zhi dalue (General treatise on repentance), published in the 1830s, as the first Chinese novel written in the first person. Although this may be technically true, the exotic authorship of the book, its rapid disappearance from the scene, the limitation of what little circulation it did enjoy to the periphery (both geographically and demographically), and its religious tract–like nature would argue that it be relegated to a different category from that of Wu’s work. Hanan, “Missionary Novels,” pp. 430–431.
18. The most provocative and informative study of this form is Moretti’s The Way of the World.
19. For a philosophical perspective on the sense of utopianism that pervaded the late Qing, see Metzger, Escape from Predicament, esp. pp. 191–231.
20. These concerns have been most succinctly summarized in Zhou Zuo-ren’s 1932 series of talks at Furen University in Beijing recorded by Deng Gongsan and published two years later as Zhongguo xin wenxue de yuanliu.
21. For one account of such discussions from the 1770s through the 1830s, see Huters, “From Writing to Literature.”
22. Cao and Gao, Hong lou meng, 1.2–7. The English translation is that of David Hawkes; see Cao, The Story of the Stone, 1.47–51. Note that the text elides any account of the act of transcription itself.
23. For a description and analysis of the history of wenxue in the Northern Song dynasty (1126–1275), see Bol, “This Culture of Ours,” and Fuller, The Road to Eastslope.
24. For some examples, see Ropp, Dissent in Early Modern China, pp. 93–100, 114–116. For an account of Wu’s own critique of the examination system, see pp. 101–113.
25. Among other targets in this section, Wu Jingzi sharply mocks the literati critique of the Yongle emperor of the Ming, a public focus of shi resentment from circa 1500 on. See Elman, “The Formation of ‘Dao Learning,’” pp. 78–81. See also Wu Jingzi, Rulin waishi, pp. 87, 93; a translation can be found in Wu Jingzi, The Scholars, pp. 143, 147–148.
26. The manuscript was among the effects of Wang Hui, a treacherous and corrupt official who had succeeded Qu’s grandfather in office some years before the transaction. Wang presented his few books to young Qu as he was fleeing from the authorities. See Wu Jingzi, *Rulin waishi*, p. 86; *The Scholars*, pp. 140–141.

27. Marston Anderson has written with great perception on the related topic of the difficulty the novel encounters in representing ritual (li) as a space uncontaminated by the great issues of the day; see “The Scorpion in the Scholar’s Cap.” Anderson built upon the earlier work of Shuen-fu Lin, “Ritual and Narrative Structure.”

28. The first sixty-five chapters of *Strange Events* were first published in installments in *Xin xiaoshuo* between August 1903 and December 1905, after which they were published as a book in eight volumes by the Shanghai Guangzhi Book Company in December 1906. The remaining chapters were published in three volumes that appeared at different times in March 1909 and August and December 1910.


32. Lu Xun had translated two of Jules Verne’s novels in his early years in Japan and had written a critical preface. See Lee, *Voices from the Iron House*, pp. 12–13. In addition, the episode in “Ah Q zhengzhuan” (Lu Xun quanjì 1.522; translation in *Lu Xun: Selected Works* 1.147–148) in which the unarmed eponymous protagonist is arrested by a huge number of troops and police officers very much resembles a similar episode in *Strange Events* (Ershi nian, pp. 486–490, chaps. 61–62). Because of Lu Xun’s participation in late Qing intellectual life, it is difficult to understand the passage in “Nahan zixu” where Lu Xun claims that during his years in Tokyo he was the only Chinese of his generation to be interested in literature (*Lu Xun quanjì* 1.417; *Selected Works* 1.35). Only if we read this comment within the context of his manifest discontent with the direction chosen by Chinese intellectuals in the period immediately following 1895 does this make sense. This feeling of alienation is most clearly expressed in his essays written in Japan in 1907–1908 such as “Wenhua pian zhi lun,” which is discussed in chapter 10.

33. This can be seen most clearly in the 1937 *Wan Qing xiaoshuo shi*, by A Ying (Qian Xingcun), p. 16, in which the later critic’s plain attempt to praise the novel cannot overcome Lu Xun’s negative judgments, which are cited at the beginning of A Ying’s own evaluation. It is worthy of note that when Hu Shi talks of traditional Chinese fiction in his article “Wenxue gai liang chu yi” of 1917 (i.e., written at least three years before Lu Xun’s negative judgments), he includes Wu Jianren on a short list of three worthy writers—Wu, Shi Naian (reputed author of *Shuihu zhuan*), and Cao Xueqin. See Hu Shi, “Wenxue gai liang chu yi.”

34. See Zhou’s contribution to *Xiaoshuo conghua* (Collected words on the
novel), which Liang Qichao put together in 1903 and published in the first and second issues of *Xin xiaoshuo*. *Xiaoshuo conghua* can be found in A Ying, ed., *Wan Qing wenxue congcha: Xiaoshuo xiqu yanjiu juan* 1.3. Zhou wrote at the same time that he had read some three hundred Chinese novels, including a hundred of “recent composition and newly translated [from Western works].”

35. Liu Shih Sun summarizes these events on p. 1 of *Vignettes*.
37. Ibid., pp. 43, 47. An English version of this episode can be found in *Vignettes*, pp. 13–14, 23, 26. Note that here, as elsewhere, the revelations about Gou Cai are delayed by the admixture of other plot elements, perhaps a simulacrum of the long period required for Jiusi to learn the true face of things.
38. The relative mildness here toward the Manchus becomes especially clear if the treatment of Gou Cai is compared with the fulminations of the revolutionaries against Manchu rule that were published at virtually the same time as the novel. The racist opinions of Zhang Binglin are a good example, for which see Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, pp. 54–56.
40. Ibid., pp. 147–164.
41. This episode is relatively well represented in *Vignettes*, pp. 149–164. Characteristically, however, the personal information about Cai Lusheng has been completely omitted.
42. Ibid., p. 179.
43. Some of the more conspicuous examples of the foregrounding of these modern means of communication in the text include the tale told in chapters 51–52 (*Vignettes*, pp. 223–135) of the director general (duban) of the steamship company (probably a thinly disguised Sheng Xuanhui [1844–1916], the actual duban of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company [Lunchuan zhaoshang ju] in those years). Another such example is the story of the intricate model steamship employed in chapters 29–30 (*Vignettes*, pp. 131–137) to point out the corruption in governmental manufacturing enterprises.
44. *Vignettes* sums all this up in a few paragraphs on pp. 286–287.
46. Ibid., p. 3.
47. For a slightly different view of the function of these two characters in the text, see Doleželová-Velingerová, “Typology of Plot Structures,” pp. 42–45.
49. *Vignettes* (pp. 349–371, 379–392) contains a detailed account of these episodes.
51. See, e.g., *Mencius* 3B.9: “When the world declined and the Way fell into obscurity, heresies and violence again arose. There were instances of regicides and parricides. Confucius was apprehensive and composed the *Spring and Autumn Annals*” (trans. Lau, p. 114).
52. For a different perspective on this episode that emphasizes the black comedy and “dark laughter” inhering in these events, see David Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, pp. 216–218.

53. There is an interesting parallel with Wu’s most famous short novel, *Hen hai* (The sea of regret), first published in 1906. The novella is the story of the disruption of the prospective marriages of two young couples by the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, but the proximate cause of the breakups is the sudden disappearance of modern means of communication, in this case the railroad between Beijing and Tianjin. One couple then must rely on carts and canal boats, with the result that they become hopelessly separated from one another.

The determination of the Boxers to rip up the railroads and tear down the telegraphs is a backhanded indicator of their importance. The wall-poster doggerel translated by Joseph W. Esherick in his *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, p. 300, is eloquent on this point:

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Rip up the railroad tracks
Pull down the telegraph lines!
Quickly! Hurry up! Smash them—
The boats and the steamship combines.
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54. These events are summarized in Liu Shih Shun, *Vignettes*, pp. 405–408.

55. As Paul Cohen makes clear, these tools of communication were specifically marked for destruction by the Boxer rebels. See Cohen’s *History in Three Keys*, pp. 47–48. The foreign presence in China was equally obsessed with maintaining modern means of communications. After the trauma of the Boxer Rebellion, the treaty powers insisted upon inserting elaborate provisions in the 1901 Boxer Protocol to protect the access of these means of communication by their legations in Beijing. See Millard, *China*, pp. 227–232.

56. Doleželová-Velingerová offers a different evaluation of the import of the novel as a whole: “The meditations offered in the non-action sequences suggest, however, some hope: the crisis of values is temporary. Chinese society requires a reexamination of its traditional values. Perhaps, when properly interpreted and adapted to the crisis of the times, these values, enriched by practical Western learning, could survive the crisis and provide a new ethical basis for China” ("Typology of Plot Structures," p. 49).

57. This pattern was to appear frequently in Chinese literature produced after May Fourth. Perhaps the most famous example is the main character in Qian Zhongshu’s exceptional novel, *Weicheng* (Fortress besieged). For that character, Fang Hongjian, knowledge of his own situation always comes too late. See Huters, *Qian Zhongshu*, chap. 6.

58. Mao’s actual words were as follows: “Lu Xun was the commanding general of the Chinese Cultural Revolution; he was not only a great writer but also a great thinker and great revolutionary. Lu Xun had the hardest bones, without the
least bit of servility or obsequiousness, the most valuable sort of temperament in a
colonial or semicolonial people” (Mao Zedong, “Xin minzhu zhuyi lun” [On the
new democracy], in Li Zongying and Zhang, Liushi nian lai Lu Xun yanjiu I.282).

6. Melding East and West

1. See Gimpel, “Were They Really Reading Disraeli?”
2. For a succinct summary of these events, see Coble, Shanghai Capitalists,
3. On the growth of this class of readers, see Xiong, “Lue lun wanQing
   Shanghai.”
4. The best general survey of this publishing activity is contained in Chen
5. For instance, in a Xinwen bao editorial of August 1903, “On Shanghai Cus-
   toms” (“Lun Shanghai fengsu”), the editors ask, “Is Shanghai a civilized place,
or a foreignized place, or a model for China’s interior, or a harmful trap?” Quoted
   in Mittler, A Newspaper for China? p. 338.
7. Xiong Yuezhi in “Lishi shang de Shanghai” and Linda Johnson in Shang-
   hai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, to name only two, have demonstrated the con-
   tinuity of urban custom at Shanghai over the centuries.
8. The question as to whether these two words refer to the same group of
   men is interesting in itself, although far beyond the scope of the present chapter.
   I base my equation of them here on a line at the conclusion of chapter 12 in Wu
   Jingzi’s Rulin waishi (The scholars): “Because of this event, there is something to
   be learned: Young gentlemen of leisure close their doors and fail to inquire after
   matters of the world; mingshi/wenren change pursuits and seek success in the ex-
   aminations” (p. 130).
   of letters can be found in chaps. 9, 33, and 38.
10. See, for instance, Martin Huang, Literati and Self-Ref/Presentation, esp. pp.
    29–36.
11. Wu Jingzi, Rulin waishi, p. 70; The Scholars, p. 120.
12. The first nineteen-plus chapters of Xin shitou ji (the portion of the novel
    in which Jia Baoyu and company tour the “actual” China of 1900) were origi-
    nally published at irregular intervals in Xinshuo lan, a literary supplement of the
    Shanghai newspaper Nanfang bao (NFB; Southern news), beginning on September
    19, 1905. The serialization suddenly ceased with NFB issue 195 (March 12,
    1906), which contained the initial installment of chapter 20. This final install-
    ment was succeeded by the notation “incomplete” (weiwan), which in earlier
    NFB issues had indicated the unfinished status of the particular chapter being carried that
day. The NFB apparently published no more of Xin shitou ji. It ceased publishing
any fiction at all, for that matter, until issue 344 (August 14, 1906) began the seri-
alization of a novel entitled Fan zhentan (The anti-detective). The NFB itself, after several indications of financial instability (e.g., see the editorial note in English on p. 4 of issue 345, August 15, 1906), eventually ceased publication after November 5, 1907, with 785. A virtually complete run of the newspaper is held in the Shanghai Library and is readily available on microfilm there. The complete text of Xin shitou ji, with illustrations for each chapter, was published in four juan by the Gailiang xiaoshuo she in November 1908, with the annotation “shehui xiaoshuo” (social novel) on the cover.

14. Wu Jianren, Xin shitou ji, p. 1. Wu was certainly correct in anticipating negative critical comment on writing a sequel. See, for instance, A Ying’s dismissive remarks in Wan Qing xiaoshuo shi, pp. 177–178.
15. For all his lack of ready money at the time of his death, Wu did make a good deal from fees for his many writings, something that seems to have been in precarious balance with his free-spending nature.
16. Wu Jianren, Henhai, 5.58. See also Hanan, Sea of Regret, p. 176.
17. See, for instance, Lu Xun, Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe 9.238. See also Lu Hsun, A Brief History, p. 315.
18. Wu Jianren, Henhai, 5.3.
20. See, for instance, Baoyu’s first tour of the Grandview Garden (daguanyuan) in the company of his father in chapter 17. Although Jia Zheng repeatedly scolds the boy while demanding literary names from him, as they near the end of the tour, the elder Jia’s literary followers “could see that he [i.e., Zheng] was not displeased” (Cao, The Story of the Stone, trans. Hawkes, 1.342).
21. See, for instance, Xin shitou ji, pp. 34, 40, 58–59, 63. This transformation of the characters from Cao Xueqin’s novel into paragons of modern seriousness is not limited to Wu Jianren’s sequel. The 1909 sequel by “Nanwu Yeman,” also entitled Xin shitou ji, has Lin Daiyu becoming a professor in Japan, with Baoyu signed on as her enthusiastic student. For all the change in their characters, however, the relationship between them continues. See David Wang, Fin-de-siècle Splendor, p. 29.
22. For details on the boycott, see Guanhua Wang, In Search of Justice. On the general political significance of the boycott, see Bergère, The Golden Age, pp. 50–51. See also Goodman, Native Place, City, and Nation, pp. 183–195.
23. Pott, A Short History of Shanghai, p. 164.
25. Ibid., 8.349.
27. Cf. Yen-p’ing Hao’s description of the nineteenth-century comprador (also quoted in the text of chapter 7): “Like any marginal man, he had his limitations. He was shrewd and talented but not always honest. Not an independent
merchant per se from the beginning, he hung his hopes for success too closely on his connections with foreigners and thus on China’s unstable foreign relations. He was still generally associated with the ‘parasitic’ merchant and was criticized for deviating from social norms” (The Comprador, p. 11).

28. “Wenhua ren” is a term that has come into use only in the 1990s, presumably as an alternative to the label “zhishi fenzi” (intellectual), a term regarded as compromised by heavy use in state discourse and as an anachronism for the late Qing period. Among other reasons, I have decided to use “wenhua ren” in order to highlight the transformation of the meaning of “wen” in the late Qing. If the term was primarily associated with personal cultivation in the neo-Confucian period, the widespread use of neologisms originally used primarily in Meiji Japan, like “wenhua” and “wenming,” signifies the expansion of the connotations of “wen” into a wider and more public realm. For an example of a usage similar to mine, see Xiong, “Lue lun wanQing Shanghai.”

29. On the general issue of the wenren in late Qing Shanghai, see Catherine Vance Yeh, “The Life-style of Four Wenren.”

30. On p. 34 of Xin shitou ji, Wu makes a mistake in placing Baoyu in Shanghai in early 1901, instead of 1900 (gengzi nian), the actual date of the Boxer Rebellion.

31. Wu Jianren, Xin shitou ji, p. 108. Xue Pan had earlier expressed a similar surprise at Baoyu’s desire to study foreign books; see Xin shitou ji, p. 87.

32. Ibid., p. 9.

33. The earliest study of the press in Shanghai can be found in Britton, Chinese Periodical Press. See also the important study of Shen bao by Mittler, A Newspaper for China?

34. Wu Jianren, Xin shitou ji, p. 129.

35. Ibid., p. 48.

36. Ibid., p. 52.

37. Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought, p. 10.

38. See David Wang, Fin-de-siècle Splendor, pp. 252–258.


40. Ibid., p. 40.

41. My thanks to Paola Zamperini of Amherst College for this important insight.

42. Wu Jianren, Henhai, 5.78; Hanan, Sea of Regret, p. 204.

43. Wu Jianren, Xin shitou ji, pp. 103–104.

44. After Baoyu talks back to an official, the official accuses him of being in league with the Boxers, a fairly common way in those days of exacting revenge against someone you didn’t like. See Paul Cohen, History in Three Keys, p. 238 n. 65.

45. Although they take little note of the fact, the troubles that the principal characters of Henhai encounter on their flight from Beijing coincide with the destruction of the railroad to Tianjin and their consequent need to resort to older and more cumbersome means of transportation.
47. Ibid., p. 220.
49. Lu Shudu discusses Wu’s commitment to this idea in his preface to his collection of Wu’s writings. See Wu Jianren, *Wo Foshan ren wenji* 1.20.
51. Ibid., p. 313.
52. Perhaps the most famous example of this motif is Lin Daiyu’s dream in chapter 82 of *The Story of the Stone*, which ends just as Baoyu inserts his hand into his chest cavity, seeking in vain to locate his heart therein (4.62–65).
54. Reprinted in A Ying, *Wan Qiqiu wenxue congchao* 1.1, p. 3. This novel was inspired by Edward Bellamy’s popular American novel of 1888, *Looking Backward*, which was translated and serialized in a Shanghai newspaper in 1891–1892. See David Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, p. 254.
56. Ibid., p. 282.
57. The term is that of Gregory Judanis in his *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture*.
58. On the continued relevance of this theme in modern China, see Wang Hui, “Zhongguo jin-xiandai xiangzhong.”
59. Jaroslav Prusek’s writings of the late 1950s and early 1960s are still valuable resources in setting out this trend toward more subjective writing. The most important of these are collected in Prusek, *The Lyrical and the Epic*.

7. Impossible Representations

1. There is some discrepancy between various accounts as to how these classes were constituted and who attended them. Zeng Pu’s own retrospective account completed in 1928, “Zeng Mengpu xiansheng fu Hu Shizhi xiansheng de xin,” is appended to *Niehai hua* (1990), pp. 414–415. The person responsible for setting the course in motion was Zhang Yinhuan (1837–1900), a powerful official in the ministry and a former ambassador to the United States.

2. This course of instruction was merely a continuation of the long history of reformers’ attempts to induce talented students to study foreign subjects, beginning with the attempted reform of the Tongwen guan in the late 1860s, described in chapter 1. For W. A. P. Martin’s disappointment at the number and caliber of students, see his *Cycle of Cathay*, pp. 297–299. See also his *Lore of Cathay*, p. 17: “[Wenxiang] induced the throne to open the doors of the College [i.e., the Tongwen guan] to Chinese who were high-class graduates in letters; but the haughty graduates declined to enter.”

4. “Zeng Mengpu xiansheng fu Hu Shizhi,” p. 415. For a more detailed and rather less melodramatic account of Zeng’s illness (in which the illness lasts only three years and has a recognizable etiology), see Zeng Xubai (Zeng’s son) “Zeng Mengpu nianpu,” pp. 165–166.

5. Jin was one of the founders of the journal Jiangsu in the spring of 1903, and he implies that he composed his novel for publication in it. See Han Liangsheng (Fan Yanqiao), “Jin Songcen tan Niehai hua,” p. 147.

6. On the 1904 date, see Cui, “Dongya bingfu fangwen ji,” p. 142. See also Zeng Xubai, “Zeng Mengpu nianpu,” pp. 167–168, where the son claims that Zeng Pu’s publishing house started the craze for translated fiction. Chen Pingyuan in his Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi, pp. 28–32, convincingly demonstrates that translations of foreign novels far outnumbered original works in the late Qing. See also Zhang Bilai, “Niehai hua de sixiang he yishu.”

7. For Jin’s account of this process, see “Jin Songcen tan Niehai hua,” p. 146.

8. For these statistics, see Zeng Pu, “Xiugai hou,” p. 408. These figures are repeated by A Ying in his Wan Qing xiaoshuo shi, p. 22.


10. The textual history of the novel and its textual variants is highly complicated, but the questions at issue in this chapter are not affected by this history, so I will not go into it here. For the best summary of the textual history, see the “Tiyao” (Synopsis) contained in the Wan Qing xiaoshuo daxi edition of the novel, 1984), pp. 1–2 (separate pagination in this section), reprinted in the Wenhua (1990) edition, pp. 1–2 (also separate pagination). The Wenhua edition also contains considerable supplementary material that throws light on the history and reception of the work. For more detail on the textual history, see Catherine Vance Yeh’s dissertation, “Zeng Pu’s ‘Niehai hua,’” pp. 1–41. See also the materials collected in Wei, Niehai hua ziliao. It is worth noting, however, that, as with the critical hostility to the final forty chapters of Shitou ji, there is a strong moral element in the condemnation of Zeng’s later (1920s) revision of the text. See, for example, Wang Lixing, “Zeng Pu jiqi Niehai hua.”

11. Interestingly enough, the fifty-nine-part television drama produced in China in 2003, Zouxiang gonghe (Toward a republic), recognizes this: the portraits of such high officials as Li Hongzhang, Sheng Xuanhuai, and Zhang Zhidong are all highly complimentary, leaving the impression of men of great talent struggling with an intractable situation.

12. Thomas Metzger in his Escape from Predicament, pp. 210–226, provides the definitive account of late Qing utopianism.

13. On the relative ease with which gezi was discussed in the Jiangnan region prior to 1895, versus the sense of xixue as being an impenetrable realm of knowledge in the years after the war, see Meng, “The Invention of Shanghai,” pp. 50–110.

14. Notable exceptions to the silence on the issue include two recent books:
15. Partha Chatterjee has worked out a three-stage theory of the development of nationalism within colonial modernity. The first, which he calls the "moment of departure," depends on an "awareness—and acceptance—of an essential cultural difference between East and West." Chatterjee goes on to say, "Modern European culture, it is thought, possesses attributes that make the European culturally equipped for power and progress, while such attributes are lacking in the 'traditional' cultures of the East" (Nationalist Thought, p. 50). The exclusive binarism of this distinction would seem to be a product of overt colonial conquest. In China's case, where the anxiety was centered in the question of whether sufficient power could be maintained to avoid colonial conquest, allowing this sort of binary to govern the conception of the relationship would have been to give the game away. Brett de Bary has noted the difficulties that Japanese intellectuals have had in making practical distinctions between things Western and indigenous. As she says of those attempting to make a critique of Westernization in Japan, "distinguishing between foreign elements to be repudiated and the indigenous strata to which Japanese could 'return' (a distinction which, in any event, did not neatly conform to a 'material' vs. 'spiritual' dichotomy) proved to be no easy task" (introduction to Origins of Modern Japanese Literature, by Karatani Kojin, p. 2).


17. On "national essence" thinking, see Schneider, "National Essence."

18. On Liang's postwar efforts, see chapter 8 below; on the criticism of Tagore, see Stephan N. Hay, Asian Ideas of East and West.

19. Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought, p. 11.

20. On this point there is a clear divergence between the fictional Fu Caiyun and the historical Sai Jinhua. By her own admission, Sai Jinhua could never write any German. See Shang and Liu, "Sai Jinhua benshi," p. 523.

21. See, for instance, Paul Cohen, "Christian Missions," p. 583: "Although there were unquestionably great variations in the quality of the female education thus provided, it has been claimed that, as late as the eve of the 1911 revolution, Protestant institutions were still the only ones in China at which the educational opportunities for women were roughly comparable to those available to Chinese men."

22. For a sampling of some of the considerable evidence on the extent of female literacy in late imperial China, see the essays collected in Widmer and Chang, Writing Women.

23. Andrew Jones in his essay "The Violence of the Text," p. 580, sets out the moral economy of that novel: "If yi is the primal (and distinctly patriarchal) totem of the bandit community at Liangshan, sexuality is its attendant taboo. And to the extent that females embody the threat of sexuality, they become the agents of the corrosion of the cardinal virtue." See also Ahern, "The Power and Pollution."

25. Ibid., p. 284. Wu Jianren in his *Ershi nian mudo zhi guai xianzhuang*, pp. 227–228, includes a devastating critique of both the methods and the results of the translation work done at the Jiangnan Arsenal. For his critique of the obsolescence of the arsenal’s work, see his *Xin shitou ji*, p. 81 (chap. 11).


29. For a fictional example of a comprador who is virtually illiterate in Chinese but is said to be proficient in “foreign languages” (*yanghua yangzi*), see the case of Bai Yaolian in Wu Jianren’s *Xin shitou ji*, discussed in chapter 6.

30. Yan Fu, “Yu Waijiao bao,” 3.561. Like many utterances from the late 1890s, this echoes a comment in Feng Guifen’s *Jiaobinlu kangyi* made as part of his effort to institute rigorous training in foreign languages: “Nowadays those familiar with barbarian affairs are called ‘linguists.’ These men are generally frivolous rascals and loafers in the cities and are despised in their villages and communities. They serve as interpreters only because they have no other means of making a livelihood. Their nature is boorish, their knowledge shallow, and furthermore, their moral principles are mean” (excerpted in Teng and Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West*, p. 51). For similar remarks by Liang Qichao, see his “Xixue shumubiao houxu,” 1.738.

31. For the most complete account of missionary education, see Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, esp. pp. 67–68.

32. On the development of this discourse, see Meng, “The Invention of Shanghai,” pp. 75–88.

33. The term “bricolage” derives from an analysis set forth by Claude Lévi-Strauss to define a particular sort of orientation toward work: “The ‘bricoleur’ is adept as performing a large number of diverse tasks; but, unlike the engineer, he does not subordinate each of them to the availability of raw materials and tools conceived and procured for the purpose of the project. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with ‘whatever is at hand . . . .’ Also, ‘It might be said that the engineer questions the universe, while the ‘bricoleur’ addresses himself to a collection of oddments left over from other human endeavors . . . .’ See Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, pp. 17, 19.


35. Ibid., p. 118.

36. Li Shinong is said to be based on the prominent and very conservative Cantonese official Li Wentian (1834–1895). See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 494.


38. Ibid., p. 115.


40. Ibid., pp. 106–108.

41. For a virtuoso tracing out of the intertextual relationship between the
depiction of this meeting in *Niehai hua* and the meeting between Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu in the eighteenth-century masterpiece *The Story of the Stone*, see Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation*, pp. 57–60.

42. I follow Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation*, in translating the character’s Chinese name “Xiayali” as Sarah Aizenson, a fictional version of the actual Russian anarchist Sophia Perovskaya (1853–1881), whose story circulated widely in China in this period. (See, for instance, Lingnan yuyi nü shi’s *Dongou nü haojie* [Female heroes of Eastern Europe], an incomplete novel first published in *Xin xiaoshuo* in 1902.) For more on Perovskaya’s image in late Qing China, see David Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, pp. 166–168.


44. This disproportion between action and result recalls the category of Ming short story that Patrick Hanan has labeled the “folly and consequences” story, of which the various tales subsumed under the general title of “Fifteen Strings of Cash” is probably the best known. For a catalog of these stories, see Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, pp. 59–68.


46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p. 88.

48. Ibid., p. 89.


50. Hu Shi’s critique of *Niehai hua* as being merely an inferior imitation of the episodic form of *Rulin waishi* is most instructive here. Zeng, in his response, is at pains to remind his readers that he attempted something far more complex, at least in terms of plot structure. See Zeng’s “Xiugai hou,” pp. 408–409. Hu’s attempt to limit Zeng’s achievement simply to imitating the characteristically “traditional Chinese” structure of Wu Jingzi’s classic recalls the May Fourth efforts to portray Yan Fu as the hopeless victim of traditional discourses, as was discussed in chapter 2.


53. Ibid.

54. For examples of revolutionary rhetoric after the turn of the century, see Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, esp. pp. 80–81. For a study of anarchism that encompasses a slightly later period, see Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*.

55. “If we wish to strengthen ourselves, then we must not allow ourselves to become captivated by books written by men of ancient times, and this principle applies even more strongly to the laws promulgated after the Qin dynasty. . . . Because rulers in post-Qin times are precisely what is being referred in the remarks [of Zhuang Zhou] about ‘the greatest robber steals a nation [and becomes the
king’ [Chuang tzu, trans. Watson, p. 110] And from whom did they steal it? Why, from the people” (Yan Fu, “Pi Han,” 1.35).

56. Hu Ying, Tales of Translation. See also Zamperini, “Fu Caiyun.”

57. Chatterjee, The Nation and Its Fragments, p. 68.

58. Ibid., pp. 68–69.


60. Ibid., p. 212.

61. Literally, “three followings, four virtues, seven chastities, and nine sacrifices.” The first two generally enjoin male precedence in the household, whereas the final pair stress the need to hold on to chastity and death before dishonor. For a discussion of the san cong, see Ko, Teachers of the Inner Chambers, pp. 6–7.


63. Ibid., p. 275.

64. The contrast between Caiyun and the character Xianglin Sao of Lu Xun’s 1924 story “Zhufu” (The new year’s sacrifice) could not be more profound: the peasant woman Xianglin Sao has absorbed all the Confucian precepts of proper female behavior so completely that even her fellow clan members are amazed.

65. This represents an inexplicable anachronism, for the Banqiao zaji (Miscellany of the plank bridge), by Yu Huai (1616–1696), is a late sixteenth-century account of the Nanjing pleasure quarters that is marked by a strong and sexual nostalgia. That its elegant tone was much imitated by early twentieth-century writers in romanticizing their visits to such quarters may account for this odd reference. For more information on Yu Huai and his book’s influence, see Wai-yee Li, “The Late Ming Courtesans: Invention of a Cultural Ideal,” in Widmer and Chang, Writing Women, pp. 46–49.


67. Ibid., p. 139.

68. Ibid., p. 89.

69. Ibid., p. 90.

70. My thanks to Xiaobing Tang of the University of Chicago for drawing my attention to the problematic aspects of the representation of Russia in the novel.

71. See for instance, Wei, “Guanyu Sai-Wa.” That Sai Jinhua is rumored to have interceded with Waldersee, the German commander of the Boxer Expeditionary Force, on behalf of the residents of Beijing would change the perspective on the story of her adultery with the German officer.

8. The Contest over Universal Values

1. Min, National Polity and Local Power, p. 171.

2. Yeh Sheng-tao, Schoolmaster Ni Huan-chih, p. 14. See also Mao, Wo zouguo de daolu 1.73–75.

4. Among the most precise and bitter satires of the rapid quenching of revolutionary fires is Lu Xin’s “Ah Q zhengzhuan” (The true story of Ah Q), particularly chaps. 7–9, 1.135–154. See also Yeh Sheng-tao, *Schoolmaster Ni Huan-chih*, p. 18: “But disappointment followed at once. Yes, the town ran up the white flag and fell to the Revolution; [Ni’s] pigtail was sheared off as the headmaster’s had been: but that was all. Nothing else appeared to be changed.” For a foreign sense of the disappointment over the results of the revolution, see Bland, *Recent Events*, pp. 50–108.


6. Ibid., p. 105.

7. For an excellent summary of the research on the Southern Society, see Hockx, *Questions of Style*, pp. 35–46.


10. For an account of Yuan’s draconian press policies and their success in reducing the number of newspapers published in China from more than 500 to 130 (and in Shanghai from 15 to 5), see Ma, *Shanghai xinwen shi*, pp. 422–439.


12. Not for the first time do we see this result. For a summary of the radical real-life response to the debate in Liang Qichao’s 1902 novel, *Zhongguo weilai ji*, on whether or not China needed a revolution, see Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space*, pp. 136–137.

13. The magazine was published under the name *Qingnian zazhi* between September 15, 1915, and February 1916 (*juan* 1.1–6). It was then suspended until November 1916, when Chen, now at Beijing University, resumed its publication as *Xin qingnian* with *juan* 2. See Chow, *The May Fourth Movement*, pp. 44–45. On the restoration of the monarchy, see Ernest P. Young, “The Hung-hsien [Hong-xian] Emperor,” pp. 179–180.


15. Ibid., p. 10.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. This discourse should be taken into account in the theorizing about the change from “culturalism” to nationalism in modern China, a transition that is customarily regarded as taking place when China realized it was no longer tianxia (“all under heaven”) but merely one nation among others. The first half of this for-
mulation is not problematic, but the obsessive classification of the world into East or West in the years represented in Wang’s article casts real doubt that “among” is the proper preposition to describe the perception of China’s new position in the world, which is taken almost invariably as one-half of a rigid China/West binary.

19. For instance, Chen’s granting credit to France for giving life to all the key concepts of Western civilization would probably not be found credible by most historians (or, at least, most historians of Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic origin). A predilection for the instant transformation represented by the French Revolution rather than for the slow development of English constitutionalism is, however, characteristic of Chen’s thinking after 1915.


21. It must be said that even on the pages of Qingnian zazhi and Xin qingnian, Chen shows himself capable of another, entirely more subtle type of argument. For an example, see Chen Duxiu, “Kongzi zhi dao.”


23. For a brief profile of Dongfang zazhi (and Shanghai periodical publishing in general) in these years, see Lee, Shanghai Modern, pp. 47–52.

24. The best indication Xin qingnian’s small influence in its early years is the famous case of one of the editorial group, Qian Xuantong (1887–1939), who tried to elicit controversy in March 1918 by writing, under the fictitious name “Wang Jingxuan,” a letter attacking the journal and its editorial policies. See Chow, The May Fourth Movement, p. 66. It is also worth recalling Lu Xun’s reminiscence of Qian’s visit to Lu sometime in 1917, when Qian was attempting to get Lu to participate in the journal: “They were bringing out New Youth, but since there did not seem to have been any reaction, favorable or otherwise, no doubt they felt lonely.” (“Nahan zixu” [Personal preface to Call to Arms], 1.419; translation from Lu Xun: Selected Works 1.37). For a general evaluation on Xin qingnian’s early years, see Wang Xiaoming’s “Yifen zazhi” and its translation by Hockx and Huters, “A Journal and a ‘Society.’

25. One source even maintains that Huang’s dispatches from Beijing to the Shanghai papers marked the beginning of the modern system of newspaper correspondents in China. See Zhong Birong, “Huang Yuanyong.”


27. Huang’s writings were collected by his colleague and friend Lin Zhi-jun in 1919 and published in four juan as Yuansheng yizhu (Writings left by [Mr.] Yuansheng). The work has been republished a number of times, including in the Mingguo congshu published in the 1980s by the Shanghai shuju. Lin’s preface contains a good deal about Huang’s life and ideas. For an evaluation of Huang’s career and ideas, see Qian Jibo, Xiandai Zhongguo wenxue shi, pp. 422–424.

28. Huang Yuanyong, “Guoren zhi gongdu,” p. 1. The idea of China’s imminent demise had been abroad for some time. In a famous article published in July 1911 in the Hankou Dajiang bao, for instance, Huang Kan (1886–1935), a phi-
ologist and then revolutionary student of Zhang Binglin’s, wrote: “In the current Chinese situation, everything seems dead, everywhere is a realm of death; the disease is beyond cure. But society high and low is in a daze, unaware of the approach of the time of death” (“Daluanzhe jiu Zhongguo zhi miao yao ye” [Chaos would be the best medicine for China], quoted in Fang Hanqi, *Zhongguo jindai baokan*, pp. 526–527).

30. For instance, a “Letters” (*wenyuan*) section of *Dongfang zazhi* was begun in January 1916. In October of that year the magazine began a series of articles on the philosophers of antiquity, beginning with an essay entitled “Reading Xunzi” (“Du Xunzi”), by the prominent poet and critic Chen Sanli. See also Wu Yu, “Du Xunzi shu hou.” Contemporary focus on Xunzi can be traced back to the influence of Zhang Binglin and to Yu Yue before him. Zhang had “praised [Xunzi] as the man who proposed basic ideals for the politics of his day.” Even before 1900, Zhang wrote an essay entitled “Zun Xun” (Honor Xunzi), which was published in the original edition of *Qiushu* in 1900 or 1901. See Shimada, “Confucius in the Era of the 1911 Revolution,” in his *Pioneer of the Chinese Revolution*, pp. 110–111. For a detailed account of intellectual attitudes toward Xunzi in the 1895–1900 period, see Zhu Weizheng, *Qiushuo zhen wenming*, pp. 333–350.

32. Ibid., p. 5.
33. Ibid., p. 6.
34. Huang Yuanyong, “Xiangying lu,” 3.1. Cf. Liang Qichao’s comments written during his journey to Europe in 1919 and published as *Ouyou xinying lu* (Impressions of travel in Europe):

As a result of the development of science, the organization of industrial production underwent fundamental innovation. Changes were carried out at such a fast speed, with such sudden force, and also on such a large scale, that people were always and everywhere at a loss when they tried to make their inner lives agree with their outer life. The most obvious example is the drastically opposing ways in which urban life in the present and village life from before are experienced. (Quoted in Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space*, p. 181)

36. Ibid., p. 2.
38. In his introduction to Huang’s collected work, Lin Zhijun notes Huang’s delight in and facility with the classical language, but he also mentions Huang’s expressions of frustration with the available linguistic forms. See Lin Zhijun’s preface in Huang Yuanyong, *Yuansheng yizhu*, pp. 9–10. In spite of what to this reader, at least, is a conspicuous success in composing a vivid and precise classical prose,
Huang himself wrote in “Xiangying lu,” 3.1: “The dead language of the classics is insufficient to develop new ideas.”

39. On this point, one can see a clear contrast between Huang’s calmness when describing colonialism and Liang Qichao’s voice in “New Historiography.” See Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space*, pp. 77–78.


41. Ibid.

42. According to Shen Yanbing (Mao Dun), when Shen joined the Commercial Press in 1916, *Dongfang zazhi* was lodged in the science bureau (*lihua bu*), where Du Yaquan was chief editor. Mao, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 1.98.

43. After having virtually disappeared from view in the decades after 1920, Du has received renewed attention in recent years. See, for example, Xu and Tian, *Yixi ji*, and Gao Like, *Tiaoshi de zhihui*. In “Incomplete Modernity,” Leo Lee also discusses Du at some length. Probably the most important piece of writing in reviving interest in Du is Wang Yuanhua’s “Du Yaquan.”


45. Ibid., p. 5.

46. For a good summary of the status of *yu* (desire) in late imperial thought and literature, see Martin W. Huang, *Desire and Fictional Narrative*, pp. 23–35. The question of the position of human desire in the social order is a major theme present even in the late Qing novel *Lao Can youji*, begun in 1904 by Liu E (Tieyun); see the translation in Shadick, *The Travels of Lao T’ien*, pp. 99–102.


48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., p. 2.

50. Ibid., p. 3.

51. For instance, an article entitled “Da zhanzheng xuji shiyi,” by “Gao Lao,” which is more often than not another of Du’s pseudonyms, contains no mention of any particular horrors in its account of the war for the first nine months of 1916.

52. Chen Duxiu, “Yijiuyiliu,” p. 171. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve very far into the issue, the simplicity of the demotic classical Chinese in which Chen’s essay is composed gives one pause as to the actual justification for the movement for vernacular literature that was to blossom in *Xin qingnian* in 1917. To the extent that the move to the vernacular was advocated as a move to simplicity, it is hard to imagine any prose more transparent than Chen deploys here. It is not difficult to share Edward Gunn’s conclusion about the vernacular movement: “As discussed by its various proponents and practitioners, baihua writing was endowed with several, sometimes contradictory, principles and goals. Yet it is important to note that it was in its origins, and in a major portion of its appeal to intellectuals, a political act” (*Rewriting Chinese*, p. 38).


54. Ibid., p. 3.

55. Ibid., p. 6.

57. Mao, *Wo zouguo de daolu* 1.109, 145. Wang Yuanhua speculates that Du was dismissed in 1920 because of his opposition to using the vernacular, something vital at Commercial Press because of the official mandate to use the vernacular in school textbooks, which had always been the main source of income for the press; see Wang, “Du Yaquan.” The diary of Zhang Yuanji, the general manager of the Commercial Press at the time, contains a revealing entry for October 22, 1919, in which Zhang complains about Du’s editorial policy, stating that he was, “in fact, too prejudiced in favor of the old ways” (*Zhang Yuanji riji* 2.889). Mao Dun notes that the new nominal editor of *Dongfang zazhi* after its 1920 reorganization was Tao Xingcun, who had connections with Zhang Yuanji. Mao Dun maintains, however, that Qian was the person in substantial charge of the magazine (*Wo zouguo de daolu* 1.145).


59. Ibid. Qian is by no means alone in expressing such sentiments. Lu Xun, in several of his “Random Thoughts” from 1919, expresses himself with extreme cynicism concerning the reception of Western ideas in China. For instance: “What a pity it is that the moment foreign things reach China they change their color as if they had fallen into a vat of black dye” (“Suigan lu sishisan,” 1.330; translation from *Lu Xun: Selected Works* 2.39). Also, “Whatever foreign thought is like today, it at least smacks of liberty and equality, mutual aid and coexistence. There is therefore no place for them in an intellectual realm filled with self, with the wish to ‘take over,’ to monopolize everything, and to quaff all the wine in time and space” (“Suigan lu wushijiu,” 1.556; translation based on *Lu Xun: Selected Works* 2.50). See also the discussion of Benjamin Schwartz’ critique of Yan Fu’s views on liberalism in chapter 2 above.

60. For a new journal to gain leverage by spending an inordinate amount of space attacking a more established one is not a new tactic in Chinese political journalism. For instance, the newer *Minbao* (People’s journal), the official organ of the Tongmeng hui, devoted nearly forty articles between October 1905 and June 1908 to denouncing its archrival Liang Qichao. See Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space*, p. 146.


62. Ibid., p. 407.

63. Cangfu, “Da Xin qingnian zazhi jizhe.”

64. Chen Duxiu, “Zai zhiwen *Dongfang zazhi* jizhe,” p. 481.


66. Huang Yuanyong makes an explicit comparison along these lines. Using the example of a person with blood poisoning, he says, “[First one] must provide a medicine to clean the blood, and only then can one begin to effect a cure. Otherwise, no matter how marvelous the drug one uses, it will only nourish the germs
and simply lead the patient to death that much sooner” (“Guoren zhi gongdu,” p. 2).


9. Swimming against the Tide

1. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*. The most important recent works include Denise Gimpel’s *Lost Voices of Modernity* and Yuan Jin’s “Minquan su yanju.”


3. For figures and examples, see ibid., pp. 70–83.


5. Only one of these novels—*Cizhong renyu* (The talk of the town), written in two sections and first published in 1918—is available in the Shanghai Municipal Library.

6. See Fan, “Guanyu Haishang shuomeng ren.” The illustration is the frontispiece of the edition of *Xiepu chao* held in the library of the Institute of Chinese Studies at the University of Heidelberg.

7. For a discussion on how the term “wenming” functioned as a marker of the foreign in all types of contemporary writing, see chapters 6 and 8.


9. See, for instance, Wu Jianren’s famous opening passage to his epic novel *Strange Events* (translated in chapter 6) and Liu Shi’e’s *Xin Shanghai* (New Shanghai) of 1909, to name only two among many.

10. This edition (in the Shanghai Municipal Library) contains no publishing information. However, its preface, by Zhuang Renqiu, is dated “the dingsi [year 1917],” and Wang Dungen mentions having read a story by “Haishang shuomeng ren” in *Libailiu* (Saturday) “the year before last.” Since the first run of *Libailiu* was published between 1914 and 1916, Wang’s remarks must have been made between 1916 and 1918.

11. See Wang Dungan’s preface to *Xiepu chao*. In his introduction to the first installment of the newspaper serialization on November 23, 1916, Wang had also praised Zhu as being “good at writing novels [and] penetrating (wosuobuzhi) in his depiction of social phenomena.”

12. The fourth printing of this edition, dated September 9, 1922, is available in the Shanghai Municipal Library but is missing the illustrations. The University of Heidelberg’s Institute of Chinese Studies library has a copy of the same edition, and it contains all but four of the illustrations at the opening of each chapter, as well as the author’s photo.


18. For an overview of voluntary associations in the late Qing, see Sang, *Qingmo xin zhishijie*, esp. pp. 288–299. The best account in English of this activity is Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing*.

19. Linda Johnson has determined that the Foreign Settlement had as early as the 1850s become “what the British liked to call the ‘Model Settlement’: a showcase for Western progress and technical innovation, with drains, gas lighting, public water closets, firmly surfaced roads, raised sidewalks for pedestrians, and even, finally a municipal water supply.” She adds, “Its most enduring innovation, however, was the self-governing municipality, installed in 1854. It was, in many ways, more modern than most English towns at home” (*Shanghai*, p. 343).


22. See Meng, *The Invention of Shanghai*.


24. Cao Xueqin’s *Story of the Stone* provides a good example. For instance, when Baoyu is first introduced in the novel, the description of his appearance and garb takes up almost two pages of text (see 1.100–101). Eileen Chang also devotes a good deal of attention to the physical description of her major characters when they first appear in her stories.


26. Ibid., p. 103.


31. For an account of the thematic concerns of this novel, see David Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, pp. 89–100.

32. Another exception to the standard pattern is Zeng Pu’s *Niehai hua*, which, as Zeng himself was at pains to point out, was consciously different in disbursing it characters throughout the text rather than concentrating their stories in a particular section—in Zeng’s words, not “taking a single thread and stringing pearls on it one by one until the end until it becomes a necklace.” See Zeng Pu’s 1918 “Xiugai hou”, pp. 408–409.


34. The concept of interior monologue has been developed in English most extensively by Dorrit Cohen in her *Transparent Minds*. Given the lack of inflection for person in Chinese, the linguistic features characteristic of the form are quite
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easy to produce in Chinese and can readily be found throughout late Qing and modern Chinese fiction.

35. In his research on late nineteenth-century Shanghai painting, Jonathan Hay has found an “up-to-date effect of dynamic immediacy” that might be likened to the sense of the kinetic in Zhu’s novel. See Hay’s “Painting and the Built Environment,” p. 82.

36. According to Shanghai Tushuguan (Lao Shanghai fengqing lu 3.168), fourteen hundred automobiles were registered in Shanghai as early as 1912.


38. Goodman, Native Place.


40. Ibid., p. 127.

41. On the Zhang garden and its historical context, see Meng, “Re-envisioning the Great Interior.”

42. See chapter 6 in Cao, The Story of the Stone.


45. Ibid., p. 589.

46. Ibid., p. 602.

47. Ibid., p. 603.

48. Ibid., p. 604.

49. Ibid., p. 610.

50. Meng, “A Playful Discourse.”

51. Haishang shuomeng ren, Xiepu chao, p. 1396.


53. Hardt and Negri, Empire, p. 145.


10. Lu Xun and the Crisis of Figuration

1. The best overall account of Lu Xun’s life can be found in Wang Xiaoming, Wufa zhimian de rensheng. The best account in English is in Lee, Voices from the Iron House.


4. “Figuration” is used in Genette’s general sense of a figure’s being the “gap between sign and meaning.” See Genette, Figures of Literary Discourse, p. ix.


6. The remarkable “Reform Edict” issued by the Qing imperial institution on January 29, 1901, for instance, expresses many of the same ideas: “Those who
have studied Western methods up to now have confined themselves to the spoken and written languages and to weapons and machinery. These are but surface elements of the West and have nothing to do with the essentials of Western learning. . . . If China disregards the essentials of Western learning and merely confines its studies to surface elements which themselves are not even mastered, how can it possibly achieve wealth and power?” (Reynolds, China, 1898–1912, p. 203).

7. Lu Xun, “Nahan zixu,” 1.417; translation from Selected Works 1.3.

8. Lu Xun quanji 1.44–57. For Sun, see “Lu Xun: China’s First Proto-modernist.”

9. Lu Xun quanji 1.55. The translation is my own but is based on that of Kowallis, “Concerning Imbalanced Cultural Development,” p. 142.

10. Lu Xun quanji 1.52.


12. Lu Xun quanji 1.56.


15. Lu Xun quanji 1.52.


17. Chen Duxiu, “Dong-xi minzu.”

18. Lu Xun quanji 1.419. Cf. Lu Xun’s remarks in his 1926 essay, “‘Ah Q zhengzhuan’ de chengyin,” 3.377: “I was simply complying with the wishes of some friends: when they asked me to write, I wrote.”


21. The person behind the pen name “Fu Lin” remains unknown, but the text is available in Zhongguo jindai wenxue daxi (1840–1919); see Fu Lin, Qinhai shi; for an English translation, see Patrick Hanan, The Sea of Regret, pp. 21–100. Chen Diexian’s novel has been reprinted in Zhongguo jindai xiaoshuo shiliao huibian; see Chen Diexian, Huangjin sui; Hanan’s English translation, The Money Demon, was published 1999.

22. Brooks, Reading for the Plot, p. 246.


24. Lu Xun quanji 2.10.

25. Ibid., 11.32; the letter is dated March 31, 1925. I thank Eileen Cheng for bringing this letter to my attention.


29. Ibid., 2.124.

32. Ibid., 2.10; translation from *Selected Works* 1.174.
34. *Lu Xun quanji* 1.476.
35. Ibid., 1.477.
36. Ibid., 1.479.
37. Ibid., 1.485.
38. Again, the best account of the relationship between Lu Xun’s life and work can be found in Wang Xiaoming’s *Wufa zhimian de rensheng* (The life that cannot be faced), the title of which alone speaks volumes.
41. For a critical account of Lu Xun’s relationship with missionary discourse, see Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice*, pp. 45–76. For a critique of Liu’s critique, see the review by Huters in the *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*.
46. Ibid., p. 244.
47. Chinnery, “The Influence of Western Literature.”
49. *Lu Xun quanji* 1.430–431. See also *Selected Works* 1.50.
51. Jameson, “Third-World Literature.” The first of many critiques of Jameson can be found in Ahmad, “Jameson’s Rhetoric of Otherness.”