Opportunist Reformers in Late Ch'ing *Hsiao-shuo*

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A major theme of the late Ch'ing novel between 1894 and 1911 is the problem of social reconstruction. Not only do the works of this transitional period contain scathing criticism of traditional social patterns and the corrupt civil service – criticism which frequently lacks clear political orientation; they also discuss the subject of reform in general, and in some cases advocate a radical revolutionary approach to reform. With the socio-historical relevance of these novels often outweighing their literary value, can they add significantly to what historical research already tells us about the era? In answering this question, we have to bear in mind that these authors, who usually prefer to remain anonymous, shed light on political and social aspects about which we have few if any written sources.[1] It is the restless mind-searching of China's young intellectuals for a way out of the country's dilemma and the angry criticism of those evils which they held responsible for China's downfall that provides us with an additional psychological key to understanding this period of conflict and rapid change.

The Reform Movement in the Novel

Only very few works advocated the unpopular idea of a constitutional monarchy as the answer for China, which in practice would probably have meant prolonging the reign of the Manchus. Liang Ch'i-chiao, the agile reformist leader, started with his fragmentary *Hsin Chung-kuo wèi-lai-chi* 新中國未來記 (Future of New China) in 1902. Two later novels *Wei-lai shih-chieh* 未來世界 (The World of the Future)[2] and *Hsien-chih-hun* 憲之魂 (Soul of the Constitution) (1907)[3] supported the political ideals of reformism as perceived in Japan. Several novels deal with the reform movement in general (wei-hsin yün-tung) and with the reformers and their followers specifically. The main focus is on political and personal polemics and satire.

Among the more extensive literature which rejected and criticized this reformist concept were a number of works which attacked the political implications of constitutionalism (Li-hsien yün-tung) from two directions. *I-tsu pu-shih chih hsin-tang*—字不識之新黨(Reformers – These Illiterates) (1906) for example, objected vehemently to the movement from a conservative perspective and the dangers of the New Knowledge which influenced the young generation through the new schools that were shooting up like mushrooms. But this is an isolated phenomenon. Many more authors rejected reformism from a more extremist perspective, from radical reformers to advocates of Sun Yat-sen's concept of a national revolution. The versatile novelist Huang Hsiao-p'ei,[4] for instance, pours out his hatred of K'ang Yu-wei in his book *Ta-ma-p'ien* 大馬騙 (The Big Horsedealer), attacking him as a faker, plagiorist, and as a generally dubious character. As Huang sees it, the execution of T'an Szu-t'ung who, by refusing to flee and choosing martyrdom after the failure of the 1898 reform, aimed at least to make an impact by this symbolical action, is mainly attributable to K'ang's "deceitfulness." Another of Huang's novels *Huan-hai shang-shen-lu* 宦海升沉錄 (Rise and Fall in the Ocean of the Civil Service) again attacks K'ang (chapters 6 and 7) by playing on his name: K'ang "who has nothing to say" and Liang "with the meagre reputation."

But even those novelists who supported the concept of reformism, who welcomed the introduction of Western knowledge and culture, the reformation of the education system, the liberation of women, and the fight against traditional restorative ideas, even these novelists preferred subjects in which they could express their distaste for the corruptness of the concept underlying reform. The most resourceful author of late Ch'ing prose Wu Wo-yao (Chien-jen) scoffed at the pseudo-reform of the Ch'ing court in his novella *Li-hsien* wan-sui 立憲萬歲 (Long Live the Constitution). The equally influential Shanghai writer Li Pao-chia mocked the self-styled reformers in his *Wen-ming hsiao-shih* 文明小史 (Short History of Civilization) – from K'ang and Liang (chapter 46, K'ang = An, Liang = Yen) to the many opportunistic hangers-on. Particularly impressive is his satire on the versatile journalist Liang, who presents his readers with half digested thoughts in a sometimes unintentionally comical, semi-modern style (hsin wen-t'i).

In other works, the purely personal attack dominates, e.g., in *K'ang-Liang yen-i* 康梁演義 (The Story of K'ang and Liang) in which both reformers are sent down from Heaven to cause trouble. Another novel *Shang-hai chih wei-hsin-tang* 上海之維新黨 (Shanghai's Reformers) (1905)

claims that these reformists were only interested in gambling, enjoying themselves with women, and making money, that they were even worse than the conservatives and that with them China's fate was well and truly sealed.

Among the novels which advocate national revolution rather than reform are those that are strongly critical of the opportunists in the ranks of the revolutionaries. Thus, for example, the author of *Lu-suo hun* 盧梭魂 (Rousseau's Spirit) scoffs at the "men who eat the rice of the revolution (or patriotism)"; Ch'en T'ien-hua, who became known through his protest suicide in Japan, took a similar line in his pamphlet *Shih-tzu hou* 獅子吼 (The Lions Roars). The reformers got their main impulses for social change from Japan both directly – by analyzing the way the Meiji reform had developed – and indirectly: Japan gave them access to modern Western concepts of political and social reformation. Much has been written about the reformers and their student-supporters who tried to apply what they had learned and seen during their sojourns abroad. About 8,000 young Chinese, for instance, were studying at Japanese universities in 1906, only 42 of whom graduated in the same year. Now, we know little about those who eventually left without a formal degree and who found it difficult if not impossible to re-adapt to conditions in China and those, who after a short-lived protest, relapsed into a traditional lifestyle. Caricatures of the failed returned student are common in China's early illustrated magazines as well as in isolated *hsiao-shuo* scenes written at the turn of the century. In the literature of the Republic, this theme was taken up and developed further, as for example in Yü Ta-fu's portrait of young Chinese in Japan in his novelette *Ch'en-lun* 沉淪 (Sinking)[5] (1921); the hero's emotional disorder is the result of the anguish he feels at China's cultural and political downfall and his own helplessness.

Shanghai's successful journalist and novelist Li Pao-chia (1867-1906), in his *Short History of Civilization,* to quote one example, describes the conflict between a conservative father and his son, who on returning from a foreign university, arrogantly rejects his parental home. Chapter 42 contains a striking caricature of this Nanking student whose two years in Japan have gone to his head and whose rash propagation of "Revolution, Liberty and Equality" finally cost him six years in gaol.

Young Liu, without pigtail, dressed in Western style clothes, and discontented with the small rooms of his parents' home and with Chinese food, finally has to leave home because his father can no longer put up with

him:

> "That's the way it is here. If you can't bring yourself to live here, go back where you came from. I'm Chinese, I really can't risk having a 'foreigner' like you as my son any longer."[6]

Liu repeats his hollow phrases about repression and revolution within the family as a first step towards the general revolution which was bound to come. But in the end, the undutiful son has the misfortune to poke fun at an official who considers part of his duty to control bookstores selling reform literature and to confiscate any dubious materials. In his indignation, the latter decides to tame Liu's "unruliness." In court Liu is rudely brought back to reality out of his immature dreamworld; threatened with a beating, he learns to kneel before the court. Li Po-yüan, the author, uses this caricature of superficial predilection of things foreign as a warning; the student Liu is meant to typify the large number of misfits in the China of that time.

Reforms in the World of Officialdom (1906)

A typical "reformer" – he may have returned to China from abroad, or he may have been won over for the reform in China – is the social type of the young opportunist. While recognizing the need for changes, such people cynically exploited the new mechanisms and opportunities offered by reforms (wei-hsin) to pursue their own personal goals, to make money, and advance their own careers (sheng-kuan fa-ts'ai), in other words, to get ahead in the disintegrating civil service set-up.

An entire novel is devoted to this group of reformer opportunists – *Kuan-ch'ang wei-hsin chi* 官場維新記 (Reforms in the World of Officialdom), written in 1906: This short work of some 64,000 characters and 16 chapters[7] deals specifically with the reform situation as it was after the Ch'ing court had recognized the need for limited change in the wake of the Boxer revolution.

The author, whose pseudonym we do not even know, describes the rise of a careerist. The structure[8] of the novel, which is quickly brought to a climax, stands in distinct contrast to the loose episodic construction of many late Ch'ing novels which are styled on stories about *Ju-lin wai-shih* 儒林外史 (The Scholars) and its colourful patchwork of people and events. We might also mention *Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi* 官場現行記

(Today's Situation in the World of Officialdom), the *Short History of Civilization* and *Erh-shih nien mu-tu chih kuai-hsien-chuang* 二十年目睹之怪現象 (Strange Happenings, Observed in the Last Two Decades).[9] Indeed, linear development and brevity are two of the major structual changes in the Chinese novel during the transition to the literature of the Republic.

Summary of the Novel Reforms

Yüan Po-chen, who is counseled throughout his career by his cousin, the young civil servant Yüan Hsi-hsien diverts some of the money to get his first post in the services of the Tao-t'ai Huang in Hankou. Hsi-hsien enlightens him about the superiority of the West; he advises him to exploit the general desire for reform which had been initiated by the governors in response to the Boxer unrest. Yüan should promote his career simply as a "reformer."

The reform concept of the ruling court under pressure was to promulgate New Knowledge (hsin-hsüeh); new schools were to be built, a new army and police force recruited, and Western style companies and banks were to be set up. Yüan progresses from helping to build a Japanese school to being involved in an experimental mining project. However, the mine collapses when the workers revolt against the corrupt management. Yüan develops a reactionary set of statutes for a school to suppress the students' enthusiasm and to stifle all New Knowledge with the help of the classical authors, and then becomes director of the Police Training School in Ch'ing-ching-p'u. He makes friends with a foreigner, who, as some kind of Jack of all Chinese trades, assumes the role of counselor: "Hooks" is more than a match for his partners because he speaks fluent Chinese. Whenever foreigners and Chinese come together, it is usually the opportunist foreigner who comes off better than the Chinese official whom the author depicts as an awkward and servile weakling. Finally, Yüan takes over a Buddhist temple which had previously been used by bandits as a hideout and store, and in it he establishes a criminal rehabilitation centre – again with a corresponding set of statutes. After serving as "controller" of Middle Schools in the province of Hupei, Yüan is appointed Chief of the Education and Finance Bureau as well as of local troops and police force. Most of these undertakings however come to a disastrous end.

The other main character in the novel is a female reformer,[10] Miss Kuan; she is no less rapacious than Yüan and like him she has no scruples

about paying lip service to "reforms." For the contemporary reader, her liberalness must have seemed quite outrageous: After years abroad, she becomes acquainted with Yüan without being introduced by a matchmaker and without the involvement of her family and marries him in a Western style ceremony (in white, the colour of mourning!) in the temple of the rehabilitation school. However, Miss Kuan disappears soon after the marriage to take a course in women's studies (nü hsüeh) in Shanghai. At one point, she claims to have been attending a medical school for women, elsewhere she says she is working in a training centre for female workers. The truth is that she is leading a dissolute life with her lover and his friends. Yüan is taken well and truly for a ride – until separation becomes inevitable.

Shanghai, bustling port and interface between East and West, is depicted here,[11] as in other novels of the period, e.g., *Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing chi* 官場現形記 (The World of Officialdom), as the centre of the "false" revolutionaries. Yüan is sent there to buy a money-minting machine for the province of Hupei. Waiting for the equipment to be shipped from abroad, he whiles away the time in the "flower-houses" – spending the money that he has embezzled from his employers. He justifies his behaviour – as the author ironically points out – by referring to works such as *Nan-nü-chiao-chi hsin-lun* 男女交際新論 (New Theories on the Relations between Men and Women). However, a lady of easy virtue, whom he has taken as his "second wife," soon relieves him of his new-found wealth. Before making off, she demands that he respects her "right to freedom" (tzu-yu ch'üan). But Yüan is unable to break free of his hectic and superficial life-style. As director of a new police training school, he makes a stir by introducing a Japanese-type prostitute tax; however, he himself becomes involved with a call-girl and, while spending the night in her company, is attacked, beaten up, and chased off.

Another episode illustrates just how corrupt Yüan has become: His friend the young reformer T'ien-lei has returned from Japan and plans to set up a progressive newspaper in Shanghai. Yüan informs on him, and as a result, both T'ien-lei and his pregnant wife are killed.

The author also uses this episode to show the corruptibility of the press: A Shanghai paper is about to print a series of articles on Yüan's wicked deed, and it is only by paying the journalists generous bribes that Yüan is able to stop further publication.

Yüan's treatment of the reformer T'ien-lei serves to illustrate his own philosophy: The true "reformers" in Japan, France, and Italy, such as

Garibaldi,[12] all met with a cruel death. The only really sensible course, therefore, was to get on the bandwagon and use the reforms simply to advance one's own career without worrying about the fate of the people.

This summary can only give a very incomplete picture of the structure of the novel. The action is too schematic and lacks depth. Yüan passes through the various stages of his career too quickly. The author neither illucidates key events, nor does he make his characters come alive. Miss Kuan, Yüan, and Yüan's cousin are all colourless figures, composite personifications of different theoretical attitudes, through whom the writer simply expresses his own opinions and criticism of prevailing social conditions.

I shall now look more closely at three aspects treated in the novel to analyze in detail the author's attitude towards and criticism of the "opportunist" reformers.

First, we learn what the author or his characters have to say about the impact of the Western world, which represented an increasing threat to China after the defeat by Japan and the incursion by Germany into Kiaochow. Then, I shall look more closely at Yüan's confessed exploitation of reformism in the interest of his own career, which he couples with an anxious warning against the damaging effects of true reform. And thirdly, I shall consider how the anonymous writer viewed this phase of superficial reform and the role it played in China's modernization process.

Impact of the West

The author of the novel clearly does not take the line that "Chinese knowledge" need only be supplemented by the technological knowhow of the West for China to recover from its malaise, a theory that Chinese intellectuals had been advocating even before the Sino-Japanese war of 1894/95. The young careerist Yüan is enlightened by his older cousin in quite realistic terms about the strengths of an idealized and rather nebulous West. The discussion is triggered off by the interference of foreign troops during the Boxer rebellion. Asked why the Western soldiers were so efficient, Yüan's cousin explained that they would have even been a match for the Boxer rebels:

> "My dear, you still have a lot to learn. The West has achieved superiority in the fields of politics and education. Finance,

defence, schooling, ethical education, and, apart from these, industry, agriculture, commerce and mining, all these fields are neatly organized; it's really marvellous. All the laws are drawn up jointly by members of a lower and an upper house; if they show signs of the slightest error, they are quickly revised before harm is done. That really is what one would call 'unity of ruler and people'; nowhere do we find the arbitrariness of the throne, with the ruler taking decisions and acting without caring whether the people thrive or perish. And the natural sciences are particularly excellent. There is hardly anyone in these countries who has not attended some kind of school. There are innumerable 'special sciences' (chuan-men chih hsüeh), ranging from public administration, agriculture, industry and commerce to astronomy, geography, law, military sciences, music, art, and the science of literature and language. But most attention is given to philosophy. Their philosophy is comparable to the hsing-li maxims of the neo-Confuciantists during the Sung dynasty. These philosophies provide the people with models for their behaviour and a sense of patriotism. It is the field of politics and education that has made these countries affluent and strong (fu-ch'iang). China has so far not been able to equal them; our so-called 'New Politics,' with the new laws that have been introduced during the past few years, have only imitated those of the West in appearance.

Take, for example, those people who love to ape Westerners. They cut off their pigtails and wrap themselves in Western-style clothes from head to toe, but at heart they are still Chinese. As if they had laid their hands on some new kind of guns or fast-firing canons, as if they could stand up to foreign military forces!"[13]

Western superiority was, as Yüan's cousin perceived it, the reason why so many Chinese had met their deaths at the hands of the foreign troops. For Yüan, who had until then seen the foreigners as obstinate and hated oppressors, his cousin's words came thus as a revelation, deciding the future course of his life.

Reforms as Pretext for Personal Advancement

After 1901, insights such as the above had induced the ruling court

to make concessions. The implications of the Boxer agreement and the revised treaties with the foreign powers were making the rulers' position increasingly difficult. Finally, the Empress Dowager declared that China would take over the best methods and systems that the West had to offer. Decrees between 1901 and 1908 called for reforms of the armed forces, foreign affairs, the education system, public finance, and the overall political structure. From what the author – indirectly – has to say about the superiority of the West, we would expect him to follow through or at least discuss this change of course. But when he comments on these attempts at reform in the introduction to the novel, he does so in extremely cynical terms:

> "Westerners have rightly said: The Chinese are particularly good at imitation. They are second to none in replacing genuine with false. Take our mundane friends of today who talk so much about reforms that their whole vision becomes dimmed by such reforms, that they are practically blinded by the two characters '*wei-hsin*' (reform). If we challenge their interest in *wei-hsin,* they shout; but if we examine how genuine this interest is, then we soon see that they are only reformers on the surface. The enthusiasts, those who are really inspired by the idea of reform, people 'who look for the truth in the facts,' who are really committed to the cause of the revolution, I fear that in China there are no more than one or two in every hundred."
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> ". . . and yet, if we consider China's evolution so far, we have to admit that without the efforts of these pseudo-reformers, who have thoroughly changed the face of China, we would still have the same old empire in 10,000 years' time. And for this reason, even these false reformers are vital."[14]

Having reached the climax of his remarkable career, Yüan, the conservative opportunist, sums up his philosophy of personal advancement and success. The scene is a party to celebrate yet another promotion for Yüan, whose tongue has been loosened by the effects of wine.

What he had always hoped for in Peking was "to be promoted and to make money." But to do this, he needed some kind of vehicle:

> "What I had always deeply hoped for are the reforms that the court has now introduced. And why do I say 'deeply hoped for'? Because every new measure in our 'New National Policy' is like

a source, a guarantee of security for the aspiring civil servant."[15]

In the Province of Kiangsu alone, he continues, there were more than 300 *tao-t'ai* candidates on the waiting list to serve in the provinces of the empire and over 500 applicants for district prefect. How could all these people possibly be placed without "reforms"? Thus, for people like these, the "New National Policy" was a life-extension pill, without the "New National Policy" they would have to die of starvation. In the same breath, Yüan warns against taking these "reformers" too seriously; only "pro forma"reforms should be aimed for. Genuine "cultural" reforms were, he maintains, the root of disaster and destruction.

These comments evidence that the civil servants of the day abused "reforms" to perpetuate and expand the apparatus. And, by doing so, they in fact only accelerated the collapse of the Ch'ing empire.

China's Development

In the final sections of the novel, the author reveals his own vision of China's political future, which provides the framework for his previous indirect criticism of the opportunist reformers.

> "Western anthropology and theory of evolution are right when they say: Man descended from the ape, and the ape from the dog. Back in history, when the world was forming, the dog was the first animal to be able to sit up and look into the distance: his thought process was the most advanced and thus, he gradually developed into the ape. In time, a group of apes evolved whose powers of thinking were even further developed, until eventually man came into being.
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> The author of this novel believes that the earlier period of reform in China was the time of transition from 'dog to ape'; the later period of reform is the transition from ape to man. If he has therefore used Yüan Po-chen in the novel, his modest intention was simply to hope that the so-called reformers of the present day would change into human beings, into genuine reformers through 'refinement and evolution' (kai-liang, chin-hua). Our Yüan Po-chen lived in this period of transition from dog to ape and from ape to man. On no account can it be said that he was a person with a personal character. But to say that he was a dog

or an ape, of course he would not have readily admitted to this either."[16]

Socio-political Aspirations of the Author

Given the author's vivid characterization of the strengths of Westerns civilization, what is the underlying tenor of the novel, what kind of political and cultural ideals did the anonymous author suggest to his contemporary readers as worth striving for? His criticism is clearly not that of a conservative anti-reformer. Nor is his ridicule of the "wolves in sheep's clothing" coloured with radical overtones – when he derises those opportunists who seem to be not much different from many greedy civil servants of the old system. The writer does not call for national revolution – in fact there is no mention of this term in the entire novel. The author's silence on the issue of national revolution – which around 1906 was a much-debated subject among the intelligentia – appears strange; I would interpret it as a rejection of the solutions proposed by the revolutionary movement in Japan and imported to China by the returning students. The novel also makes no mention of alternative approaches to social change as, for example, the anarchistic view[17] introduced in China by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and others in articles since 1899.

The author's angle on reform is to distinguish between an early and a later period, whereby the general trend at the time of writing was clearly no longer towards the constitutionalism of the 1898 reformers. Rather, it was widely expected that the Westernization and modernization of Chinese society would follow directly current Japanese patterns.

We should mention the author's peculiar mixture of tolerance and resignation: He does not call immediately for "true" reformers in place of the vast majority of "pseudo" reformers whom he identified, but instead he appears to accept these opportunists as an unavoidable product of a transitional period – and looks forward to a time when the true reformers would win through. In short, he adheres to the concept of evolution, the belief that only a gradual change and not a violent upheaval would shape China's future.

As in many literary works and political documents of the time, the author is only able to introduce a dimly perceived evolutionary concept which is discussed in very vague terms; in fact, he probably had no direct access to the theories of social Darwinism and the "struggle for survival."[18]

The socio-political horizon of this novel illustrates a particular

contemporary phenomenon relevant for our later discussion about the limited achievements of the 1911 revolution, which was not followed until the cultural revolution of 1919 by a deeper shift in the general attitude[19] towards the whole issue of China's modernization process. The fact that the efforts to bring about reforms remained so superficial and were undermined by so many exploiters suggests that China's modernizers very much under-estimated the strength of the bonds linking China to its imperial past.

But as the case may be, the anonymous author, whom the literary historian A Ying credits with a relatively high level of professionalism in the conception of this novel, has effectively satirized a notion that was popular at the time – with his definition of the "ape era" at the turn of the century. However, although he fiercely attacks the opportunist reformers – just as other writers attacked those fellow countrymen who had a predilection for all things foreign[20]–his belief in an eventual solution to China's problems remained unshaken. Regrettably the solution for a genuine modernization was not as near as many contemporary authors perceived it to be, when we consider how things actually developed in China up to 1911, during the years of the Republic, and even in the first decades under the People's Republic.

Notes

1. From a methodical point of view, literary material is analyzed here as additional information for the field of sociology of literature and intellectual history, an approach used, e.g., in Paul S. Ropp, *Dissent in Early Modern China, Ju-lin wai-shih and Ch'ing Social Criticism* (Ann Arbor, 1978). or in J. Kinkley, *Shen Ts'ung-wen's Vision of Republican China,* Diss. Harv. 1977, (University Microfilms Int. Ann Arbor,1978).
   Few historians have mentioned the importance of late Ch'ing novels for the analysis of society at the turn of the century, and they refer in any case only to the well-known *hsiao-shuo* such as the novels by Liu E, Li Pao-chia, Wu Wo-yao and Tseng P'u, cf. *The Cambridge History of China, Late Ch'ing 1800-1911,* II, 2, (London 1980), 558. 566 and 576. For general background cf. Jen Fang-ch'iu, "Wan-ch'ing wen-hsueh ko-hsing yu wu-szu wen-hsueh ko-ming", *Wen-hsueh i-ch'an,* 1, (1983), 113-22.
2. On Liang's novel cf. Helmut Martin, "A transitional Concept of Chinese Literature 1897-1917, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao on Poetry Reform, Historical Drama and the Political Novel", *Oriens Extremus,* 2, (1973), 173-217.
3. The following presentation is based partly on A Ying, *Wan-ch'ing shiao-shuo shih,* rev, ed. (Shanghai 1937). A convenient indexed, annotated

translation referring to recently published Chinese editions of the novels was published by Heibonsha, 平凡社 Tokyo 1979.

4. On Huang Hsiao-p'ei cf. Perry Link, *Mandarine Ducks and Butterflies, Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth Century Chinese Cities,* (London 1981).
   The life and attitudes of Chinese students abroad is a fascinating and recurrent theme in wan-ch'ing and min-kuo literature. An example is -Pu-hsiao-cheng (Hsiang K'ai-jan's) series of five novels beginning with *An Informal History of My Studies in Japan* (向愷然，留東外史 (details *in Ming-pao yüeh-k'an,* 4, 1983) or the novelettes by Yü Ta-fa and Kuo Mo-jo's autobiography.
5. Cf. Yu Ta-fu's novelette "Sinking," trans. in J.S. M Lau, C.T. Hsia, Leo Ou-fan Lee ed., *Modern Chinese Stories and Novellas 1919-1949,* (New York 1981) and other early short stories, as mentioned in Anna Doležalova, *Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of his Literary Creation,* (London 1971).
6. *Wen-ming hsiao-shih*, (Tp. 1962), ed. Shih-chieh-shu-chü, ch. 42, p. 231.
7. *Kuan-ch'ang wei-hsin-chi,* 16 ch. in *Wen-ming hsiao-shih teng san-chung* (Tp. 1962), ed. Shih-chieh shu-chü, 69 p., 64,000 characters, below guoted as *Kuan-ch'ang.*
   The novel was published in 1906 by *Tsuo-hsin-she* 作新社 and has the alternative title新黨升官發財記*Hsin-tang sheng-kuan fa-ts'ai-chi* (How members of the New Party advance their careers and become rich).
   The Tp. 1962 edition is based on a booklet under the first above-mentioned title; no place nad no date are indicated.
8. On the episodic structure of wan-ch'ing novels cf. Milena Doleželova-Velingerova, *The Chinese Novel at the Turn of the Century* (Toronto 1980), p. 38-56.
9. Cf. the abbreviated translation *Vignettes from the Late Ch'ing: Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over two Decades* (Hongkong 1975).
10. Women in wan-ch'ing literature is a theme not yet treated adequately; Wolfgang Kubin and collaborators are preparing to print the papers of the 1982 International Conference "Women and Literature in China" in Berlin. Stephan von Minden presented a paper "Sai Jinhua – A Study in the Genesis of a Modern Chinese Legend."
11. Scenes where the hero amuses himself in Shanghai with the embezzled money from foreign-bought machinery might be called a topos of wan-ch'ing literature, cf. ch. 7 and 8 in *Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing-chi* (Sh. 1935), p. 46-62. An abbreviated German translation has been prepared by W. Bettin: Li Boyuan, *Das Haus zum gemeinsamen Glück* (Berlin n. v. ca. 1965). As one well-known example for descriptions of glamorous Shanghai, we might refer to Mao Tun's *Midnight* (tzu-yeh).
12. *Kuan-ch'ang* ch. 2, p. 6.
13. *Kuan-ch'ang* ch. 1, p. 5.
14. *Kuan-ch'ang* ch. 1, p. 1.
15. *Kuan-ch'ang* ch. 16, p. 67.
16. *Kuan-ch'ang* ch. 16, p. 69.
17. On the early impact of anarchism which heavily influenced later writers such as Pa Chin or Ting Ling, cf. Olga Lang, *Pa. Chin and his Writings, Chinese Youth between the Two Revolutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 50ff.
18. Cf. Mary Backus Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries. Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang 1902-1911* (Cambridge, Mass. 1971). Yen Fu popularized Herbert Spencer's social Darwinism in his translation and commentary to Thomas Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics,*cf. *T'ien-yen-lun* ed. Jen-jen wen-k'u (rpt. Tp, 1969).
19. Typically might be called the deep despair and disappointment with the revolution

and its chaotic aftermath, which Lu Hsün felt during the years 1911 and the May Fourth Movement, cf. W. A. Lyell, *Lu Hsün's Vision of Reality* (Berkeley, 1976), ch. 9, p. 121-39.

20. On servility towards foreginers see e.g., *The World of Officialdom.* Ch. 53 and 54 contain a revealing episode where a policeman at the yamen of the governor general Wen-ming gets a thrashing twice; first for daring to announce a guest at dinnertime and second for not admitting the latter – a consul of a "foreign country" – at once!

In ch. 55, to guote a second example, Li Po-yüan satirically mocks Chinese officials such as Mei Yang-jen, the district subprefect of Haichou, who kneels down and asks the foreign admiral who has put into port with three warships to decide on the measure of punishment for some local pirates. In ch. 58 Li portrays successful and "capable" officials, whose secret is simply to give in to all requests by foreginers. This attitude is taken by an influential member of the Crown Council in Peking as well as Tou Chih-chao who has been promoted to Governor of Shantung for treating foreign demands the same way. Edition used: *Kuan-ch'ang hsien-hsing-chi,* ed. San-min shu-chü (Tp, 1979).