

**A World of Asymmetries:  
Chinese Caricatures in Illustrated Newspapers and Periodicals  
(1867-1919)**

**Inauguraldissertation  
zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde  
der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg**

**vorgelegt von: I-Wei Wu**  
**Erstgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Barbara Mittler**  
**Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. David Der-wei Wang**

**Datum: 14. 07. 2023**

# Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	viii
Conventions and Abbreviations	xiv
Introduction	1
Part 1. Functionality: The Genre	
Chapter 1 Defining the Caricatures: Titles, Texts, and Visuals	35
1.1 The Titles	38
1.2 The Texts	44
1.3 The Visuals	56
1.4 Painting History: Caricaturists as Historiographers	64
1.5 Conclusion	69
Chapter 2 Situating the Caricatures: Unveiling the Truth	71
2.1 In a Time of Xianxiang 現形 (Revelation)	72
2.2 Mirrors: The Visual Trope of Revelation	78
2.3 Chinese Mirrors as a Visual Motif: <i>Renjing huabao</i> 人鏡畫報 (Human Mirror Pictorial)	82
2.4 Western Mirrors: Seeing the Self Through the Foreign Visions	101
2.5 Conclusion	117
Part 2. Massive Translation: Periodicals, Images and Concepts	
I. Periodicals	
Chapter 3 Indigenizing Western Humorous Magazines in China I: The Encounter(s) of Empire(s)	121
3.1 Pathway One: Reporting Humorous Publications and Caricatures	125
3.2 Pathway Two: Imitating Humorous Publications and Caricatures	130
3.3 Conclusion	220
Chapter 4 Indigenizing Western Humorous Magazines in China II: Shen Bochen 沈泊塵 and his two Poke(s) 潑克 (Puck)	223
4.1 <i>Shanghai Poke</i> 上海潑克 (Shanghai Puck) and the Founder Shen Bochen	224
4.2 Poke: the Supplement of <i>Shishi xinbao</i> 時事新報 (The China Times)	234
4.3 Staging in the Globe: From Pseudo-Symmetry to A Symmetry	248
4.4 Conclusion	271
II. Images	
Chapter 5 Decoding the Caricatures: (Re-) Contextualizing of Foreign Caricatures	275
5.1 “Translating” Foreign Caricatures	277
5.2 Contextualizing Foreign Caricatures	294
5.3 The Domestic Network of Caricatures	303
5.4 Re-Contextualizing Foreign Caricatures	308
5.5 Conclusion	321
III. Concepts	

Chapter 6 Caricatural National Symbols I: The Qing Official and Deformed Grotesques	325
6.1 National Symbols Imported	325
6.2 Bianxing 變相 (Deformity): A Nation of Grotesque	334
6.3 Conclusion	350
Chapter 7 Caricatural National Symbols II: The “Westerner” and Devolved Grotesques	352
7.1 Becoming the Other, Discarding Old Emblems	353
7.2 Why became the Other? China Evolved.	361
7.3 Becoming the Other? China Devolved.	379
7.4 Conclusion	389
Conclusion	392
Works Cited	407

## **Abstract**

The dissertation takes a transcultural approach toward Chinese caricatures the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their global connections, exploring their associations with the visual arts of the time. The study argues that Chinese caricatures emerged due to transcultural interactions, reflecting Chinese attempts to balance and even reverse asymmetries in visual presentations and power dynamics. The dissertation encompasses caricatures produced in China, including those published in colonial Hong Kong. By analyzing these caricatures, the study reveals how Chinese and foreign caricaturists overcame asymmetries in four critical aspects: the painting genre, publications, imagery and concepts. These visual agents manifested caricatures as a thriving art form for Chinese audiences, introduced Western-style humor magazines and caricatural visual languages, various foreign concepts and ultimately created their unique caricatural expressions that connected with the global community.

## Acknowledgements

In the completion of this dissertation, I would like to begin by expressing my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Barbara Mittler. I am profoundly indebted to her for her unwavering patience and guidance. Her invaluable lessons to keep eyes open cautiously and freshly have profoundly shaped my scholarly approach. I am immensely grateful for the stimulating discussions we shared, not only concerning my dissertation but also regarding the uncertainties of pursuing an academic career. Professor Mittler's enthusiasm and active engagement in academia exemplifies the qualities of an ideal scholar. Her consistent encouragement, coupled with a conviction of never giving up, provided me with the motivation to persevere throughout the writing process. I am confident that her persistent positivity will continue to inspire me long after my PhD journey.

I would also like to express my gratitude to another supervisor, Professor David Der-wei Wang. I was fortunate to have Professor Wang's agreement to supervise my dissertation after a one-day excursion in Heidelberg. I still remember what he shared with me on that day about research and beyond, which showcased the profound sense and sensibility of a great scholar. I benefited significantly from Professor Wang's comments on my research, which broadened my research scope. Additionally, every warm and supportive email from Professor Wang encouraged me tremendously, during and even after the PhD stage.

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Rudolf Wagner (1941-2019), from whom I learned a great deal during my time in Heidelberg. Professor Wagner's study on late Qing Chinese newspapers and pictorials greatly intrigued me and influenced my decision to pursue my PhD in Heidelberg. The intricate map of knowledge he presented in his research served as a model for me in conducting my research on caricature. Many aspects of my dissertation were inspired by Professor Wagner, including the theoretical framework, the interpretation of historical material, and the thought-provoking conversations we had in the Cluster. Additionally, I would like to thank Professor Catherine Vance Yeh, who showed her support for me in Heidelberg. Professor Yeh was always patient to listen to my thoughts, whether in research or in life, and gave me warm and useful advice to solve problems.

I am deeply grateful for the institutional and financial support I received during my PhD studies. The Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" at the University of Heidelberg provided me with a three-year scholarship. Within the cluster, I encountered many fascinating scholars and participated in numerous thought-stimulating events that greatly inspired

my PhD research. I would like to express my gratitude to all of the members of two groups I was involved in: “The Public Sphere: Asian Satire” and “The Graduate Programme for Transcultural Studies (GPTS).” I am thankful to Professor Hans Harder for organizing the “Asian Satire” research group and was honored to have been a part of it. I thoroughly enjoyed the conversations on various topics with my colleagues and cherished every event we attended together. I extend special thanks to Xin Yuan, Hsin-yi Li, Takashi Saikawai, and Ronald C. Po. We shared many moments of joys and worries in Heidelberg, and even after leaving Germany, we continue to support each other. I would also like to thank Wan-Ching Lee for assisting me with various university administrative matters and Chih-wen Kou for sharing helpful job search information.

During my time at the Institute of Chinese Studies at the University of Heidelberg, I gained invaluable insights from the Pop Culture research group under the leadership of Professor Mittler. I found great enjoyment in attending regular seminars and one-day workshops, where diverse knowledge was presented and debated. I extend my heartfelt thanks to Petra Thiel, Emily Graf, Xuelei Huang, and Liying Sun as I cherished every moment, both the highs and the lows, shared with them. Their intellectual and emotional support guided me through my PhD journey, and I will always hold it dear.

I also extend my thanks to the Taiwanese Ministry of Education, the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, and the Institute of Modern History at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan for providing scholarships that enabled me to complete my dissertation. My gratitude extends to Professor Ko-wu Huang, Professor Ling-ling Lien, and Professor Yu-chih Lai at the Institute of Modern History for their insightful suggestions on my research. I am grateful to the colleagues I encountered there, including Chen-cheng Wang, Chi-an Weng, and Cheng-Hua Han, who supported me in various ways. Their encouragement brought me back on track whenever I felt myself lagging behind the world.

I am immensely thankful to Professor Sung-Sheng Yvonne Chang in the Department of Asian Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, USA, who awarded me a research scholarship to develop my post-doctoral project. The academic dialogues with Professor Chang broadened my perspective on Taiwanese literature and motivated me to uncover the underlying principles governing various phenomena. Additionally, I would like to express my gratitude to those who assisted me in Austin, including Shu-Wen Tang, Chang-Jr Lin, Bòk-bîn Tsiòh, Viola Tiunn, and Mung-Ting Chung. Engaging in thought-provoking discussions with them, both on research and life, facilitated my understanding of the disparities in Asian studies between North America and Europe.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to those I met through the “Modern Print Culture Research Group”, “Victoria Study Group”, and the Department of Chinese Literature at National Tsing Hua University in Taiwan. Professor Wen-Hui Chen introduced me to numerous young scholars in similar research fields. She provided invaluable assistance and guidance whenever I felt lost. I am indebted to Christopher G. Rea, whose research and thought-provoking ideas consistently inspire me. He can always bring out the humorous aspects of academic life. I also want to express my appreciation to Shaw-Yu Pan, Joscha Chung, Shuowen Chen, Chia-Hsien Yang, Shih-Lung Lo, and Chen-Lin Hsu. They generously helped me untangle my questions and offered encouragement. Even in sharing trivial news and jokes, I felt blessed by their warmth and support.

Besides academia, I have also been blessed with enriching experiences in everyday life. In Germany, I am grateful to the Filsinger family, with whom I lived for over three years. They cared for me with kindness surpassing the typical landlord-tenant relationship. They included me in their family events and immersed me in many German traditional occasions, transforming Germany from a place of study into a true home for me. My heartfelt gratitude goes to Frau Helga Filsinger, with whom I shared daily life and amusing experiences. She patiently taught me German, step by step, until we could communicate in her native tongue.

In the USA, I am deeply grateful to Ms. Joanne Click, who was also very kind to have treated me more than just a tenant. Her generous, trustworthy, and warm personality illuminated my dark moments during my PhD studies, reminding me of the joy and splendor that life can offer. Joanne consistently lent me her ear and offered advice stemming from her wealth of wisdom and international experiences. I am greatly indebted to her for her contributions to my dissertation. Even after I left Austin, she tirelessly proofread my writing. Her excitement in reading my dissertation and expressing her thoughts was palpable. I consider myself incredibly fortunate to have had her as a dissertation reader.

I would like to express my gratitude to Jerome Tien as well, a long-term friend since high school. Throughout my PhD journey, he has supported me whenever I faced difficulty. Jerome has always been there to listen to my ups and downs, offering invaluable suggestions. I am thankful for his honesty and directness in pointing out my blind spots and weaknesses, as well as for reminding me of the reality of situations. He consistently encouraged me to believe in myself and taught me perseverance as a means to cope with life's challenges.

Last but not least, I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my family: my mother and aunt in heaven, my sister, and my father. My mother has been in heaven for a long time, but I believe she would be very glad to see me receive a PhD degree. My aunt has been a pillar of

support for our family for as long as I can remember, and this dissertation could not have come to fruition without her assistance.

My life's journey may have taken unexpected paths, but my father has always allowed me the freedom to forge my own path. Despite his worries and anxieties, his unwavering support and trust have been my guiding light. I know I can always find him standing at the outset, no matter how far I go. I owe him a debt of gratitude beyond words. To my sister, who has selflessly supported our family while I pursued my endeavors, I am deeply indebted to her as she has shouldered responsibilities that should have been shared, all without complaint. Her consistent backing and boundless optimism have been my sources of strength, motivating me to hold on even in the face of frustration. I am truly grateful for her tireless efforts and steadfast conviction in me.

My PhD journey has been long indeed, but it is because of this extended voyage that I have recognized how lucky I was to be enveloped with warm, strong support and good intentions throughout. Now that the dissertation is complete, of course, any errors are my own.



## List of Tables

Table 4.1 <i>Puck</i> and <i>Punch</i> Genealogies	225
Table 8.1 Contents of <i>Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift</i> 8 1919/1920	400

## List of Figures

Figure 0.1 An Introduction to the Oldest Comic Magazine in Shanghai ( <i>DLMH</i> , 10 October 1935).	1
Figure 1.1 Rewarding Pictures ( <i>XWHB</i> , ca. 1912).	41
Figure 1.2 Fun with Science ( <i>THRB</i> , ca.1909).	42
Figure 1.3 Inflation Phenomenon ( <i>THRB</i> , ca.1909).	43
Figure 1.4 Animals Bully Chinese ( <i>XQHB</i> ,1906).	44
Figure 1.5 On Telling Fortune by Studying Chinese Characters ( <i>THRB</i> , ca. 1909).	45
Figure 1.6 Untitled ( <i>ESJW</i> , 18 December 1903).	47
Figure 1.7 Untitled ( <i>ESJW</i> , 24 December 1903).	49
Figure 1.8 Untitled ( <i>ESJW</i> , 1 January 1904).	50
Figure 1.9 Stealing Bells by Covering Ears ( <i>SSB</i> , 1909).	52
Figure 1.10 Filling one's private coffers ( <i>SSB</i> , 1909).	53
Figure 1.11 Filling one's private coff ( <i>MXRB</i> , 18 November 1909).	54
Figure 1.12 Drawing Cakes to Allay Hunger ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1907).	55
Figure 1.13 A Castle in the Sky ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1907).	55
Figure 1.14 Scooping a Moon from Water ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1907).	56
Figure 1.15 Zhu Zhanji, <i>Zhuge Liang Reclines</i> (1428 AD).	57
Figure 1.16 The Current Situation of the Nationals ( <i>SZRB</i> , 2 September 1908).	58
Figure 1.17 Thousands of Boils and Holes ( <i>SZRB</i> , 9 December 1907).	58
Figure 1.18 Untitled ( <i>SZRB</i> , 26 August 1907).	59
Figure 1.19 New Ghost Amusement Scroll ( <i>MLB</i> , May 1911).	60
Figure 1.20 New Stealing the Magic Bell ( <i>SZRB</i> , 2 February 1911).	62
Figure 1.21 The New Feast of Plum Wine ( <i>XWB</i> , 26 March 1917).	63
Figure 1.22 Untitled ( <i>Shenbao</i> , 4 June 1907).	66
Figure 1.23 Constitutionalism by Spiritual Meditation ( <i>Shenbao</i> , 10 February 1908).	67
Figure 1.24 Untitled ( <i>Shenbao</i> , 18 May 1907).	68
Figure 2.1 The Revelation of the Policeman in Hangao ( <i>MXRB</i> , 14 October 1909).	77
Figure 2.2 The New Exposure of Officialdom ( <i>Minqiang huabao</i> , 1911).	78
Figure 2.3 The Cover of the First Issue ( <i>RJHB</i> , 22 July 1907).	83
Figure 2.4 Chinese Hell ( <i>Yulizhibaochao chuanshi</i> , 1906)	88
Figure 2.5 Ghosts in a Guise of Human Appearance ( <i>RJHB</i> , 29 July 1907).	91
Figure 2.6 Untitled ( <i>RJHB</i> , 1 December 1907).	92
Figure 2.7 Seeking Only Skin and Appearance ( <i>RJHB</i> , 2 September 1907).	92
Figure 2.8 Freedom of Marriage ( <i>RJHB</i> , 13 October 1907).	93
Figure 2.9 The Revelation of the Academy Circle ( <i>RJHB</i> , 19 August 1907).	94
Figure 2.10 An Illustration of Wrestling ( <i>RJHB</i> , 29 September 1907).	94
Figure 2.11 Organizing Constitutionalism ( <i>RJHB</i> , 24 August 1907).	95
Figure 2.12 Constitutionalism ( <i>RJHB</i> , 15 September 1907).	95
Figure 2.13 Untitled ( <i>RJHB</i> , 11 October 1907).	96
Figure 2.14 Maltreatment ( <i>RJHB</i> , 15 December 1907).	96
Figure 2.15 Cleaning Up the Industrial Circle ( <i>RJHB</i> , 22 December 1907).	96
Figure 2.16 One Need Not Look Far for a Lesson ( <i>RJHB</i> , 9 September 1907).	97
Figure 2.17 Taking Something as a Mirror ( <i>Shenbao</i> , 26 November 1907).	99
Figure 2.18 Divestiture of All Rights ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca. 1909).	100
Figure 2.19 The Cover of the First Issue of <i>GDBHB</i> (31 May 1907).	102
Figure 2.20 Untitled ( <i>GDBHB</i> , 31 May 1907).	103
Figure 2.21 Hundreds of Hands in Shanghai (10 and 11) ( <i>SB</i> , 4 October 1907).	105
Figure 2.22 Manufacturing Western Mirrors ( <i>THRB</i> , 24 December 1909).	106
Figure 2.23 Read Respectfully the Edict Issued on the 24th ( <i>SB</i> , 26 July 1908).	106
Figure 2.24 Peeps of Other Countries ( <i>SB</i> , 27 November 1908).	108
Figure 2.25 Commerce 2 ( <i>SB</i> , 18 April 1908).	109
Figure 2.26 The Foreigner's View of China ( <i>SZRB</i> , 1909).	109

Figure 2.27 Things Turn Far When One Watches Them Holding a Telescope Backwards ( <i>SB</i> , 12 April 1907).	110
Figure 2.28 Picture of the Age ( <i>SB</i> , 16 September 1909).	111
Figure 2.29 Picture of the Age ( <i>BJBHTRB</i> , 27 September 1909).	111
Figure 2.30 Picture of Allegory ( <i>THRB</i> , 19 March 1910).	111
Figure 2.31 Exposing the Raree-Show ( <i>THRB</i> , 24 April 1910).	112
Figure 2.32 What Is Seen During the New Year 1 ( <i>SZRB</i> , 10 February 1908).	113
Figure 2.33 What Is Seen During the New Year 6 ( <i>SZHB</i> , 25 February 1915).	114
Figure 2.34 Autonomous Council Members' Mammonism ( <i>THRB</i> , January 1910).	115
Figure 2.35 Untitled ( <i>Shenbao</i> , 10 March 1908).	116
Figure 3.1 The Reception of the Diplomatique & his Suite at the Court of Peking (September 1792).	121
Figure 3.2 Under the Dark Blue Waters (the <i>London Punch</i> , 25 May 1872).	127
Figure 3.3 The Sublime – “Super” (the <i>London Punch</i> , September 16 1882).	128
Figure 3.4 A Cover of the <i>London Punch</i> (6 September 1849).	130
Figure 3.5 The Cover of <i>the China Punch</i> (July 11, 1867).	131
Figure 3.6 The Wanderings of Li Hung Chang (the <i>London Punch</i> , 8 August 1894).	133
Figure 3.7 The Cover of <i>the China Punch</i> (November 1872).	134
Figure 3.8 A Page of <i>Punch Almanack</i> , 1842.	135
Figure 3.9 A Page of the <i>London Punch</i> .	135
Figure 3.10 Two pages of the <i>London Punch</i> (22 June 1867).	135
Figure 3.11 A Caricature Across Two Pages (the <i>London Punch</i> , 22 June 1867).	136
Figure 3.12 Two Pages of the <i>London Punch</i> (20 July 1867).	136
Figure 3.13 A Page of <i>the China Punch</i> (11 June 1867).	136
Figure 3.14 A Page of <i>the China Punch</i> (20 February 1873).	137
Figure 3.15 A Page of <i>the China Punch</i> (11 June 1867).	137
Figure 3.16 Untitled ( <i>the China Punch</i> , November 1872).	139
Figure 3.17 Manners and Customs of Hong Kong ( <i>the China Punch</i> , January 1873).	140
Figure 3.18 Manners and Customs of Hong Kong ( <i>the China Punch</i> , 20 February 1873).	141
Figure 3.19 Manners in Hong Kong in 1866-7 ( <i>the China Punch</i> , 27 July 1867).	142
Figure 3.20 Manners and Customs of Hongkong ( <i>the China Punch</i> , February 1873).	142
Figure 3.21 The Compliment of the Season (the <i>China Punch</i> , 24 December 1867).	143
Figure 3.22 The Stamp Schedule ---”Label, Slip, or Agreement” ( <i>the China Punch</i> , 8 November 8 1867).	149
Figure 3.23 Stamping, and Searing ( <i>the China Punch</i> , 14 October 1867).	150
Figure 3.24 Thimble Rigging in the Far East ( <i>The China Punch</i> , 27 July 1867).	151
Figure 3.25 Farm Produce ( <i>the China Punch</i> , 25 September 1867).	154
Figure 3.26 Aquatics in Hongkong ( <i>the China Punch</i> , 9 November 1867).	156
Figure 3.27 A Cover of the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> (April 1, 1872).	158
Figure 3.28 Untiled (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , April 1, 1872).	160
Figure 3.29 Two Pages of the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> (1 January 1872).	163
Figure 3.30 Two Pages of the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> (1 July 1871).	163
Figure 3.31 Product Advertisement (The <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 January 1872).	163
Figure 3.32 A Page of the <i>London Punch</i> (3 August 1867).	163
Figure 3.33 The Chief Paper-Hunt of the Season (The <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 November 1872).	164
Figure 3.34 Untitled (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 January 1872).	166
Figure 3.35 This is the Idol (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 January 1872).	167
Figure 3.36 New Arrival in China (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 January 1872).	168
Figure 3.37 Untitled (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 May January 1872).	169
Figure 3.38 A Vision of the Future (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 May January 1872).	170
Figure 3.39 Another Vision of the Future (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 July 1872).	171
Figure 3.40 Puck's Design for a Municipal Seal (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 July 1871).	172
Figure 3.41 Untiled (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 April 1871).	173
Figure 3.42 The Audience Question (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 May 1872).	174
Figure 3.43 The Consular Work-House (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 1 July 1872).	178
Figure 3.44 An Illustration of <i>Oliver Twist</i> , 1843.	178
Figure 3.45 Harry Parkes (1828-1885)	179
Figure 3.46 A Scene from Shak(e)speare (the <i>Shanghai Puck</i> , 2 October 1871).	181
Figure 3.47 Thomas Francis Wade (1818-1895)	182
Figure 3.48 Robert Hart (1835-1911)	182
Figure 3.49 The Cover of <i>the Rattle</i> (May 1896).	185
Figure 3.50 A Page of <i>the Rattle</i> (October 1903).	190
Figure 3.51 A Page of <i>the Rattle</i> (September 1896).	190

Figure 3.52 A Page of <i>the Rattle</i> (June 1896).	190
Figure 3.53 A Page of <i>the Rattle</i> (January 1897).	190
Figure 3.54 Untitled ( <i>the Rattle</i> , July 1896).	194
Figure 3.55 After the Ball ( <i>the Rattle</i> , September 1896).	195
Figure 3.56 Untitled ( <i>the Rattle</i> , February 1897).	196
Figure 3.57 Untitled ( <i>the Rattle</i> , March 1901).	197
Figure 3.58 Untitled, <i>the Rattle</i> , May 1896.	197
Figure 3.59 Untitled ( <i>the Rattle</i> , July 1896).	198
Figure 3.60 The Sikh ( <i>the Rattle</i> , January 1901).	200
Figure 3.61 Untitled ( <i>the Rattle</i> , March 1901).	202
Figure 3.62 The Chinese Imperial Postal Administration Up to Date ( <i>the Rattle</i> , October 1896).	204
Figure 3.63 In the Net ( <i>the Rattle</i> , March 1897).	207
Figure 3.64 Virtue Is its Own Reward ( <i>the Rattle</i> , June 1897).	210
Figure 3.65 Li Hung-Chang's Progress ( <i>the Rattle</i> , July 1896).	212
Figure 3.66 Li Hung-Chang's Progress ( <i>the Rattle</i> , August 1896).	213
Figure 3.67 The Return of the Wanderer ( <i>the Rattle</i> , November 1896).	214
Figure 3.68 Latest Boxer Movement ( <i>the Rattle</i> , November 1900).	216
Figure 3.69 The Trials of an Emperor Dowager ( <i>the Rattle</i> , November 1900).	217
Figure 3.70 The Trials of an Emperor Dowager ( <i>the Rattle</i> , May 1901).	218
Figure 3.71 Untitled ( <i>the Rattle</i> , February 1902).	220
Figure 4.1 The Cover of the first New York edition of the American <i>Puck</i> (27 September 1876).	226
Figure 4.2 The London <i>Puck</i> (12 January 1889).	228
Figure 4.3 Ever-lasting Memory to Our Late Contemporaries ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 September 1918).	228
Figure 4.4 A page of <i>Shanghai Poke</i> (1 November 1918).	229
Figure 4.5 A page of the London <i>Punch</i> (9 August 1916).	230
Figure 4.6 Untitled ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 November 1918).	230
Figure 4.7 A Page of the London <i>Punch</i> (1918, no exact date given).	230
Figure 4.8 The News in Rime, American <i>Puck</i> (1917, no exact date given).	231
Figure 4.9 Untitled ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 November 1918).	231
Figure 4.10 The Cover of <i>Tokyo Puck</i> (4 November 1910).	232
Figure 4.11 The Great Chinese Citizen. <i>Shanghai Poke</i> (1 November 1918).	232
Figure 4.12 The Great Chinese Citizen ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 November 1918).	233
Figure 4.13 The Masthead of the Supplement of <i>Poke</i> (5 January 1919).	236
Figure 4.14 Untitled (the Supplement of <i>Poke</i> , 22 December 1919).	237
Figure 4.15 Untitled (the Supplement of <i>Poke</i> , 22 December 1918).	238
Figure 4.16 My View on Three-Side Blockage (the Supplement of <i>Poke</i> , 22 December 1918).	239
Figure 4.17 Ghostly of Civilization (the Supplement of <i>Poke</i> , 22 December, 1918).	239
Figure 4.18 Ghost of Yuan to the Old Bei Yang Party ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , September 1918).	240
Figure 4.19 Pan Dahui and He Jianshi, <i>Turtles Carrying a Beauty</i> (1905).	244
Figure 4.20 New Knowledge Scholar (the Supplement of <i>Poke</i> , 9 January 1919).	245
Figure 4.21 New Literary (the Supplement of <i>Poke</i> , 9 February 1919).	245
Figure 4.22 The artists with Blind Eyes and Minds ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , December 1918).	247
Figure 4.23 Negotiation, ( <i>SB</i> , 24 November 1907).	249
Figure 4.24 Not Being Controlled ( <i>SZRB</i> , 2 August 1907).	249
Figure 4.25 The Sick Man of the East ( <i>Shenbao</i> , 4 November 1907).	251
Figure 4.26 The Crisis of the Foreign Invasion with Railways ( <i>SZRB</i> , 14 April 1908).	252
Figure 4.27 Criticism Illustration ( <i>SZRB</i> , 28 April 1908).	255
Figure 4.28 Taking Up Someone's Breath ( <i>MXRB</i> , 13 November 1909).	255
Figure 4.29 Into the Tiger's Den ( <i>SB</i> , 17 December 1907).	257
Figure 4.30 Chinese Crisis of Economic Partition by the Powers ( <i>SZRB</i> , 25 August 1909).	257
Figure 4.31 The Phenomenon of The Foreign Powers Slicing up China ( <i>MHRB</i> , 18 May 1909).	259
Figure 4.32 A Sale with Five Percent Discount ( <i>SZRB</i> , 15 December 1907).	259
Figure 4.33 Untitled ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 November 1918).	266
Figure 4.34 Games of Melons ( <i>MQHB</i> , 6 October 1912).	267
Figure 4.35 The Question of Tsingtoa ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 December 1918).	267
Figure 4.36 The Kaiser and the Crowns Prince ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 November 1918).	268
Figure 4.37 Pan-American Trust ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 15 October 1906).	269
Figure 4.38 Untitled ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 September 1918).	270
Figure 5.1 The Image of Dividing Up Like a Melon ( <i>ESJW</i> , 15 December 1903).	276
Figure 5.2 The God of Peace in the Twentieth Century ( <i>SB</i> , 25 February 1908).	277

Figure 5.3 A page of “Caricatures from the World” ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 1 July 1907).	278
Figure 5.4 A Sample of “Caricatures from the World” ( <i>SB</i> , 27 March 1908).	278
Figure 5.5 The Conflict of Jiandao ( <i>BJBHTRB</i> , 11 November 1908).	279
Figure 5.6 The Effect of Anglo-Russian Entente ( <i>SB</i> , 29 February 1908).	282
Figure 5.7 England Is the Spider That Can Catch German Flies ( <i>SB</i> , 1 March 1908).	282
Figure 5.8. English Whale and Russian Elephant Shake Hands ( <i>SB</i> , 22 March 1908).	283
Figure 5.9 Political Caricature ( <i>XWHB</i> , ca.1912).	283
Figure 5.10 Political Caricature ( <i>XWHB</i> , ca. 1912).	284
Figure 5.11 Political Caricature, ( <i>XWHB</i> , ca. 1912).	285
Figure 5.12 Lighten Our Darkness We Beseech Thee. ( <i>The National Review</i> , 21 December 1912).	286
Figure 5.13 Citation of “Lighten Our Darkness We Beseech Thee ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 December 1918).	287
Figure 5.14 Chinese Method of Diplomacy ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 10 March 1908).	288
Figure 5.15 Untitled ( <i>BJBHTRB</i> , 29 October 1908).	288
Figure 5.16 The Fever of Retaking the Rights and Interests in China ( <i>SB</i> , 26 March 1908).	290
Figure 5.17 A Man with Hands on All Quarters ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 10 March 1908).	290
Figure 5.18 Re Kanto Question ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 10 March 1908).	292
Figure 5.19 No Hands but Beyond All Expectations ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 10 March 1908).	292
Figure 5.20 A Pictorial Criticism on the Incident of Tatsumaru ( <i>SB</i> , 25 March 1908).	293
Figure 5.21 Untitled ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 15 February 1907).	295
Figure 5.22 Half Crying, Half Smiling ( <i>SZRB</i> , 28 June 1907).	295
Figure 5.23 The Earthquakes in the World and in the Financial Circle ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , January 10 1909).	296
Figure 5.24 The Future of Chinese Constitutionalism ( <i>SZHB</i> , 27 July 1909).	296
Figure 5.25. Untitled ( <i>American Puck</i> , 17 June 1916).	301
Figure 5.26. Untitled ( <i>Shanghai Poke</i> , 1 September 1918).	301
Figure 5.27. The President Shows His Hand ( <i>American Puck</i> , March 1877).	302
Figure 5.28. Do Whatever He Wants ( <i>MQHB</i> , 1912).	302
Figure 5.29 Four Caricatures Selected from Other Newspapers ( <i>BJBHTRB</i> , 1 July, 1909).	304
Figure 5.30. Untitled ( <i>MHRB</i> , 22 June 1909).	305
Figure 5.31. Prevent the Weeds from Overgrowing ( <i>THRB</i> , 14 October 1909).	306
Figure 5.32. Prevent the Weeds from Overgrowing ( <i>XSHB</i> , 31 December 1909).	306
Figure 5.33 Can You Not See the Hegemony in the World ( <i>THRB</i> , 1 November 1909).	307
Figure 5.34 Can You Not See the Hegemony in the World ( <i>XSHB</i> , January 1910).	307
Figure 5.35. Picture of the Age ( <i>SB</i> , 14 September 1909).	309
Figure 5.36. Untitled ( <i>BJBHTRB</i> , 25 September 1909).	309
Figure 5.37 New Year Dawns with the Voice of a Cock ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 1 January 1909).	310
Figure 5.38 The View of This Year ( <i>SB</i> , 31 January 1909).	311
Figure 5.39 When the Cock Crows, the Day Becomes Bright ( <i>MXRB</i> , 9 October 1909).	311
Figure 5.40 Five Senses Quite Busy ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 1 May 1909).	313
Figure 5.41 The Responsibilities of the Five Senses ( <i>SZHB</i> , 23 November 1909).	313
Figure 5.42 Five Senses of leisurely Shanghainese Quite Busy ( <i>MQHB</i> , 18 June 1912).	316
Figure 6.1 The Current Situation ( <i>ESJW</i> , 20 December 1903).	327
Figure 6.2 The International Lantern Festival ( <i>MHRB</i> , ca.1909).	328
Figure 6.3 Of Late the Kaiser Has Been Feeling Solitary ( <i>Tokyo Puck</i> , 10 January 1909).	329
Figure 6.4 This is So-Called Chinese Independence ( <i>SZHB</i> , 7 November 1909).	330
Figure 6.5 Untitled ( <i>SZRB</i> , 21 February 1911).	330
Figure 6.6 The Treaty ( <i>SZHB</i> , 3 October 1907).	331
Figure 6.7 Untitled ( <i>SZRB</i> , 12 April 1910).	332
Figure 6.8 Very Close to One’s Eyebrows and Eyelashes ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1908).	333
Figure 6.9 A Comparison of the Competition Between China and the Foreign ( <i>SZRB</i> , 28 June 1909).	333
Figure 6.10 The Comparison of Military Power ( <i>SZRB</i> , 11 November 1909).	334
Figure 6.11 The Leader of Civilization ( <i>SB</i> , 5 April 1907).	335
Figure 6.12 Inversion of the Wife ( <i>SB</i> , 15 April 1907).	335
Figure 6.13 Half Crying and Half Laughing ( <i>SB</i> , 9 April 1907).	336
Figure 6.14 Untitled ( <i>Wushen qiannian huabao</i> , 1908).	337
Figure 6.15 J. Richard Block, <i>Sweethearts and wives</i> (1890).	337
Figure 6.16 Confronting the People, Confronting Foreigners ( <i>SB</i> , 14 December 1907).	338
Figure 6.17 Confronting the People, Confronting Foreigners ( <i>SSB</i> , 1909).	338
Figure 6.18 Chopping Away One’s Vitality Day by Day ( <i>SB</i> , 14 May 1907).	339
Figure 6.19 Untitled ( <i>SB</i> , 9 September 1907).	339
Figure 6.20 The People’s Burden ( <i>SZRB</i> , 19 July 1909).	339

Figure 6.21 The Fat Official and the Boney People ( <i>MXRB</i> , ca.1909).	340
Figure 6.22 Untitled ( <i>JZRB</i> , March 1904).	341
Figure 6.23 The Refined Sesame Oil ( <i>RJHB</i> , 22 September 1907.)	341
Figure 6.24 China Unmasked ( <i>SZRB</i> , 19 July 1909).	341
Figure 6.25 The Way of Dealing with Domestic Affairs ( <i>SZRB</i> , 23 October 1907).	342
Figure 6.26 Untitled ( <i>RJHB</i> , 19 August 1907).	342
Figure 6.27 Picture Criticism ( <i>SB</i> , 8 December 1908).	343
Figure 6.28 Picture Criticism ( <i>SB</i> , 9 December 1908).	343
Figure 6.29 Picture Criticism ( <i>SB</i> , 10 December 1908).	343
Figure 6.30 Picture Criticism ( <i>SB</i> , 11 December 1908).	343
Figure 6.31 Untitled ( <i>SB</i> , 12 December 1908).	343
Figure 6.32 The Category of Faces ( <i>SB</i> , 4 April 1908.)	344
Figure 6.33 The Category of Faces II ( <i>SB</i> , 7 April 1908).	344
Figure 6.34 The Face Used in Chinese Officialdom ( <i>SZRB</i> , 22 October 1907).	345
Figure 6.35 Children Games Picture ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.190).	346
Figure 6.36 Untitled, ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1909).	347
Figure 6.37 Untitled ( <i>Shengjing Ribao</i> , ca. 1909).	347
Figure 6.38 Untitled, <i>SZRB</i> (ca. 1911).	348
Figure 6.39 The Deformity of the Officialdom ( <i>MHRB</i> , 17 May 1909).	348
Figure 7.1 Untitled ( <i>MLB</i> , 1911).	352
Figure 7.2 China Besieged from All Sides ( <i>MQHB</i> , 8 July 1912).	354
Figure 7.3 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 1 ( <i>MQHB</i> , 6 June 1912).	355
Figure 7.4 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 2 ( <i>MQHB</i> , 25 June 1912).	356
Figure 7.5 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 3 ( <i>MQHB</i> , 26 June 1912).	356
Figure 7.6 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 4 ( <i>MQHB</i> , 27 June 1912).	356
Figure 7.7 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 5 ( <i>MQHB</i> , 28 June 1912).	357
Figure 7.8 Untitled ( <i>Shibao huabao</i> , ca. 1912).	358
Figure 7.9 Untitled (ca. 1912)	359
Figure 7.10 The View of Personages in the Political Circle ( <i>MQHB</i> , 1 October 1912).	360
Figure 7.11 Let Them Laugh Who Will, I Am a Good Official ( <i>MQHB</i> , 5 July 1912).	360
Figure 7.12 A Toy for Americans and Europeans ( <i>MQHB</i> , 6 June 1912).	361
Figure 7.13 A Palace Graduate Changes His Attire ( <i>MQHB</i> , 20 June 1912).	361
Figure 7.14 An Illustration of the New Dress Code ( <i>MQHB</i> , 1 July 1912).	363
Figure 7.15 China's Current Situation ( <i>SZRB</i> , 28 October 1907).	366
Figure 7.16 The Dragon Gate ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1910).	367
Figure 7.17 The Four Main Objectives ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1911).	367
Figure 7.18 Chinese Current Situation: Progressing? Regressing? ( <i>SZRB</i> , 1 July 1910).	368
Figure 7.19 Walk and Behave Inversely: Progressing? Regressing? ( <i>SZRB</i> , 4 July 1910).	368
Figure 7.20 The Current Situation of China's Progress 1 ( <i>SZRB</i> , 26 December 1908).	368
Figure 7.21 The Current Situation of China's Progress 2 ( <i>SZRB</i> , 27 December 1908).	369
Figure 7.22 The Current Situation of China's Progress ( <i>SZRB</i> , 24 November 1907).	369
Figure 7.23 Survival of the Fittest ( <i>THJB</i> , ca. 1912-1913).	373
Figure 7.24 The Current Situation of Progress in the World, ( <i>SB</i> , 4 September 1908).	374
Figure 7.25 The Horse Race in the World ( <i>SZRB</i> , 2 November, 1910).	376
Figure 7.26 A Comparison of the Constitutions in the West and in China ( <i>SZRB</i> , 30 July 1908).	377
Figure 7.27 A Comparison of Chinese and Foreign Businessmen ( <i>SZRB</i> , ca.1908).	377
Figure 7.28 The Growth and the Decline of Ice and Charcoal ( <i>SZRB</i> , 13 October 1909).	378
Figure 7.29 New Personage ( <i>Shenbao huabao</i> , 1912).	380
Figure 7.30 The Inside and Outside of a Politician ( <i>MQHB</i> , 24 May 1912).	381
Figure 7.31 Walk in Cahoots ( <i>MQHB</i> , 23 April 1912).	382
Figure 7.32 The Present and the Past of a Young Lady ( <i>MQHB</i> , 6 August 1912).	383
Figure 7.33 The View on the Braids in the Past and in the Present ( <i>MQHB</i> , 20 August 1912).	384
Figure 7.34 The Evolution of Businessmen ( <i>XWB</i> , 11 May 1916).	385
Figure 7.35 The Future of the Dress Code ( <i>XWB</i> , 15 January 1915).	386
Figure 7.36 The Change of the Things in the Future 10: beard and hair ( <i>SZRB</i> , 2 November 1915).	387
Figure 7.37 The Change of the Things in the Future 16: Female Scholars Circle ( <i>SZRB</i> , 11 November 1915).	388
Figure 7.38 Untitled ( <i>SZRB</i> , 11 October 1915).	389
Figure 8.1 The Cover of <i>Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift</i> 8 1910/1920	398
Figure 8.2 Partial Examples of Chinese Caricatures in Krebs' Article (ca. 1910-1911).	403
Figure 8.3 Making the Gods of the House Friendly (ca.1910-1911).	404

Figure 8.4 Untitled (ca.1910-1911).

405

Figure 8.5 Toward Inner and Toward Ouster (*Beijing Daily*, ca.1910-1911)

405

## Conventions and Abbreviations

1. The study employs the Pinyin System of Romanization except for the original material that uses other systems. Chinese characters are given for all Chinese names, titles, terms in the text when they first appear. Afterward, the characters are given only when considered necessary.
2. For caricatures represented in the study, I provide English translations, publisher, and publishing dates. If the caricature has no titles, I mark it as “Untitled.”
3. I use abbreviations to indicate Chinese newspapers in this study. If the Chinese newspapers or periodicals have English titles, I provide them in the footnotes. If a caricature carries bilingual captions, quotation marks are employed to discern the original English caption (or any other language) based on my own translations.
4. The following abbreviations are utilized in the footnotes, caricature captions, and bibliography:

<i>BJBHTURB</i>	<i>Beijing baihua tuhua ribao</i>	北京白話圖 畫日報	(Beijing Vernacular Picture Daily)
<i>DSZHB</i>	<i>Dianshizai huabao</i>	點石齋畫報	(Dianshizhai Illustrated Newspaper)
<i>DLMH</i>	<i>Duli manha</i>	獨立漫畫	(Oriental Puck)
<i>ESJW</i>	<i>E'shi jingwen</i>	俄事警聞	(Alarming News About Russian Actions)
<i>GDBHB</i>	<i>Guangdong baihuabao</i>	廣東白話報	(Guangdong Vernacular Daily)
<i>JZRB</i>	<i>Jingzhong ribao</i>	警鐘日報	(Alarming Bell Daily)
<i>MHRB</i>	<i>Minhu ribao</i>	民呼日報	(People's Call Daily)
<i>MLB</i>	<i>Minlibao</i>	民立報	(People's Rise Daily)
<i>MQHB</i>	<i>Minquan huabao</i>	民權畫報	(People's Right Pictorial)
<i>MXRB</i>	<i>Minxu ribao</i>	民吁日報	(People's Sigh Daily)
<i>RJHB</i>	<i>Renjing huabao</i>	人鏡畫報	(Human Mirror Pictorial)
<i>SB</i>	<i>Shibao</i>	時報	(Eastern Times)
<i>SSB</i>	<i>Shishibao</i>	時事報	(Current News Daily)
<i>SSXB</i>	<i>Shishi xinbao</i>	時事新報	(The China Times)
<i>SZHB</i>	<i>Shenzhou huabao</i>	神州畫報	(Shenzhou Pictorial)
<i>SZRB</i>	<i>Shenzhou ribao</i>	神州日報	(The National Herald)
<i>THJB</i>	<i>Tuhua jubao</i>	圖畫劇報	(Theater Pictorial)
<i>THRB</i>	<i>Tuhua ribao</i>	圖畫日報	(Picture Daily)
<i>XSHB</i>	<i>Xingshi huabao</i>	醒世畫報	(World-Awakening Pictorial)
<i>XQHB</i>	<i>Xingqi huabao</i>	星期畫報	(Week Pictorial)
<i>ZXHB</i>	<i>Zhenxiang huabao</i>	真相畫報	(The True Record)

## Introduction

The global society we live in leads to clashes and asymmetry between cultures.  
 ---Ovidi Carbonell i Cort.s and Esther Monz.-Nebot (2021, 2)

On 10 October 1935, a Shanghai-based humorous magazine, *Duli manhua* 獨立漫畫 (Oriental Puck) carried an essay by Wang Dunqing 王敦慶 (1889-1990), “An Introduction of the Oldest Comic Magazine in Shanghai” 介紹上海最老的一本漫畫雜誌 (Figure 0.1).<sup>1</sup> This article, as its title notes, attempts to pin down which comic magazine was the first to appear in Shanghai.



Figure 0.1 An Introduction to the Oldest Comic Magazine in Shanghai (*DLMH*, 10 October 1935).

The revelation may come as a surprise to Chinese readers, as Wang identifies not any of the Chinese-language publications but, rather, the English-language magazine, *The Rattle*, as the earliest humorous magazine in Shanghai. Wang translated the title of *The Rattle* into “Roushe” (饒舌), signifying garrulousness and a penchant for discussing trivial matters. According to Wang, *The Rattle* was published in 1895 during the late Qing dynasty, adopting the general format of humorous magazines of the nineteenth century, and printed only in red

<sup>1</sup> The publication *Duli manhua* 獨立漫畫 (Oriental Puck) in which Wang’s article was published, was founded in 1935 by a pivotal caricaturist, Zhang Guangyu 張光宇 (1900-1965), an important caricaturist who had established several popular Chinese cartoon magazines in the 1920s and 1930s, including *Shanghai manhua* 上海漫畫 and *Shidai manhua* 時代漫畫. As a good friend of Zhang’s, Wang was a fan of satirical illustrations and was himself a caricaturist. Wang also actively promoted caricatures in China by publishing relevant articles and translations, and in 1927 he organized with Zhang and other friends, China’s first association of caricature makers, known as Manhuahua 漫畫會 (Association of Caricatures). The association chose “Manhua” as its title in an effort to elevate the status of the caricature genre. Contrary to views of the art academies that tended to belittle caricatures, the Manhua organization regarded caricatures as a serious theme of scholarship, engaged in many academic debates, and held events to recognize Chinese and foreign works, and published images in various magazines and monographs. (See Bi and Huang 1978, 96-98.)



## INTRODUCTION

and black color without fancy decorations, similar to the worldwide famous English humorous magazine *Punch*.<sup>2</sup> Actually, each issue of *The Rattle* contained twenty pages, made with black and white lithography, partially due to the fact that zincography had not yet been introduced in China or was considered too costly.<sup>3</sup> Although *The Rattle* was printed on high quality, solid paper, Wang teasingly accuses his “bum comrades” 癩三同志 of pasting copies of *The Rattle* on coffins. Wang attempted to learn more about the founder of *the Rattler*, the British company Kelly and Walsh, by consulting many English and Japanese sources but failed. He tried to obtain details about *The Rattle*’s financial history that he believed would be useful information for Chinese-language magazines of the same kind.<sup>4</sup>

Delineating a brief history of *The Rattle* and analyzing its content, Wang Dunqing (1935, 154-155) broaches two significant points related to development of Chinese caricatures in the mid-1930s. First, Wang stresses that *The Rattle* carried a large number of satirical short comments and caricatures deriding China, which “makes China lose face” (丟中國的面子). Wang ascribed *The Rattle*’s superciliousness to China’s inability to “fight poison with poison” (以毒攻毒), a defect caused, he noted, by the fact that Chinese belittle caricatures due to their lack of knowledge about the genre. To explain the situation, Wang particularly mentioned five high officials in the Qing government who went on a mission abroad to learn about constitutional forms of government but made no effort to learn about humorous literature and the art of caricatures. In the end, Wang assumes that if his contemporaries, who regard themselves as reverent, correct, and progressive, had had been born a half century earlier, they would definitely use caricatures to stand up against the imperialists by “fighting poison with poison.” In this way, he had had no need to compose this article.

Second, Wang touched on the sensitive issue of “Chineseness.” In the article, he confessed his “audacity” by claiming that an English-language magazine was the earliest Chinese humor publication. He added that most Shanghainese likely held the same opinion as his, but his contemporaries, with nationalist enthusiasm, would condemn him for making that assertion. For them, only the late Qing’s *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (*Dianshizhai Illustrated Newspaper* hereafter *DSZHB*) deserved the title of “the oldest Chinese comic

---

<sup>2</sup> Wang also mentioned that a scholar had pointed out the Chinese illustrated newspaper *DSZHB* should be ranked the oldest humorous magazine but without adding further comments.

<sup>3</sup> *The Rattle*’ cover is also printed in red-black lithography.

<sup>4</sup> In order to complete the article, Wang emphasizes the difficulty in collecting the old comic magazines in China. By comparing the 1935 price of *The Rattle* with that of *Duli manhua*, Wang infers that *The Rattle* would be too expensive for the ordinary citizen to purchase at that time, thus pointing out the difficulty of acquiring *The Rattle*. The price of only one issue of *The Rattle* cost him almost as much as annual subscription for *Duli manhua*.

## INTRODUCTION

magazine” based on the observation that its authors and illustrators were all Chinese and most of its pictorial contents revolved around Chinese affairs.

These two points of “grumble” 牢騷, a term Wang jokingly used in his article, both criticized the then-current Chinese caricatures and simultaneously lifted humorous literature and caricatures to the same high status as constitutionalism. Wang pointed out Chinese audiences’ ignorance of the importance of caricatures while also suggesting that caricatures and humor should be taken as a serious subject for study because humor and caricatures at that time represented a new type of knowledge. In the face of western caricatures that scoffed at China, Wang underscored the functionality of caricatures as a visual weapon to counterattack imperialism as well as to challenge the existing international power relationship but only on the condition that Chinese caricaturists know how to command their visual weapons deftly.

The 1935 “grumbles” as expressed in Wang’s articles, seem to be relevant even nowadays. His words offer insight into contemporary research on Chinese caricatures of the late Qing and early Republican era (late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). His complaints fit German sinologist Rudolf Wanger’s (2019, 18) proposition about “perceptions of functionality in cultural asymmetries, which is an impetus to transcultural interactions.” Based on Wanger’s perspective, my study attempts to revisit the history of Chinese caricatures of the same period by mapping an itinerary of Chinese caricatures’ transcultural exchanges. Reconsidering Chinese caricatures as a visual language with transcultural essence, I argue that the notion of asymmetry sheds new light on Chinese caricature research that previously focused on caricatures as responses to given historical events. Early in the twentieth century, Chinese caricatures demonstrated a process of overcoming the asymmetry of functionality through sets of visual instruction, translation, adoption, and adaptation. In fact, an examination of a crucial visual and cultural phenomenon reveals a much more nuanced and pivotal significance of caricatures in the Chinese visual world.

### **0.1 Asymmetry: The Force of Transcultural Interactions**

As mentioned above, this study approach Chinese caricatures from the angle of asymmetry. What an asymmetry means requires clarification at the first place. If starting “at the lowest and simplest level, that of accepted dictionary definitions” (Lucie-Smith 1981, 7), we find the word asymmetry relates basically to scientific knowledge. For instance, according to *the Oxford English Dictionary*, asymmetry refers to the meanings below:

## INTRODUCTION

- 1a. Mathematics. The relation of two quantities which have no common measure, as 1 and  $\sqrt{2}$ ; incommensurability.  
2a. Want of symmetry, defective correspondence between things or their parts, disproportion.  
2b. Chemistry. Lack of symmetry in the spatial arrangement of atoms or groups in a molecule.<sup>5</sup>

The definitions describe unbalanced conditions in various scientific phenomena. In mathematics, asymmetry refers to two quantities that cannot be compared, while in chemistry, asymmetry points out that spatial discrepancy of a molecule's internal allocations of atoms or groups. The most explanation most closely related to asymmetry among cultures is 2a, specifically: "the defective correspondence between things or their parts, disproportion". The word "disproportion" delineates a form of asymmetry, which is more clearly illustrated by definitions in other dictionaries:

The Dictionary Collins:  
Asymmetry is the appearance that something has when its two sides or halves are different in shape, size or style.<sup>6</sup>

The Cambridge Dictionary:  
the state of two halves, sides, or parts that are not exactly the same in shape or size.  
the condition of not being equal or equally available between two people or groups.<sup>7</sup>

These explanations present a prominent visual model of asymmetry: an appearance of something with two sides or halves that differ in shape and size. "Two sides/halves" are repeatedly emphasized, a quality that alludes to things that have multiple dimensions. *The Cambridge Dictionary* further extends this visual model to the human being's situation in which two opposite parties are unequal in many aspects. Based on this extension, the model of asymmetry can be used to examine other types of human interactions and in a broader sense.

According to *Oxford Dictionary*, despite its use mainly as a term in science, asymmetry is also applied widely by various disciplines for the study of biology, information, music, and more.<sup>8</sup> Previously, humanity research that in the past rarely adopted the concept of asymmetry

---

<sup>5</sup> <https://www-oed-com.nthulib-oc.nthu.edu.tw/view/Entry/12352?redirectedFrom=Asymmetry#eid> (accessed 15 November 2022).

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/asymmetry> (accessed 15 November 2022).

<sup>7</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/zht/%E8%A9%9E%E5%85%B8/%E8%8B%B1%E8%AA%9E/asymmetry> (accessed 15 November 2022).

<sup>8</sup> For example, in biology, asymmetry and symmetry have drawn the attention of many animal-scientists and recently plant scientists who also pay attention to this theme (Bahadur B, Krishnamurthy KV, Ghose Met al. 2019, xi). In physics, Scott J Muller's research on information capacity (2007) appeals to notions of asymmetry and symmetry and Mathias Frisch (2005) overarches philosophical thesis with physical theory to rethink the derivation of asymmetry in electromagnetic radiation fields. In translational studies, in the field of political science, Ferran Requejo and Klaus-Juegen Nagel's (2011) *Federalism beyond Federations* collected several research papers that look into a series of asymmetries in relation to the political system of decentralization and centralization, such as

## INTRODUCTION

is currently changing. For example, in 2011 and 2017, the German sinologist Rudolf Wagner, who traced the development of political metaphors in China, offers valuable observations on how a country/community coped with asymmetries in transcultural interactions. In 2019, Wagner published a paper that elaborates on the notion of asymmetries. Inspired by his insightful findings, my dissertation research argues that the appearance and proliferation of Chinese caricatures is another transcultural phenomenon that has been driven by multiple asymmetries for more than a century.

In his exhaustive study, Wagner (2019) contends that asymmetry functions as a force of transcultural exchange (16) described as follows. Asymmetry is “a dynamic relationship between entities” in the human world and “a comparative perception of functionality”. Based on this assertion, Wagner proposes a formula of transcultural interactions: “If the comparative perception of – as a rule, two – such entities in terms of their functionality defines them as being asymmetrical in the degree of their functionality, a historical agency is released to overcome this asymmetry, because the given feature of the other is more enjoyable, powerful, beautiful, efficient, and so on.” (16-17) That is, “asymmetry is perceived as a marker of functionality. Its definition is achieved by comparison with a symmetrical ideal other, or by comparing the degrees of the functionality of two entities.” (24)

Functionality is an important variable in Wagner’s theory of asymmetry. He regards functionality as an “umbrella term for suitability to any purpose (16)”; the perception of asymmetry in functionality varies “from a single feature such as a particular skill of technology” to “entire systems.” (22) The contacts between different cultures create opportunities for an agent to perceive asymmetry. The more the contacts, the more frequently an agent perceives asymmetry about the political or cultural systems “with an entire package of features”. (22) For a better understanding of functionality, Wagner reminds us that it is necessary to stand in the position of historical protagonists to re compose “the package.” (22) The asymmetry in functionality cannot be interpreted out of the historical context.

Wagner then points out that the reality of asymmetry and the pursuit of symmetry hence become an historical developmental dynamic. The mode of perceived asymmetry in functionality is “counter-intuitive”, rejecting the assertion that asymmetry results from the power relationship and that the strong over the weak is the only mode in intercultural interactions, as demonstrated in Edward Said’s “Orientalism”. Instead, Wagner pays attention

---

federal asymmetry, territorial asymmetry, and constitutional asymmetry. In the field of contemporary global security research, Jan Ludvik (2016) broaches the vital topic of unclear weapon asymmetry. From both theoretical and practical perspectives, he examines nuclear deterrence and whether it works not.

## INTRODUCTION

to individual and collective historical actors, who are often initiators to overcome asymmetries. These actors could be strong or weak; they perceive the asymmetry during interactions and release agencies. For example, the Qing government's acceptance of the Han people's culture and the Roman elites' learning about Greek culture demonstrate that the strong imitates the weak. The opposite instance occurs when the colonized emulate the colonizers. Emphasizing the agency of actors over the dominance of power, Wagner thus underscores the significance of "cultural brokers" who act as intermediaries, bridging two cultures and facilitating transcultural interactions. According to these modes of interaction, he asserts that "the agency in transcultural interaction is with the pull and not with push" (Wagner 2019, 17-18, 25).

Following Wagner's theory, my research shows that Chinese caricatures are "visual objects" produced from the asymmetry in transcultural interactions, including the Chinese media that publish them. That is to say, Chinese caricatures are an outcome of choices made by historical Chinese actors rather than an inevitable acceptance due to the dominant power of the West. Of course, I am not saying that the blossom of Chinese caricatures has nothing to do with the influence of western powers and imperialism, a proposition that is contended in many studies. For instance, Bi and Huang (1986: 16-20) assert that corruption of the Chinese government and the flourishing of western-style newspapers played an important role in popularizing caricatures). In the age of "the pictorial turn," images that were illustrated in caricatures broadened Chinese audiences' visual experience and attracted their attention for commercial purposes. Due to the satirical and critical characteristics of caricatures, their pivotal function is said to have assailed both the corrupt government and foreign powers. Such statements have been iterated repeatedly to the extent of ignoring other culturally significant situations represented by Chinese caricatures at the time of their publication. My study, in contrast to previous studies, approaches Chinese caricatures from the angle of asymmetry in order to shed light on discovering the intricacy of Chinese caricatures and the roles played by historical actors.

### 0.2 "Chinese" Caricatures: Caricatures in China

As Wang Dunqing (1935, 50) mentions in his article, the author's attempt to define *The Rattle* as the oldest "Chinese" humorous magazine was intended to challenge the existent assumption proposed by "the theorists and practitioners with the most correct and progressive mentality 意識最正確的而最前進的理論家與實際家" who argued that *DSZHB* was the oldest publication of caricatures in China. By including a foreign publication in the history of

## INTRODUCTION

Chinese caricatures, Wang ridiculed himself as a traitor to China” 漢奸 as others would definitely have regarded him to be. His “bold” claim of the foreign-language publication as the first “Chinese” humorous magazine reflects the tension of defining China during a period of high tide in Chinese nationalism and anti-imperialism when China, as a concept, became rigid and immobile.

This ideological restriction that focuses solely on China can be found in studies of the late 1980s. Although mentioning *The Rattle* in their respective studies on *The History of Chinese Cartoons*, the authors, Bi and Huang (1986, 16-22), Li (1978, 232-239) and Gan (2008, 42-52), do not make efforts to investigate the history of foreign humorous magazines published in China. Rather, they unanimously argue that caricatures have long existed in China by demonstrating images of ancient cave paintings produced in the 2000 BC during the early Qing Dynasty, images that range from cave paintings to literary paintings. Based on numerous presentations of visual evidence, the arguments made as recently as the 1980s remain problematic. In order to support efforts to prove that China has developed caricatures since ancient times, the authors have applied to ancient images the contemporary definition of caricatures. The misapplication of the definition of modern caricatures to ancient Chinese art is the result of strong contemporary Chinese nationalism thinking that cannot be validated. Misapplication of the modern definition leads to an argumentative flaw that ignores a large body of caricatures that were selected for publication in recent books, drawings that appear to be similar to contemporary caricatures but that cannot be determined as such. Especially, painters of images in ancient times had no idea of what caricatures were and how they are frequently used as political satire.

Moreover, the misapplication of the definition of modern caricatures to ancient Chinese art is not a singular case. Wagner (2019, 33-34) points out a similar condition in research on Chinese newspapers. In order to support “pure” Chinese and expel imperialist effects, contemporary Chinese scholarship on Chinese journalism has ignored for a long time the newspaper *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai News), a crucial and influential Chinese-language newspaper simply because its founder was a British citizen Earnest Major (1830-1908). Due to “prejudice” against the West, previous research also ignores Mr. Major’s profoundly positive feelings about China and, most importantly, the fact that members of the *Shenbao* editing committee was all Chinese literati. The historian Huang Xuelei (2014, 13-14) in her studies of modern Chinese cinema observes that Chinese researchers are so obsessed with China that only a few cinematic works with foreign elements are mentioned. Obviously, this research defect

## INTRODUCTION

results from studies reflecting China's official political ideology that maintains, on one hand, that China alone has been keeping pace with western civilization while, on the other hand, intensifies the stigma of imperialism's invasion and cultural influences.

These contradictions have led to a hotly debated theme on the topic of "Chineseness," which represents an attempt to seek and define the essence of China. Contemporary scholars point out that as early as the early Western Zhou Dynasty (1046-771 BC), the concept of "Chineseness" started to take shape. In pre-modern times, disputes about "Chineseness" were often represented in debates on the distinction between the Chinese people and barbarians. By emphasizing cultural factors rather than ethnic differences, these debates, on one hand, reveal the openness of early Chinese intellectuals to ethnic distinctions but, on the other hand, demonstrate their support for the superiority of the Chinese culture, resulting in an attitude of arrogance that has impeded China from engaging in self-reflection and interacting with others as equals (Tu 2007, 154).

In modern times, explanations about "Chineseness" have been profoundly altered both in China and the West due in large measure to conflicts and exchanges between China and the West. "Chineseness" was thus stimulated by Western concepts rather than by Chinese core traditions. Starting in the sixteenth century, Westerners, such as missionaries and merchants, visited China, writing down their impressions of China, thus creating a concept of "Chineseness" in the West. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many more westerners publicized their observations as well as their criticisms of China, which increased the accessibility of Chinese intellectuals to "exotic" discourses in the West. In turn, those discourses have stimulated even more reflections among Chinese researchers on China's image of Self. In more recent times, inspired by Western knowledge, Chinese politicians and lettermen, regardless of whether they uphold or condemn Chinese traditions, have endeavored to construct a "national consciousness" or "national character" in support of China's large-scale, national modernization. In brief, "they explore Chineseness to change Chineseness" (Tu 2007, 154-155).

For multiple decades, expulsion of *The Rattle* from discussions of Chinese caricatures during the 1930s along with the inclusion of images of ancient Chinese cave art provide clear evidence of ways that Chinese caricatures reflect viewpoints of two distinct viewpoints about the development of Chinese caricatures. According to historian Wang Yichuan (2009, 42-51), in his works entitled *Chinese Modern I* and *Chinese Modern II* (中國現代 I 與中國現代 II), the first period extends from the late Qing to the 1970s, a time when Chinese scholars aimed

## INTRODUCTION

to follow Western standards for the purpose of locating Chinese culture globally. The second period extends from the 1980s to the early twenty-first century, a time when Chinese scholars have attempted to discard western discourses in order to create the singularity of Chinese images and character in a globalized world where many “others” co-exist. To be sure, this current effort does not mean that Chinese scholars seek to negate and discard all western legacies accumulated in the previous period. Rather research reveals a Chinese attempt to construct a self-image and idiosyncrasy in the contemporary context and to terminate perspectives of earlier periods that regarded the West as the only model of modernization. This change initiates a new epoch by offering other modules of modernization that, of course, include the Chinese version. Despite distinctive differences between the two attitudes, similar defects in defining Chinese caricatures have arisen. Wang Dunqing points out that by underscoring China’s “Chineseness” in a globally developing caricatural context at the expense of expelling something not so “Chinese”, contemporary research demonstrates the other extreme based on an urge to prove and provide so-called examples of China’s uniqueness. Apparently, the two “Chineseness” viewpoints have been reduced to a rigid ethnic scope.

In recent years, discussions of “Chineseness” have become more complicated due to consideration of the Chinese diaspora. New theories and concepts, such as post-modernism, deconstruct Chinese essentialism and assert that no such coherent and continuous notion of China exists. Moreover, it is even suggested that China is merely a construct of imagination or a specific way of interpreting historical literature.<sup>9</sup> Regarding the question of what China is, the historian Ge Zhaoguang has offered insightful answers through his remarkable research by tracing the origin and development of China as a concept and entity in the historical context of China and its relationship with neighboring countries. In efforts to avoid the direct influence of western theories and modes of nationalism, Ge Zhaoguang points out that China cannot be understood in a fixed and simple manner because “three kinds of China” (political, geographic, and cultural) co-exist and intertwine with one another.<sup>10</sup> For example, in light of geography, Ge (2011, 2014) states that China has long been a “moving country” for two reasons. The first reason has to do with consciousness that the national boundaries of China were not shaped until the Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD). The second reason is that every dynasty has had its own national boundaries. Therefore, it is improper to claim that China has owned some territories

---

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of the study of Chineseness, see Tu (2007).

<sup>10</sup> The historian Chi-shen Chang (2015) elaborates on the three elements of “Chineseness” from an historical perspective. He argues that Chinese essence varies based on diverse interpretations of the three elements provided by Chinese literati of different dynasties, with each element involving disputes between Chinese orthodoxy and political legitimacy. Such disputes still continue to play a crucial role in contemporary political arenas so far.



## INTRODUCTION

since ancient times. The assertion of “moving” can be applied also to other China-related issues, such as Chinese ethnicity and culture. Ge’s research lays bare the intricate inner core of China that was shaped by many historical contingencies and, as a result, demonstrates China’s openness to all possibilities.

If studies of “Chineseness” originally sought to identify the homogeneities of China, that approach has eventually revealed the heterogeneities of China. That unexpected outcome reflects the intricacy and diversities of a process that over time continues to shape a nation’s culture. Boundaries float, a metaphor that echoes German scholar Wolfgang Welsch’s concept of transculturality. Even as many cultural discourses continue to focus on demarcation lines, transculturality regards those lines as a process of mediation that leads to hybridity. In Welsch’s view (1999, 197-202), transculturality is not a modern phenomenon but rather has long existed in history. Transculturality is “a consequence of the inner differentiation and complexity of modern cultures.” Cultures are “interconnected and entangled with each other,” such “cultures’ external networking” discredits “homogenizing and separatist idea of cultures”. Every cultural formation contains “multiple cultural connections.” Therefore, “every concept of culture intended to pertain to today’s reality must face up to the transcultural constitution.”

The frame of nation-state is a challenge for studies of transcultural interactions that give rise to the claim of authenticity while overlooking evidence of cultural interactions. To avoid that pitfall, Wagner (2002) and Huang’s (2014) research demonstrates how China’s concept of self could be expanded. Wagner’s research surveys foreign newspapers and publications in China; Huang’s work explores how Chinese cinema combines all kinds of metaphorical “stew-like ingredients” that loosen boundaries of the nation-state. Chinese historian Niu Haikun (2012) conducted a detailed examination of *Der Ostasiatischer Lloyd*, a German-language newspaper published in China (1886-1917) as an indication of complex voices that contributed to so-called Chinese journalism. These studies unveil “heterogeneity” in the concept of China that contradicts the nationalists’ purported “homogeneity” by providing evidence that China was open and that its culture stretched out rather than remaining rigid and isolated. Against that background, my study defines China as a place of connecting knots, beyond a certain race, a given mode of culture, and a given political regime that witnesses an asymmetry that exists within a global network. What takes place in this knot, regardless whether cultural or political, is the result of transcultural interactions.

Recent caricature studies show evidence of this trend, making it possible for researchers to locate caricatures in a global context rather than confined to a national context. For example,

## INTRODUCTION

a study of *London Punch* switches from British political history to a transcultural phenomenon. Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler (2013) points out in *Asian Punches* a transcultural interaction that delineates caricatures and their carriers, including humorous magazines that spread all around the world during expansion of British imperialism. Asian countries, whether or not colonized, including India, Turkey, Egypt, Japan, and China published their own versions of Punch-like magazines. The Australian scholar Richard Scully (2013) adds a valuable view from the Southern Hemisphere by enumerating several punch-like magazines in Australia. Additionally, he maps the establishment and distribution of Punch-like magazines around the world, revealing not only descriptions of humorous magazines but also details about how their images travelled across all kinds of boundaries. The transcultural perspective has inspired a re-examination of several studies of Chinese caricatures that were created in the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>11</sup>

My research is delving into Chinese caricatures produced in a time frame spanning from 1867 to 1919. This period holds significant importance as it marks the initial developmental phase of modern Chinese caricature art. However, the existing periodization, as presented by authors such as Bi and Huang (1986) and Gan (2008), typically goes from 1898 to 1919. This old-time frame was problematic for two main reasons. Firstly, the criteria for periodizing this era appear somewhat confusing. While it commences with the appearance of the first widely accepted political caricature, “The Situation in the Far East” 時局圖 (Shijutu), it concludes with a political and cultural event—the May Fourth Movement. This endpoint seems arbitrary and unrelated to the critical developments within Chinese caricature art during this time, a result effected by political predominance rather than the intrinsic evolution of Chinese caricatures. Secondly, this old timeframe neglects the significant phenomenon of foreign magazines published in China. Although Gan does suggest the inclusion of “*The Rattle* as part of Chinese modern caricature, he still follows nationalist principles by recognizing The Situation in the Far East” as the first Chinese political caricature because the painter is Chinese. This bias of “foreignness”, as Wagner points (2019 33-34), will overlooks some existent important transcultural interaction in the broader international context. Therefore, my research proposes a revised periodization, extending from 1867 to 1919. This revised timeline encompasses pivotal events and publications, which began with the emergence of *the China Punch* in Hong Kong, the Chinese version of the *London Punch*, and ended at the termination

---

<sup>11</sup> For example, Caschera’s (2018) examination of *Shidai Manhua* 時代漫畫 (Modern Sketch, 1934-1937) and Crespi’s (2020) exploration on Zhang Guangyu’s 張光宇 (1900-1965) *Xiyou Manji* 西遊漫記 (Manhua Journey to the West) in 1945 highlight the transcultural visual elements in the representation of these cartoons.

## INTRODUCTION

of the literary supplement of “Poke” 潑克 (Puck) in Shanghai’s *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 (The China Times, hereafter *SSXB*), established by Shen Bochen 沈泊塵, a central figure in the caricature art at that time. Notably, after Shen's passing in 1919, Chinese caricature art experienced a distinct lull till Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 “manhua” 漫畫 (cartoons) in the late 19320s led to the resurgence. Altogether, my proposed periodization provides a more coherent and inclusive framework for understanding the multifaceted evolution of Chinese caricature art during this transformative period.

The revised periodization also reflects the period in which the concept of China was thoroughly challenged. Chinese scholars acknowledged that China was neither the Middle Kingdom as they previously believed, nor the center of the world (中國). The fact that Chinese caricatures flourished relative to the situation of China’s instability makes it possible for Chinese to re-interpret their country during this era. From the perspectives of asymmetry and transculturality, the scope of this study of “Chinese” consists of humorous magazines published in Hong Kong, a British colony, frequently representing also China and Shanghai’s foreign-language magazines. As Ge Zhaouguang suggests, China has always been a moving entity, thus drawing us closer to a complete picture of China during the early twentieth century. By focusing on Chinese foreign-language humorous magazines, Rea (2013) and Mittler’s (2013) research illustrates conflicts between the Chinese (the colonized) and the foreigners (the colonial government). Yet to be analyzed are the few caricatures of political and social controversies among the foreigners themselves that will show how images of conflicts between foreign moralists and patriots enriched the meaning of China by satirizing “their fellows” in the Far-East lands.

### **0.3 Chinese Caricatures and the Visual Public Sphere(s)**

The turn of the twentieth century witnessed the introduction of western-style newspapers in China. The newspapers created opportunities for publication of public opinion that attracted the participation of a fairly large number of Chinese intellectuals. Whether these newspapers invented the Chinese public sphere remains a disputed topic. Had the “public sphere”, defined by Habermas (1989) as an open space for everyone to have an equal chance to discuss public affairs not been established, China might never have had an active correspondent environment and atmosphere. Among China’s general population, it is widely accepted that China developed

## INTRODUCTION

its own characteristic public sphere for remarking the political and social affairs.<sup>12</sup> The media of newspapers generate such the “sphere,” as Wanger put it, whose development from the Qing to the modern time is an exemplary case for asymmetry in transcultural interaction.

Based on the history of newspaper spaces for public opinion, I argue that caricatures in newspapers and magazines were instrumental in giving rise to a “visual public sphere” in China. This view is inspired by American comic expert Victor Navasky (2013), who believes that Habermas’s notion of the public sphere functions as a “civil society dominated by neither the market nor the state, but rather governed” by what is so-called “the power of the better argument.” “The better argument” tends to “express itself in words, rationalize itself in logic, document itself with ‘best evidence,’ prove itself in argumentation.” In the public sphere, “democracy depends on continuous conversation, argumentation, and debates.” Based on a world of pure words, to which Navasky objects. He emphasizes that caricatures provide content written” by a set of visual language. As a visual language, caricatures put forth their “visual arguments” based on a series of logic and argumentation. Therefore, Navasky proposes that what Habermas called “the power of the better argument” should not be restricted to “the land of words” but open also to cartoons/caricatures, which “live in the land of images.” Navasky contends that caricatures suffice to take up the task of words and influence the audience no less than the text suggests the existence of the “visual public sphere.”

Navasky’s statement reminds us of the ongoing ways in which the public sphere continues to change. For instance, the advancement and popularity of the internet promotes the rise of the “virtual sphere” (Papacharissi 2002). From this perspective, as mentioned above, I hence suggest that the turn of the twenty-first century is witnessing the inauguration of the visual public sphere in China. Wagner (2002, 14) in borrowing the concept of the “dual economy”, indicates that a dual public sphere in China also exists. The vertical economy is the traditional sector controlled by traditional the elites that has at its core at court, while the

---

<sup>12</sup> Contemporary scholarship has indicated that there are 1) different lexical usages of the Chinese word “gong” 公 and 2) incompatibilities between the concepts of Chinese “gong” and the western ‘public. Nevertheless, the concepts of Chinese “gong” show development of the Chinese public sphere from the late imperial period to the modern time, further indicating multiple “public spheres” in China. In the Ming Dynasty, for instance, the local managerial institutions cultivated their particular way of dealing with local affairs. Chinese governments have long shaped official modes of communication via something approximate to newspapers while from the late Qing, western-style newspapers prevailed nationwide. This changing situation developed two public squares in China. Foreign communities with newspapers published in their native languages, it cannot be ignored, had a significant impact on the Chinese public sphere, despite Chinese government concerns that foreign-language publications were being used as imperial tools with malicious intent. Shanghai structured a relatively mature environment for its public sphere, based on protection of the foreign concession that under right of free speech that shielded newspapers from Chinese governmental interference. Recently, scholars have turned their attention to the new media environment on the internet, regarding it as a new style of the Chinese public sphere. For more information, see Fang (2007); Rankin (1990, 1993); Rowe (1990); Wagner (1995, 2002); D. Wang (2019); Q. Wang (2021).

## INTRODUCTION

horizontal economy is the modern sector mannered by “a motley crowd made up of foreign businessmen and missionaries and a growing new class of Chinese urbanites, the intellectuals, and businessmen”. Wagner maps out a configuration of the Chinese public sphere in modern times that despite being abstract, seems not to be unified but rather is a network-like space interwoven with many “spheres.”

The proposition of a dual public sphere reminds researchers to contemplate the topic from new perspectives. For example, an analysis of the public sphere becomes complicated if we consider not only Chinese publications but also foreign newspapers and magazines that were published in China during the past century. In considering the historical context, I suggest the visual public sphere be viewed as plural (composed of many parts) rather than as singular. Scholars have pointed out that many foreign-language newspapers circulated in China during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and should be calculated as part of China’s history of journalism despite their appeal to audiences that differed from the “public” audiences of Chinese-language newspapers. My study contends that at the turn-of-the-twentieth century China’s first visual public sphere was strongly influenced by foreign-language publications, represented by caricatures. Those earliest visual public spheres were published in magazines distributed not only in China but also in foreign countries where caricatures at that time were often presented in news reports and as magazine content. The magazines branded themselves with the word “China” and invited the foreign diaspora living in both the Hong Kong colony and the Shanghai Settlement to join discussions about politics and society in China, including foreigner readers’ opinions about conflicts with the Chinese government, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Around the same time, another visual public sphere was initiated in China, existing in Chinese-language newspapers. After 1903 when “The Situation in the Far East” was carried in *E’shi jingwen* 俄事警聞 (The Alarm for Russia, hereafter *ESJW*), the Chinese public entered the visual political discourse and offered comments. From 1907, many caricatures were published on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis in Chinese-language newspapers and magazines that were published especially, in large cities, such as Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Tianjin, and others. Those publications, in particular, carried caricatures attacking the government, social evils, and personal immoralities through funny and satirical illustrations that soon became popular visual attractions for Chinese readers.

The prominent layout of Chinese caricatures in newspapers and magazines made them “ubiquitous.” The images often occupied prominent, eye-catching positions in page layouts,

## INTRODUCTION

surrounded by several news reports, editorials, and other types of articles. Pictorial newspapers later became the main media that displayed the most caricatures. Juxtaposed with various kinds of illustrations, for example, news articles, serialized novels, celebrities' biographies, and the latest knowledge about health, and more, caricatures stood out by virtue not only of their drawings but also for their distinctive satire and humor. Magazines usually enlarged caricatures as front-page features with several caricatures of different sizes placed on inside pages. Caricatures with transcultural essence were more often exhibited in bilingual, humorous magazines (Chapter Four). Together these publications shaped an unprecedented environment for distribution of pictorial criticisms of Chinese politics and society.

Noticeably, Chinese newspapers and magazines accepted voluntarily contributed caricatures and held competitions of drawings, two methods that encouraged “the public” to enter the visual public sphere. Some newspapers and magazines also called for contributions of “comical pictures”, namely, caricatures. In their call-for announcements, the editors explained what kinds of comical pictures they wanted, such as funny, witty, or critical of politics and society. These invitations, I assert, offer pivotal clues for understanding caricatures from the Chinese perspective as a genre (described in Chapter One). By scrutinizing relevant images, this study shows how the early visual public sphere developed in China as a collective work of newspaper painters, contributors, and editors.

### **0.4 The Agency of Asymmetry: Education, Translation and Adaptation**

Wang Dunqing's assertion regarding the necessity for Qing officials who traveled overseas to acquaint themselves with caricatures in foreign countries is noteworthy. He implied a gap in caricatural expression at the time, suggesting that Chinese individuals must learn from others to leverage this painting genre rather than relying solely on their own visual tradition. Though my research begins with Wang's inquiry into Chinese caricatures, it does not discount China's rich tradition of satirical expression. In fact, political humor has deep roots in Chinese history, serving as a means of commentary on political affairs since the Western Zhou Period (1046-771 BC).

Examples of such humor can be found in texts like *Shijing* 詩經 (the Classics of Poetry), which contain humorous folklore and ballads highlighting government tyranny and societal suffering. Additionally, *Shiji* 史記 (The Records of the Grand Historian) depict court fools employing witty language and comedic performances to indirectly criticize the emperor (Tan,

## INTRODUCTION

1992, 191-194; Qi and Chen, 1995, 15-21). This tradition of using humor to address political themes persists in Chinese literature, with comedic elements often present in texts (Tan, 1992, 196-214; Qi and Chen, 1995, 21-149). Pictorial representations of political satire are relatively fewer compared to the abundance of written examples. However, three versions of *Zhongguo manhua shi* 中國漫畫史 (The history of Chinese cartoons) (Bi and Huang 1986; Li 1978; Gan 2008) have provided a certain number of satirical images produced in pre-modern times, before caricatures evolved into a distinct genre.<sup>13</sup>

Recognizing the gaps in caricatural expressions in modern China as proposed by Wang, the research aims to explore visual continuity, amalgamation, and dissemination stirred by this gap, rather than emphasizing its visual disruption. In other words, it seeks to understand how Chinese caricatures evolved into transcultural products with intricate pictorial compositions, reflecting an instinctive pursuit of symmetry between China and foreign powers in terms of leveraging the genre of caricature.

To bridge the gap, Wang's claim highlights an important issue rarely addressed in caricature studies—what I term “the education of caricatures.” My research, nevertheless, not only seeks instructions overseas but also takes the Chinese visual tradition into serious account, as most Chinese caricaturists in the early twentieth century were originally trained in traditional Chinese painting. Due to rapid changes in Chinese politics and the economy, many deviated from their original paths and started new careers in other, unexpected fields. Working for newspapers was one of their alternatives, probably the choice most painters pursued (Wu 2006, 236-240). To be able to create caricatures, illustrators first of all had to be well-educated.

As Victor Navasky (2013, 23-24) notes, caricatures can be reduced to a visual language for symbolic representation. Comic historian Lee I-Yun (2012, 24-25) notes that caricatures are abstractions of realistic images so that readers can recognize are the concepts hidden behind the symbolic visual language rather than merely the images themselves. Caricatures tend to condense complex political and social events into simple, exaggerated, and symbolic portraits or images, a device that can aid the audience in understanding what the images mean. However, because such simplicity and symbolism might distance an untrained audience from comprehending hidden meanings, it is essential that audiences be trained about the various expressive styles and connotations.

---

<sup>13</sup> These two paragraphs are revised from my previous paper regarding caricatures of Chinese Constitutionalism, see Wu (2017, 15-16)

## INTRODUCTION

As a visual “language”, caricatures hint at ways to translate, adopt, and adapt. Wagner (2019, 23-24) points out that overcoming asymmetry gives rise to “massive translation”. The massive translation of asymmetry ranges widely from language and various technologies to political systems. The translated elements do not directly embed in the original systemic framework but essentially alter it. In human beings, individual agency is especially crucial for massive translation. The “translation” involves intellectuals on two different sides. Those who feel inferior will take “an active selection of features from the other side for adaptation in, or excision from, their own culture.” (18) Wagner’s focus on the proactiveness of individual agency are based on his contention that individual agency derives from the agents’ own “internal dynamics” rather than concepts “used by social science for comparative purposes.” (17)

Seeking for symmetry, as Wagner claims, is the dynamic that drives transcultural interactions. However, Carbonell i Cortés and Monzó (2021, 2) remind us that whether translation can reach the goal of transcultural interaction has been disputed. The connection between asymmetry and translation deduced from the perspective of translation and interpretation is noteworthy:

The translation is all about asymmetry. All situations involving translation and interpreting necessarily imply basic asymmetries, grounded on varying linguistic capital at the very least. Translation and interpreting mediate in relational but also structural asymmetries, between different stakeholders and with varying implications.

Asymmetries and linguistic capital point out the power relationship in every translation action. The translation deals with gaps in the relations and structures of different parties, and most importantly, is never absolute and stable as expected. Mediating “the basic asymmetries”, the agency in transcultural interactions demonstrates “the cultural creativity that goes into creating a locally compatible form of the selected transcultural feature”. (Wagner 2019, 18) In the aspect of visibility, contemporary scholars have found visual evidence for adaptation and circulation of images among various publications and newspapers on a global scale at the turn of the twentieth century. For instance, Henningsmeier and Wang traced the source of images in *DSZHB* to newspapers in the West, in particular, those published in *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphics*, demonstrating how Chinese painters incorporated Western illustrations and photographs for Chinese publications (Henningsmeier 1998, 59-91; Wang 2003a, 6-7). Wagner, from the other way around, show us the fact that *The Illustrated London News* adopted illustrations in *DSZHB* as its visual content (Wagner 2007, 131-141). The



## INTRODUCTION

Taiwanese art historian Lai, Yu-chih identified a similar process from a pan-Asian perspective by presenting a great deal of visual evidence that Chinese painters imitated Japanese paintings and altered pictorial details in *Dianshizhai conghua* 點石齋叢畫 (Dianshizhai Painting Manual), collections of images that had originally been sold as *DSZHB* (Lai 2005, 283-287). Another case noteworthy is *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報 (Picture Daily, hereafter *THRB*), which has been found that many of its illustrations are highly identical to historical photographs (Feng 1999, 6).

These previous studies outline China of the time as a world intertwined with a network of images across media boundaries (newspaper illustrations, traditional Chinese paintings, and photos). Under such circumstance, caricatures are no exception as part of flowing images. Despite very little textual information about then-current Chinese caricaturists available, an abundance of visual evidence attests to these pioneers' industrious endeavors to emulate foreign images and practice using the new visual language. My study will show how Chinese caricatures in the early twentieth century reveal a process by which Chinese painters, who were trained to create traditional paintings, transformed themselves into caricaturists by wittily adapting foreign images to the Chinese context.<sup>14</sup> Without formal schooling as caricaturists, they were self-educated in acquiring skills of the trade and, in so doing, unveiled in China a satirical visual grammar that achieved a complex network of pictorial flows of transcultural visual exchanges. I will demonstrate numerous adoptions and adaptations of foreign humorous magazines and caricatures in China, what I refer to as “a process of indigenization”. The agents involved include both Chinese and foreign editors and caricaturists. In addition, I will reveal in this study a pictorial flow among caricatures published within China, a topic that is rarely discussed. This phenomenon involves many interrelated parts or facets of pictorial flows that blur boundaries between the domestic and the foreign (Chapters Three and Four).

Chinese caricaturists, who were well-educated, served also as educators. Most relevant studies focus on the political significance of Chinese caricatures, seemingly taking it for granted that Chinese painters and audiences were able to produce and understand the illustrations without difficulty. That assumption deserves serious re-consideration. In fact, many late Qing innovations required translations, including observations that old languages had to be “translated” for application to new objects. For example, late Qing intellectuals, regardless of whether they rejected or accepted western concepts, such as republicanism and

---

<sup>14</sup> Gan (2008, 25-36) contends that because of huge differences in styles of Chinese and western paintings, caricatures could not become a common pictorial genre until the late Qing.

## INTRODUCTION

democracy, were forced to resort to the political discourse used by emperors in the ancient Three Dynasties (2070-771 BC). The newspapers, despite a western medium, adopt many traditional Chinese literary forms, as revealed in Barbara Mittler's (2004, 115-117) textual analysis of Shanghai's newspaper *Shenbao*, Mittler traces the evolution of prose in Chinese newspapers and provides detailed evidence that the prose used in newspaper articles, comments, and editorials in the late Qing newspapers were adopted from specific, well-known genres. "Chinese newspaper prose became part of a 'new style of writing' because it was a radical reinvention of old forms and techniques." Authors adapted words of Chinese sages into newspaper prose as a way to "convey a sense of truth" and, most importantly, to "verify the new" (託古証今). Widespread use of citations from Chinese classics testifies to the importance of traditional texts in the Chinese newspaper culture at that time. Traditional texts made China's print newspaper medium "Chinese" by violating, displacing, and usurping the authority of western-style newspapers (168-172).

Barbara Mittler's analysis of the texts offers a significant perspective for viewing Chinese caricatures since both articles and caricatures were products of newspapers. As she contends, the western-style newspaper "had to become a legitimate Chinese product through creative borrowing and cultural translation." It cannot be ignored that the cultural appropriation, from the viewpoint of the recipients, further served the purpose of education. The agents, namely, Chinese caricaturists, revealed their ambitions as educators through writing newspaper columns that were designed to teach Chinese audiences how to comprehend as well as produce caricature-like drawings. The content of the caricaturists' articles offers detailed textual instructions and visual demonstrations as if the caricaturists were teaching lessons in school. Illustrated newspapers such as the Guangzhou-based *Shishi huabao* 時事畫報 (Current News Pictorial) and the Shanghai-based *Shishi yulunbao* 時事輿論報 (Current News Public Opinion Daily), published a series of columns that introduced painting skills to Chinese audiences. For example, "one-stroke painting" 一筆畫 was a common theme in the newspaper columns. The painters, some of whom were already caricaturists, utilized the newly established public sphere in newspapers to amplify their influence by instructing readers about the secrets of painting.

On this point, I argue that Chinese caricaturists (and newspaper editors) endeavored to educate Chinese audience to understand caricatures by using multiple approaches. Despite the fact that caricatures often contain a new visual language and modes of expression, teaching approaches often resorted to Chinese traditional and customary visual and textual knowledge as well as notions such as explanatory texts, well-known paintings, and more. The exception

## INTRODUCTION

was *THRB*, whose teaching method associates caricatures with new scientific knowledge (Chapter One). In addition, I point out that certain visual tropes were repeatedly used as a means of indoctrination. An example is use of the mirror as a metaphor that helps audiences grasp the caricatural mode of revealing the truth. (Chapter Two). Other Chinese caricaturists introduced visual languages based on examples of foreign caricatures. To further readers' comprehension, symbols were marked with Chinese characters (Chapter Six and Seven). Although Chinese caricaturists-educators left little textual evidence in this regard, the details and motifs frequently applied to caricatures and used in articles for teaching how to understand the hidden meanings of caricatures obviously reveal teachers' efforts to minimize "caricatural visual illiteracy."<sup>15</sup>

### **0.5 The Nation of Asymmetry: Contact Zone, History, and Grotesque**

In 1991, Mary Louise Pratt (1991, 34) proposed the concept of the Contact Zone as a way to analyze a manuscript about the Spanish conquest in South America. She regards "social space where cultures clash, and grapple with each other" as contact zones, which often happens "in contexts of highly asymmetrical relationship of power". Extending the concept of transculturation to the case of the Spanish conquest, Pratt indicates the means by which an inferior power attempts to balance an unfavorable situation by adopting and adapting to the greater power's materials and conceptual accomplishments. According to Pratt's definition, China at the turn of the twentieth century, especially in the Shanghai Settlement and the Colony of Hong Kong, might be analyzed using the Conflict Zone approach. Although not conquered by the British colonial power, China, in a perceived asymmetrical condition, rendered itself as being in a contact zone of conflicting cultures and concepts, where greater and lesser powers mingle.

Scholars often adopt the concept of the contact zone to explain Chinese political and cultural activities.<sup>16</sup> The clashes and the amalgamation in China took place on multiple fronts.

---

<sup>15</sup> My making term is inspired by the visual art expert, Deborah Curtiss (1987, 3), who defines "visual literacy is the ability to understand the communication of a visual statement in any medium and the ability to express oneself with at least one visual discipline. It entails the ability to: understand the subject matter and meaning within the context of the culture that produced the work, analyze the syntax—compositional and stylistic principles of the work, evaluate the disciplinary and aesthetic merits of the work, and grasp intuitively the Gestalt, the interactive and synergistic quality of the work." This definition exactly describes Chinese caricaturists' aim to educate Chinese readers of comprehending the style, symbols and contents of caricatures. therefore, I term those who does not understand caricatures as "caricatural visual illiteracy."

<sup>16</sup> For the Chinese research that adopts the idea of the Contact Zone, see Joscha Chung's analysis (2022, 39-41). He deems that current studies invoking the contact zone are still under the frame of nationalities. In research on

## INTRODUCTION

For example, the series of political reforms adopted in the late Qing was evidence of China's willingness to strengthen its national power with the western learning 西學. Strong opposition to the reforms, voiced by the Chinese conservatives, of course, followed. At the level of daily life, adoption of the western apparatus improved people's standard of living while some of the new regulations, such as adoption of western time, caused people to alter their routines. As a result, not everyone was willing to accept such changes, viewing some of the new devices and concepts as evil. The extreme example was the Boxer Uprising when Chinese rioters tore down railways. Chinese historian Xiong Yuezhi (1994), who conducted a comprehensive study of that complex and highly demonstrative events, describes in detail the process by which China showed their motivations and methods to westernize the country, and inevitable conflicts that arose among Chinese intellectuals who either accepted or rejected the changes. Xiong further points out that "western learning," despite its name "western"; did not necessarily originate in the West but came also from South Asia and Japan: some of the advanced knowledge that China previously received related to advanced knowledge. Xiong's observation applies also to the introduction of caricatures as several of the Chinese caricatures are imitations or adaptations of Japanese caricatures (Chapter Five).

In a broader sense, abstract space can also be considered a contact zone. For instance, literary and artistic works offer imaginative rooms where symmetrical and asymmetrical conflicts occur, resulting in cultural infusion and collisions that often produce a creative motif or a new presentational device. Artistically, the western perspective has influenced Chinese paintings, extending to and including theater art.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, Chinese poetry and novels have been deeply impacted by western literature. In their role as agents, Chinese writers have transplanted, adopted, and adapted western literary forms, thereby creating new forms that represent conflicts between the new and the old in terms of content.<sup>18</sup>

Accordingly, I argue that the creation and adaptation of caricatures fill a space where a variety of concepts, forms, and symbols configure, connect, and conflict, producing an intricately interwoven global system of various types of art forms. While the creators' political

---

the intellectual's cultural activities in the early republican contact zone, he suggests exploring the essence of contacts and their "contact perspective," which would help us access more about multi-language intellectuals' activities and cultural enterprises.

<sup>17</sup> Li Chang (1987) points out that in Shanghai theaters, the perspective of drawing was often used for the stage scenery. As early as the late Qing, the theater even invited a Japanese painter to Shanghai to produce set backdrops and hired Chinese painters as his assistants. After that, Chinese painters also apply the perspective to stage art.

<sup>18</sup> For the discussion of novels, see Yeh's (2014) elaboration of Chinese political novels and Wang (1997) analysis of the late Qing's science fiction. Soon after these two literary genres were introduced in China, Chinese writers began to apply the new literary features to the Chinese social-political environment. As for poetry, see Kong's (2020) exploration on how the new West-leaning style has led to innovations of Chinese poetry.

## INTRODUCTION

intention might be apparent and direct, the process of generating new content is complicated. Focusing on the relationship between caricatures and historical events to improve our understanding of how the relationship functions. My study, however, takes another approach by tracing how some concepts have been used repeatedly. In other words, patterns talk.

My goal, of course, is not to detach caricatures from their historical frame but rather to explore the “evolution” of certain visual techniques and concepts adopted across different historical occurrences. One of the objectives of my study is to understand the status of Chinese caricaturists in terms of their role as brokers. For instance, how contemporary caricaturists view themselves. How their association with the concept of history reveals their expectations or ambition: equivalent to the traditional symbol of justice or as historiographers (Chapter One). Also, how the rapid dissemination of news in ever-changing situations immerse contemporary caricaturists in an environment very different from that of traditional historiographers who were able to write down their observations of past events. In the modern world, “caricatural historiographers” record history as it takes place rather than what has already happened. (Chapter One).

Among “histories” recorded by early caricaturists is an obvious recurring motif of China as a nation, especially at a time when the topics of Chinese nationalism and identity were fervently being debated. The nation crisis caused by domestic trouble and the internal invasion since the late Qing has forced China to rethink its definition and elements of a nation. It has been argued that Chinese nationalism is a modern concept caused by the encounter with western imperialism, and even the mentality of anti-Manchurian sentiment. Accepted by the system of the nation-state, Chinese political elites started to discard the long-standing belief that China is “the center of the world” and that the Chinese culture has its own set of universal values. Instead, in modern times China obeys the fundamentals of nationalism: for example, territorial sovereignty and national equality, to rethink China’s self-values and to defend against Western Imperialism. “They were convinced that China as a nation-state with a long history of civilization ought to stand equal with other great powers.” (Zhao 2004, 17-19) James Townsend (1996) pointed out that is a paradigmatic change “from culturalism to nationalism thesis,” although he notes that the former does not entirely give way to the latter.

It is noteworthy that China was often imagined as nation of multiple forms that show how caricatural historiographers described and further constructed China. As Benedict Anderson argues, nationalism is essentially an imagined community, and it might not be an overstatement to say that at the turn of the twentieth century Chinese people re-imagined the nation in as many ways as possible. To re-construct Chinese nationalism has become an

## INTRODUCTION

imminent concern of Chinese intellectuals. In the process of national construction, as Benedict Anderson (1991) points out, print media, such as newspapers, play a crucial role in garnering the consensus of a given group of people. China is no exception. China newspapers offer Chinese intellectuals a platform to voice various imagined perspectives and assertions about China as a nation. For example, Liang Qichao founded *Shiwubao* 時務報, a newspaper where he published famous political essays, such as “On China Youth” 少年中國說 and “A nation as an Organism”, adopted by the Swiss politician, J.K. Bluntschli’s (1808-1881) theory.<sup>19</sup>

Regardless of whether essays focused on young people or an organism as a metaphor, the time came when China decided to anchor its identity the construction of multiple new national symbols. The historian Shen Sung-Chiao (1997, 2000) notes that the late Qing intellectuals endeavored to construct Chinese nationalism by evoking traditional icons, such as the ancient legendary figure “Empire of Huangti” and Confucius (ca.551-479 BC) along with other so-called national heroes. Those attempts reveal contradictory characters of nationalism deriving from different political and racial standpoints. The community of “the same blood” or “the shared culture” sought to show the homogeneity of China but, in fact, demonstrated the heterogeneity of Chinese nationalism. Shi Aidong’s (2014) research on the dragon as a Chinese symbol points out that the dragon has long been a symbol of China to Westerners. In China, however, it was the symbol of the emperor. It was not until the late Qing that the dragon symbol began to represent China as a whole. Yang Jui-Sung’s (2010) thorough investigation found that from the western visual perspective China was associated mainly with three negative symbols - a sick man, the yellow peril, and a sleeping lion – that demonstrate not only China’s national images in the eyes of others but also in the eyes of China itself. From knowing to accepting to overcoming, Chinese intellectuals have attempted to change those negative symbols into dynamic images of China’s developing nationalism.

Among a large collection of symbols and ideas, the metaphor of bodies is frequently used as a symbol. It has been argued that the national discourse is connected tightly to body images. A “body” is not only a living organism but also a cultural product that represents different concepts in different cultures and historical phases. In then-current China, the description of bodies was associated with Chinese nationalism and identity constructions that represent the bodily condition alluded to as China’s national strength. As Hwang Jinlin (2000) points out, Chinese bodies are trained to achieve various modern standards for individual advancement.

---

<sup>19</sup> For discussion about the relationship between Liang’s “On China Youth” and China’s national imagination, see Mei (2013) and for the analysis of Liang Qichao’s adoption of J. K. Bluntschli’s theory, see Wagner (2011, 87-90).

## INTRODUCTION

This view reflects many descriptions in Chinese novels found by scholars that tell stories about “diverse bodies,” described as sick, decapitated, mad, ugly, and more to underscore China’s national condition at a particular time. Therefore, to compare the state to a human body is to display the state of the nation: to compose a body is to construct a nation (Yan 2014; Xin 2015). These descriptions point to the so-called Chinese “modernity trauma,” meaning that only by curing and cutting off injured and decayed parts of China’s metaphorical body can the nation be transformed into a new nation. Under the influence of evolutionism, China’s old and weak body contrasts with the vigorous western body, the model of modern and progressive nations (Ying 2001, 269-270). By insinuating that China’s body is in constant need of replacing the old with the new, Chinese novels ultimately expect a solid and powerful nation to emerge over time.

Recent scholarship on the topic of China’s visual modernity around the turn of the twentieth century focuses on rapid changes in the visual experience of Chinese audiences, resulting from the introduction of many western visual technologies and institutions, such as optical devices and pictorial newspapers. Chinese historian Tang Hongfeng (2021) notes that technological advancements transformed China’s visual world into a mode of “World-Images,” making it possible for Chinese people to witness spectacles that were previously invisible. News illustrations rendered the world in a series of plain, static pictures that unfolded before audiences. In a symbiotic relationship with pictorials, Chinese caricatures also became part of China’s modern visuality. As English scholar Amelia Rauser (2008) notes, caricatures were sensitive to conceptual changes introduced by iconographic arrangements that offered new ways of presenting irony and satire. Her research suggests that in caricatures it is possible to see a modern spectacle that involves new perceptions about life, in general.

Chinese caricatures also display images of China’s national imagination itself. These national imaginations are epitomized in various symbols representing how the Chinese define themselves and others. In her research on Anglo-American relationships, German scholar Stefanie Schneider contends that visual culture, namely political caricatures, can play pivotal roles in interpreting changing international relationships. Caricatures are compositions of visual metaphors for political constellations.<sup>20</sup> She listed four reasons why political caricatures are the ideal visual media to examine the politics: firstly, political caricatures “directly relate to and comment on everyday political events, secondly, they visualize collective dispositions,

---

<sup>20</sup> Stefanie Schneider uses the term “political cartoons,” but I will change it to “caricatures” to align with the definitions provided later in this introduction section.

## INTRODUCTION

attitudes and mentalities, thirdly, they form national identities in embodiment of abstract entities like nations, and lastly, they appeal to and represent emotions.”(83) The national symbols, as she indicates, “reduce abstract and complex national entities to visible (human) beings who act, have feelings and attitudes towards their fellow nations.” In this light, it is noteworthy to observe the visual patterns of the interactions between personalized nations. How they were shown, lion or sheep, angry or fear, as a family or an enemy, unveils the changing national images and relationship, echoing the similar argument by British scholar, Kenneth Boulding (1961 110-111).

Schneider (2007, 81) points out the national symbols in caricatures that demonstrate the mutual perceptions of two nations in international relationships. My dissertation will extend this point to 'the internal relationship,' namely, how the Chinese themselves regard their own nation(s). For Chinese caricaturists, the concern is not only China's international status but also the images of their nation(s). China, during that time, needs to be understood temporally rather than spatially, as there were two nations referred to as China before and after 1912, the Qing court and the Republican China. These two Chinas were depicted by nearly the same group of Chinese caricaturists. Thanks to modern visual devices, new forms (and distortions) of the Chinese nation were introduced so that previously abstract concepts could be physically “seen” in newspapers and magazines. Similarly, these visual presentations, whether of the Qing or the Republican government, illustrated China(s) as a nation(s) of grotesqueness—a lampooning perception that people held toward nations.

Since ancient times, grotesque images have manifested in various pictorial forms. As Robert Penn Warren points out, the grotesque “evokes dormant emotions, particularly the negative ones of fear, disgust, revulsion, guilt. But it is close to the comic, and in it, laughter and horror meet.” (Adams and Yates 1997, 246) According to Chinese caricaturists, China's ludicrous, pathetic, and fearsome status quo are indicative of grotesqueness. Various versions of *the History of Chinese Cartoons* (Bi and Huang 1986; Gan 2008; Li 1978) showcase eccentric paintings predating the late Qing dynasty, many of which can be characterized as grotesque, portrayed through eerie images and ideas, such as ghosts and odd forms. In literature, Chinese scholar Liu Yanping (2003) has explored several popular novels from the Ming and Qing Dynasties, such as *Xiyouji* (Journey to the West), *Zhanguizhuan* (The Story of Killing Ghosts), *Jinghuayuan* (Flowers in the Mirror), and *Jigongzhuan* (The Story of Mad Monk Chai Kung). By interpreting the plots, she indicates that Chinese writers employed grotesque techniques in their novels to create both funny and terrifying universes, as a way to satirize the real human world, where deformity, ugliness, ridicule, and uncanniness are often concealed.



## INTRODUCTION

In his exploration of exposé novels during the late Qing period, Der-wei Wang (1997, 241-245) argues that late-Qing satirists developed a distinctive “Grotesque Realism,” offering a unique reflection on the farcical nature of society and the country. Drawing from Bakhtin’s concept of Grotesque Realism, Wang suggests that the late Qing’s rendition of “Grotesque Realism” in these fictions aimed more for eliciting laughter than evoking fear. This perspective aligns with Bakhtin’s critique of Kayser’s theory, which emphasizes dread as the main effect of the grotesque. Chinese writers, drawing inspiration from the country’s comic and ghost literary traditions, adopted “a self-ironic stance” in their writing and reading. Wang highlights that Chinese “Grotesque Realism” diverged from Bakhtin’s interpretation, where bodily power held significance in the carnival movement. According to Bakhtin, bodily power symbolized a revitalization of the social whole, implying an organic time scheme encompassing degeneration and rebirth. However, the late Qing period did not appear to endorse Bakhtin’s idea of grotesqueness as a symbol of degeneration and rebirth. This circular concept of time was not unfamiliar to Chinese caricaturists, who utilized grotesqueness to generate potential realism by resisting adherence to fixed concepts.

In Wang’s perspective, the laughter of late Qing writers became an intrinsic part of corruption, rather than serving as an assault on established institutions and systems for indecency and corruption. Within the late-Qing grotesque carnival, bodies portrayed as depraved as their souls proved incapable of rejuvenating the old order (244). As Wang observes, the satirists navigated between different axiological systems, re-assessing their traditional literary representational mechanisms and crafting “the poetics of the grotesque, a calculated depreciation of the face value of anything available on the market of representation” (208). The fact that late Qing exposé writers derived their plots, motifs, and symbols from the likely genre of ghost novels is “itself a grotesque case of writing” (208). The body and the soul contributed to a “ghastly congeries” and acted in accordance with their “ghastly potential,” alluding to the narrative topology of comic ghost fiction before the late Qing (244). The ghostly quality of late Qing realism was constructed on unrealism. If all things lost their nature, “the incredibility” became a means to unveil the truth (244).

Liu and Wang’s meticulous analyses of the literary grotesque sheds light on the development of the Chinese grotesque. They reveal a social ethos that nurtured grotesque creations, which Chinese caricaturists employed. Extending the views of Liu and Wang, I argue that Chinese caricaturists constructed national discourses through the caricatural grotesque. They utilized existing political metaphors to unveil incongruities deeply rooted in then-current China. Like writers, their artistic expressions with brushes exposed China’s dual nature

resulting from political collisions. Within their renditions, China is often portrayed satirically as asymmetrically grotesque bodies, embodying contradictions between internal and external elements and presenting two incompatible halves of bodies (Chapter Six). Alternatively, these bodies regress into primitiveness (Chapter Seven). The bodily forms of the present or future consequently signify the malformation of the nation, serving as a compelling visual discourse on politics.

### 0.6 Terminology and Chapter Précis

As English scholar Edward Lucie-Smith notes (1981, 7-19), it is hard to give a definition for caricatures. The word “caricature” is derived from the Italian word “caricatura,” meaning “a likeness which has been deliberately exaggerated.” Originally a drawing style for human portraits, caricatures later became a particular painting genre for political criticism due to their characteristic of exaggeration and distortion. A word that is often confused with “caricature” is “cartoon,” which also originated from the Italian word, “cartone,” a cardboard used by artists to draft their preliminary sketches. In the mid-nineteen century, the famous English humorous magazine *Punch* applied “caricature” to its satirical political drawings; from then on, applied to political graphic satire. Accordingly, caricatures and cartoons overlap in meaning and confuse in usage. To avoid such confusion, I follow Smith’s distinction that emphasizes a caricature as being more about politics while a cartoon is more about amusement. In this study, “caricature” is used to describe a satirical picture while “cartoon” refers to a picture of amusement.

Another reason I select “caricature” instead of “cartoon” is because Chinese lettermen of the time used the word “caricature” to translate satirical pictures (Fengci hua 諷刺畫). It was not until the 1920s that Chinese literati began to consider the definition of “manhua” 漫畫. Discussion about the term was provoked by Feng Zikai’s 豐子愷 (1898-1975) success in drawings that imitate those of Japanese illustrator Yumeji Takehisa 竹久夢二 (1884-1934). Feng published his drawings under the title of Zikai Manhua 子愷漫畫. In his words, “manhua” includes the English words for cartoons and caricatures. It was around the 1920s that the word “manhua” became the generally accepted term to refer to all satirical pictures (Bi and Huang 1986, 70-73). In 1935, Lu Xun 魯迅 (Lu 1980, 234), in his essay “mantan manhua” 漫談漫畫 (Random thoughts on manhua), asserted that the manhua’s character was used to reveal the true spirit of a figure or an event in an exaggerated manner. Lu then pointed out that “manhua”

## INTRODUCTION

or “fengci hua” was translated from the German word “Karikatur”. In this light, the selection of the term “caricature”, which is the English translation of “karikatur”, seems more in accord with the then-current Chinese context and Chinese literati’s knowledge about the painting genre.

My dissertation is comprised of three parts, each of which contains two to three chapters. Each part deals with one issue about asymmetry in transcultural interactions as applied to caricatures. Part One contains two chapters (Chapter One and Two) dealing with the asymmetry of Chinese caricature as a painting genre. Wagner (2019, 24-25) emphasizes the importance of functionality within cultural products, prompting cultural brokers to identify existing asymmetries between two entities, thereby fostering dynamics in transcultural interactions. In this light, I argue that Chinese cultural brokers, especially caricaturists and newspaper editors, demonstrated the functionality of caricatures through both textual and visual means. In this process, they defined caricatures and fulfilled a pedagogical task of introducing the newly emerging painting genre in China to the Chinese audience. Through textual and visual literature, it becomes evident that caricaturists and newspaper editors in the early twentieth century endeavored to educate the Chinese populace on comprehending images. They employed diverse strategies crafted to bridge the gap in caricatural knowledge between the Chinese, who were novices to the genre, and Western audiences, who had long been familiar with illustration techniques. This endeavor was aimed at enabling the Chinese audience to grasp and appreciate the nuances of caricatures.

Chapter One examines three approaches utilized in teaching: the titles, the texts, and the visuals. The section on titles focuses on contribution announcements, published by Chinese newspapers and magazines, asking illustrators to submit caricatures for possible recognition and publication. The call for contributed drawings as well as articles for possible inclusion in newspaper and magazine columns reveals multiple features of caricatures. The section about texts that accompanied caricatures functioned as an instructional method to enhance readers’ understanding of caricatures. The texts were written in the form of news articles or editorials. The section on visuals explores how visual symbols, traditional paintings, and operas were used to transmit meanings. The Chinese God of Ghosts, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, for example, is a pictorial symbol that emphasized the caricature’s ability to unveil evil. Without relying on words, the visuals encouraged audiences to draw from their visual memories other symbols and meanings frequently used in caricatures.

## INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two views the turn of the twentieth century as a time of revelation, based on the title of “Xianxing” 現形 (Revelation) that often appeared in newspapers and novels. In that context, my research shows how the long-standing metaphor of a mirror was utilized to highlight the functions of Chinese caricatures. I have chosen, as a foundational case study, the 1907 Tianjin-based magazine *Renjing Huabao* (人鏡畫報, Human Mirror Pictorial, hereafter *RJHB*), as it appears to be the first Chinese illustrated newspaper featuring caricatures on its covers. In my opinion, this deliberate association of caricatures with mirrors played a crucial role in shaping public awareness of caricature characteristics. This association contextualized caricatures within China's longstanding metaphorical system of mirrors. The chapter, utilizing *RJHB* and mirror caricatures from other publications, explores the interconnections between mirrors (whether Chinese or foreign), revelations, and caricatures. It delves into the perception of caricatures during that period as mirrors reflecting distorted yet, in reality, truthful events or figures of the essence being portrayed. Chinese caricaturists at that time coincidentally stressed similar characteristics by resorting to the traditional concept of a ghost-revealing mirror. The mirror images expose a world full of devils and ghosts, an allusion that recurs in pre-modern Chinese paintings.

Part Two comprises three sections with a total of five chapters (from Chapter Three to Chapter Seven) that revolve around another crucial notion in Wagner's asymmetry theory (2019 23-25): “massive translation”. In his mode of transcultural interaction, massive translation is central to transcultural exchanges and can be regarded as a standard to evaluate the scale of transcultural activities. Part Two will demonstrate the process of introducing, translating, circulating, and adapting three types of caricatural products of cultures and thoughts into the Chinese context: publications, images, and concepts.

Chapter Three and Chapter Four concentrate on massive translation of publications. I argue that the turn of the twentieth century witnessed China's participation in the then-current global trend of publishing humorous magazines, a period during which China experienced the publication of foreign-language publications in two stages. Chapter Three first demonstrates that caricatures in foreign humorous magazines were introduced from the outset and then explore the first indigenization of Punch-like humorous magazine in China that took place around 1867 to 1903, a period when the British began to establish their own versions of humorous magazines in the Hong Kong colony and the Settlement in Shanghai. The three English-language magazines that I investigate in this study are *the China Punch* in Hong Kong along with *Puck: the Shanghai Charivari* and *The Rattle* in Shanghai. These publications self-

## INTRODUCTION

claimed to observe and report happenings and, most importantly, to supervise as well as to bring joy and humor to the Far East land. As mentioned earlier, these foreign publications functioned as a visual public sphere where the British diaspora who were living and working in China could discuss matters of interest in China. Most prior studies have paid attention mostly to the relationship between the foreigners and the Chinese. My research, by comparison, is more concerned with how these foreign publications criticized their own governing entities (the home government of England, the colonial government in Hong Kong, and the municipal government in Shanghai), topics that were the main sources of news coverage.

Chapter Four continues to probe the second indigenization of Punch-like humorous magazines in China from 1918 to 1919. A significant figure I examine is Shen Bochen 沈泊塵. Shen was a well-known illustrator in early twentieth century Chinese journalism, highly regarded for his engagement in a variety of drawings for Chinese newspapers. In September 1918, Shen founded *Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克 (Shanghai Puck), the first Chinese western-style humorous magazine. In December of the same year, he started to draw caricatures for a literary supplement in *SSXB*. This supplement was also called as “Poke” 潑克. As Shen stated, Poke was the translated title of the famous humorous magazines in the West and Japan, *Puck*, a publication that was his mode in founding *Shanghai Poke*. Chapter Four aims to demonstrate how Shen localized the foreign model in terms of its format and content. The two “Pokes”, I contend, provides strong evidence about how delicate maneuvers used by Chinese caricaturists served their ultimate goal to overcome the asymmetry that previously existed in the publication of Chinese-language caricatures and humorous magazines. Their discreet actions clearly demonstrate how Chinese caricaturists discovered, accepted, digested, and localized a global trend.

Besides, Chapter Four will also examine these diplomatic caricatures between China and the foreign powers. As Schneider posits (2007), caricatures are “powerful means and ideal sources” (95) in evaluating the international relationship “before of their reflection of mentalities and attitude in visual metaphors directly relating to political constellations.” (95) The visual patterns constructed by these symbols’ interactions unearth the general imaginations about nations. From the Qing to the early Republican era, we can observe Chinese caricaturists’ ambitions of reversing the asymmetrical power relationship on the visual level.

In the section devoted to massive translation of images, Chapter Five meticulously traces the journeys of foreign caricatures, unveiling their initial contextualization and subsequent recontextualization in China. This chapter illuminates a dynamic process wherein foreign

## INTRODUCTION

imagery initially emerged and was subsequently “re-composed” by Chinese caricaturists, evolving from direct imitation to deliberate adaptation. In certain respects, my exploration of the trajectory of foreign images in China is similar to patterns observed in various other studies. However, my study shows another critical avenue. Chinese caricaturists tended to imitate each other’s works across China’s provinces. For example, caricaturists in Beijing and Guangzhou often copied caricatures published in Shanghai newspapers. As a result, many foreign caricatures, once they entered China, immediately became part of a national circulation and, in some cases, may have been treated as local Chinese creations. The manner by which foreign caricatures journeyed across international and national borders foregrounds the transcultural essence of Chinese caricatures.

Section III in Part Two focuses on massive translation of the concepts adopted by caricaturists and transformed into visual expression. Continuing the discussion of the usage of national symbols mentioned in Chapter Four, this section further regards Chinese caricatures as a “Contact Zone,” where many concepts were adopted and mingled with each other, exploring Chinese national symbols’ transcultural developments. Around the turn of the twentieth century, Chinese caricaturists were direct recipients of this type of visual symbolism. They considered it their task not only to adopt the symbols but also to help audiences understand what the symbols signified. Meanwhile, Chinese caricaturists created national symbols that could be quickly and easily recognized and accepted by Chinese audiences, serving as effective tools for the construction of China’s national discourse.

Chapter Six examines the development of the national symbols in the late Qing. Firstly, I will show the introduction of the western-style national symbols into the Chinese visual world. Secondly, I will show how Chinese caricaturists also cultivated their own national symbols for Chinese audience’s comprehension. Lastly, the chapter will demonstrate how Chinese caricaturists cleverly incorporated Chinese national symbols into contemporary Western visual illusions, creating grotesque depictions of the nation as a malformed body. Through the adoption of Western optical illusion, Chinese caricaturists transformed a well-known visual trick into a tool for constructing national discourses. This unveils the presence of two types of asymmetrical power relationships in late Qing society: internal and external. The caricaturists imply that the foremost asymmetrical power relationship to be reversed is that between the people and the government.

Chapter Seven continues to explore national symbols in Chinese caricatures after 1912, following the establishment of the new regime. The chapter delves into the transformation of caricatural national symbolism in response to the thorough political upheaval of the time. It

## INTRODUCTION

examines how Chinese caricaturists discarded old symbols while simultaneously creating new ones. The fact that the portrayal of men in Western suits becomes the Chinese national symbol insinuates Chinese caricatures' high anticipation of the new government. In contrast, the actual political situation showed the opposite. This visual presentation suggests that Chinese caricatures showcase "the double inefficacy of the self-symbols." This phenomenon stems from the confusion surrounding national symbols, visually representing political contradictions and, more importantly, China's identity crisis. The symbols include "incongruously grotesque national bodies," drawing on Western concepts such as evolutionism. Through the depiction of these national bodies, Chinese caricatures depict China as a nation entering a regressive future in a grotesque sense.

The conclusion of this dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part addresses the study's findings and summaries of main arguments. In response to the other contemporary studies on Chinese caricatures, my study revisits the embryonic developmental stage of Chinese caricatures from the perspective of asymmetry. Instead of focusing merely on the political function of caricatures, my study looks also into the agency leading China in this global caricatural exchange. The period examined by this research that began in the early twentieth century laid the foundation for an upcoming prosperous time for Chinese caricatures in the 1930s. In the second part of the Conclusion, I shift attention to another angle of inquiry by examining a 1920 German article of studying Chinese caricatures. This article illustrates how Chinese caricatures became a theme for academic research in Europe. As Wagner (2019, 17-18) comments, perceived asymmetry does not always happen as expected. This article provides evidence that interest in a particular asymmetry, was not limited to initiation by the lesser side but in this case developed as a sideline inquiry that originated from the greater side. This case suggests that an asymmetry is always unstable and, far from proceeding unidirectionally, weaves a complicated web in the process for promoting transcultural interactions.

## **Part 1 Functionality: The Genre**



## Chapter 1

### Defining the Caricatures: Titles, Texts, and Visuals

In 1935, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898-1975), in response to Lin Yutang's 林語堂 (1895-1976) invitation, published an article that seeks to define his drawings. In this article, Feng first confesses to his months-long delay to Lin's previous request for a caricatures-related essay:

Why did I promise to write such an article but not put it into action? It is because I have not figured out the definition of a caricature. It is not entirely correct to say that a caricature is a satirical picture or a sketch. To say it is a black-and-white picture, but those with colors can also be caricatures. To say it is a small picture, but not every tiny picture is a caricature. [……] From the very beginning, I was not the one who dubbed my drawings as manhua 漫畫. Ten years ago, when I just started painting this kind of picture, my friends, the editors of *Literature Weekly*, decided to publish my “Manhua” in their newspaper. Not until then did I realize that my drawings could be called manhua; therefore, on issuing a collection of my drawings, I continued using the term to entitle my anthology as *Zikai Manhua* 子愷漫畫. [……] My friends might have based on something to call my drawings “manhua,” so I simply believe and take it for granted. However, why on earth are my drawings entitled as manhua? Can they really be called by this name? Without affirmative answers to these questions, how can I comprehensively talk about manhua in a general sense? Hence, despite the commitment, I still hesitate to contribute so much as not to complete the essay.

為什麼又只管不寫呢？因為我對於「漫畫」這個名詞的定義，實在沒有弄清楚：說它是諷刺的畫，不盡然；說它是速寫畫，又不盡然；說它是黑和白的畫，有色彩的也未始不可稱為「漫畫」；說它是小幅的畫，小幅的不一定都是「漫畫」……原來我的畫稱為漫畫，不是我自己作主的，十年前我初描這種畫的時候，《文學周報》編輯的朋友們說要拿我的「漫畫」去在該報發表。從此我才知我的畫可以稱為「漫畫」，畫集出版時我就遵用這名稱，定為「子愷漫畫」……我的朋友們或者也是有所根據而稱我的畫為「漫畫」的，我就信受奉行了，但究竟我的畫為什麼稱為「漫畫」？可否稱為「漫畫」？自己的性狀還不知道，怎樣能夠普遍地談論一般的漫畫呢？所以我答允了寫稿之後，躊躇滿胸，只管不寫。(1992, 461)

Feng's avowal that even he was unable to define his work and therefore accepted the term “manhua” (literally meaning, impromptu sketches in Chinese) might have astonished audiences at the time; after all, in 1930s China, it would not have been an exaggeration to say that Feng, recognized as a highly respected Chinese caricaturist, was the most qualified one to discuss caricatures. In the article, Feng mentioned his name was closely connected with caricatures because his friend published his paintings in the title of *Zikai Manhua* (1992, 461). Hereafter, some publishers adopted “Zikai Manhua” as a particular term in their advertisements as if “Zikai” had become an inalienable adjective to manhua. Such inseparability seemingly gave him no excuse for refusing to comment in this regard but, as a matter of fact, distanced him from this painting genre due to confusion about how to define caricatures.

## CHAPTER ONE

Feng was not the only one who puzzled about the definition of caricatures. Even now, scholars still admit there is no one specific definition<sup>21</sup>. According to his confession, Feng devoted himself to the caricatures even without fully understanding what kind of drawing produced. Learning that the term “Manhua” was being used, he instead questioned whether his drawings were so-called caricatures. The paradox proves a gap that existed in himself between the title and the drawings. Feng’s skepticism reflects a philosophical issue of the arbitrary relationship between the name and the object, i.e., the signifier and the signified (Sun 2015).<sup>22</sup> If we take into account the fact that Feng’s caricatures were inspired by Japanese caricaturist, Yumeji Takehisa 竹久夢二 (1884-1934) (Gan 2008, 79), the arbitrariness insinuates that a transcultural exchange inevitably undergoes a process that seeks symmetry between a new cultural product and its surroundings.

Current research predominantly focuses on determining when and how this unstable process concludes to establish a generally accepted definition and terminology (Bi and Huang 1986 16-17; Gan 2008, 1-4; Liu 2004, 70-75). The search for a definition reflects a fundamental issue: whether caricatures were, in fact, new in China at the turn of the twentieth century. It has been a heatedly debated issue. (Gan 2008, 32-34; Bi and Huang 1986, 1-15; Li 1978, 1-31). Yet, the style of drawings was noticeably different. As argued by Chinese cartoon historian, Gan (2008, 34-36), caricatures did not become a specific genre of drawing in China before the nineteenth century because their spirit ran contrary to the expressive spirit of Chinese literati paintings. The landscapes depicted by painters rarely existed in the real world. The principal motif was only in the painters’ minds, and the ethos was that literati paintings should keep their distance from reality. Caricatures, on the contrary, aimed to comment directly on society and to condemn its injustices. Therefore, in his view, caricatures have been long existed in China only without being a particular genre of drawing.

Part One does not aim to refute Gan's argument but rather to reexamine it through the lens of Wagner's theory of transcultural asymmetry. As articulated by Wagner (2019, 16-18),

---

<sup>21</sup> For example, the English scholar, Edward Lucie-Smith (191:6019) begins his monography “The Art of Caricatures” with one basic question: what is caricature. He made a thorough examination of definition of caricatures from multiple perspectives such as the explanations in dictionaries, the association of the emotional reaction to the images, the intention of the images and etc. His attempt in presenting the possible descriptions regarding caricatures does prove the impossibility of explaining caricatures in a simple and rigid definition; the Chinese caricature scholar Gan (2008, 1-4), in *the History of Chinese Cartoons in China*, made a similar survey and states that there is no such definition of caricatures that is of authority and widely recognized.

<sup>22</sup> The culture historian scholar, Sun Liying, has invoked Ferdinand de Saussure and Roland Barthes’ semiotics, i.e., signifier and signified, to explain the translation of the Chinese term Luoti 裸體, nakedness and nudity, two frequently used terms that contain respective denotations and connotations. From this viewpoint, Sun contends that in the transcultural exchanges, the fact that culture brokers select, translate and interpret a term resulted in a sign system to construct, create, and product meanings. For more analysis, see Sun (2015: 17-24).

## CHAPTER ONE

the perceived asymmetries emerge from disparities in the functionalities of distinct cultural entities. Chinese caricaturists and editors, recognizing these differences early on, played a pivotal role in discerning and navigating them. Discovering functions is also giving definitions. The consideration of functionality provides insight into how Chinese caricaturists of the time executed their images' political tasks by defining them. In the pre-modern era, as Gan put it, there may have been limited visual models that could be classified as caricatures. In contrast, during modern times, caricaturists skillfully incorporated longstanding visuals and texts, endowing their caricatures with diverse definitions. This phenomenon underscores this newly flourishing drawing genre as a complex form of cultural appropriation and continuity, contributing to its transcultural quality.

Part One thus aims to illustrate that the process of assigning or seeking definitions is twofold. On one hand, it involved the efforts of Chinese cultural brokers who excavated the potential of existing Chinese visuals and texts for political criticism, weaving a rich tapestry of meanings. On the other hand, this process reflects the Chinese cultural broker's endeavor to bridge the asymmetry in comprehending the functions of caricatures between Chinese and Western readers. They undertook the responsibility of educating these readers to comprehend this emerging painting genre; subsequently their definitions became the norms through which Chinese readers interpreted these images.

Following the contention, I will look into the various modes of how caricature functionality was known to the Chinese audience. In contrast to most research that tends to focus mainly on the political intention while ignoring efforts to elucidate the art form, Chapter One is to explore how pioneer caricaturists defined their images. As they left very few written sources explaining how they thought about their caricatures, we need to pay attention to every possible clue they left in order to understand the production side of caricaturing, namely, how the creators thought about and painted their caricatures. Those clues may be embedded in lengthy texts or visual hints. Therefore, I extend the meaning of "define" from determining a meaning to adopting traditional literary or visual forms to highlight substantial features of caricatures.

In Chapter One, I analyze caricatures based on three dimensions. First, I examine how caricaturists/editors presented caricatures through various types of paratextual packaging: captions, advertisements, publishing manifestos, and columns. Following this taxonomy, I analyze how images relied heavily on the literal use of Chinese figurative expressions and explanatory texts to make the visuals intelligible. Third, I investigate how adaptation of traditional visual arts, such as paintings and drama, was incorporated into caricatures. These

familiar icons functioned as definitive indicators for Chinese audiences. All in all, the chapter contends that the early Chinese caricaturists attempted multiple means to “explain” the functionality of caricatures. For them and their contemporary readers, the indispensable defining was, to borrow Nanny Kim’s words, “a safe and entertaining way to attract a larger readership (2007, 195),” in the process of popularizing the art form of caricatures.

## 1.1 The Titles

### 1.1.1 Classifying Caricatures: Captions<sup>23</sup>

Recent research tends to dub Chinese caricatures at the turn of the twentieth century as either “manhua” or “fengcihua.” The term “manhua” 漫畫 was used to indicate illustrations published in newspapers from the late Qing (Liu 2004, 90; Han 2012, 1260; Bi and Huang 1986, 16; Gan 2008, 39). In 1904 *Jingzhong ribao* 警鐘日報 (Alarm Bell Daily, hereafter *JZRB*) published three caricatures with the same title “A Candid Depiction of Current Affairs” (shishimanhua 時事漫畫). However, the term seldom appeared in newspapers (Gan 2008, 4). It was not until Feng Zikai (豐子愷) published his drawings under the title “manhua” in 1925 that manhua became widely accepted as a genre in China. Nowadays, “manhua” often denotes Japanese manga and comic strips. The term “fengcihua” 諷刺畫 was used to describe satirical illustrations in the late Qing but later translated into “caricature” during the Republican era (Gan 2008, 39).

It might be anachronistic and misleading, however, to suggest that these were the only two terms for caricatures in the Chinese context. As a matter of fact, caricatures went under various names at the time (Bi and Huang 1986; Gan 2008; Li 1978); “manhua” and “fengcihua” were just two of them. Currently, “manhua” and “fengcihua” have since evolved into two different genres of visual art. When looking at caricatures that date from the early 20th century, scholars inevitably leave out those which do not conform to their genre definitions, or, conversely, they seek out images dating back to archaic times without considering the context of the emergence of caricatures.

For example, authors of *the History of Chinese Cartoons* argue that caricatures have long been present in China by presenting as evidence various images that correlate with the contemporary definition of “manhua” (Gan 2008, 13-32; Bi and Huang 1986, 1-15; Li 1978,

---

<sup>23</sup> The original parts of 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 have been published in my paper “Illustrating Humor: Political Cartoons on Late Qing Constitutionalism” (Wu 2017, 15-17). I would like to thank Christopher Rea for his valuable advice on both the content and language in the section.

## CHAPTER ONE

115-232). However, the criteria used by authors to select caricatures are not clear. Li discusses a wide range of mediums, including statues, murals, and literati paintings in his definition and claims that Chinese caricatures can be traced back to the legendary period of Fuxi 伏羲 (ca. before 2697 BC), a claim that Gan challenges (2008, 33-34). In addition, Rea also points out the authors' blind point of ignoring how news illustrations influenced caricatures because the images were not "caricature-like" enough (2013, 392-393).

In an attempt to place caricatures of the late Qing in context, it is therefore necessary to scrutinize names that have been variously used to refer to caricatures.<sup>24</sup> The multiplicity of names points to the range of functions and characteristics of caricatures, such as contents and pictorial styles. First, the names identify both the images and the accompanying captions and commentaries as satirical vehicles. "comical words" (huajizi 滑稽字) and "satirical words" (fengzi 諷字) consider Chinese characters as iconography that satirizes the subject of the caricature by altering and distorting the characters. Second, names like "contemporary picture" (shihua 時畫) and "sentimental picture" (ganshuhua 感時畫) both denote the subject matter and are intended to provoke an emotional reaction. "Historical pictures" (lishihua 歷史畫) and "pictures of history" (hua shi 畫史) reveal a conscious attempt to use history to allude to a certain position on current affairs. Third, the names indicate the importance of oblique forms of expression. "Allegorical pictures" (yuyi hua 寓意畫), "satirical pictures" (fengci hua 諷刺畫 or fenghua 諷畫), and "allegorical and satirical picture" (fengyuhua 諷喻畫) were especially popular. "Imaginative pictures" (xiangxianghua 想像畫) advertised their fictionality while also preempting criticism, since the target of satire was ostensibly purely imaginary. Fourth, names like "comical picture" (huaji hua 滑稽畫) and "laughable picture" (xiaohua 笑畫) indicate the images were intended to be funny and risible. Fifth, other names indicate that images were intended as commentary on contemporary events (shiping 時評), and that the illustrations - sometimes dubbed "picture criticism" (huaping 畫評) - were a means to that end. Finally, captions like "cautionary picture" (jinghua 警畫) and "world-warning picture" (jingshuhua 警世畫) indicate an intention to root out injustices and warn of present and future dangers.

---

<sup>24</sup> These captions are gathered from the caricatures I collected and the picture anthologies listed in Works Cited section.

## 1.1.2 Commercializing Caricatures: Advertisements and Editorial Commentary

Among those names, “comical picture” (huajihua) was the most commonly used, which suggests the chief objective for publishing the caricatures. Advertisements and the publication manifesto that typically appeared in the first issue of a new publication reinforced the humorous aim of the publication. For instance, in April 1912, *Minquan huabao* 民權畫報 (People’s Rights Pictorial, hereafter *MQHB*) announced that it would distinguish clearly between news illustrations and “comical pictures” and, therefore, added a pictorial column called “comical” (huaji).<sup>25</sup> In the first issue of *Tuhua jubao* 圖畫劇報 (Theater Illustrated, hereafter *THJB*), issued in Shanghai in the same year, the editors employed the term “the comical picture”. The publications announced that “comical pictures,” “distinguished from news illustrations,” would be divided into three categories by subject matter: national affairs (guoshi 國事), society (shuhui 社會), and the family (jiating 家庭).<sup>26</sup>

*THJB* positioned national affairs as the first category, implying that politics is the principal concern of “comical pictures”. The association between comical and political betrays the tradition of Chinese political humor as explained more concisely in *Zhenxiang huabao* 真相畫報 (The True Record, hereafter *ZXHB*). Its first issue in 1912 introduced seven kinds of images, including “comical pictures” (huajihua). The text explains that criticism of imperial policy had long been held in high esteem by Chinese society, citing the “Biographies of Court Jesters” (Guji liezhuan 滑稽列傳) in *Shiji* 史記 (the Records of the Grand Historian), which combined humor and moral admonitions of policies. Comical pictures, it argued, were intended to offer the same to contemporary readers. The very term “huaji” (archaic: “guji”), meaning comical, was drawn from the “Biographies of Court Jesters”, suggesting the images were intended to amuse readers.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> “Shubao gailiang guangkao” 書報改良廣告 (The announcement for changing the page order), *MQHB*, 19 April 1912.

<sup>26</sup> “Benbao tongbao 1” 本報通報 1 (Announcement 1 by our periodical), *THJB*, 9 November 1912.

<sup>27</sup> “Benbao tuhua zhi tese” 本報圖畫之特色 (distinguishing features of images in this periodical), *ZXHB*, 1 (1912): n. p.

## CHAPTER ONE



Figure 1.1 Rewarding Pictures (*XWHB*, ca. 1912).

Significantly, Chinese newspapers and magazines not only welcomed voluntarily contributed caricatures but also organized drawing competitions to actively involve the general readership in the visual public sphere. In some of these competitions, illustrators expressed their individual political views, adding a dynamic element to the broader discourse. Around 1912, for example, *Xinwen huabao* 新聞畫報 (News Pictorial, hereafter *XWHB*) held a series of competitive drawing contests. Publications offered an object outline, such as a sitting man or a beautiful naked woman, and requested illustrators to submit a finished drawing. Many of the selected drawings included prizes that were drawn in a comic style. Importantly, most illustrators expressed their political intention to criticize the government. Figure 1.1 shows a page that features illustrations selected for recognition. Drawings are derivations of a basic pictorial form of a man sitting with his legs stretching straight out in front. With their names shown in captions, the competitors wittily “reformed” this pictorial shape by making it into a man holding a bowl and eating his meal or a child wearing a pair of socks. Or, the illustrators might transform the sitting man into a fashionably dressed, handsome young man wearing a pair of sunglasses or as an old-fashioned chivalrous swordsman, or as a dying opium addict who does not deserve sympathy.

Among the rewarded drawings, the one on the lower-right stands out. The competitor reverses and transforms the sitting-man image into an ape-like man hanging upside down from a tree branch. Based on his appearance and the allusion to an ape (yuan 袁), it is easy for readers to recognize him as the high official Yuan Shikai (袁世凱). The accompanying caption satirizes Yuan as an ape stuck in a tree so that he cannot “keep his feet on the ground” (腳踏實地), insinuating Yuan’s insincerity and opportunism. Interestingly, the competitor uses an alias, Shijian 時艱, which means a “difficult time.” The style, content, and intention of this

## CHAPTER ONE

awarded picture established it as a typical political caricature. The contributions and competitions expanded the visual public sphere, attracting more participants to showcase their drawings and share comments on the government and society. This engagement has the potential to boost the popularity of caricatures among the general public.

### 1.1.3 Scientizing Caricatures: Caricatures as “New Knowledge”

Caricatures were published not just individually, but, beginning in the late Qing, in a serial format. The column “A General Store for New Knowledge” (新智識雜貨店) was an innovation of China’s first daily illustrated magazine, Shanghai’s *THR*B. It is said to have been more influential than any other news-oriented media of its day, publishing more than four hundred issues during its two-year run.<sup>28</sup> The vast majority of its caricatures and satirical illustrations appeared in its long-running “new knowledge” column.<sup>29</sup> This image published in “the General Store” suggests that caricatures were items to be purchased, understood, even produced. (The column offered occasional drawing lessons.) This shows how *THR*B’s editors and caricaturists regard this drawing genre: they should be classified within the practical-minded, quotidian context of a “General Store.” In short, caricatures were meant to be useful as grocery product.

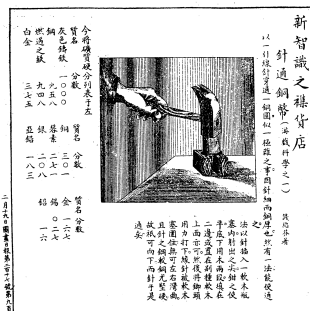


Figure 1.2 Fun with Science (*THR*B, ca.1909).

<sup>28</sup> Feng Jinniu 馮金牛, “Qianyan” 前言 (Introduction). *THR*B, vol.1, n. p.

<sup>29</sup> My aim here is to point out the connection of the title of the column with the presentation of caricatures. About the details of the column’s content, cf. Li (2004), Deng (2009) and Rea (2009).



## CHAPTER ONE

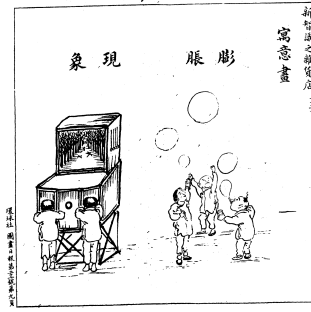


Figure 1.3 Inflation Phenomenon (*THR*B, ca.1909).

The goal, at least for *THR*B's editors, was to introduce new knowledge to Chinese readers. In Issue 216, the column inaugurated "Fun with Science" (youxi kexue 遊戲科學), a new sub-series that aimed at instructing people in scientific knowledge through interesting games, said to be a common learning strategy in western countries.<sup>30</sup> Most entries contain a demonstrative sketch and explanatory text (Figure 1.2). A frequent reader would thus be able to obtain various kinds of "new knowledge," moral and scientific, from the illustrations in the general store. Caricatures also introduced current political and social situations in a critical manner. In "Inflation Phenomenon" (Figure 1.3), the illustrator visually represents the literal meaning of a pun in order to satirize bragging and social vanity. He splits the sentence into two parts: inflation (pengzhang 膨脹) and phenomenon (xianxiang 現象). Inflation is represented as children blowing bubbles that fly into the sky. Phenomenon is portrayed as children watching a peep show, *xianxiang* literally meaning "to show an image." The caricature borrows new technology and the imported vocabulary of modern economics to deride an atmosphere of social degeneration.

The column "A General Store of New Knowledge" is representative of an age in which caricatures were presented as a novelty. Readers might expect to learn something new from caricatures; however, would nevertheless repeatedly encounter familiar expressions, which, as described later in this chapter, guided them to interpret the visual content in particular ways.

<sup>30</sup> Qian Shaofeng 錢紹芬, "Preface for Fun with Science" 科學遊戲序 (Kexue youxi xu), *THR*B, 28 March 1910.

## 1.2 The Texts

### 1.2.1 Caricatures as News Illustrations



Figure 1.4 Animals Bully Chinese (*XQHB*, 1906).<sup>31</sup>

When examining the images, we find that caricaturists often resorted to the text-image layout introduced by *DSZHB*. Here, let us take look at a “remote” example. “Animals bully Chinese” (Shou qi huaren 獸欺華人) (Figure 1.4) is an illustration taken from *Xingqi Huaba* 星期畫報 (Week Pictorial). Although published in Beijing, it nonetheless shows a text-image layout similar to the *DSZHB*, proving the prevalence of this form of presenting news and images.<sup>32</sup> The text in “Animals bully Chinese” describes a park where a number of animals were kept in cages. Because those animals were rarely be seen in China, they attracted many Chinese visitors who were willing to pay twenty copper coins to see the animals. Animal caretakers employed by the park were German workers, to whom the animals were obedient. One day when a friend of the author visited the park and walked near the tiger’s cage; the tiger suddenly and fiercely attacked him by stretching its claw outside the animal’s cage. With regard to the unpleasant experience of his friend, the author sighed emotionally and raised this question at the end of the text: “Why does even a tiger treat foreigners and Chinese differently? A tiger, despite of its fierceness, is after all a normal beast.” With that question, the author then appealed earnestly to those proficient in physics to study this phenomenon in order to explain why an animal would treat foreigners and Chinese so differently.

<sup>31</sup> The picture is adopted from Chen (2008, 267).

<sup>32</sup> Over the past few decades, a number of studies have been conducted on *DSZHB*. Many scholars have examined its form of the print layout; I do not plan to repeat the discussions here. Instead, I would like to take a visual example from different illustrated newspapers which are not so often referred as *DSZHB*. My intention is to emphasize the popularity of the text-images layout, which were frequently adopted in different illustrated newspapers. In doing so, I can reveal the influence this form of the layout wielded.

## CHAPTER ONE

The illustration depicts the moment when the tiger attacks the author's friend. On the right, we see two cages in which a tiger and two lions are kept. On the left, a number of Chinese visitors gather to view those animals. Among the Chinese, a man in the group who is looking at the tiger turns his back to the cage and wields a stick at the tiger. The tiger tries to attack him with its claw. As Figure 1.4 shows, the news illustration usually comprises two parts: a text and an image. Texts include the details of the events and reporters' comments, while images represent important scenes in these events. The news illustrations seemingly create illusions as though the events were happening in front of the readers, as a way to establish authenticity and credibility to persuade the audience.



Figure 1.5 On Telling Fortune by Studying Chinese Characters (*THRB*, ca. 1909).

Some early Chinese caricatures appear just like news illustrations. “On Telling Fortune by Studying Chinese Characters” (chaizi tan 拆字談) (Figure 1.5) is another illustration from the column “A General Store for New Knowledge” in *THRB*. It is noteworthy the term “satirical picture (fengcihua 諷刺畫)”, is posted above the title, revealing to audiences that both the features as well as the intention of the illustration. The text states that the reporter traveled to the city of Gusu (姑蘇) where he saw a man in a tea shop telling another man's fortune by studying Chinese characters. At the time, the test of youba 優拔, a government-administered examination that was used for appointing people to official positions in late Qing. The exam, soon to be held, was a hot topic of conversation. Hungry for results of the examination, many people urged the fortune teller to use Chinese characters to predict their fortunes. At the end of the text, the reporter criticizes the scene in the tea shop, finding ridiculous that the people's beliefs were so strong in the fortune teller's words as if their futures were actually controlled by the number of strokes in a Chinese character. What made people so irrational? The author concluded that it was due to people's desire for fame and wealth.

## CHAPTER ONE

Figure 1.5 illustrates what the reporter saw in a tea shop, where a fortune teller was sitting at a table with three big characters on it: “A stand for fortune telling by studying characters” (cezitan 測字攤). As he explains the Chinese character rao 擾, (meaning “to disturb”), many curious people who gather round to request predictions about their examination results. In the picture, they seem to pay much greater attention to the hand movement of the fortune teller, suggesting their blindness for fame and gain that follows the exam results.

Comparisons of Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.5 reveal some likeness in the two illustrations. First, both texts are based on the authors’ experiences: one author heard a story from his friend and the other drew on his own observations during a journey. At the conclusion of the texts, the authors comment on the events. The authors disclose their intentions of writing the news with an instructive concern. Second, the text-image arrangements for both illustrations are quite similar. Although “On Telling Fortune by Studying Chinese Characters” is defined as a satirical picture, in fact it is very similar to a normal news illustration. The lengthy texts that accompany pictures play an important role in conveying the satirical implications.

As mentioned above, recent scholarship rarely refers to these images when discussing Chinese caricatures. The pictures themselves did not distort or exaggerate features of targeted objects as we think of caricatures today. As such, whether those pictures can be labeled “caricatures” remains debatable. However, I suggest that this type of caricature should not be ignored for several reasons. First, editors and authors in the early twentieth century were only then starting to become conscious of the emerging new genre, satirical picture, or “caricature” *per se*, although they had already begun to use the term satirical picture/caricature as a way of introducing their work to readers. Second, in order to convey their opinions, the adaption of the well-known visual presentation and dependence on text seems to have been unavoidable. The combined strategies presumably helped readers understand and accept the idea of caricatures in ways that most news illustrations were already accepted.

### 1.2.2 Caricatures with Explanatory Texts

Besides serving as items of news value, the length of the text accompanying caricatures sometimes provided important details regarding explanations about the image’s origin, visual details, and most importantly, political connotations. The caricatures published in *ESJW* in 1903-1904 present typical examples.

*ESJW*, a Shanghai daily newspaper, published in 1903 by then-current influential political figures, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), Wang Deyuan 汪德淵 (1873-1918) and its

## CHAPTER ONE

first chief editor, Wang Jitong 王季同 (1875-1948). The newspaper aimed to expose Russia's invasion in northeastern China, warning the Chinese audience of a crisis in terms of possible national subjugation. The newspaper encouraged Chinese audiences to resist Russia, even indirectly advocating for a political revolution. After the seventy-third issue, the publication changed its name to *JZRB*.<sup>33</sup>

*ESJW* carried many caricatures and news illustrations. The first one is “The Situation in the Far East” 時局圖 (Shijutu), the first Chinese political caricature in the newspaper. Besides exposing China's perilous situation of potential subjugation, the caricature illustrates China as threatened by several foreign powers, symbolized by various animals. Accompanying the caricature is a lengthy article entitled “The Current Situation” 時勢. The text expounds on the caricature exhaustively, covering its origin, visual symbolism of animals, political connotations, and warning to the Chinese people about Russia's scheme to invade China's northeastern area. Most readers may not have been able to understand the caricature thoroughly without the explanatory text.

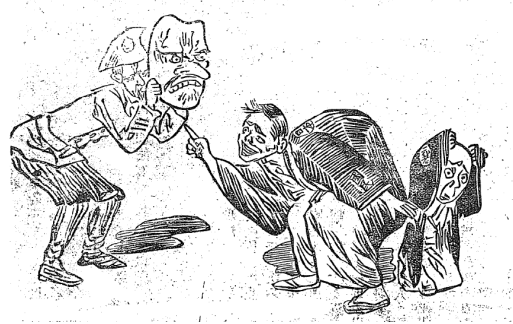


Figure 1.6 Untitled (*ESJW*, 18 December 1903).

The text-image mode is how *ESJW* presented its caricatures and news pictures. The texts, doubtlessly, help to improve the Chinese audience's visual literacy of newspaper illustrations. The text-image mode was especially crucial for caricatures, because caricatures were presented as a painting genre that needed to be decoded for public comprehension. *ESJW* was published at a time when Japan had serious conflicts with Russia due to their benefits in China. At the end of 1903, Japan even terminated diplomatic relationships with Russia, which led to the Russo-Japan war in 1904. Taking the same position as Japan against Russia, *ESJW* naturally adopted ready-made images from Japanese newspapers as pictorial weapons against Russia while at the same time introducing instrumental patriotic materials for the Chinese people.

<sup>33</sup> More information about *ESJW* and *JZRB*, see Fang (1981: 258-259).

## CHAPTER ONE

Therefore, the explanatory texts were crucial for Chinese audiences who lacked familiarity with the political situation to comprehend the new visual languages of caricatures.<sup>34</sup>

For example, Figure 1.6 appeared on 18 December 1903, three days after the appearance of “Shijutu.” The accompanying text, also entitled “The Current Situation,” can be divided roughly into three parts that established a procedure for public understanding of a caricature:

1. To understand the image.
2. To consider the image in the Chinese context.
3. To encourage some measures that Chinese people can take in such a situation.

The text begins with a sentence stating that the caricature is an imitation of a Japanese newspaper's caricature. On the left-hand side, a Russian man shields himself with a huge mask to scare off the Japanese, a behavior that debunks his cowardliness to start a war with Japan. On the right-hand side, a young Japanese stands and points to the Russian bravely, insinuating that most Japanese people support a war without being afraid of the Russia's bluffing. Behind him, an old Japanese looks terrified, kneeling and covering himself with his long sleeves. The old man, according to the text, alludes to the older generation of Japanese politicians who were easily threatened into submission by Russia, such as the previous Prime Minister, Ito Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), and the previous Finance Minister, Inoue Kaoru 井上馨 (1836-1915).

The text then proceeds to describe China's territorial conflicts with Russia. Owing to its submission to Russia, the Qing government lost the northeast provinces, which was warning for Japan because Russia's next targets were Korea and other areas controlled by the Japanese government. Though fearful, the young generation of Japanese politicians, contrary to the seniors, at least had sent a letter of protest to Russia, while the Qing court was so scared of Russia that it gave to Russia the northeast provinces, like a tribute. The text concludes with grief that it is a shame that none of the Chinese people tried to unmask Russia's empty performance of strength as the brave young Japanese generation had done. In order to awaken the Chinese audience, the caricaturist pictorially imitated this historical scenario for contemporary Chinese audiences.

---

<sup>34</sup> Chinese caricaturists adapted numerous Japanese caricatures into Chinese newspapers and magazines, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four and Five.

## CHAPTER ONE

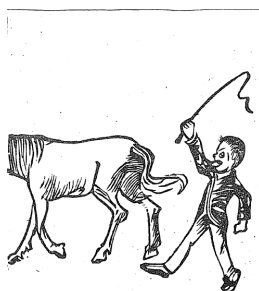


Figure 1.7 Untitled (*ESJW*, 24 December 1903).

Some caricatures in *ESJW* explicitly stated visual sources. According to the accompanying text. Figure 1.7 is adopted from the Japanese newspaper, *Jiji Shimpo* 時事新報 (Current Affairs News Daily), established in 1882 by a Japanese modernist, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901), an advocate of western learning and political reform, whose various political and economic theories influenced Japan profoundly. *Jiji Shimpo* was one of the important newspapers in Japan until the Second World War. During rapidly changing times, it emphasized Japanese independence and focused particularly on Japanese sovereignty. As a communicative channel, *Jiji Shimpo* had published pivotal political statements, such as “Yukichi’s Shedding Asia” (脱亞論 Datsu-A Ron) in 1885, which claimed from a national perspective, that Japan must discard all Chinese traditions and endeavor to enter the Western world. *Jiji Shimpo* was among the early Japanese newspapers that published political caricatures regularly.<sup>35</sup>

The caricature of the man whipping the horse (Figure 1.7), according to the text, was originally accompanied by the caption: Scourging the government 鞭撻政府. Comparing the Japanese government to the horse and the man to the Japanese people, the image illustrates the then-current Japanese situation in which people were trying their utmost to “whip” the Japanese government to move forward and declare war with Russia. In conclusion, the reporter, by way of the caricature, similarly appeals to Chinese viewers to “whip” the Chinese government to move forward and declare war with Russia, although he acknowledges that the Japanese government was much stronger at that time than the Chinese government.

---

<sup>35</sup> More information about Fukuzawa Yukichi, cf. Fukuzawa and Kiyooka (2007), Craig (2009) and Hwang (2020).

## CHAPTER ONE

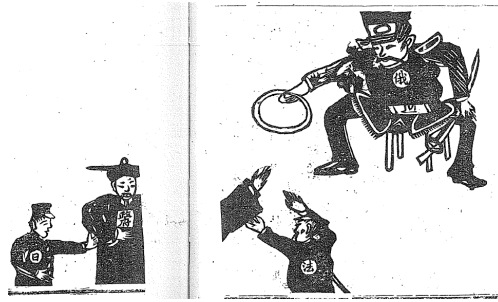


Figure 1.8 Untitled (*ESJW*, 1 January 1904).

Most of *ESJW*'s caricatures imitated Japanese images. However, the one published on New Year's Day in 1904 seems to be solely a Chinese creation (Figure 1.8). The accompanying text does not mention the image as a foreign imitation, and, more importantly, the men all wear clothes that identify their nationalities using Chinese characters. Judging from the character “俄” on his military uniform, the man on the upper right is Russian. The Qing officer standing on the lower left with Chinese characters “政府” on his gown is surrounded by two foreigners representing France “法” and Japan “日.” The caricature illustrates Russia giving China a circular hoop, but China does not know how to deal with it: swaying between France's persuasion and Japan's dissuasion.

The circular hoop highlights the caricature, symbolizing the then-current international configuration and China's diplomatic dilemma. The hoop refers to territorial controversies between China and Russia in China's northeastern region. Russia was by then occupying the area and refused to withdraw its army. Russia's refusal to honor its promise should have shaken the Chinese society; on the contrary, the Chinese people were indifferent toward the event and left the matter up to the government. The government could not handle the issue, except to plan a secret agreement to avoid military conflict and to accept bribes from Russia. The territorial issue finally escalated into a complex diplomatic incident that for the purpose of presenting their own interests, the ambassadors of Russia, Japan, and France each appealed directly to the Qing court. Aware of Russia's occupation, Japan accused China and Russia of signing a secret treaty, which had not yet happened. However, later, China and Russia, in fact, had indeed reached an agreement. As Russia's ally, France seemed to act in earnest as the mediator between China and Russia but, in fact, persuaded China to allow Russia to maintain its benefits in the region.

The text that accompanied the caricature featuring the hoop, concludes by reflecting on the Chinese political situation and emphasizing the concept of popular power. The reporter treated the incidents in an ironic fashion, noting that Chinese people were much less uptight



about China's territory being occupied by Russia than were the Japanese people regarding Russia's occupation of their territory. On this critical matter, the Qing government appeared incompetent; therefore, to avoid more tragic outcomes, the reporter appealed to the Chinese commoners to no longer tolerate the Qing government's absurd actions.

This caricature has hardly been discussed by contemporary scholars; however, in my view it is significant in terms of demonstrating development of Chinese caricatures. Compared to most caricatures with characteristics typical of Chinese ink washing paintings, this one appears similar to *ESJW*'s imitation of images in the painting style. With this caricature in mind, we can presume that *ESJW*'s caricatures epitomize a process in which Chinese caricaturists, as early as 1903 and 1904, collected and then imitated foreign caricatures, and finally created their own drawings based on western-style caricatures. From 1907, the cultural project of collecting, imitating, and creating foreign graphic satire grew much more active, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

### 1.2.3 Caricatures as a (Twisted) Embodiment of Chinese Idioms

Several scholars have pointed out that Chinese caricatures frequently brought to life visually Chinese idioms a great deal of the time (Han 2012, 1821-1823). Caricatures of this kind ridiculed or exaggerated features of subjects by adopting traditional expressions, long-existing proverbs, and idioms. To understand idioms, it is not enough to simply explain their meaning literally. Rather, it is important also to explain their historical origins, that, in turn, usually generate their connotations.

From that perspective, I regard the early visualization of idioms as a way by which caricaturists appropriated "history" that had long since petrified into conventional expressions. Yet, caricaturists consistently and meticulously released the textual expressions from their fossilized state in the course of using them to satirize the then-current society and government.<sup>36</sup> In short, the visualization of idioms emphasizes the caricaturists' wit and competence in orchestrating well-known idioms as cognitive short-cuts that enabled audiences

---

<sup>36</sup> If we consider the historicalness of idioms, images used in cartoons link historical scenes to resemble many novels and drama that appropriated historical events. What I mean is that the historicalness derives from the origins of idioms. The Chinese scholar, Zhou Jian 周荐 observed that idioms, as suggested by the Chinese term, *chengyu* 成語, evolved into a status of "becoming" 成 from that of "not becoming" 未成. In other words, a long-term process was required for the public to recognize and later extended meaning to references of well-known idioms. Chinese scholars Cheng and Tian further contend that the origins of many Chinese idioms are rooted in the lives of the Han population, including the history of the Han people as articulated by their historical stories, historical facts, and historical legends. Later allusions to idioms are derived mostly from references to literary works, such as ancient classics and narratives of historical events passed along through literature, see Cheng and Tian (1992, 222); Zhou (2004 302-303, 315).

## CHAPTER ONE

to connect historical narratives with salient details of current events. From this viewpoint, I will expound upon three caricatures that include details of their historical origins.



Figure 1.9 Stealing Bells by Covering Ears (*SSB*, 1909).

The first is Figure 1.9, a caricature published in 1908 in *Shishibao* 時事報 (Current News Daily, hereafter *SSB*). In the drawing, above on the right, a person sleeps soundly on a bed. The sleeping man represents all the Chinese people as indicated by the term citizens of a nation (*guomin* 國民) that is written on his bed cover. In the same room there are four other people standing in a line. The last one from the right is a Westerner who is dressed in a black suit marking his identity. The rest are Chinese governmental officers who wear official gowns. These men are collaborating to steal a loop of decorative bells that are hanging on the wall. After the men have covered each other's ears, the Chinese officer on the left stretches out his hands for the bells. Lifting the bells will unquestionably result in a noise so great as to wake up the Chinese people and expose their crime, although they foolishly consider covering their ears as being enough to diminish the degree of noise. This caricature depicts the idiom “Stealing Bells by Covering Ears” (*yanerdaoling* 掩耳盜鈴).<sup>37</sup>

The idiom originated from a historical story in the *Chunqiu* Era 春秋時期 recorded in *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals).<sup>38</sup> In the State of Qin 晉, the Zhao Family drove out the Fan Family and a thief took the opportunity to break into the Fan Family's house to pilfer treasure. The thief decided to steal a delicate bell but was unable to move it because of its heavy weight. Hence, he repeatedly beat the bell in order to break it

<sup>37</sup> The following information is cited from the website of Dictionary of Chinese Idioms (which is run by the Ministry of Education, R.O.C. Taiwan): <https://reurl.cc/XqY8bg> (accessed 10 March 2024).

<sup>38</sup> *The Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Spring and Autumn of Master Lü), also called *Lülan* 呂覽 (Lü's examinations) is allegedly a collection of essays compiled by the retainers of Lü Biwei 呂不韋, Counselor-in-Chief of the State of Qin 秦. According to *Shiji*, Lü had 3,000 retainers who engaged in both amusing Lü and, most importantly, advising him with helpful knowledge and information about politics. The book covers all manner of issues of “Heaven and Earth, the ten thousand things and the past and the present”, touching on matters of “state and society, economy, military, and behavior”. Therefore, it was used as guidance for whomever served in a high office to understand everything in the world. For more introduction to the *Lüshi Chunqiu*: <https://reurl.cc/77v8AD>. Accessed 7 March 2024.

## CHAPTER ONE

into pieces but soon realized he was making a loud noise. To solve that problem, he covered his ears so as not to hear the sound, believing others would not hear it, either. *Lüshi Chunqiu* comments on how ridiculous such behavior is. Based on the historical allusion, the idiom warns that one's crime cannot be hidden by self-deception because others will know what is taking place. Thus, a behavior like “stealing bells by covering one's ears” turns out to denote something absurd, unrealistic, and self-defeating.

The second and third examples of caricatures of Chinese idioms are Figure 1.10 and Figure 1.11. As shown in the two caricatures, the term “Zhongbao 中飽” comes from *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, an influential ancient book about political philosophy. The historical background dates back to the State of Zhao 趙 in the Zhanguo 戰國 period of the Warring States (around 475 BC to 221 BC). A government official, Boyi 博疑, complains to his emperor about the unfair tax system by describing the nation as taking the shape of “fullness in the middle”, Zhongbao 中飽. The account excites the emperor to demand more details. In response to the request, Boyi deliberates on “the shape of fullness in the middle” by dividing the nation into three strata. In the upper stratum, the national treasury and granary are empty and in the lower stratum, ordinary people suffer from poverty and famine. Only the officials, standing in the middle, are wealthy because of their venality and corruption.



Figure 1.10 Filling one's private coffers (SSB, 1909).

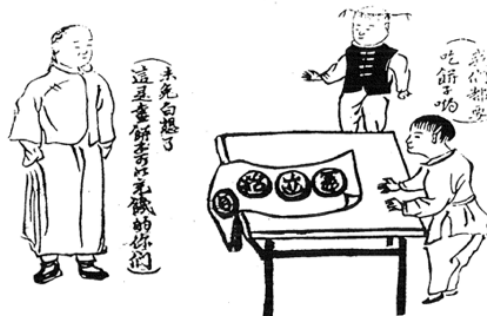


## CHAPTER ONE

Figure 1.11 Filling one's private coff (*MXRB*, 18 November 1909).

Figure 1.10 uses the idiom to debunk the cruelty of the government toward the people. By visualizing “zhongbao”, the caricature portrays a famished man standing helplessly. His small head symbolizes the nation while his arms and legs, which are extremely thin, represent the people. Ironically, the man has a pot belly, which is emblematic of government officials. The image is so direct and intense that the connotation cannot be easily missed. Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 published a similar caricature with the same title in 1909 *Minxu ribao* 民吁日報 (People's Sigh Daily, hereafter *MXRB*) in which he portrays a Qing official having to waddle because of his fat belly (Figure 1.11). The caption reads: “Zhongbao”: the policy of a certain economist” 中飽：某經濟家之政策, insinuating corruption and bribery of the Qing officialdom. It is noteworthy that rotund officials emerged as a prevalent theme in late Qing caricatures, aimed at debunking the dominance, brutality, and greed of officials. In the upcoming chapters, I will present comparable images that seek to expose the malevolence of these officials. (Figure 2.34 and Figure 6.21).

The constitutional movement took place from 1905 to 1911 and during that time Chinese caricaturists adopted similar techniques to make their political comments. In 1906, the Qing court promulgated to prepare for constitutionalism and undertook a series of reforms of the political system. Yet, the public was eager to convene the parliament and elect their representatives, changes to which the Qing court did not actively respond. In 1907, Yang Du 楊度 (1875-1931), a fervent constitutionalist, presented a petition to the government to start the parliament as soon as possible. Many organizations in different provinces joined the movement by asking the government not to procrastinate in establishing constitutionalism. The trend of petitions lasted until 1911 when the Qing court announced the “Royal Cabinet” 皇族內閣, an action that so deeply disappointed the intellectuals and the public that most of them turned to support for the revolution, regarded as the only way to save the nation (Hou 2009, 138-374).



## CHAPTER ONE

Figure 1.12 Drawing Cakes to Allay Hunger (*SZRB*, ca.1907).

Figure 1.12 illustrates an idiom “draw cakes to allay hunger” (huabing chongji 畫餅充飢), in which the people, depicted as two children, cry for cakes to satisfy their hunger. A piece of long paper lies on the table. Four round shapes represent cakes. On the cakes the Chinese characters are written: autonomy (Zizhi 自治) and constitutionalism (lixian 立憲). The children are ready to enjoy cakes, happily saying: “We would like to eat cakes!” while the adult laughs at them by telling them the truth: “[The government] only draws cakes to satisfy people’s hunger, all you get is nothing but an illusion.”



Figure 1.13 A Castle in the Sky (*SZRB*, ca.1907).

To deepen the impression of the unlikelihood of Chinese constitutionalism, the caricaturists liken the Chinese parliament to “the Upper House and the Lower House” 空中樓閣, which hints that the Qing government never really made a great effort to put Constitutionalism into practice. All the earlier measures that had been taken were only to fool the people. The image of hermits in the caricature implies that the Chinese parliament is a dream that cannot come true. In Figure 1.14, a man scoops the moon up from water; however, the moon is only a reflection that cannot be taken. There is also a Chinese idiom “scooping a moon from water” (shuizhong laoyue 水中撈月) that suggests someone attempting a mission impossible. Hand-drawn cakes, a castle in the air, and a moon in the water are widely known metaphors that imply nothing is going to happen. By using these literal expressions as visual reflections, caricaturists were able to more forcefully accuse the government of cheating the people by misinforming them that constitutionalism would be coming soon. After all, how can one “reform” something “formless” such as smoke and reflections?<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> In my previous paper, I analyzed the caricatures concerning the late Qing constitutionalism. Their disillusionment about this political situation is a repeated motif. The caricaturists used many visual metaphors to express their discontent. More examples, see Wu (2017: 19-30).



Figure 1.14 Scooping a Moon from Water (SZRB, ca.1907).

Overall, the use of lengthy texts and references with long-existing literal expressions were popular features of Chinese caricatures at the time. As the examples above show, the textual hints might have made the images comprehensible and easy for audiences to follow the satirical implications. Not only the textual information but also the caricaturists relied on visual innuendoes, such as famous paintings and dramas. The following section will examine the manner in which caricaturists reconstructed existing visual elements. As with idioms, traditional visuals were significant in rendering caricatures more legible for audiences in the social and political context of the late Qing.

## 1.3 The Visuals

### 1.3.1 Caricatures: Invocation of Traditional Icons

Although I refer to those who drew the caricatures as caricaturists, strictly speaking, most of them were Chinese traditional painters who had been trained as traditional painters from their youth and who had worked as professional painters before becoming pictorial journalists. Hence, for them, traditional paintings constituted one of their important references with regard to content as well as drawing techniques as evidenced by two pictorial instances: “Paintings of One’s Reclining” 高臥圖 and “Ghosts Amusement Scroll” 鬼趣圖. In examining the two paintings, I demonstrate how the caricaturists made good use of their knowledge of traditional paintings and adapted historical allusions to fit the then-current political situation.

“Paintings of One’s Reclining” 高臥圖 was a theme employed frequently as a visual reference in late-Qing caricatures. Drawings of someone reclining 高臥 conveys a cultural connotation in China in which the individual is eulogized for inactivity 無為, dating back to the period of Weijin 魏晉 when the literati were at ease with a nonchalant pose. A cave painting in the Tang Dynasty, which is considered the Golden Age of Chinese arts (618-907), depicts seven famous Weijin period intellectuals (Zhulin Qxian 竹林七賢), each of whom wears loose

## CHAPTER ONE

clothing that exposes his chest and back to reveal his calmness (Wang 2016, 25) . The pose further suggests the intellectuals' indifference to fame and material gain. The most well-known anecdote with regard to the pose is that of the great Chinese calligrapher, Wang Xizhi 王羲之, who became a minister's son-in-law in the Jin Dynasty (266-420) because his posture suggested that he had a disinterest in power.<sup>40</sup>



Figure 1.15 Zhu Zhanji, *Zhuge Liang Reclines* (1428 AD).

The painting, “Zhege Liang Reclines” 武侯高臥圖, by Xuande, an Emperor during the Ming Dynasty (1368 - 1644), features a man who reclines on the ground in the woods (Figure 1.15) (Wang 2016, 8-9). The man is Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, a legendary wise man who had helped Liu Bei 劉備, the King of Shuhan 蜀漢 during the Three-Kingdom Era (220–280), to govern the state and fight against the two other kingdoms. In most images, Zhuge Liang tends to be visually presented as a clever military councilor who wards off the enemy with brilliant strategies. By contrast, “Zhuge Liang Reclines” 武侯高臥圖 counters the visual convention by portraying Zhuge Liang before he entered the political arena. Lying happily on the ground in the woods highlights his contentment with the lifestyle of a recluse without worries. The ostensibly idyllic picture contains many political connotations (2016, 24-37). As a Ming Dynasty Emperor, Xuande gave the painting as a reward to one of his confidante subordinates, implicitly (but importantly) emphasizing his desire that the subordinate’s talents be used for the sake of the nation (2016, 41-53).

Five hundred years later in the late Qing, Chinese caricatures also featured the icon of a man lying down with a bare chest but with a meaning unrelated to that of the original allegories. In early-twentieth-century caricatures, the topless male body symbolized the misery of the

---

40 According to Jinzhu 晉書, when the Minister Xi 郗, the Jin minister, came to the room to judge Wang and his brothers, all were so nervous they acted pretentiously, except Wang. He, by contrast, lay bare his bosom and back and ate his cake as if there was no one around him. The Minister Xi was impressed by Wang’s ease and calmness and soon had his daughter marry Wang. See Wangyin jinshu 王隱晉書 vol. 7 “Wang Xizhi” 王羲之; Shishuoxinyu jianshu 世說新語箋疏, vol. Zhong shang 中卷上, “Yaliang” 雅量.

## CHAPTER ONE

Chinese people. In “The Current Situation of The Nationals” 國民現狀 (Figure 1.16), for instance, the Chinese people are represented by a severely afflicted man who reposes on a cotton quilt. The many bandages applied to his body signify disasters that China was experiencing during that time, such as draughts, floods, locust plagues, mutinies, and the like. In other words, the unfortunate man epitomizes the tragic condition of China’s ordinary people who could do nothing but suffer in anguish.



Figure 1.16 The Current Situation of the Nationals (*SZRB*, 2 September 1908).



Figure 1.17 Thousands of Boils and Holes (*SZRB*, 9 December 1907).

The shirtless man also refers to the nation itself. In “Thousands of Boils and Holes” 千百瘡孔 (Figure 1.17), a man not wearing a shirt is covered with medical plasters that represent wounds inflicted on him during recent diplomatic conflicts. The one on the belly, for example, signifies disputes over the Suhangyong railroad 蘇杭甬鐵路. The people in Suzhou 蘇州 and Hangzhou 杭州 opposed the government’s taking out foreign loans to construct the railway. The people’s resistance against raising money to complete the railroad infuriated the English company, leading to and then igniting a diplomatic collision.<sup>41</sup> The caricature unmasks the torments of the man caused by an array of diplomatic disputes. The contrast of the ease and calmness of his demeanor is doubtlessly the least he can experience.

Another caricature based on the same icon points to China’s attempts to achieve escapism from ongoing encounters with foreign conflicts (Figure 1.18). The untitled caricature portrays the serenity of the shirtless man, sleeping, immersed in his dreams, while endangering China’s

<sup>41</sup> More discussion about the Suhangyong Railway would be done in Chapter Four.



## CHAPTER ONE

national security as he sleeps, oblivious to the approaching foreign threats. The sleeping man allows others to convert his chest into a chess board for playing games. The man's ridiculous pose, according to the caption, results from his ignorance about impending attacks by foreigners. Escapism, the caricature points out, cannot mitigate – only aggravate – the situation.



Figure 1.18 Untitled (SZRB, 26 August 1907).

Several other late Qing caricatures reference much earlier traditional paintings, such as “Ghosts Amusement Scroll” 鬼趣圖 by Luo Ping 羅聘 (1733-1799). Luo, who lived in the mid-Qing dynasty, was the youngest and best-known painter of Yangzhou Baguai 揚州八怪 (Eight Monsters in Yangzhou). Luo's figure paintings, characterized by odd and unusual portrayals of human figures, are extremely simple images that emphasize distinctive features. Based on those traits, many scholars recognize Luo's work as examples of pre-modern Chinese caricatures. (Bi and Huang 1986, 4; Li 1978, 225-226; Gan 2008, 30)

Typical of Luo's eccentric style, he claimed to see ghosts that he sketched as eight paintings for the “Ghost Amusement Scroll.” Together, the paintings depict a blurred, obscure world inhabited by ghosts whose gloomy and grotesque appearances assume human relationships in everyday life, such as master-servant, a loving couple, friends, and so on. Hence, “Ghost Amusement Scroll” is arguably considered to be essentially a political and social lampoon. Representations of ghosts inhabiting the human world are attributed to *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* 聊齋誌異, a renowned collection of Chinese ghost stories published in the mid-Qing dynasty, slightly earlier than the scroll. Luo's eight drawings, according to much research, attempted to unveil the dark side of the blossoming golden age of Emperor Xianlong 乾隆 (1735-1796), including a corrupt bureaucracy, trite feudal ethics and rites, long-standing slavery, and the like. The scroll was considered to be so idiosyncratic that it created a sensation in its day and afterwards has attracted many generations of intellectuals who have studied its inscriptions. (Gan 2008, 30-31; Li 1978, 225-227; Bi and Huang 1986, 4-7)

## CHAPTER ONE



Figure 1.19 New Ghost Amusement Scroll (*MLB*, May 1911).

The late Qing caricature “New Ghost Amusement Scroll” 新鬼趣圖 (Figure 1.19) appears to reference Luo’s original scroll painting. Published in Shanghai-based newspaper, *Minlibao* 民立報 (People’s Rise Daily, hereafter *MLB*), this caricature features a gigantic figure of Zhong Kui 鍾馗, the mythical king of the ghosts who is also portrayed in Luo’s scroll, riding a bicycle and chasing three small ghosts.<sup>42</sup> The caricature conveys three meanings. First, it reminds audiences of Luo’s original “Ghost Amusement Scroll,” implying the later 1911 drawing parallels Luo’s painting by ridiculing political and social wickedness. Second, “the new” 新 in the caption, however, indicates that the era depicted by the caricature is different from the one in Luo’s painting. The word “new” during that time often meant positives but the caricature shows its probable negative side. Third, Luo’s original scroll was painted in the most prosperous time of the mid-Qing dynasty and featured ghosts for the purpose of revealing the gloomy facets of prosperity. By comparison, the late-Qing caricature was published 150 years later in a turbulent time when “The New Ghost Amusement Scroll” was meant to insinuate that the real world and the underworld were indistinguishable for ghosts and humans.

The caricature spotlights an amusing apparatus, a huge bicycle that had been introduced to China by the West but not yet experienced by most Chinese people. The legendary king of ghosts is a hybrid of the West and the East in that he wears a traditional robe, and carries a sword, and roams around on a western transport tool, a bike. This newfangled vehicle

---

<sup>42</sup> According to Li Chan (1978: 81-90), paintings of ghosts and Gods is one kind of traditional Chinese caricature. Ghosts often symbolize evil, insidious, cunning, and crooked people. To present this motif, Chinese caricaturists employed in their drawings a famous folktale “Zhong Kui Capture Ghosts” 鍾馗抓鬼. These drawings cannot be recognized as history-story paintings or as religious paintings because, in most cases, they include allegorical and satirical connotations. Therefore, the Zhong Kui pictures 鍾馗圖 evolved into a embryonal type of early Chinese caricatures. As Zhong Kui has long been acknowledged as the God of Ghosts in Chinese tradition, Chinese caricatures around the turn of the century utilized his image and metaphor to lampoon social and political absurdities, revealing underlying evils. Chapters Five and Seven will demonstrate additional caricatures that invoked Zhong Kui’s symbolic power to satirize the nation and society.

functioned as an ideal vehicle for him to capture the ghosts that had also been upgraded. Rather than traditional ghosts and devils, as shown in Luo's, painting, "The Ghost Amusement Scroll" that indicated Zhong Kui in the late Qing needed to assassinate other new-style ghosts, such as opium-smoking and mahjong-gambling that for years had plagued the country. In Chapter Five, we will see Zhong Kui's imagery of expelling ghosts used to discard Chinese bad habits and circulated across China (Figure 5.29 and Figure 5.30). The combination of the new western apparatus, the new-style ghosts, and the traditional figure Zhong Kui enhance the humorous effects of pictorial playfulness. Also reflected is the fever of westernization to the extent that even the Chinese King of Ghosts had to make himself better in order to do his job.<sup>43</sup>

Altogether, the "lying down man" and the "New Ghost Amusement" drawings demonstrate how Chinese caricaturists cleverly exploited and modified contemporary visual conventions to portray rapidly changing political and social events. The conventional images enabled the audience to understand easily the caricaturists' intentions when applied to well-known visual connotations.

### 1.3.2 Caricatures: Chinese Dramas on the Contemporary Political Stage

The Chinese caricaturists, in order to make their caricatures comprehensible, applied another visual art, dramas, to their caricatures. Caricaturists often caricature the then-current political events by referencing Chinese traditional drama. In so doing, the caricaturists utilized dramatic story and the historical allusion to make caricatures comprehensible. "New Stealing the Magic Bell" 新盜魂鈴 (Figure 1.20), for example, insinuates that the Qing government signs fake peace treaties. The caricature is based on the drama "Stealing the Magic Bell" 盜魂鈴, a story excerpted from *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (Journey into the West), that describes Zhubajie 豬八戒, one of the main characters, who was incarnated through the spirit of a pig, confronts a female monster while scouting a mountainous area. Zhubajie discovers the female monster has a magic bell that can seize someone's spirit and steal it when the monster is not paying attention. To Zhubajie's astonishment, the bell he stole is fake and, therefore, he has to run away. The female monster chases him with the real magic bell. Not until Sunwukong 孫悟空 (the Monkey

---

<sup>43</sup> The caricatural motif of discarding evil can also be traced through another avenue. In Chapter Five, I will showcase a 1909 *Tokyo Puck* caricature likening a rooster to sunlight expelling all the ghosts hidden in the dark. This caricature was swiftly imitated by Chinese caricaturists on multiple occasions. For further discussion, refer to Chapter Five, pages 335-338.

## CHAPTER ONE

King) with great magical powers, who is Zhubajie's companion, appears to save him is Zhubzjie able to avoid a fatal disaster.



Figure 1.20 New Stealing the Magic Bell (SZRB, 2 February 1911).

The caricature “New Stealing the Magic Bell” 新盜魂鈴 (Figure 1.20) contextualizes the ancient myth in late Qing China by converting the stage comedy into a farce of the real world. As it turns out, what Zhubajie steals are peace treaties instead of the magic bell, and while escaping with the treaties from the female monster's cave, he is chased by a group of other monsters that represent foreign powers 列強. It is ironic that someone has to be a thief to steal peace treaties. Yet, even with a peace treaty in hand, Zhubajie remains the target of foreign powers. The treaties, as the caricature implies, mean nothing in such turbulent times, foreshadowing a pessimistic future for China. Meanwhile, the preposterous situation seemingly perplexes the Monkey King, who stands high on a rock not knowing what to do.

From 1914 to 1918, *Xinwenbao* 新聞報 (News Daily, hereafter *XWB*) published a number of caricatures that deploy the image of the theater. Ma Xingchi, a chief caricaturist at that time, enthusiastically portrayed politicians as actors on the stage being watched by an audience of ordinary people. He animates the chaotic political conditions by adopting multiple forms of performance, such as a single-character-play, a comic play, and even a western performance of the circus, all kinds of performances that transform China into an allegorically boisterous theater. Among the caricatures, Ma also “stages” several traditional dramas. “The Feast of Plum Wine” 青梅宴, for instance, is the enactment of a story in *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Romance of the Three-Kingdoms). In “The Feast of Plum Wine,” Cao Cao 曹操 plans to seize the throne of the Han Dynasty with little regard for Liu Bei 劉備, who moved to the countryside as a farmer, ostensibly caring nothing about politics. Cao invites Liu to a feast where newly-made plum wine is served. In order to sound out Liu Bei's real intentions, Cao praises Liu as

## CHAPTER ONE

a hero just like Cao considered himself to be. The plausible compliment frightens Liu so much that he drops his chopsticks because, in fact, Liu was secretly plotting to overthrow Cao along with other political figures. Fortunately, at the very same moment that Liu drops the chopsticks, there is a streak of lightning and clap of thunder. Immediately, Liu confides in Cao his terror of lightning that caused him to behave so impolitely. Fearing that Cao's suspicions might be aroused, Liu extricates himself from the feast in an emergency chase of a traitor. Not until after Liu leaves does Cao ascertain Liu's scheme to topple him but, by then, it is too late for Cao to pursue and capture Liu.



Figure 1.21 The New Feast of Plum Wine (*XWB*, 26 March 1917).

The caricature, “The New Feast of Plum Wine” 新青梅宴 (Figure 1.21), mixed the story of *Sanguoyanyi* and the 1917 Russian Revolution to warn the then-current Beiyang government. The lightning serves as both an alarm for the autocrats as well as an occasion to change the international status of China in the world. The caricature ostensibly narrates a past event but actually admonishes the Beiyang government by pointing out that a revolution might again become a threat if corruption and autocracy continued. Sketches of such complicated international and domestic events as obviously represented in the case of “The New Feast of Plum Wine” 新青梅宴, demonstrate how the traditional drama helped transmit mordant political messages to early twentieth century Chinese audiences.

In the sections above, through an examination of adaptations of traditional paintings and theatrical dramas, I demonstrated how caricaturists drew inspiration from various conventional visual arts to foreground the qualities of caricatures. Before concluding this chapter, I would like to turn from the images themselves to those who produced them, Chinese caricaturists of the time, a group of people who were often silent in history. To know them, the procedures used above to define caricatures offer valuable clues that pertain also to the caricaturists themselves, regardless of the extent to which they were consciously aware of the connections between history and their caricatures. My argument is that perspectives of Chinese caricaturists

were shaped by their roles as visual historiographers, to which multiple historical and aesthetic factors contributed.

## **1.4 Painting History: Caricaturists as Historiographers**

During this time, the caricaturists utilized many traditional texts and visuals to define the caricatures. While, at the same time, they also used the caricatures and their title to define their roles to the readers. It was not until the late 1920s, when the first cartoon association was founded, that Chinese caricaturists became a distinct and known group. In the manifesto of the association, they clearly defined themselves and pronounced their tasks as cartoonists (Bi and Huang 1986, 82-86; Gan 2008, 109-111). By contrast, their seniors who hewed a path in the domain of caricatures before 1920 remained mostly faceless and voiceless except for very few whose work has been studied. By contrast, members of the cartoon association are recognized as caricaturists and have been mentioned in many related studies that recognize almost all of their peers.

Importantly, the number of different names appearing on the caricatures suggests that many painters were engaged in this new emerging career. However, the lack of biographical information and, in some cases anonymity of the caricaturists, makes it difficult to grasp how they perceived their caricatures or themselves as caricaturists. As a result, for contemporary audiences, most caricaturists of the late Qing were simply names.

Due to the sparsity of historical literature, how early caricaturists presented and defined the images they drew also remains unknown except for inferences based on their work. Therefore, as researchers we rely on the captions, the advertisements, and the editorial commentary to create an aperture for us to imagine the caricaturists as professionals and how they may have pondered their status and contributions as a group. The term “huajihua” (comical pictures) and references to caricaturists in “Biographies of Court Jesters,” and Records of The Grand Historian suggest that a kinship existed between Chinese caricaturists and Chinese historiographers, the latter regarded as a respectful profession with a long-standing tradition. As a consequence, it is not surprising that the unnamed caricaturists bestowed on themselves the collective imagery of historiographers, a profession that was respected in particular for recording historical events truthfully and judging objectively their own contributions and mistakes in life, which, in brief, sums up what Chinese caricaturists also endeavored to do.

## CHAPTER ONE

The Chinese literary legacy is noteworthy in that it may offer an historical and aesthetic answer as to why the caricaturists likened their job to writing contemporary history. Literary and philosophical works, established as a standard convention by Chinese intellectuals, were profoundly influenced by the tradition of historiography as evidenced by Chinese novels. As a Chinese literary scholar, Chen Pingyuan (2010, 200-208, 279-285), noted that “the New Novel” 新小說 was promoted by the late Qing intellectuals and adopted as a narrative form of social history 社會史. This literary genre recorded then-current radical changes in society and politics in China that had never happened previously. Therefore, to represent the late Qing era of turbulence, the authors incorporated into their novels contemporary affairs for describing details of current events. In that way, the novelists deceptively claimed some fictional scenarios as actual events but also demonstrated the critical spirit of Shishi 詩史 (poetic history). That is, the authors’ obsession with history aimed to create the authenticity of fiction. In short, the new novels were characterized as shifts between history and literature

While much research has been directed toward the relationship between novels and historiographies in China at the turn of the twentieth century, few studies have focused on the relationship between other creative forms and historiographies. In addressing that gap in the research, “huashi” (Painting History) offers evidence that historiography also influenced visual expressive forms, such as caricatures. The caricatures drew on current events, in a sense as “historical facts”, similar to social-history novels that transformed current events into storylines (Chen, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo xushi moshi de zhuanbian* 2010, 203). Thus, caricaturists exhibited their own knowledge about political and social incidents by including contemporary news that Chinese authors also employed for their novels. However, a basic distinction between the novel and the caricature needs to be addressed. The novel, as literature, was essentially fictional while, in contrast, the caricatures, as a visual form of journalism aimed to be “real.” Chinese novelists intentionally blurred the line between the real and the fictional while Chinese caricaturists asserted authenticity by seeking to depict reality - although in a distorted way. In short, these two genres are both strategically associated with history, each attempting to gain recognition among Chinese audiences.

Seen in this light, the two main differences between Chinese caricaturists and their predecessors of historiographers should be noted. First, Chinese caricaturists delineated history not in words but in drawings. Second, the “history” they illustrated always related to the present rather than to the past.

## CHAPTER ONE

The caricaturists, as historiographers, recorded “the present history,” a derived from the term “畫史” (Painting History), a caption that was used for caricatures in the early 20th century. For example, from 1907 to 1908, *Shenbao* published a series of caricatures referred to as Huanshi 畫史 (Painting History). Judging from that title, then-current Chinese readers might have anticipated that the series would relate to historical events and stories. However, after reading the content they would realize the images contrasted with their expectations. The “history” sketched by the caricaturists was actually that of contemporary events. Among 225 caricatures in *Shenbao*’s series of caricatures, Huashi deals with a variety of political and social issues of chaos that marked the final years of the Imperial era.

Take, for example, constitutionalism. As mentioned earlier, in 1907, the petitions for constitutionalism were launched in China, indicating the public’s strong lack of trust in the Qing government. Figure 1.22 lampoons the Qing court for its indecision about whether to support constitutionalism. The caricature compares the Qing constitutionalism to a gramophone that a son and a father listen to together. The irony derives from their conversation. The son, hearing the gramophone emit words about “constitutionalism,” asks his father if someone is hiding inside the machine. Instead of giving a direct response, the father responds with a question that equates empty words inside the gramophone with the inevitable failure of constitutionalism to achieve political reform.



Figure 1.22 Untitled (*Shenbao*, 4 June 1907).

A similar caricature published in February 1908 draws an analogy between illusions and constitutionalism (Figure 1.23). Holding a piece of paper with two characters “lixian” 立憲 (constitutionalism) written on them, two men do nothing but sit with their eyes closed and legs crossed. The position links constitutionalism to spiritual meditation (“shenyou” 神遊), which lampoons the anticipated political movement as sheer fantasies above men’s heads. In other words, meditation is the only way for Chinese people to experience constitutionalism.



## CHAPTER ONE



Figure 1.23 Constitutionalism by Spiritual Meditation (*Shenbao*, 10 February 1908).

In a broad context, satirical pictures from pre-modern times can also be seen as depictions of “history.” However, examining the visual examples presented in various versions of *the History of Chinese Cartoons* (Bi and Huang 1986; Gan 2008; Li 1978), it becomes apparent that the worlds depicted by pre-modern painters’ brushes featured vagueness and metaphor, very often lacking a direct and overt reference to specific events. Instead of serving as conduits for immediately conveying contemporary events, these paintings functioned primarily as the artistic expressions of the painters. Their historiographies embody internal lyrical articulations, different from the emphasis on external narrative reportage seen in the work of Chinese caricaturists around the turn of the twentieth century. Such the position the pre-modern painters retained between the secular and spiritual worlds reflects, as Gan (2008, 36) points out, an aesthetic and ethical convention that Chinese traditional painters refrained from involving themselves and even their artworks in this profane world.

Secularity led Chinese caricatures to cover general social issues within their portrayals of contemporary history, in addition to political themes. Figure 1.24 unmasks the absurdity of contemporary education. Sitting on a chair, a child is forced by an adult to swallow a book. On the ground are three more books waiting to be consumed: “boshishu” 博士書 (Books by the literate Officials), “shengrenshu” 聖人書 (Books by the Sages), and “hanlinshu” 翰林書 (Books by the literati). The books represent Chinese knowledge that students are required to learn in the imperial academy with a view toward becoming an official, a sage, or a scholar. During a time of a rapid change in education and examinations, the caricature points out that the late Qing education system had descended into meaningless chaos, that was victimizing children vulnerable to that mode of education.

## CHAPTER ONE



Figure 1.24 Untitled (*Shenbao*, 18 May 1907).

Chinese novelists shared similar sentiments. Li Baojia 李寶嘉 (1867-1906), the pivotal satirist in the late Qing, in the preface to his novel, *Wenmingxiaoshi* 文明小史 (A Short History of the Civilization) declares that the book intends to present biographies of his contemporaries who were engaged in political reform and seeking change and innovation.<sup>44</sup> Li concludes his preface with a poem that refers to Sima Qian 司馬遷 and Dong Hu 董狐. Qingma Qian, as mentioned earlier, was the author of *Records of the Grand Historian*, while Dong Hu was his successor in the Chunqiu Era, someone that Confucius praised for his uprightness in recording history and revealing evil without fear. The poem referring to two crucial historiographers seems to serve as a disclaimer for Li to prevent readers from applying a strict inspection of his own book as measured by high standards used for actual history books. Yet, essentially though implicitly, the reference to the two crucial historiographers insinuates the social status and political responsibilities of a novelist, or we can also say, of a satirist (Lin 1980, 93-94).

In a nutshell, most caricaturists were initially apprenticed as traditional painters, not taught to produce “huajihua” (comical pictures) for newspapers. Among the mainstream Chinese paintings, “huajihua” was often regarded as eccentric. The caricaturists’ close association with history might have distinguished them from their training as traditional painters, or put in another way, from their status as traditional painters. The features of caricatures foregrounded the caricaturists’ unique social role of supervising the government and criticizing politics. Especially during times of social and political turbulence, Chinese caricaturists were writing their own “historical books” with visual symbols that blended a humorous style with a critical spirit.

---

<sup>44</sup> Chapter Two will discuss more about Li Baojia and his another significant novel *Guachang xianxingji* 官場現形記 (Exposure of officialdom).

## 1.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined how Chinese caricatures exemplify asymmetry in recognition of a given art form that was transformed by cultural actors involved. Chinese caricaturists adopted various ways to define the newly developing visual product and make it understandable for Chinese audiences. I demonstrated three manners that Chinese caricaturists (or editors) adopted to reveal the essence and functions of the painting genre in Chinese newspapers, for which the ancient artform and traditional knowledge served as crucial props to familiarize audiences with caricatural expressions. First, caricatures of the early stage relied largely on texts to explain the visual meanings. The texts ranged from titles and advertisements for pictorial contributions to lengthy coverage of new features or pictorial explanations. The terms or texts reveal how the caricaturists regarded this newly rising painting genre in China, a primary definition of caricatures in the Chinese sense.

Besides textual props, Chinese caricaturists also invoked visual elements to highlight the funniness of caricatures as well as their piercing characteristics. As most caricaturists of the time were initially trained to be traditional painters, it is not surprising to find that many caricatures were adapted from traditional paintings, such as “Paintings of One’s Reclining 高臥圖” demonstrated in this chapter. The transformation from artistic expression to satirical purpose may have increased the audience’s awareness of the caricatural effect. Stock images representing justice and possessing magic power were used to embody the caricature’s visual potency. For example, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, the King of Ghost, often appears to expel the ghosts that symbolize evil and wrong in the secular world. The association between caricatures and Zhong Kui can also be seen as a visual definition. We can observe the amalgamation of different entertaining forms used to introduce caricatures to the Chinese readership. Chinese caricatures connected to theater performances by absorbing the expressive forms and stories of theater plays. The former likens viewing caricatures to enjoying a play while the latter modifies ancient stories with new meanings. As the theater was the most popular form of entertainment in the early twentieth century, the intermedia effects may have helped to facilitate communication between the caricatures and the masses. It is noteworthy that the textual information defined not only the caricatures but also the caricaturists. This chapter investigated how Chinese caricaturists perceived themselves after embarking on a new career. The *Shenbao* caricatural column, “Huashi” 畫史 (Painting History), suggests that caricaturists compared themselves to historiographers, a traditional, highly respected profession representing truth and justice. Such self-promotion may have helped them to increase public recognition.

## CHAPTER ONE

This chapter examined how caricaturists defined their satirical work and themselves by explaining pictorial information and various drawing techniques. What cannot be ignored is how the caricatures were placed and molded by the socio-political environment. The caricatures gained widespread attention during a time of turbulent reality. Chapter Two continues the focus on the asymmetry of the genre. In particular, I will explore a manner of rendering caricatures legible by showing how the caricaturists situated images within the large-scale cultural frame of mirrors, a metaphor that highlights the essence of the caricatures: to reveal the truth. The overall process of creating caricatures usually involves more than merely drawing current events by including the mirroring of critical national situations.

## Chapter 2

### Situating the Caricatures: Unveiling the Truth

Chapter One illustrates how Chinese caricaturists acquainted the Chinese audience with the functions of caricatures by incorporating traditional ideas encompassing visual and textual elements. Chapter Two further delves into the exploration of Chinese caricaturists' endeavors to define and popularize caricatures by showcasing a specific visual method they employed—utilizing long-established tropes. In Chinese caricatures, it is frequently observed that caricaturists employ the mirror metaphor to illuminate societal and national maladies. These artists cleverly associated the function of caricatures with that of mirrors, drawing parallels between Chinese bronze mirrors and Western optical devices. Both mirrors and caricatures serve the primary purpose of revealing truth.

In this light, the 1907 *Renjing huabao* 人鏡畫報 (Human Mirror Pictorial, *RJHB*) plays a vital role. *RJHB* was published in Tianjin. Among the earliest newspapers that featured caricatures, *RJHB* was known for its invocation of the trope of mirrors to illuminate its publishing goal: the revelation of the truth. In written texts, *RJHB* cited descriptions of mirrors from Chinese classics and historiographies. In illustrations, it published each issue a cover featuring the motif of mirrors. These images reveal contradictions between the visible and the invisible of current events, often regarded as the essence of caricatures.

As early Chinese periodical featuring caricatures, *RJHB*'s usage of mirror images is of great significance. Chinese scholar Tang Hongfeng (2018, 139) has pointed out, when looking into Chinese caricatures, besides the influence of the western caricatural skills, we should also consider China's new request for a new visual language, i.e., the relationship between the art and the reality. Mirrors always represent the reflection of reality. *RJHB* is not the only instance of invoking the mirror metaphor; this pictorial strategy permeated caricatures and newspapers to such an extent that "the Western mirror" was also employed in revealing the truth. These visual languages demonstrate that Chinese caricaturists were keenly aware of cultural and technical innovations swiftly adopted to satirize the Chinese political situation.

This chapter can be divided into two parts. I argue, while situating caricatures in a metaphor of mirrors, Chinese caricaturists located the readers in a realm of the truth, which help readers to understand the caricatures' feature of exposing the truth. The first part discusses the social atmosphere of *Xianxiang* 現形 (Revelation) in the late Qing period. The second part explores the adoption of Chinese bronze mirrors and "Western mirrors" as instruments to reveal the truth.

## CHAPTER TWO

Despite being pictorial elements within the caricatures, these mirrors frame the reader's perception to see beyond superficialities within the caricatures. These images clearly demonstrate caricaturists' cleverness in associating long-standing mirrors metaphor with caricatures' function of revealing the truth with witty and multiple visual endeavors.

### 2.1 In a Time of Xianxiang 現形 (Revelation)

For China, the turn of the twentieth century was a time of revelation. The term, Xianxing 現形 (Revelation), was popular and frequently adopted in essays and books.<sup>45</sup> For example, in 1903, Kang Youwei 康有為, in his book, *Datongshu* 大同書 (The One-World Philosophy), uses the term to describe the emergence of things. In the seventh issue of *Zhejiangchao* 浙江潮 (Zhejiang Tide), a politically and ideologically influential magazine established by Chinese oversea students in Japan, in an essay under the by-line of Fufeng 芙峯, disclosed that China was losing jurisdictions and political rights owing to the unequal treaties (1903, 66). Here, the term xianxing was used to reveal Japan's real intention of invasion into Chinese Dongsansheng 東三省 (Northeastern China).

"Xianxing" appears in the documents regarding constitutionalism, as well. In 1906, the high official Dai Hongci 戴鴻慈 (1853-1910), who was selected as one of five officials to investigate the foreign constitutionalism abroad, delineated the formation of a social ethos using the term in his mission report (Dai August 26, 1906). *Minbao* 民報, however, published an essay that attacked the official envoys (Qufei September 5, 1906). It claimed that the officials made a spectacle of themselves as recorded by accompanying reporters who recorded their "buffoonery". In that essay, xianxing denotes revelation of their ugly performance in foreign countries. In 1907, a group of high officials advocated resuming the imperial examination. Seeing that school education takes much time to cultivate qualified people to serve the nation, the investigating censor 監察御史, Li Zhuoha 李灼華 (? -1945) presented a memorandum to the emperor. He debunked the malpractice of the schooling system and therefore suggested the imperial examination and the schooling education should run in parallel. Xianxing, in his usage, denoted the results of evil influence (Li August 26, 1906).

---

<sup>45</sup> The following information about the term of Xianxing is sourced from "The Database for the Study of Modern Chinese Thought and Literature (1830-1930)", which was developed by the Research Center for Contemporary Chinese Culture at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (edited by Chinese scholar Liu Qingfeng 劉青峰). I would like to send my special thanks to the project office in the National Cheng-Chi University, Taiwan, for assisting in obtaining access to this online archive.

## CHAPTER TWO

In the literary field, contemporary writers showed an obsession with “xianxiang,” in that many novels and novellas included xianxing 現形 or guaixianzhuang 怪現狀. To the extent that Lu Xun dubbed them as black-screen novels 黑幕小說 (heimu xiaoshuo) (1972, 246), the narratives reveled in displaying a series of strange things for both political and commercial purposes (Cai 2012; Li 2013; Lu 1972; Ying [1937] 1966; Wang 1997). Despite criticisms of their excessively coarse and direct literary style, the “revelations” are of great historical significance for registering in abundant detail the then-current Chinese social absurdities (Lin 1980, 67-69). Behind the ostensibly incondite structures, however, the revelations, as the literature scholar Der-Wei Wang puts it, further “lay bare the crisis of value” of the time. The writers “faced a world in which different systems, each with its own truth claim, competed (198).” Their observation on, accommodation to, and manipulation of these values contributed to the novels “Chinese grotesque realism” (Wang 1997, 198-199, 239-251).

Of these novels, the most representative is “Xianxing,” Li Boyuan’s 李伯元 masterpiece (1867-1906) Guanchang xianxingji 官場現形記 (Exposure of Officialdom). In 1902, Liang Qichao started a new literary publication “New Novel” 新小說 and launched the “the revolution in the circle of novel” 小說界革命. Ever since, the status of novels was greatly promoted. Based on the experience of foreign countries, he argued, novel is not any more a trifling reading for leisure but perfect tools to enlighten people and improve public morals (1902, 1-8). It was the first time that the long-existing literary genre was associated tightly with the political purpose so that writing and reading novels could be the way to save the nation (Li 2013, 69-76).

Liang’s ideology on promoting novels soon reverberated among Chinese literati. In the late Qing, the literati writing and publishing novels can be roughly divided into two categories: politician journalists 政治家報人 and professional journalists 職業家報人. The former – politician journalists – made up the main body of the late-Qing journalism, which had a profound influence on politics (Li 2013, 77-97).<sup>46</sup> The latter category of professional journalists was made up of mostly Chinese traditional intellectuals. The turbulent and changing age had failed them in pursuing official careers but led them to the new developing newspaper business that thrived based on the urban readership. While caring about politics, these journalists regarded the selling of novels and commercial profits as first and foremost. Their novels are hence less aggressive and political.

---

<sup>46</sup> Despite similar political backgrounds, the journalists, based on their different aspirations, are divided into two groups: the reformist 改良派 and the revolutionist 革命派.

## CHAPTER TWO

As the originator of Chinese tabloids 小報之父, Li Boyuan doubtlessly is attributed as belonging to the latter group. He is also recognized by his real name, Li Boujia 李寶嘉. In his youth, he was a Zhousheng 諸生, someone who passed the imperial examination at the lowest level in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Yet, owing to his failure in the national examination, he gave up an official career and turned to the newspaper business. In 1896, he arrived in Shanghai and worked as an editor in *Zhinanbao* 指南報. The next year, he established the significant tabloid *Youxibao*, 遊戲報. As the title suggests, *Youxibao* features pleasure and entertainment produced by articles on style and content. The reports and regular rankings of Shanghai courtesans were especially popular among urban readers (Lin 1980, 63-67; Yeh 2007, 214-221; A Ying [1937] 1966, 8-9; Wang 2007, 85-86). Even so, the newspaper still dealt with the political and moral agenda (Wang 2007, 92-122).<sup>47</sup> The opening statement clearly claims the newspaper “allegorically advises people and chastises the evil in the guise of playfulness” (假遊戲之說, 以隱寓勸懲).<sup>48</sup>

In 1901, *Youxibao* was still in ascendancy; then, unexpectedly, Li transferred it to others and started a new newspaper *Shijie fanhuabao* 世界繁華報 (World Vanity Fair). His scope was extended to the world.<sup>49</sup> The reasons why Li made such a decision are diverse; no doubt, his political enthusiasm played an important role.<sup>50</sup> It is contended that Li based his undertaking on transmitting public opinion and enlightening people on *Shijie fanhua bao*. When the Qing court decreed a new political reform in 1901, Li saw the shift of political ambience as a good moment to introduce his ideas. Meanwhile, Liang’s “Revolution in the Novel Circle” changed his view of writing. Before 1901, Li held a conservative attitude toward politics. Under the cloak of playing, he derided at and criticized the current events but never really involved in politics. After Liang publicized his manifesto, Li actively took part in innovating the nation by writing. He accommodated his writing style to debunking the government and exposing the national crisis. For instance, *Shijie fanhua bao* serialized a story in the form of tanci 彈詞, “Gengzi guobian tanci” 庚子國變彈詞 (Lyrics of Boxer Rebellion) in 1903. Reconstructing tragic scenes as lyrics, Li encouraged Chinese audiences to strive for national salvation (Ouyang 1994, 88-89). The then-

---

<sup>47</sup> It is noteworthy that *Youxibao*’s editing strategies that wittily associate playing with enlightenment, two seemingly opposite elements.

<sup>48</sup> Li Boyuan, “Lun youxibaozhibenyi” 論遊戲報之本意, *Youxibao*, 25 August 1897.

<sup>49</sup> More information about *Shijie fanhua bao*, see the online database, Early Chinese Periodical Online (ECPO): 世界繁華報 - SHI JIE FAN HUA BAO - WORLD VANITY FAIR : Early Chinese Periodicals Online (ECPO) (uni-heidelberg.de).

<sup>50</sup> Li, of course, had his commercial considerations. The success of *Youxibao* created a rival market of tabloids in Shanghai. To avoid such competition, Li soon established another newspaper, SJFHB, with different features from those of tabloids. In pursuit of novelty, Li showed keen insight for the commercial market by founding SJFHB. See Ouyang (1994: 88).



## CHAPTER TWO

current scholar, A Ying 阿英, praises the work greatly in that it opened up a new type of literary genre with a topical shift. It narrated a whole process of a crucial political incidents rather than highlighting the romances of a gifted scholar and beautiful ladies 才子佳人 (1985, 34).

Exposure of Officialdom is the product of his ideological change. In 1901, Li rejected an official post that had been specially offered to him and decided to live on income from his writing. The refusal of the post, it is argued, reflected his disappointment in the government. At the same time, he started writing *Exposure of Officialdom*, which was serialized in *Shijie fanhua bao* from 1903-1906. Li originally planned 120 chapters but finished only 48 chapters owing to his sudden death caused by tuberculosis in 1906. His friend, Ouyang jiyuan 歐陽巨元 continued to complete this sixty- chapter novel that embodies Liang's belief in the power of novels (Lin 1980, 64). Liang had mentioned the ability of novels to reveal social conditions, such as disgraceful stations in the officialdom, bad habits in the imperial examination, malicious addiction to opium, and cruel foot-binding in one of his 1896 essays (1989, 54). In 1902, Liang restated the point in "Lun xiaoshuo yu qianzhi zhi guanxi". He advocated that the novel had to delineate the reality of life to a degree that brings everything out in its entirety and lays bare the all secrets (Li 2013, 245). Following those principles, *Exposure of Officialdom* illustrates a ridiculous and chaotic officialdom where no characters are innocent and rational. The officials conceive only fame and wealth, far from the people's benefits. They spare no effort in getting promoted and hereafter in receiving bribery. The rich possess official posts through contributing money. The compradors bully the people and Chinese officials by expressing arrogance toward foreign powers. The officials fear the foreigners but oppress their own fellows. The sixty chapters ridicule corruption as serving as a good deal for officials, which "invites" more evil people to the officialdom that supposedly represents justice and unselfishness.

After serialization, *Exposure of Officialdom* enjoyed wide popularity. The characters are implied as devils, ghosts and monsters that damaged the nation (Wang 1997, 201). It is notable that the success of the novel triggered a wave of "revelation". After 1905, society novels 社會小說 became the most popular literary genre in China. Encouraged by the success of works appearing around 1903, such as *Exposure of Officialdom*, these social novels were assumed to expose and condemn evil in society. As mentioned previously, many were entitled as *Xianxing* (Wang 1997, 195). According to Lin Jui-Ming's research, from 1905 to 1911, there were at least five new novels with the name of "the revelation of the officialdom" distinguished by different prefixes. They were "the new" 新, "the sequel 後", and even "the special new 特別新". In addition to the officialdom, other matters were being revealed at the same time. From 1906 to 1911, Chinese writers unveiled

## CHAPTER TWO

at least eleven “circles”, including students 學生, the medical circle 醫界, the family 家庭, the gentry 紳董, visiting brothels and gambling 嫖賭, the revolutionist ghosts 革命鬼, the newest school 最新學堂, the newest female student circle 最新女學界, dissolute affairs in Shanghai 海上風流, the business circle 商界, and the fashion circle 時髦. The titles construct a world in which everything should be unmasked regardless of the given class of people, a given circle, a location, a bad habit, a popular trend, even the inanimate like ghosts (1980, 95-97). These “revelations,” after all, were literary works in themselves and therefore induced constant criticisms from the intellectuals. For instance, Lu Xun, the most pivotal literary figure of the time, praised their social function of revealing the truth and rectifying the common practice but criticized their artistic style which indulged too much in unduly exposures and catered too much to the taste of readers (1972, 235). In spite of this, the novels molded a mindset for the common assumption that behind the surface always hides a truth, which is often sordid and absurd (Lin 1980, 97).

It is argued that these novels were based on a number of news articles and anecdotes in reference to reality (Lin 1980, 68-90; Ying [1937] 1966, 4-7). As the literary genre was highly accepted, the news reports, in turn, demonstrated similar narratives, as well. The journalists, entitling their reports as *xianxingji* 現形 (revelation), narrated the news as if they were revealing the truth. According to the databases, *wanqi qikan quanwen gujuku* 晚清期刊全文數據庫 (the whole texts in newspapers and periodicals in the Late Qing) and *mingu shiqu qikan quanwen shujuku* 民國時期期刊全文數據庫 (the whole texts in newspapers and periodicals in the Republican Era), from 1900-1911, there were at least six newspapers that referred to their news coverage as *xiangxing*.<sup>51</sup>

The same phenomenon can be seen in significant newspapers, such as *Shenbao*, *Shibao* 時報 (Eastern Times, hereafter *SB*), and *SZRB*, as well. Take for example *Shenbao* from 1903 to 1910. According to the *Shenbao* online database, there are 312 entries if we look up how many texts or titles contain the term “*xianxing*”<sup>52</sup> It can be imagined how often the regular readers of *Shenbao* would have read the term. Not alone, a search conducted randomly for *SZJB* from January to March 1910 produced the following news titles concerning revelation:

The revelation of the academic circle in Jiaqing (嘉慶學界現形記), 1 January 1910

---

<sup>51</sup> These newspapers include *Nanfengbao* 南風報 (The South Breeze Daily, 1911), *Anhui baihuibao* 安徽白話報 (The Anhui Vernacular Newspaper, 1908-1910), *Xiehebao*, 協和報 (The Concorde, 1910-1915), *Huashang lianhao* 華商聯合報 (The Chinese Business United Daily, 1909-1910), *Guangyi congbao* 廣益叢報 (The Spreading Benefits Journal, 1902-1911), and *Zhenguangbao* 真光報 (The True Light Monthly, 1902-1917).

<sup>52</sup> The text includes articles and advertisements. The link for the *Shenbao* online database: <http://www.sbsjk.com> (accessed 11 March 2024).

## CHAPTER TWO

- The revelation of the products association in Huizhou (徽州物產會現形記), 6 January 1910  
The revelation of students affairs in Longyang (龍陽學務現形記), 9 January 1910  
The revelation of the police in Xiangan Town (襄安鎮警察現形記), 11 January 1910  
The many-sided records of revelation of the scholar circle (學界現形片片錄), 23 January 1910  
The revelation of officials and gentlemen in Haizhou (海州官紳現形記), 29 January 1910  
The revelation of the police in Wuhu (蕪湖警察現形記), 21 February 1910  
The revelation of the prostitution circle (嫖界現形記), 23 February 1910  
The revelation of the officialdom in Jiannan (江南官場現形記), 4 March 1910  
The revelation of the sergeant in Huangyan (黃岩武弁現形記), 8 March 1910  
The revelation of the military circle in Anhui (皖省軍界現形記), 19 March 1910

Judging from these titles, it was not unusual in *SZRB* to read news with the title of “The revelation of XXX.” These revelations covered various circles, as the novels did. It is worth noticing also that these revelations clearly referred to the locality. Their titles often began with the locations of the events, including many places around China. Putting the titles altogether, it gives the impression that revelations were taking place everywhere.



Figure 2.1 The Revelation of the Policeman in Hangao (*MXRB*, 14 October 1909).

In the pictorial context, revelations can also be found in news illustrations. Similar to news reports, the news illustrations visualize revelations in different circles and locations. For instance, on 14 October 1909, *MXRB* carried a news illustration entitled “the Revelation of the Police in Hangao” 漢皋警察之現形 (Figure 2.1) that describes details about how a gang of local ruffians set up a gambling stand around the new port in Hankou. The condition became intense especially at night. Many innocent locals fell prey to the ruffians and lost much money. What was worse, local police always stood sentry and received “commissions” from the gambling money. A policeman could make a huge profit daily simply by receiving what he calls “the expense for lights” 燈火之資. The illustrator, Qian Binghe 錢病鶴, portrayed the scandal as two locals gambling with the hooligans, an event observed by a policeman standing off to the side. In addition to

## CHAPTER TWO

reconstructing the crime scene, Qian further highlighted the moment of unmasking the policeman's real face. In the text, the report ends with a question of whether the inspector 巡官 knew about the whole situation 不知該局巡官有所聞否. Yet, Qing adds a detail on the other side of the alley that shows a man reporting the policeman's guilt to the inspector by pointing to him standing and watching the gamblers.



Figure 2.2 The New Exposure of Officialdom (*Minqiang huabao*, 1911).

“The revelation of the officialdom” is also used as the title of a news illustration. In 1911, Shanghai’s *Minqian huabao* 民強畫報 (People’s Strength Pictorial ca. 1912) illustrated a scandal in Haimen 海門 (Figure 2.2). The minister of civil affairs and the civil magistrate visited prostitutes and gambled with the group, forcing an inspector to resign from his post. The incident soon irritated the public. A wave of protest against the two officials erupted; the people sent by telegram to the governor a letter of indignation. The illustration stressed visually the exposure by depicting the moment when the inspector discovered the crime. The inspector, just like ordinary people, can only wonder what is happening outside the house without seeking to find out. The open window functions as an approach to the truth. The image displayed in the frame, like the mirror image, reflects the filthy essence of the officialdom.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.2 Mirrors: The Visual Trope of Revelation

To reveal obviously requires a mirror. In such an ambience of revelation, the caricatures readily provide a mirror that also served as a mirror. Shenbao’s caricature series “Huashi” 畫史 (Illustrating History) published caricatures on the suppression of government bandits. Subtitle of the caricatures is “the revelation of bandits’ suppression” 剿匪現形. For example, the second

<sup>53</sup> Several other exemplary illustrations include “An Election in Xianxing” 選舉咸興記 (*Shishi Xinbao huatu* 時事新報 畫圖, ca.1912) and “the Expóse of the Officialdom” 官僚之現形 (*Huahua xunbao* 黃花旬報, ca. 1914).

## CHAPTER TWO

caricature, published on 11 March 1908, lampoons the government suppression as “chasing the wind and clutching at shadows” 捕風捉影, which achieves nothing in the end. The caricature literally depicts the Chinese idiom. One official raises his hand, trying to catch the wind; the other attempts to seize his own shadow which is ironically marked as bandits. In the same year, *SB* carried a caricature series of “Exposure of Officialdom” (官場現形圖).<sup>54</sup> The first caricature pierces to the official’s hypocrisy. An official is waving his left hand to the front but stretching his right hand to the back to receive a bribe. His hands allude to his two-sided nature.

Before we look into the mirror caricatures, it is necessary to examine the development of the mirror metaphor in China. The mirror, as an object, has a long history in China. Archeologists have found that bronze mirrors already existed as early as the late Neolithic Era. The first book that refers to bronze mirrors is *Chunqiu* 春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals).<sup>55</sup> *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Strategies of the Warring States)<sup>56</sup> recorded events regarding mirrors, as well. Mirrors have also been long associated with lights and illumination because of their function. According to *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters), the character *Jing* 鏡 as used for mirrors indicates light. A mirror is a piece of shiny metal used to illumine things. Chinese polish one side to reflect objects and engrave the other side with simple stripes as decorations. In different dynasties, Chinese made mirrors out of different materials. For example, bronze mirrors were produced in the Zhou dynasty, golden mirrors in the Qin, iron mirrors in the Han, and glass mirrors in the Ming. Similarly, engraving decorations on mirrors appeared to be more and more sophisticated, ranging initially from simple stripes to complicated images, such as flowers, birds, human figures and more (Y. Wang 2009, 45). The material and handicraft of mirrors were gradually improved along with the development of Chinese history. Mirrors have been a part of Chinese daily life for ages.

Intertwined with people’s lives, Chinese mirrors live not only in the form of objects but also as a form of metaphor. Chinese literati repeatedly employed mirrors as a metaphor to disseminate their beliefs and ideas in various fields such as philosophy, religion, art, and literature. As early as the *Chunqiu* *Zhanguo* Era, “mirrors” began to be associated also with the human heart-mind in the words of the sages and classics. Taoists often praised the mirror for its nature of stillness and rightness. It can reflect the surroundings without distortions. A bright mirror is therefore a perfect

---

<sup>54</sup> *SB*, 24 August 1908.

<sup>55</sup> *Chunqiu* 春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals) is the official chronicle of the State of Lu covering the time frame from 722 BC to 481 BC.

<sup>56</sup> *Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策 (Strategies of the Warring States) is a historical work revealing the historical and social characteristics of the Warring States Period from 486 BC to 221 BC

## CHAPTER TWO

model for the human heart-mind. In addition, Confucians also adopted the metaphor as well. Erin Cline compares *Zuangzi's* (莊子) interpretation of mirrors with *Xunzi's* (荀子). The former is a Taoist and the latter, a Confucian. Despite divergent opinions on the function of the human heart-mind, *Xuanzi* still uses the same metaphor (Cline 2008, 337-343). In the Song and Ming dynasties, Confucians explicated their teachings by referring to the mirror metaphor as well (L. Chen 2009, 60-72).

The mirror, since the introduction of Buddhism into China, has signified emptiness and nihilism (Yue 1991, 43-44). In Buddhism, the mirror was a favorite metaphor used to refer to the awakening of a pure mind, which is unstained by ignorance or attachment (Pajin 1996, 1-28). Taoists and Buddhists approve of the connection between the mirror and the human heart-mind. Nevertheless, contrary to Taoists, who stress that mirrors reflect things faithfully and rightly, Buddhists emphasize more the emptiness with which a mirror can contain as many things as possible (Yue 1991, 44). Mirroring is also present in the metaphor and intensifies the association with nihilism. The story of Fazang in the Tong dynasty can explain this. Fazang arranged a hall of mirrors and placed them facing each other. Then he brought in an image of the Buddha and a torch, which were reflected endlessly in the mirrors to show that everything is simultaneously a mirror and an image, representing the relationship between the inward and the outward (Pajin 1996, 8-9). The mirror and mirroring are used to explain the tranquil, serene mind, which reflects totality and explains the principles “all in one and one in all” (Pajin 1996, 9). In other words, it is a widespread Buddhist belief that a human mind should possess a tremendous capacity.

In Chinese traditional paintings, a mirror is both an iconographic component and an indicator of a painter's mind. The Painting of Beautiful Women (Shinuhua 仕女畫), a specific genre of Chinese painting, frequently shows mirrors in a lady's room or in her hands. The mirrors suggest that the expectation that a woman should pay attention to her looks, behave modestly, and restrain herself (Hao 2005, 64). Due to mirrors, mankind can view its own reflection. Chinese painters also draw human reflections in the mirrors of their works (2005, 62). Such pictorial incorporation of the vision of self into the paintings turns out to be a painting technique. By examining two paintings with “mirror images” (jing zhong xiang 鏡中像), a Chinese scholar Hao points out that the tradition of the “human heart-mind as mirror” has influenced the perspective adopted in paintings. Judging from the mirror images, one can find that the paintings display an overall perspective; that is, the images simply illustrate the painters' mental images (2005, 62-63). Hao indicates that the mental images endeavor to call for the viewer's participation in the painting scene which seems fully closed to others. By breaking the sealed world, the mental images create

## CHAPTER TWO

an illusion of time running through the painting, which brings viewers into the scene (2005, 63-64). Interesting enough, such visual presentations of flowing time running and rupture of the closed world of the painting seem opposed to what Taoists believe a perfect heart-mind should be – a balance of stillness.

In Chinese literary works, mirrors have been a motif used throughout history. In ancient China, Chinese writers described mirrors as a tool for reflecting the truth and remonstrating against wrongdoing. In Chinese poems and prose, they frequently illustrated women's lives by vividly depicting female figures and their behavior in front of a mirror (Yan 2007, 57-60). Furthermore, the metaphor of mirrors is used to demonstrate the writer's affections (Zou 2008, 13-15). In Chinese fiction (小說), writers, since the Han dynasty, have been writing stories that utilize mirrors as part of their plots. The collection of short stories, *Gujingji* 古鏡記 (Records of Old Mirrors), completed by Wang Du in the Sui dynasty, contains twelve stories that involved in a mirror that could distinguish ghosts and monsters from human beings. It is regarded as the first Chinese literary work to use a mirror as a character. As Wang Ya (2009, 46-47) analyzed the stories, mirrors in various stories functioned mainly as a tool to reveal who were really monsters and to indicate where the monsters were. Showing reality was their primary job. In the Qing dynasty, Chinese writers emphasized other qualities of mirrors such as emptiness and illusion. Several contemporary studies focused on the mirror metaphor used in *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢 (Dream of the Red Chamber). The author, Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1710-1765), utilized the mirror metaphor in a complicated fashion that challenged the existing concept of reality and falsity, indicating that the secular world is a mirage (Y. Wang 2009, 47-48; Monike 1993, 125-130).

If comparing the metaphor of the mirror in the eastern context with that in the western context, one might realize three attributes of the mirror metaphor used in literature throughout China history. The first attribute is to reflect reality; the second is to refer to emptiness and nihilism. It is worth noticing that the both attributes closely connect not so much with the literary works themselves as with the writers' mind, that echoes ancient Chinese philosophers' convictions (Yue 1991, 43-44). The third attribute, very different from the other two, is to act as an instrument by which one can see his own reflection and become acquainted with the environment surrounding him. Therefore, the person can adjust himself to the world he is in. Mozi (墨子), in his highly respected thesis "Do Not Attack" (Feigong 非攻), states that the "gentleman mirrors himself through people rather than through water. Through water one can only see his reflection, while through people one can foresee the good and the bad in the future." Tangdazong (唐太宗), an emperor in the Tang dynasty, has a similar motto. He explains how to avoid making mistakes by

## CHAPTER TWO

using three kinds of mirrors: the bronze mirror, the mirror of the history and the mirror of the people. “A polished bronze mirror helps one see himself in order to dress appropriately; history as a mirror helps one identify the causes of the rising and falling of everything; other people serve as a mirror and help one see his own gains and losses.” This attribute of the mirror metaphor presents the relationship between subject and object and suggests that human beings shape the “self-I” through the constant observation and imitation of others and society (Yue 1991, 44-46).

Before discussing the use of the mirror metaphor in Chinese caricatures at the turn of the twentieth century, it is necessary to explore a brief picture of the development of the mirror metaphor throughout Chinese history. With this background knowledge, we can realize why and how these images follow the tradition of the mirror metaphor and discover what new attributes were added in this turbulent era. Due to the encounter of the East and the West, certain unprecedented “mirrors” were imported from foreign countries. One example is binoculars, known as Wangyanjing 望遠鏡, which means a mirror whereby one can see a long distance. Because of Chinese caricaturists’ depictions, these foreign “mirrors” were employed and adapted into the Chinese mirror metaphor. In the following paragraphs, I will turn to *RJHB*, an illustrated newspaper that featured a number of mirror images by answering three questions: How did the mirror metaphor work here? What iconographic pattern is used to show the relationship between humans and the mirror? How is the mirror entrusted to satirize the government and society?

### **2.3 Chinese Mirrors as a Visual Motif: *Renjing huabao* 人鏡畫報 (Human Mirror Pictorial)**

In July 1907, two Tianjing-based newspapermen, Wen Shilin 溫世霖 (1870-1935) and Lu Xingnong 陸辛農 (1887-1974), in collaboration with a prestigious scholar, Gu Shudu 顧叔度 (1855-1915), started an illustrated newspaper, *RJHB*. According to the newspaper’s manifesto, the stated goals of *RJHB* were to spread knowledge, to report social reality, and to criticize the government in power at that time. The publication was determined to debunk the evil of the government and the society. As a weekly newspaper, *RJHB* lasted six months and released a total of 24 issues. In every issue, *RJHB* printed a 20-page edition made up of three parts: pictures, texts, and a mixture of both. The picture section included the cover illustration, illustrations of text and caricatures, while the text section contained comical novels, essays, news, scientific briefs,



## CHAPTER TWO

political criticism, social critiques, and similar items. The third section presented news illustrations in the form of images that were popular at the time.<sup>57</sup>

It is worth noting that from the outset, *RJHB* placed high value on reflecting the truth by invoking the long-standing Chinese metaphor of the mirror. The function of mirror evidently visually associated with the function of caricatures. As such, *RJHB* identified itself as the “mirror” of China. *RJHB* featured on its covers highly incisive political drawings. In each of its twenty-four issues, the cover followed a pictorial pattern by which an object satirized was paired with its reflection in a huge mirror, the latter always contradicting the former. The graphical juxtaposition calls the viewer’s attention to “the real face” of the object being portrayed. What appears does not correspond to what actually took place.

### 2.3.1 The Cover



Figure 2.3 The Cover of the First Issue (*RJHB*, 22 July 1907).

The cover of the first issue of *RJHB*, the newspaper’s initial illustration, featured a huge bronze mirror that listed the newspaper title, the publishing date, and the newspaper address plus an official seal of the newspaper (Figure 2.3). The ornate mirror base is decorated with the Chinese character of Jing 鏡 (mirror) on the left. Inscribed on the base of the mirror is the following passage:

It is not necessary to speak with words in order to distinguish beautiful from ugly. One can realize the truth as soon as one stands in front of the mirror. One can be attractive with the help of the mirror; moreover, one can distinguish virtue from evil by seeing the people as the mirror. My Fellows, please keep it in mind, others are able to see through what you hide inside by observing your appearance.

人之好醜，不待言傳，以鏡自照，無或遁焉，以鏡為鏡，祇得媿妍，以人為鏡，自辨妍賢。敬告我同胞，人之視己，如見其肺肝然。

<sup>57</sup> The caricatures, according to Yang’s analysis, are most worthy of our attention. Each issue ran at least three caricatures. Initially, they were called “satirical pictures” and, after the fourteenth issue, “comic pictures.” Drawn mostly by editors and some by contributors, these images spared no effort in lampooning the then-current Qing government. These depictions of the political situation at the time reveal the publication’s fundamental purpose of supporting Chinese nationalism and the political reform movement, see Yang (1999).

## CHAPTER TWO

In fewer than fifty words, the author skillfully called attention to two allusions in describing the function of a mirror: to disclose the truth. The first refers to other people as mirrors. That concept comes from a well-known statement attributed to Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (598-649), the second Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), who is generally considered to have been a wise leader. During his 23-year reign, the Tang Dynasty realized its first golden age, known as Zhenguanzhizhi 貞觀之治 (627-649) (the Prosperity of the Good Government of Zhenguan).<sup>58</sup> Under Taizong's rule, China achieved high levels of prosperity and peace by serving as an important hub for international culture and economic exchanges with other countries. According to historical records, Taizong's prime minister 宰相, Wei Zheng 魏徵, played an important part in implementing those remarkable achievements. Praised as a man who had the courage to disagree with the Emperor, Wei provided Taizong with honest, straight-forward, direct advice. In 643 BC, upon Wei's sudden death due to tuberculosis, Taizong grieved deeply and in a memorial ceremony to honor Wei, Emperor Taizong delivered the following eulogy:

I rectify my dress by using a polished bronze mirror. I identify the causes of the rising and falling of everything by regarding history as a mirror. I understand gains and losses by seeing people as a mirror. Keeping the three mirrors around prevents me from making mistakes. Now Wei Zheng is dead; I have lost one mirror already.

夫以銅為鏡，可以正衣冠；以古為鏡，可以知興替；以人為鏡，可以明得失。朕常保此三鏡，以防己過。今魏徵殂逝，遂亡一鏡矣！

*RJHB* slightly changed Taizong's eulogy by highlighting the connection between Ren 人 and Jing 鏡, the name of the newspaper (Human and Mirror). In the original text, Taizong praised the bronze mirror for its ability to help someone adjust his attire. By altering the text, *RJHB* proclaimed that the newspaper had the power that a highly polished bronze mirror does not possess because by looking at oneself in a mirror, there is nothing to be learned except how to maintain an attractive, superficial exterior. In its focus on the emperor's eulogy, *RJHB* stressed the importance of looking at people's actions as mirrors to reflect on the self. Emperor Taizong originally meant that people would learn much from others' life experience. *RJHB* added a moral overtone by claiming that everyone had to look at other people's behavior as a mirror in order to distinguish virtue from evil.

---

<sup>58</sup> Zhenguan 貞觀 was the regnal title of Tang Taizong. The term is taken from *Yijing ici xia* 易經繫辭 下: "tiandi zhidao, zhenguan zhe ye" 天地之道, 貞觀者也. (The way that Heaven and Earth runs is always the right path), which connotes that the world goes by following certain rules. The rules are so-called righteousness).

## CHAPTER TWO

The second allusion was taken from *Daxue* 大學 (Great Learning), one of Four Books 四書 of Confucianism, originally used to illustrate doctrines and beliefs. The last two sentences of the newspaper's mission statement, “人之視己，如見其肺肝然” (Others are able to see through what you hide inside by observing your appearance), are quoted from an essay in the *Daxue*, entitled “Shi chengyi 釋誠意” (to explain sincerity). The essay explains that to avoid self-deception one must ensure sincere intention and be truthful to himself “誠其意，毋自欺.” To be a gentleman 君子, one must always behave with caution even when alone 必慎其獨. By contrast, a petty man who lacks a noble character easily commits all sorts of sins when he stays at home and is idle. When the petty man confronts a gentleman, the petty man tends to conceal his viciousness and to manifest goodness. Nevertheless, the gentleman can still detect the petty man's true character as if the petty man's liver and lungs were visible under the skin. As a result, it is no use for the petty man to pretend. 人之視己，如見其肺肝然諛，則何益也. In conclusion, the *Daxue* essay argues that one must be careful about his own behavior even when alone because a person's true character is always visible to others, although he may assume that what he thinks on the inside will not affect his outward appearance, regardless of how hard he tries to cover up or disguise himself. 此謂誠於中，形於外，故君子必慎其獨也.<sup>59</sup>

*RJHB*'s mission statement elaborates on the allusion to the petty man's character to strengthen its point about how the actions of other people serve as a mirror to remind the readers of being careful about their own behavior. Though not directly referring to mirrors, the essay nevertheless touches upon the idea of truthfulness. In the Confucian view, sincerity corresponds to truthfulness. An individual can be divided into two parts, exterior and interior. The exterior always reflects the true interior of the person. From that perspective, it is unlikely that someone can hide his or her quality of deception even though he is dishonest only to himself. In that way, a person's appearance makes known to others his or her inner nature, thereby functioning like a mirror.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> As for detailed discussion about how *Daxue* defines and uses the term “chengyi” (sincerity). see: Chen (2015, 113-164).

<sup>60</sup> The concept of Renjing 人鏡 is from the Chinese classics of *Guoyu* 國語 and *Shangshu* 尚書 that will be mentioned in the founding statement. Here, the text on the mirror, when describing revelation of the inner nature, adopts the image of seeing through a human's body, suggesting the newspaper has a responsibility to dig out or penetrate China's hidden secrets.

### 2.3.2 The Founding Statement 發刊辭

In its inaugural issue, the *RJHB*'s founding statement explained in detail how the newspaper planned to serve as a mirror to the Chinese public. The editor employed the format of a dialogue between *benguan zhuren* 本館主人 (the owner of the newspaper) and a guest. Their conversation revolves around the question of whether a mirror can function well in troubled times. The guest compliments the new publication for its content but is critical of the title of *Renjing*. Based on the guest's travels, he had discovered that the mirror in China had long since lost its ability to reflect China's political situation. Even though each provincial government officer had hanging in his office a board with the inscription "A bright mirror is hung high" 明鏡高懸, the guest observed that China's world remained dark and obscure without blue sky. In despair, the guest totally disagreed that *RJHB* was entitled to describe itself as a mirror, because, by definition, China's mirror had become dysfunctional.

The guest's comment sparked intense debate about the essence of a mirror. In the owner's opinion, a mirror, by its very nature, is always transparent. "The odor of bronze" 銅臭 is the factor that deprives a mirror of its brightness.<sup>61</sup> The guest disagrees, pointing out that he had observed many mirrors made of crystal-clear substances that did not work at all once hung in a court of law 公堂. Responding to the guest, the owner asserts that the dysfunction of mirrors results from "the air of gold and jewelry" 金銀珠寶之氣, rather than from "the odor of bronze." He then criticizes the guest's viewpoint on blaming a mirror for its blurriness simply as an unwise and superficial argument 目睫之論, 耳食之見. The owner points out that there are two kinds of mirror: visible and invisible. The visible mirror is not covered by "the odor of bronze," but easily controlled by "the air of gold and jewelry." It is often seen in political circles but rarely among innocent and sinless ordinary people" 民間清白之家. By contrast, the invisible mirror is so sparkling clean and translucent as to reflect everything clearly and precisely 鑒物無所遁形, representing disinterested objectivity without being tainted by bias or prejudice.

The owner continues to debunk then-current chaos in society. China is undergoing "the transitional period" 過渡時代; all the corruption, barbarianism and stubbornness of the conservatives should be noted for memorization. The reformists are, nevertheless, still childish and disorganized. The nation therefore becomes crowded with villains and absurdities so that he

---

<sup>61</sup> Tongchou 銅臭 (the odor of copper) is often a derogatory term for money, but in this article, tongchou 銅臭 should be seen as "the odor of bronze", the material composing mirrors, in contrast to the ensuing expression "the air of gold and jewelry," which represents wealth and money.

## CHAPTER TWO

cannot foresee a promising future for China. To reverse the miserable situation, the owner regards *RJHB* as the last mirror in the world that leads the nation to a transparent and brighter future. The newspaper illustrates “the picture of society” 社會圖, similar to the famous novel, *Exposure of Officialdom* 現形記, that exposed corruption by pulling back the “black curtain” and awakening the people to the reality of current events.

In conclusion, the owner expressed his conviction that *RJHB* would be able to guide the nation and society along the right path. To further clarify this point, he cited the idea that “people should take human, not water, as a mirror” from the Chinese classic, *Shangshu* 尚書 and *Guoyu* 國語 (Kong 1974; Zuo 1980).<sup>62</sup> The adoption of the ancient idea, *renjing* 人鏡 (Human Mirror), the name of the newspaper points to the central spirit of the newspaper and most importantly, serves as a catalyst to the national salvation.<sup>63</sup>

This section has examined the concept of the discourse on qualities, function, and importance of the mirror metaphor as described on the cover and in the founding statement. So, how would reality and truth be revealed by “the invisible mirror” as portrayed by the next twenty-three issues of the *RJHB* newspaper? The second section of this chapter analyzes the theory of the mirror motif, supported by the fact that the caricatures illustrate “spatial asymmetries” that visually epitomize China’s political, economic, and social conflicts in the late Qing dynasty: the contradictions between the appearance of what was going on and what was actually happening.

### 2.3.3 The Chinese Visions: The Karma Mirror 業鏡

Juxtaposed to *RJHB*’s text-based advice to regard people as a mirror is the illustration on the cover that portrays an allegorical bronze mirror, known in traditional Chinese history as the Karma Mirror 業鏡 (Yejing) (Figure 2.4). The Karma Mirror is a religious object, described in Buddhist classics starting as early as the Six Dynasty 六朝 (222-589) and later adapted into the Taoist classics of the Song and Yuan Dynasties (960-1368). In the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368-1912), the folk religious literature, *Baojian* 寶卷, frequently carried essays about the Karma Mirror. In the beginning, according to Buddhist classics, the Karma Mirror resided in Heaven and

---

<sup>62</sup> *Shangshu* jiukao 尚書 酒誥: “Guren youyanyue: renwuyu shuijian, dangyu minjian “古人有言曰: 人無於水監, 當於民監. (The ancient says: people should take people rather than water as their mirrors.) *Guoyu* wuyu 國語 · 吳語: “Wangqihyijianyuren, wujianyushui” 王其盍亦鑒於人, 無鑒於水. (My Lord, why do you not replace water with people to function as your mirror?) These words testify to the fact the Chinese literati in the ancient time had already advocated the idea of “people as mirrors.” See Kong (1974, 49) and Zuo (1980, 598).

<sup>63</sup> “Renjing huabao zhi fakanci” 人鏡畫報之發刊辭 (the founding statement of Human Mirror Pictorial), *RJHB*, no. 1 (1907): n. pag.

## CHAPTER TWO

functioned only to reflect objects. Later, the Karma Mirror was said to reside also in Hell where it could reveal a person's dark conduct. Because of its magical power, the Karma Mirror was able to play a role in posthumous trials of the deceased. Without it, the Gods of the Underground 冥官, such as Yama, would not be able to calculate the merits and demerits of the deceased and decide whether that individual deserved to be rewarded or punished. As a result, no one who was examined under the scrutiny of the Karma Mirror could lie about his or her behavior (Jiang 2009, 23-55). In that way, the Karma Mirror symbolizes morality in the Chinese context and the religious classics often encourage people to act benevolently while at the same time warning them to refrain from engaging in wrongdoing. Chinese literature, dating back to the Song Dynasty (960 AD), opened with a detailed plot having to do with a moral dilemma (Jiang 2009, 36-41).



Figure 2.4 Chinese Hell (*Yulizhibaochao chuanshi*, 1906)<sup>64</sup>

Images of the Karma Mirror appear in religious classics and among early cave paintings. The images illustrate the scene of a trial when the mirror exposes crimes committed by the dead. Linked to the revealing moment is the message: Death is not the end. Rather, it marks the onset of eternal judgment and punishment. Take *Yuli zhibaochao chuanshi* 玉曆至寶鈔勸世 for example. *Yuli zhibaochao chuanshi* is a Taoist book published in 1906, one year prior to the first issue of the *RJHB* newspaper, that carried a similar visual presentation of two mirror images).<sup>65</sup> The text of *Yuli zhibaochao chuanshi* accompanying the mirror illustration describes Chinese Hell, explaining that in the first layer of Hell stands a huge round Niejingtai 孽鏡台 (Evil Mirror), above

<sup>64</sup> The image is taken from Jiang (2019, 51).

<sup>65</sup> *Yuli zhibaochao chuanshi* 玉曆至寶鈔勸世 has other names such as *Yulibachao* 玉曆寶鈔 or *Yuli* 玉曆. “Yuli” 玉曆 is a travelogue purportedly written by a Song-dynasty Taoist, Danchi 淡癡, based on his journey in hell. He exhaustively documents the landscape of the nether world, including the all gods, all ghosts, and various punishments and treatments after one's death. *Zhibaochao* 至寶鈔 or *baozhao* 寶鈔 (a valuable manuscript) denotes the preciousness of the travelogue for recording such awakening experiences. *Chuanshi* 勸世 (exhortation) is the goal of the travelogue that persuades the people to behave properly. In short, *Yulizhibaochao chuanshi* 玉曆至寶鈔勸世 is a Taoist's underworld travelogue that aims to exhort the public to do good deeds. More information about *Yuli*, see Y. Chen (2007, 26-27).

## CHAPTER TWO

which there is a banner warning: “There is no good man in front of Evil Mirror” 孽鏡台前無好人。Most of the dead are initially escorted to the mirror where they confess their sins. Afterwards, they are sent directly to the second layer to accept their punishment (Jiang 2009, 49-51).

*RJHB*'s mirror image is very similar to the illustration of Niejing 孽鏡 (Figure 2.4). 孽鏡, the Evil Mirror, that resides in Chinese Hell, is, in fact, a derivative of the Karma Mirror. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, several texts replaced Yejing (the Karma Mirror) with Niejing (the Evil Mirror). However, one fundamental aspect distinguished the two: the Yejing reflects both good and evil of the deceased whereas the Niejing reflects only evil. As a result of those distinctions, the Evil Mirror (Niejing) is associated only with Hell. The illustration of Chinese Hell in the *Yulizhibaochao chuanshi* features a huge, round Niejing that is rimmed with a wave pattern. Inserted into the wave pattern are two round plates that prominently display the Chinese characters, Nie and Jing, referring to the evil mirror (Jiang 2009, 34-35, 50). Similarly, the *RJHB* mirror, which also features a huge, round mirror as well as a base decorated with wave patterns and two round plates, displays the Chinese characters, Ren and Jing, the name of the newspaper. Based on the strong resemblance between the two illustrations, it is clear that *RJHB* envisioned itself competent to judge China's evil doings as reflected in the magic mirror, the iconic Karma Mirror.

### 2.3.4 Witnessing: Bringing the Nation to Trial

As *RJHB*'s founding statement makes clear, China in 1907 was shrouded in darkness and hopelessness. Villains and corrupt evildoings were rampant. Under such circumstances, China urgently needed a Karma Mirror to reflect all the many vices, and *RJHB* the one to do so. Through a series of caricatures depicted in the Karma Mirror, *RJHB* attempts to immerse its audience in “witnessing” this chaotic world. “Mudu” (目睹) (witness) is complemented by “Xiangxing” (現形); as Wang (1997, 188) points out, late Qing dynasty novels prominently feature this element of “witnessing.” Wu Jianren's *Eyewitness Reports on Strange Things from the Past Twenty Years* (二十年怪狀之目睹) showcases how the late Qing novelist transforms the narrative into witness reports that introduce a new reading concept: to see is to believe. The title implies that the novelist reports what he saw and experienced firsthand, while the ordinary affairs correlated with strange phenomena. To preserve the strangeness and absurdity, the novelist stripped away “the deadening familiarity of everyday chicanery”, whose abnormalities against common life and conventional systems of value still beguiled him. Wang further claims that Wu employs anecdotes, jokes, and gossip to cater to readers' preference for sensation and to “teach” them to perceive things differently. This approach led to a shift in the novel's narrative, as rumors become intertwined with

## CHAPTER TWO

witness reports and bizarre incidents become commonplace, offering a platform for the Chinese grotesque.<sup>66</sup>

Compared to novelists, caricaturists more directly engage their audience in “witnessing.” The mirror caricatures in *RJHB* aim not only to unveil the reality of the world but also to make that reality visible to its readership. *RJHB*'s caricatures capture the playful juxtaposition of opposites in space, presenting two contradictory elements that logically cannot coexist in the real world. These opposites highlight the contradictions between “reality” and “truth,” echoing Wu's exploration of the ordinary and the strange. It suggests that there is no distinction between normality and evil. However, just as the Evil Mirror judges one's sins, these caricatures further invite viewers to witness a trial of hypocrisy and irrationality in everything. The mirror reveals truth through three distinct witnessing patterns: transformation, inversion, and assuming the perspective of the other.

### 2.3.4.1 Transformation

Transformation makes one object become the other: namely, its original form or its true essence. These transformations echo the Chinese long tradition that mirrors can expose monsters and ghosts. As aforementioned, in the Chinese tradition, the mirror has long been implied to possess the power of distinguishing ghosts and monsters from human beings. The implication derives from Daoism, whose thoughts of immortality penetrate every part of the early bronze mirror, including emblazonries and inscriptions. The mirror philosophically and spiritually embodies an ideal human heart so pure and transparent as to have access to the eternal truth, the Dao 道. In the Han Dynasty (202 BC-220 BC), Chenwei zhi xue 讖緯之學 prevailed. The divination combined with mystical Confucianist belief was absorbed into Daoism. Later in the Weijin 魏晉 era (220-589), the assumption of mirrors to reflect the monster came into being. The Daoist, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343), asserts in his book *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 that all objects getting old could be transformed into monsters in the guise of a human being and confuse people. However, no monsters can hide their actual forms in front of mirrors. That is the reason why a Taoist priest always carries a mirror on his back on his trips into the mountains. By doing so, he can distance himself from the monsters (Chen 2012, 83; Wang 2017, 57-58).

The assertion soon developed in many literary works ranging from dramas to novels. As early as the Six Dynasty Era there appeared many mirror-legends characterized by miraculous

---

<sup>66</sup> For the grotesque of Chinese caricatures, more discussion can be found in Chapters Six and Seven.



## CHAPTER TWO

plots in which the mirrors often served as an essential magical tool to suppress evil. As mentioned above, the Tang Dynasty's novel *Gujingji* 古鏡記 (Records of Old Mirrors) was thought of as the first novel that featured mirrors as a protagonist, based on previous related legends and stories. In this novel, the magic power of mirrors very much resembles Ge's statement, as an amulet in the woods to dispel the devil (Chen 2012, 81-85). In the Ming Dynasty, moreover, there are several novels plotting monster-revealing mirrors, among which the most famous one is the *Journey into the West*. The *Journey into the West* demonstrates multiple functions of monster-revealing mirrors and, significantly, also shows the disfunction of mirrors to sinuate the human heart's contamination. Whether a mirror can expose a monster depends on the owner's inner purity (Liu 2005, 130).



Figure 2.5 Ghosts in a Guise of Human Appearance (*RJHB*, 29 July 1907).

The cover of the second issue of *RJHB* illustrates two opium addicts exchanging a can of opium paste 煙膏 (Figure 2.5). The headline “renxingguilü” 人形鬼錄 (Ghosts in a Guise of Human Appearance) indicates the mirror “records ghosts under the camouflage of a human figure” 人形鬼. In China, during the early twentieth century, opium addiction was widespread throughout the population. The opium addicts are portrayed as ghosts, suggesting that their pernicious habits transform the living into the dead even if the addicts look like humans.

The cover of the twentieth issue presents a greedy Qing official holding an ingot; in the mirror image, the official turns out be a crab carrying the money away (Figure 2.6). In the Chinese context, the crab, as a sidewinder, tends to signify those who bully others and do whatever they want.<sup>67</sup> The ingot held by the official represents “bangyu” 鏹餘. The Qing Dynasty used silver or

<sup>67</sup> That fact that the crab symbolizes a bully is derived from the idiom “hengxing badao” 橫行霸道 (acting, like a tyrant, against the law and reason). Hengxing 橫行 (go sidewise) originates from *Zhouli* 周禮 that explains why areas where land and water traffic are congested due to narrow roadways and ship lanes require traffic directing so that cars and ships can pass through without delay. To stop “sidewise-going” is to prevent people from going amuck across fields, ditches, and canals. Babao 霸道, then, comes from *Shiji* 史記 (The Records of the Grand Historian), which means a feudal reign by force of dictators without kindheartedness and justice. Later, the term denotes all domineering behavior. As always running sidewise, the crab frequently alludes to overbearing people, often with ruling power, acting without considering others, See *jiaoyubu chengyudian* 教育部成語典 (Ministry of Education, Dictionary of

## CHAPTER TWO

silver dollars as the official currency for foreign payment. The monetary profit caused by the decline in the exchange rate of the pound sterling is called *bangyu*; the loss due to the increase is *bangkuei* 鏹虧. The caricature does not specify which incident causes *bangyu*; however, in either way, it should belong to the national treasury. The picture sends a clear message that the official takes the national wealth as his own (Ho 1993).<sup>68</sup>



Figure 2.6 Untitled (*RJHB*, 1 December 1907).

The cover of the seventh issue entitled “*dai qiu pixiang*” 但求皮相 displays another visual transformation (Figure 2.7). The headline is a term used to describe those who care only about their appearance. By extension, the cover pokes fun at those who cheat others by covering their own skin with the skins of fierce animals. In the cover drawing, a leopard and a tiger stand in front of a mirror but their reflections show their human bodies. Indeed, they are not animals after all, but rather only bluffs who seek to create fear in others by simply making an empty show of strength.



Figure 2.7 Seeking Only Skin and Appearance (*RJHB*, 2 September 1907).

Figure 2.8 illustrates an interesting transformation: words that turn into animals for a satirical purpose. The topic of Figure 2.8 is worth our attention. “*ziyou jiehun*” 自由結婚 (Freedom of Marriage) was a new social custom, the freedom to choose one’s own marriage partner. The revolutionary change provoked heated debates starting at the end of the nineteenth century. Opponents regarded it as deterioration of the morality and the role of the family, while advocates acclaimed it for promoting women’s right and the spirit of enlightenment. During that time, many

Chinese Idioms): <https://reurl.cc/Xq0Z8j> (accessed 11 September 2021).

<sup>68</sup> More analysis on the late Qing currency policy and copper dollars, cf. He: 389-494. The meaning of *bangyu*, see Han Dian 漢典 (Sino-Dictionary) : <https://reurl.cc/3726qO> (accessed 11 September 2021).

## CHAPTER TWO

novels broached the topic and criticized the Chinese marriage system. One 1903 novel was even entitled “ziyou jiehun.” Debunking pedantry and hypocrisy of the conservatives and the faked reformists, these novels fulminated against the traditional marital ideology and approved the liberty to choose a spouse. In challenging the long-standing tradition and emulating the western system, the idea of ziyouhiehun was strongly associated with progress and modernity (Huang 2011; Kuo 2012).



Figure 2.8 Freedom of Marriage (*RJHB*, 13 October 1907).

Given the frequent and intense criticism directed at the Chinese government and society, one might have anticipated *RJHB* to adopt a decisive stance in favor of the proposed change. However, Figure 2.8 shows its doubt about the so-called new value. The mirror reflects four characters of “ziyou jiehun” 自由結婚 portrayed as a sparrow perching on the rock and a rat resting in a cave. In the Chinese context, sparrows and rats are often likened to unimportant things; however, the juxtaposition of “ziyou jiehun” with the bird and the rat implies impropriety of the new-style marriage. Figure 2.8’s negative view on “freedom of marriages” seems, unexpectedly, to reveal the conservative side of *RJHB*, which was thought to be a reformist publication featuring western knowledge and progressive ideas. This caricature reminds us of the contradictions that politically reformist publications sometimes had to cope with in terms of advocating new customs while simultaneously fighting to preserve some of the old social traditions.

### 2.3.4.2 Inversion

The concept of inversion, captured in drawings published on the cover of *RJHB*, directs the readers’ attention to scenes that visually explain that things are not always what they appear to be. It shows the hidden truth which opposes the public’s general expectations. For example, the caricatures that ridicule the internal conflicts between people and things. The headline “Xuejie xianxiang” 學界現相 (The Revelation of the Academia Circle) (Figure 2.9) denotes a plan to reveal a person’s face, a synonym of xianxing 現形 (Revelation). In the cover illustration, on the left side, a student rides a horse and holds a flag symbolizing a revolution with the horse running

## CHAPTER TWO

quickly and carrying the student forward. The flag denotes the academic circle that viewed China's great progress as a civilized nation. However, in the mirror image, the rider's position is reversed so that the student rides the horse backwards. The horse moves in one direction; the rider in the opposite direction. The student still holds a flag with the title: Regression. The mirror depicts the true Chinese academic circle in which students fool around with their lives and behave in an inappropriate manner rather than seeking to develop the country.



Figure 2.9 The Revelation of the Academy Circle (*RJHB*, 19 August 1907).

Featured on the cover of the eleventh issue (Figure 2.10), a juren 舉人 (a provincial graduate)<sup>69</sup> physically wrestles with a student who returns from studying overseas. In real life, the two appear well-matched in strength. However, the mirror reflection tells a different story that the student returning to China from abroad is overwhelmed by the provincial graduate and can do nothing but surrender. As the caption ironically indicates, the provincial graduate gains power from his eight-legged essay (八股文). Indirectly, the illustration criticizes China for not being willing to discard old beliefs that dominate its educational system.



Figure 2.10 An Illustration of Wrestling (*RJHB*, 29 September 1907).

<sup>69</sup> It can also be translated as “A successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level in the Ming and Qing Dynasties”.

## CHAPTER TWO

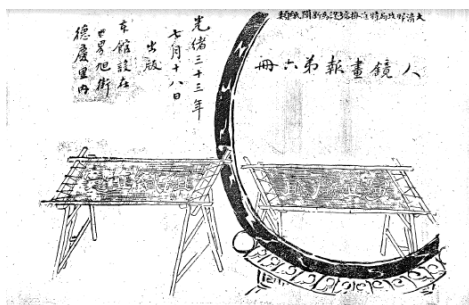


Figure 2.11 Organizing Constitutionalism (*RJHB*, 24 August 1907).

Figure 2.11, the cover of the sixth issue, depicts a cloth on a weaving stand. Four brocade characters are woven into the fabric, *zuzhi lixian* 組織立憲 (organizing constitutionalism). The term “*zu zhi* 組織” captures the act of weaving (*zhi* 織). The four characters are arranged correctly in the weaving illustration but are reversed in the mirror image, implying that the actual progress of Chinese constitutionalism was, in fact, moving backwards. Figure 2.12 portrays the public’s distrust in the government’s resolution to implement constitutionalism. The headline features two characters “*li*” 立 and “*xian*” 憲 in a hollow font, while the mirror displays “*Xin* 心” (heart) with the lower part of *Xian* 憲 printed in a bold, black font. The mirror image comments briefly on the Chinese reform effort using the idiom “*Xindi buming*” 心地不明 that literally refers to a heart that appears opaque but is often used sarcastically to question someone’s undisclosed intention.



Figure 2.12 Constitutionalism (*RJHB*, 15 September 1907).

Together, these caricatures conveyed to audiences the impression that all things run in reverse, not on the right track, as reflections in the mirror show. Figure 2.13 and Figure 2.14 point specifically to a case of abuse of an apprentice. In Figure 2.13, an official is shown holding a trial in a *yamen* 衙門 (the government office) when a man drops to his knees before him, begging for justice. As a factory apprentice “*gongtu*” 工徒, he had been cruelly beaten with sticks by someone who is denounced as the guilty party in the text on the mirror. Figure 2.14 also raises questions about factory management by playing with Chinese characters. The mirror reflects the term “*guanli*” 管理 (management) as “*guanmai*” 管理. The change of Chinese characters from “*li*” 理 to 埋 “*mai*” insinuates the factory manager’s ruthlessness 管理者 by suggesting the apprentice was “well

## CHAPTER TWO

buried” instead of well-managed. These two caricatures show sympathy for the poor apprentice; it also provides evidence of the corruption of Tianjin’s industrial environment. In the twenty-third issue of *RJHB*, the cover (Figure 2.15) urges managers to clean up the industries in order to protect the workers.



Figure 2.13 Untitled (*RJHB*, 11 October 1907).

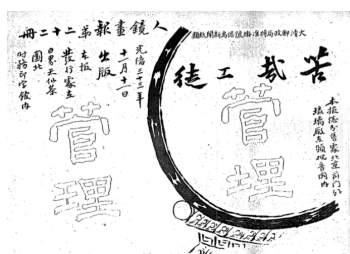


Figure 2.14 Maltreatment (*RJHB*, 15 December 1907).



Figure 2.15 Cleaning Up the Industrial Circle (*RJHB*, 22 December 1907).

In addition to the images, *RJHB* published several essays on this theme. The twenty-second issue carried two related editorials. The first describes the abuse of apprentices as essentially harming the Chinese economy by spotlighting how negative management procedures were crippling Chinese industry and commerce. During times of increasing national strength, the future of industrial production relied on apprentices who would someday move into positions of management and needed to be trained in how to prevent workplace abuse. The second discusses the issue of human rights from the perspective of slavery. The author argues that the early-twentieth-century cruel management practices were rooted in the tradition of slavery that had existed in China for a long time. Now, the editorial continued, was the time to eradicate the viciousness of slavery and move into a better future in which Chinese workers were no longer

## CHAPTER TWO

slaves of exotic tribes (異族). Slavery should be abolished in order to achieve national development of commerce and industry, thereby allowing China to become prosperous as well as powerful. Similar workplace abuses were reported in the Japanese settlement located in northeast China. The twenty-third issue of *RJHB* translated a news article related to the issue from a Japanese newspaper that reported the Tianjin provincial council had been made aware of the abuses and demanded by an official letter the attention of “the General Office of Crafts and Arts” 工藝總局 to settle the dispute. The several essays together demonstrate *RJHB*’s deep concern about individual workers’ rights, highlighting the newspaper’s progressive stance.

### 2.3.4.3 Being the Other



Figure 2.16 One Need Not Look Far for a Lesson (*RJHB*, 9 September 1907).

On one cover, China becomes the Other. The eighth issue of *RJHB* depicts a normal Chinese official who stands straight but looks unhappy (Figure 2.16). The mirror reflects the image of a Korean with the caption: “One need not look far for a lesson 殷鑑不遠.” The equation of China to a Korean via the mirror testifies to the contemporary scholar Ge Zhaoguang’s 葛兆光 (2011, 277-279) proposition that starting from the late Qing, China moved into “the Age of Multiple Mirrors”: 多重鏡子的時代. Ge identified three phases in Chinese history. Prior to the late Qing, China was “in the Age of Self-Imagination 自我想像的時代.” The model of Tianxia 天下 (all under heaven) is the representative concept of the age. It points to a worldview in which China regarded itself at the center of the world and the ensuing tribute system 朝貢系統 granted her a role as protector of peripheral countries. The second phase, “the Era of One Mirror 一面鏡子的時代,” also emphasized China’s dominant power which was, however, already challenged by the presence of foreign powers. Forced to recognize other nations, China modified its worldview from Tianxia to Wanguo 萬國 (ten thousand nations). China was not any more the center of the world but among countries around the world. The third phase, referred to as “the Time of Self-

## CHAPTER TWO

Recognition Through Multiple Mirrors 多重鏡子認識自我的時代,” is characterized by a shift of attention that China paid to peripheral countries. In this phrase, China likened itself to its peripheral neighbors with a shared cultural heritage that it used in communication with its tributary states. The interactions with these “foreign others” radically altered the nation’s self-recognition. China’s self-centered Tianxia broke up owing to her loss of influence and protectorate power over these countries. Based on this dramatic change in self-image, China had to evaluate itself from an inferior perspective.

Chen Duxiu’s 陳獨秀 “Knowledge of Nations” 國家學 ([1904] 1984, 55-57) exemplifies China’s change of the perspective. In his 1904 essay entitled “On the Nation” 說國家, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 stated that he did not grasp the concept of nationhood until his twenties. China’s successive defeats and encroachments by foreign powers astonished him, revealing to him the huge gaps that existed between different countries in terms of national strength. Based on those insights, Chen analyzed countries similar to China and identified causes for asymmetrical international discrepancies. The subjugated, such as India, Egypt, Poland, and others, came to a tragic end due to despotism and habits of relying on external powers. Accordingly, Chen proposed a “Knowledge of Nations” 國家學 in which he asserted that only when knowledge prevails within a society, such as China, can its people understand how to treat and protect its own country as a nation.

Attention to the weak and peripheral countries that surround China, as Ge declared, led China to “the Time of Self-Recognition through Multiple Mirrors.” Like Chen, other Chinese intellectuals kept their eyes on those countries that were similar to China, broaching similar topics in their essays.<sup>70</sup> During this period, Chinese intellectuals published and translated a number of books concerning the subjugation of many weak countries to warn Chinese people of the crisis. They recognized that while learning more about nation-building, Chinese audiences had a greater need to learn about the history of subjugation of other countries as well as factors that were leading to foreign dominance, in order to protect China from a similar fate.<sup>71</sup>

Among the weak countries, Korea drew much attention from the caricaturists. In 1905, Japan asserted military control over Korea as a protectorate. Five years later, in 1910, Korea was

---

<sup>70</sup> Yanfu’s 嚴復 “Yuanqiang” 原強 (On the Origin of Strength), Zhang Zhidong’s 張之洞 “Quanxuepain” 勸學篇 (Advice to Learn); Hanju’s 漢駒 “Xinzhengfu zhi jianshe sheshi” 新政府之建設 (The New Government’s Construction), just to name a few.

<sup>71</sup> While commenting on *Aiji jinshi shi* 埃及近世史 (The Recent History of Egypt), *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報 (New Citizen) highlights the importance of the history of subjugation to China. Chinese historian Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振寰 (1996, 327-328) has pointed out many translations concerning the subjugations of as many as fourteen countries in the late Qing. For a rough list of related Chinese essays and books, see Zhu (2015, 87-88). Some other studies remind us that there were more articles for a given country scattered in different newspapers. For example, see Liu’s (2019, 29-31) research on the Egypt case and Xu Dan’s (2020, 133-137) research on the Korean case.



## CHAPTER TWO

subjugated as a colony, losing its national autonomy.<sup>72</sup> Accordingly, Korea appeared in various publications as a warning of extinction. The advertisement of the book, *The Brief History of Korea* 朝鮮史略, for example, clearly indicated that Korea, as the weakest nation in the East, was similar to China in terms of the governmental corruption. To have Chinese audiences realize the negative consequences of a corruptive despotism, the publisher urgently presented the history of Korea. Moreover, Liang Qichao's *The Brief History of Korean Subjugation* focuses on the Korean interactions with Japan. He claims that the despotism is the main factor to cause Korean subjugation. The national prospect should not depend only on a monarchy or an autocrat. Li Zhipu's *the History of Korean Subjugation*, thus, appeals to the Chinese public to cultivate the spirit of independence and get rid of the habit of reliance on the government (Yu 1984, 25-26).

The *RJHB*'s caricature, "One Need Not Look Far for a Lesson" 殷鑒不遠 (Figure 2.16), juxtaposes the Chinese official with the Korean, which suggests that China was going to repeat Korean misery of being conquered. China could do nothing about it. Obviously, the caricature sought to warn China about the possibility of a future crisis similar to that of Korea's. By way of the mirror image, the illustrator urges the Chinese government to wake up to threats from foreign powers to avoid the destiny of subjugation.



Figure 2.17 Taking Something as a Mirror (*Shenbao*, 26 November 1907).

Two more similar examples in other newspapers. The first is a 1907 *Shenbao* caricature, "taking Something as a Mirror" 殷鑑 (Figure 2.17). Two Chinese commoners stare at their images in a mirror. Their reflections are not of themselves but rather of two foreigners: an impoverished Korean and Indian. The two men had different relationships with China: Korea used to be under China's power influence as a tributary while India was similar to China as they were both independent nations of ancient civilizations. But in the early twentieth century, there was fear they might all become soon-to-be perished nations.

<sup>72</sup> More information about Korean subjugation, see Liang (1904): *Chaoxian wangguo shilue* 朝鮮亡國史略 (A Brief History of Korean Subjugation).

## CHAPTER TWO

The other example is a 1909 *SB* caricature, in which the mirror shows more details about Korean miseries. "Divestiture of All Rights" 喪失權利之殷鑑 (Figure 2.18) identifies the very negative effects of Japan's dominance of Korea in terms of gaining power over its economic resources. The mirror image displays two miserable Koreans: one who cries out, covering his eyes while the other collapses on the ground as a Japanese soldier stepping on him. The reason for Korea's deterioration as a colony is attributed to the Korean government's surrender of all national authority to Japan as suggested in the caricature of the Japanese figure who carries a gold nugget and a box that represents Korea's military and financial assets. Standing on the other side of the mirror are Qing officials who hold the Chuanhan Railway 川漢 and a Chinese steel factory with a sign that gives Japan rights to a mine coal 煤權. The Qing officials in the caricature are on their way to sell two of China's major economic assets to foreign powers, thus paving the way for China to become the "second" Korea.

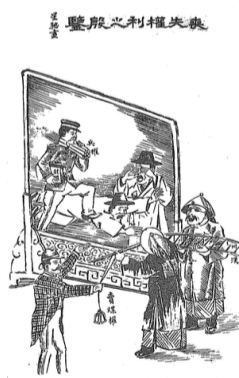


Figure 2.18 Divestiture of All Rights (*SZRB*, ca. 1909).

The caricature warns China of a possible future crisis using Korean history as the mirror. The drawing presents a visual asymmetry of two very different political entities: China and Korea. Based on the experience of Others, especially another Northeast Asian country in a situation potentially similar to that of China's, the caricature serves as a crucial point of reference in the early 1900s, a time when China was seeking to position itself in a rapidly changing international new world order. The concept of China's becoming the Other is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

The caricatures of the Karma Mirror display contradictions between the real world and the hidden truth, highlighting abstractly the visual concept of asymmetry in various forms and contexts. The asymmetry might echo Chinese scholar, Tang Hongfeng's (2005, 115-128) contention that the mirror images at the time feature uncanniness. The uncanny is a Freudian concept that emphasizes, rather than excitement about the new aspects of the things and matters, the fear

## CHAPTER TWO

resulting from discovering the familiar in unexpected scenes. The late-Qing novels and caricatures repeated these unexpected scenes and hence reflected a collective sentiment that the society consisted of hypocrisy, ambiguity and mixture of the old and the new. The truth was always hidden and once it was revealed, only to find out that the core of the new and innovation was no more than the stale and the decayed. The artistic and literary works portrayed the current situation but more like confirmed an unchangeable historical rule. Such sense of the uncanny became “the feeling of the structure” of the time, which can be clearly shown by mirror caricatures. Chinese people’s bewilderment about the world, in her view (129), is a crisis of modernity.

The uncanny appears not only in the traditional Karma Mirror but also in many “new mirrors” introduced into China at the time. It is noteworthy that these mirror caricatures/images suggest a change in “recognizing the truth.” The traditional discourse might stress the power of minds by through which people can see the truth. However, these mirror caricatures attempted to remind people that the eyes would deceive you unless you employed some (especially modern) visual technologies and tools. Consequently, a variety of mirrors was required to approach the truth (Tang 2018, 117). In the next section, I will examine images that feature new mirrors imported from the West. My primary concern is how Chinese caricaturists enlisted “new mirrors” to unmask the Chinese state of contradictions.

### **2.4 Western Mirrors: Seeing the Self Through the Foreign Visions**

#### **2.4.1 *Guangdong baihuabao* 廣東白話報 (Guangdong Vernacular Daily)**

In 1907, the same year as the inauguration of *RJHB*, another reformist publication, *Guangdong baihuabao* 廣東白話報 (Guangdong Vernacular Daily, hereafter GDBHB) ventured into the field of Chinese journalism in the South. The new publication also adopted the mirror metaphor to demonstrate its power to reveal the truth. Visually, the cover of the first issue illustrates a Qing official looking into a glass mirror (Figure 2.19). The mirror image in the new publication portrays a government official with a horse head, a shape that is grotesque. Not only does the cover image contrast an actual official with a monster in the mirror but shows also his absurd reaction of laughter upon seeing the horse-head monster without realizing it is a reflection of himself.

## CHAPTER TWO



Figure 2.19 The Cover of the First Issue of *GDBHB* (31 May 1907).

It is noteworthy that the caricature directly points out a magic power that is believed to be owned by the mirrors: exposing the devil. Even though a glass mirror at that time was a product of the West, it still functioned in the traditional Chinese context as *zhayao jing* 照妖鏡 (a monster-revealing mirror for the exposure of devils).

A short poem following the caricature seems to echo the strategy of mirror owners. If the modern publication medium is a mirror, the owners can include reports as well as readers. The poem introduces objectives of the publication relative to the roles of (1) the newspaper reporter – who produces content that reveals the degree of his intelligence (辦報人腦力的進步。在著作之精神); (2) the newspaper reader – whose comprehension of what he reads shows the extent of his judgement; and most importantly (閱報人眼力的進步。在解讀之明白), (3) the role of the newspaper itself – that assures profound influence and extensive currency of diverse content that like an opera singer and a storyteller on stage will provide its audience a rich reading experience leading to sorrow as well as delight (小說世界，如登舞台，影響實大，有大筮地，講古所在，諸君聽古，智識日開) because everything taking place is source material for the publication (世事愈多，立立雜雜，滿斗滿籬，有開必錄，件件新鮮).

The short poem highlights two noteworthy points. In the first verse, it accentuates the importance of images in depicting the many significant events that happen in Guangdong because images can capture one's attention and stimulate one's mind. To portray these events vividly, pictures are essential. The skill of drawing is no longer trivial. Likewise, photos expose everything to the public (圖畫非閒，當場傀儡，繪影繪聲，若影相館，無可遁形). The poem further introduces the metaphor of a mirror to characterize *GDBHB*'s role. In the fourth verse, the publication describes its responsibility to evaluate events worldwide by judging the merits and demerits of situations and distinguishing right from wrong. Thus, according to the poem, the newspaper's objective nature makes it “a mirror to the people 人之鏡” (賢否不齊，評批得失，兩無偏低，公是公非，諸君想吓，曰是非寶，人之鏡也). Together, points expressed in the

## CHAPTER TWO

poem enable the editor to cleverly blend three concepts: images, the mirror metaphor, and revelation of the truth. As a result, the poem not only serves as an opening statement for the publication but also instructs readers on how to understand the essence of the newspaper images.



Figure 2.20 Untitled (*GDBHB*, 31 May 1907).

Additionally, the short poem describes “a photo studio” (影像館) as a place where everything can be truthfully photographed, and by extending that idea, introduces the newspaper’s caricature column that focuses on political and social issues as “a photo studio.” (Figure 2.20) As could be expected, Qing governmental officials are frequently “invited” to this studio. The first “photo” in the “studio” column is an untitled caricature of an official who looks preposterous as well as dreadful, his cruelty and avariciousness comically manifest in his twisted body.

Accompanying the caricature is a short Cantonese text, “An Explanation of the Picture of the Revelation of Officialdom” (解明官場現形記圖), in which the author of the text, Yazhou (亞拙), sarcastically interprets the caricature as the depiction of an Qing official being derided as grotesque (有個咁嘅古怪野窩。你估呢個係乜野呢。係官嚟播。係滿清嘅官嚟播). His coat top is bright red, dyed by the people’s blood (點解佢粒頂紅色呢。係染紅嘅。係俾人血染紅). Being a terrible official, he plugs his ears with two sticks to avoid hearing people’s complaints (怕人鬧佢。所以俾兩個木枳塞住。就唔聽見人地鬧喇。所以俾兩個木枳塞住。就唔聽見人地鬧喇) and he wears a pair of multilayer glasses for fear that others will notice that he has no eyes (但因係冇眼睛。所以帶多幾重眼鏡遮住。等人地睇唔出佢冇眼睛啫). His mouth is so large that it will be the only thing left when he dies (點解佢個口咁大呢。佢死都死剩把口咯). In his right hand, he dangles a person’s head like a plaything for the official (做到滿清嘅官呀。周日都係拉個的人頭嚟頑耍嘅喇) while his left hand busily stuffs money into his own wallet (佢隻左手做乜野呢佢隻左手呀。一味擠錢入荷包囉).

## CHAPTER TWO

Surprisingly, the official can stand upright, which the author infers is because the official has eaten too much bronze, insinuating money, and, as a result, suffers from diarrhea of bronze (佢雙腳咁樣企法喂。一定係食得銅多。疴銅痢。梟倒變成咁樣定咯). The author draws attention to another absurdity in China which is that whoever assumes an official position immediately becomes crippled, able to take only a half-step. If not true, then why are so many officials able move around only on a sedan? (因為佢做官就跛脚咯。你唔信睇吓佢出街。半步都要坐轎嘅) In the author's view, the official is not worth even a pinch of rice (個的官都唔值一粒米呷). Ironically, he adds, "It would be great if the grain were, in fact, rice." (係米就好咯。咁樣你話係乜野呢) In conclusion, the text compares the official with a rat that spreads pestilence across the country (係瘟疫老鼠至合宜咯). Why does the author say so? He invites his readers to think about it (點解呢。你即管想吓喇).

To sum up, *GDBHB* discourse on its determination to reveal the truth clearly sets forth the newspaper's mission. The mirror caricature featured on the cover of the first issue provides a strong, visual example of its strategy, made obvious by the short poem that adopts the mirror metaphor to further articulate *GDBHB*'s goal – which is to expose evil and injustice as “Ren zhi jing” 人之鏡 (a mirror to the people). To operationalize that vision, the caricature column referred to as “a photo studio” (影像館) serves as a visual practice. By integrating the mirror metaphor, the aim to disclose, and the significance of images, the publication makes explicit to its audience the essence and function of the publication, including the role of its political caricatures.

### 2.4.2 Sights of Lens<sup>73</sup>

The choice of the mirror metaphor in *GDBHB* poem alludes to a time when many western devices were being introduced in China. The Qing glass craftsman, Sun Yunqiu 孫雲球 (1650-1681), in a 1681 edited book, recorded his experiences of manufacturing more than seventy-two optical devices. The book is entitled as *Jingshi* 鏡史 (The History of Mirror), which suggests that

---

<sup>73</sup> Before turning to the Western mirrors, I would like to mention that I have presented a paper, “Mirrors in Chinese Caricatures at the turn of the Twentieth Century,” in the conference “Political Humor in Modern China: Interdisciplinary Perspectives” in the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 2013. Since then, I have started working on the visual sources of caricatures, mirrors, and revealing the truth. In the process of writing my dissertation, I found that Prof. Tang Hongfeng 唐宏峰 in Beijing University also looks into the Chinese visuality of transparency through images of mirrors. I finished a chapter draft in 2014 (presenting at the 2014 EACS in Portugal) and completed this chapter in 2017. Later, I read Prof. Tang's 2018 paper, which also examines mirrors and mirror reflections. The paper helps me realize the transcultural journey of mirror images. In 2022, Prof. Tang published a book regarding “Chinese visuality of transparency” 中國視覺透明性, which related to my concern about the caricatures. In her book, a chapter is about the western mirrors, also the material dealt with in 2.4. Unfortunately, I have not so far got access to her monograph, which I believe will inspire me in this discussion about these mirror images too.

## CHAPTER TWO

the devices, pertaining to optics, were often generally regarded as “western mirrors” in the Chinese context (Sun 1681; Sun 2007).<sup>74</sup> As Chinese historian, Li Changli (2002, 55-74) puts it, the western devices played a pivotal role in China’s social transformation and greatly influenced both physical and cognitive aspects of people’s lives in the Late Qing China (39). Besides being perceived as spectacular wonders, the apparatuses were integrated into the daily lives of ordinary people such that widespread reliance on the western devices led to intellectual debates at the time.

Glasses along with many other types of optical devices, such as telescopes, cameras, and magnifying glasses, were popular among the Chinese people during that period. It is common to find essays and pictures in newspapers illustrating and describing these optical products. For example, in 1872, a zhuzhici 竹枝詞 (Bamboo Rhymes) in *Shenbao* listed an array of western implements frequently found in Shanghai, including glasses, telescopes and microscopes.<sup>75</sup> A 1907 *SB* caricature series, “Hundred Hands in Shanghai” 上海百手 (Figure 2.21) provides evidence of the prevalence of these apparatuses thirty years later. The eleventh hand in the illustration holds binoculars for enhanced enjoyment of a theatrical performance, while the eighteenth hand carries a glass mirror to view his/her reflection. As the title hints, these western optical instruments had become commonplace items in Chinese hands.

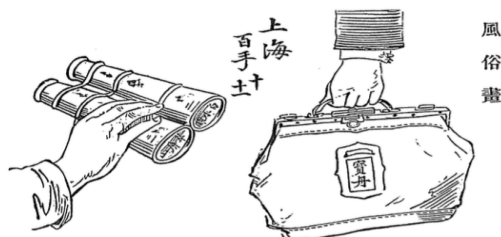


Figure 2.21 Hundreds of Hands in Shanghai (10 and 11) (*SB*, 4 October 1907).

In 1909, a column in *THRB*, “Business Portrait” (yingye xiezhen 營業寫真), describes how manufacturing western mirrors (zuo yangjing 做洋鏡) had become a vocation (Figure 2.22). A western mirror in the Chinese context corresponds to a glass mirror. An accompanying illustration demonstrates easy-to-follow instructions for making a western mirror. Step one is to saw off a small tree branch to make a wooden frame while the second step involves washing a piece of

<sup>74</sup> According to Chinese natural-science historian, Sun Chengsheng 孫承晟, *Jingshi* was the first Chinese monography concerning optical devices. Most content of the book is derived from “Yuanjingshuo” 遠鏡說 (Theory on Telescopes) proposed by Tang Ruowang 湯若望 (Johann Adam Schall von Bell). A Qing famous writer, Li Yu 李漁 (1611-1680), later, plotted his stories with these “mirrors” in *Jingshi* and completed the novel *Shierlou* 十二樓 (The Twelfth Floor), which, in turn, facilitated in propagating these optical devices. For more information on *Jingshi*, see Sun (2007). The following paragraphs will discuss more about “Theory on Telescopes.”

<sup>75</sup> *Shenbao*, 30 May 1872.

## CHAPTER TWO

mirrored glass that is placed inside the wooden frame. The text explains that in the past Chinese people used a bronze mirror to check to see whether their clothes were on straight, but by the early twentieth century a mirror made of glass was known to do a better job as indicated by a reflection so clear that it was possible to see one's hair without difficulty.



Figure 2.22 Manufacturing Western Mirrors (*THRB*, 24 December 1909).

Not surprisingly, reflecting reality was soon considered the primary function of western mirrors. On 24 July 1908, the Qing court issued a decree to establish the Provincial Assemblies and its member elections (*Ziyiju* 諮議局). According to the Qing court's plan, the institute was to assess the political situation in each province and, most importantly, cultivate qualified people for the Chinese parliamentary polity in the near future. Two days after the decree was announced, *SB* published a caricature in response that juxtaposes a pair of eyeglasses, a magnifying glass, and a telescope with the imperial edict and, printed underneath, the caption: "Read Respectfully the Edict



Figure 2.23 Read Respectfully the Edict Issued on the 24th (*SB*, 26 July 1908).

The caricature forcefully links reading of the edict with the three optical devices: eyeglasses that improve one's eyesight; a magnifying glass that makes tiny things bigger; and a telescope that helps one observe objects in the distance. Together, the three instruments enable people to see things clearly. Basically, the illustration aims to inform the Chinese people to pay close attention to the edict. At high tide of constitutionalism, the decree channeled public enthusiasm for a new



## CHAPTER TWO

polity but also stirred up public frustration when the Qing procrastinated. To move things forward, the drawing calls on the Chinese people to engage earnestly and directly in political action to pressure the Qing court to enforce constitutionalism, as promised.

Chinese caricaturists cleverly combined the Chinese metaphor of mirror with the Chinese concept of western mirrors and, in doing so, subsumed under the mirror metaphor not only reflective mirrors but also various types of optical devices. In Chinese, those devices are referred to as different kinds of mirrors, including for example convex lens 凸鏡 (convex mirror), concave lens 凹鏡 (concave mirror), eyeglasses 眼鏡 (eye mirror), and telescopes 遠鏡 (distant mirror) or 千里鏡 (thousand-mile mirror). In the ancient Chinese context, a mirror (jing 鏡), usually referred to a flat piece of polished bronze that could reflect objects, including an examination of one's appearance. Compared to objects made of bronze, a glass mirror, is very different.

So, how are all the various optical devices connected to the Chinese idea of a mirror? According to Taiwanese literature historian Hsu Huil-Lin's 徐暉林 (2015, 6-9) investigation, the concepts of glass and mirror have been closely related in the Chinese language and culture since the glass mirror was introduced into China near the middle of the Ming Dynasty (around 1500). In 1619 when publishing the first book about a telescope in China, Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), an important missionary in Chinese history, created the term "yuanjing" 遠鏡 for the instrument. In the preface to his book, for the purpose of helping readers comprehend the optical principle of a telescope, Schall made a reference to yanjing 眼鏡 (eyeglasses) that had been known in China for a long time. Since Schall's reference, optical devices made of glass have been referred to in China as "mirrors."

It is worth noting that western mirrors existed not only as optical objects but also shaped a new visual way for the Chinese to see the world. The Hong Kong scholar, Pang Laikwan (2007, 1-5) in her *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China*, examines visual culture at the turn of the twentieth century. She regards the distorting mirror 哈哈鏡, a newly imported mirror used for entertainment purposes, as a provocative metaphor in terms of how urban Chinese saw their new modern culture that evolved between the 1880s and 1930s. The Chinese experience at the turn of the twentieth century was like looking into this fantastic distorting mirror, through which the viewing subject acquired an alluring yet threatening sense of self-identity that was not available before. Combining Lacan's and *Shenbao's* concepts about mirrors, Pang argues that what the Chinese ultimately wished to see was, instead of a new self or a new world, a new self-positioned nation within the new world.

## CHAPTER TWO

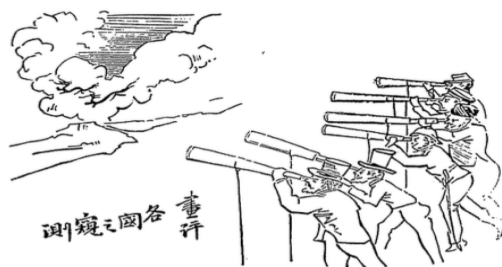


Figure 2.24 Peeps of Other Countries (*SB*, 27 November 1908).

Pang's argument pertains also to Chinese caricatures. By applying the mirror metaphor to different types of western optical devices, the caricaturists communicated a new visuality for disclosing even more asymmetries to unveil the perils of then-current Chinese situations. For example, Chinese caricaturists utilized various types of scopes in two ways: one by holding the device backwards to peep at something that appeared to be tiny and far away; the other by observing objects far away as close and large.<sup>76</sup> For example, caricatures depicted foreigners who looked through monocular devices as illustrating their intentions to encroach on China territorially and economically. “Peeps of Other Countries” (Figure 2.24) exposes a scheme by foreign countries to ambush China. In that drawing, two dragons, China's national symbol, fly freely and lightheartedly near the clouds without noticing in the distance a line of foreigners, each wearing a garment that reveals his nationality and each pointing a monocular as if they are aiming their weapons at the dragons (China).

Asymmetrical visions created by using different types of western mirrors are employed by caricaturists to extend or restrict what is being seen, as depicted in an *SB* caricature – “Commerce 2” (Figure 2.25). Featured in the illustration is a western man dressed in a suit who stands tall, looking afar at China through binoculars, while a Chinese man dressed in traditional clothing, crouches low to inspect something tiny and up-close through a magnifying glass. Through the telescope, the foreigner views China under siege by a foreign naval fleet that extends all the way from India to Korea, implying the entire Far East with its tremendous commercial advantages is the target of western colonialism. In contrast, the Chinese man uses his magnifying glass to care only about his “tong ye 同業” (people in the same trade).

---

<sup>76</sup> Before the telescope was named after mirror, its Chinese name stressed its function of peeping and observing. In late Ming, Wang Ketang 王肯堂 (1549-1613), a Chinese doctor in close contact with missionaries, noted his experiences of observing stars with a telescope. He called it “kuitong 窺筒”, literally, a peeping tube. A missionary, Emmanuel Diaz Junior (1574-1659), in his astronomical monograph, names a telescope “Qiaoqi 巧器”, “a delicate instrument” to observe the sky. Hsu (2015, 5-6).

## CHAPTER TWO

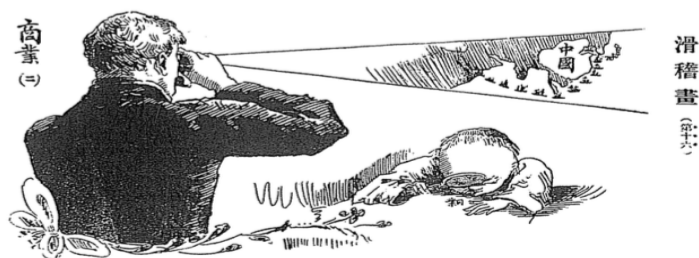


Figure 2.25 Commerce 2 (*SB*, 18 April 1908).

Telescopes, which were considered another type of western mirror, offered caricaturists yet another highly effective way to contrast people’s very different visions of reality based on the way someone used the telescope. The vision shaped by a telescope is the pictorial platform that reveals conflicts and biases. A 1909 *SZRB* caricature indicates that the foreigners see China not as a country but as foodstuffs (Figure 2.26). Two westerners, through binoculars, look at a circle that symbolizes China. Within the circle are fish and a pork leg, which reminds viewers of a Chinese proverb “the people are the knife and the chopping board; I am fish and meat.” (Ren wei dao zu, wo wei yourou 人為刀俎,我為魚肉). Together, the illustration and caption denote that China is so powerless that foreigners have a stranglehold on its resources.



Figure 2.26 The Foreigner’s View of China (*SZRB*, 1909).

If the viewer pointed the device outward (as it is meant to be used) objects in the distance would seem larger and closer (important) — or, if the viewer pointed the telescope backwards (toward himself, the incorrect way) events would appear very tiny and far away (trivial). Thus, caricaturists utilized this new artistic technique to portray how people’s perceptions (and interpretations) of events could be so different. In China, the metaphor for using the telescope to see things large and up close — or tiny and far away — was initially introduced by western missionaries during the Ming Dynasty — not as a practical tool for observational purposes but as a metaphor for teaching lessons for how to live a virtuous life. By linking the telescope with ethics as well as life-and-death matters associated with Confucianism, the missionaries hoped the Chinese people would understand and accept Christianity. A missionary, Andre Rudomina (1554-1632), for example, likened a telescope to the moral of “looking upon people” (guanren 觀人) by

## CHAPTER TWO

emphasizing that viewing things through a telescope offers a moral lesson on how to Self-reflect as opposed to judging Others. To evaluate one's Self, a person should look through a telescope backwards so that the Self seems tiny and far away. But when judging Others, the telescope should be focused forward so that Others appear closer and larger. In other words, the missionaries' metaphor served as a reminder to be humble and express sincere respect for others (Hsu 2015, 7-8).

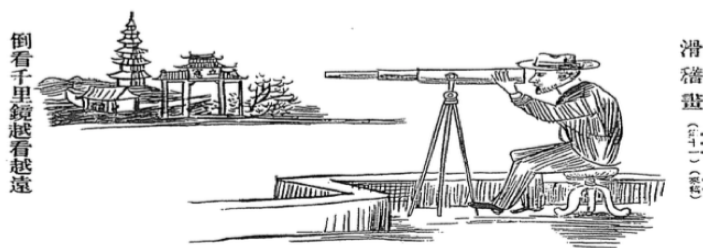


Figure 2.27 Things Turn Far When One Watches Them Holding a Telescope Backwards (*SB*, 12 April 1907).

By the late Qing, the telescope no longer served as a moral instructor but represented instead different visions that symbolize asymmetrical views of the same issues when viewed by the West and China. The caricature, “daokan qianlijing yukanyueyuan” 倒看千里鏡越看越遠 (Things Become Far Away When One Watches Them by Holding a Telescope Backwards) (Figure 2.27), is a good example. The scene compares constitutionalism to a grand temple with a pagoda and a sign on the main gate “li xian” 立憲 (Constitutionalism). The association between a temple and China's promised constitutionalism implies that the new form of government signifies hope for the nation. In the foreground, a westerner looks at the temple through a telescope. Judging from the way the device is positioned backwards, constitutionalism is without doubt tiny and distant in his view, signifying that the Chinese people's dream to reform its government is not as great nor as near as they hope.

Asymmetrical visions portrayed by optical devices that face opposite directions epitomize China's chaotic mindset, whether toward Self or Other. An *SB* caricature shows two Chinese men looking through opposite ends of binoculars (Figure 2.28). The man on the right holds the device correctly while the man on the left appears perplexed as he looks through the instrument backwards. In this particular caricature, both men are Chinese, observing each other from opposite perspectives, suggesting national confusion at that time was due to conflicting visions among the Chinese people. Within several weeks, the earlier caricature was adapted by *Beijing baihua tuhua ribao* 北京白話圖畫日報 (*Beijing Vernacular Picture Daily* --- hereafter *BJBHTRB*) to depict tension between China and the foreign. (Figure 2.29). In the later caricature, the men's national identities are specified: on the left, Chinese and on the right, westerner. The Chinese man appears

## CHAPTER TWO

ill-informed compared to the westerner who knows the proper way to hold binoculars correctly. Limited understanding about how to use advanced western technology seems to have been China's national vulnerability.

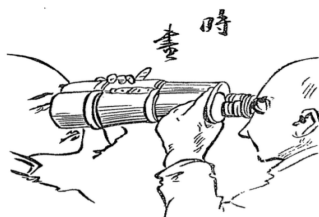


Figure 2.28 Picture of the Age (*SB*, 16 September 1909).



Figure 2.29 Picture of the Age (*BJBHTRB*, 27 September 1909).

It is noteworthy that *THR*B published a caricature, “Allegory Picture” (Figure 2.30) that illustrates how a Chinese man and a foreigner observe one another through their own binoculars: the Chinese figure holds his instrument pointing forward while the westerner holds his backwards. In consideration of *THR*B’s critical standpoint regarding Chinese politics, the caricaturist’s aim must have been to reveal the lopsided relationship between China and the West. Emblemizing the existing power discrepancy in Chinese diplomacy, their different visions result in looking through optical devices differently – one forward and the other backward. To the Chinese man, the foreigner appears vast and powerful, while to the foreigner, the Chinese man seems tiny and distant



Figure 2.30 Picture of Allegory (*THR*B, 19 March 1910).

### 2.4.3 National Fluoroscopy

Several other western optical devices, not designed for observational purposes, were also referred to as “mirrors,” for example, the raree-show 西洋鏡 (the western mirror) and the X-ray machine 雷可思鏡 (Aikekesi mirror). In Chinese caricatures, “mirrors” are often juxtaposed to highlight discrepancies between internal and external spaces, representing further attempts by caricaturists to unveil the asymmetric state of the nation.

#### 2.4.3.1 Xiyang Jing 西洋鏡 (The Raree-Show)

Xiyang 西洋, literally translated, means “the western ocean,” referring generally to western countries. Xiyang jing, since imported into China, has been a popular recreation. *DSZHB* illustrated that women enjoyed the raree-show on the street. *THRB*'s column “Business Portrait” reported that operating a raree-show had become a new profession in society.<sup>77</sup> The writer's mention of the raree-show was intended as a harsh criticism of the device that he censured for its display of rough and low-quality pictures, even pornography, that violated standards of public decency and, therefore, he stated, should be immediately prohibited.



Figure 2.31 Exposing the Raree-Show (*THRB*, 24 April 1910).

Negative connotations associated with the raree-show are expressed in a well-known Chinese proverb “zheichuan xiyangjing 折穿西洋鏡” (exposing the raree-show) (Figure 2.31). The raree-show is usually associated with illusions because a series of static pictures were displayed as if they were moving. *THRB*'s column “Illustration of the Common Saying” (suyu hua 俗語畫) explains that soon after its introduction from the West, “xiyang jing” became very popular in China. Some viewers, not satisfied with just peeping through a small glass hole, tore the box-stage apart to see what was inside, only to discover nothing. Again, the writer hints that the “the mirror” enthralled audiences because the raree-shows often featured indecent pictures. The

<sup>77</sup> “Selling the Western Scenery” 賣西洋景, *THRB*, 21 December 1909.

## CHAPTER TWO

illustrator draws the scene of a raree-show stage being taken apart and pieces of stage scenery being scattered while the audience looks on, angry find nothing inside the raree-show is real. The “xiyang jing,” instead of reflecting the truth, often connotes falsity and deception.

For Chinese caricaturists, nothing represented falsehood and deception better than the late Qing government that was often likened to playing a raree-show. In a 1908 caricature, “xinnian suojian 新年所見” (What Is Seen during the New Year) (Figure 2.32), a child wants to watch a raree-show but his father stops him, pointing to the upper piece of stage scenery that states “Despotism” (zhuanzhi 專制). The caricature depicts the Qing government endeavoring to prolong despotism under the guise of constitutionalism.

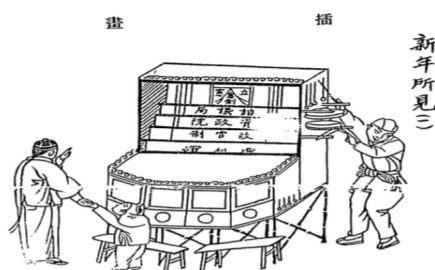


Figure 2.32 What Is Seen During the New Year 1 (SZRB, 10 February 1908).

On February 25, 1915, three years after the fall of the Qing Dynasty, another raree-show caricature was connected to the new Republican government’s diplomatic crisis, known as the Twenty-One Demands. Since the Great War began in 1914, the western countries had paid scant attention to their political and economic interests in China. Japan took advantage of the opportunity and proposed the Twenty-One Demands to China in an attempt to control the country and alone enjoy all the financial benefits. Not surprisingly, the diplomatic crisis led to international and domestic turbulence. The caricature, “What Is Seen during the New Year: New Dongyangjing” (Figure 2.33), wittily changes the Chinese title of the raree-show from “Xiyang jing” to “Dongyang jing” 東洋鏡. “Dongyang” 東洋 literally means “eastern ocean,” a synonym for Japan in the Chinese context.<sup>78</sup> In the caricature, a Chinese viewer watches a “dongyang jing” raree-show that features a corpulent Japanese man who forces a Chinese man to accept the Twenty-One Demands. The Chinese man, instead of fighting back, deferentially bows to the Japanese man, an act for which the caricaturist satirizes the Chinese government for shrinking in its duty to protect the

<sup>78</sup> According to the literary scholar Chen Wei-Fen, the term of dongyang 東洋 is polysemous. That Chinese people used dongyang can be dated back to the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). Whereas the term then referred to the sea area in the east of the South China Sea, the area in the west is then called xiyang 西洋, which is different from the contemporary meaning, a designation of the western countries. Conventional usage was adopted until the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Several geography and history books of the time extended the term to cover Japan and Korea. From the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912), some historiographies dubbed Japan as dongyang for Japan’s location in the ocean to the east of China. See Chen (2001, 367-368; 2004, 204-206).

## CHAPTER TWO

interests of the Chinese people in such a desperate international situation. The caricature, moreover, emphasizes the show is so unpleasant that it fails to attract an audience, another allusion to the Chinese government's failure to realize and address the urgency of the situation for the Chinese people. Thus, the caricature calls for greater attention on the part of the Republican government to represent the public's needs. It was interesting to find that the content and title of this caricature published in 1915 shares the same title - "xinnian suojian" 新年所見 ("What is Seen in the New Year") – with the content and title of a New Year's caricature published in 1908. Contemplating the two caricatures together, it seems that during the intervening seven-year period (1908 to 1915) China was never at peace even though the hoped-for new regime had been established. The strong message conveyed by the second caricature is that the 1915 commemoration of the Chinese New Year was far from being a joyful event.



Figure 2.33 What Is Seen During the New Year 6 (*SZHB*, 25 February 1915).

### 2.4.3.2 X-guanjing X 光鏡 (X-Ray)

The x-ray machine, understood in China to be another type of mirror, was first imported in Suzhou, according to *DSZHB*. The newspaper states that the Boxi Hospital in Suzhou had received a “valuable mirror” 寶鏡 capable of revealing a person's internal organs. As soon as the Soochownese residents learned about the new equipment, they went to the hospital to observe the magic power of the “Baojing,” used by the western doctor, Bolewen (Park William Hector) to diagnose and treat patients.<sup>79</sup>

The x-ray machine was imagined to function as a mirror that could see through the human body (as well as everything else) as depicted in “Autonomous Council Members' Mammonism,” (Figure 2.34), so that whatever happened to lie in inside a person could not be concealed from “the mirror.” The caricature employs characteristics of the x-ray machine to expose the social venality

<sup>79</sup> The illustration depicts an X-ray as a device that can be used in the daylight and seen by others in use. Its appearance resembles a camera. The faults in the picture explain that the illustrator had not seen it in person.



## CHAPTER TWO

that hindered government reform. Along with constitutionalism, the call for self-rule 自治運動 spread among the provinces.<sup>80</sup> Shanghai was one of the early cities that implemented self-government. The rise of a new social class of gentlemen and businessmen (shishen 仕紳), who enthusiastically supported political reform, organized autonomous communities that grew rapidly over a short period of time. However, the movement did not proceed smoothly. In 1910, bribery influenced the election of the autonomous council members leading to numerous “bizarre happenings” (guaizhuang 怪狀) as reported by THRB. The election should have been conducted as a secret vote; however, many voters wrote their names on their ballots and some even asked friends to sign for them. The most ridiculous instance was that of a man who signed his name on thirteen ballots. The report concluded that all the “happenings” were due to “mammonism” (jinqian zhuyi 金錢主義), meaning that people cared only about money in disregard for election regulations.



Figure 2.34 Autonomous Council Members' Mammonism (*THRB*, January 1910).

Figure 2.34 serves as a reminder of a caricature explored in Chapter One, specifically Figure 1.11, where a corpulent Chinese official is depicted as voraciously greedy, symbolically ingesting all the ill-gotten wealth into his expansive stomach. The exaggerated size of his belly aptly aligns with the idiomatic expression “Zhongbao” (中飽), signifying “filling one’s private coffers.” Figure 2.34 provides Chinese readers with a unique opportunity to “witness” the concealed contents within the official's stomach, metaphorically employing a novel device of the “Western mirror,” X-Ray. Figure 2.34 illustrates a new council member standing upright behind a huge X guang jing X 光鏡 (x-ray mirror). As the caption suggests, the x-ray mirror makes all things visible (mingjian 明見), revealing the member’s insides crammed with bills and coins, exposing his avarice made visible by the x-ray mirror. The caricature spotlights the incongruity between the member’s serious exterior and greedy interior, rendering him both laughable and unworthy of respect. Transitioning

<sup>80</sup> About the late Qing’s self-rule movement, see Hou (2009: 80-81, 83-122, 196-204).

## CHAPTER TWO

From Figure 1.11 to Figure 2.34, a consistent symbol emerges—an overweight official serving as a visual element for defining, revealing, and witnessing within Chinese caricature. This underscores the potential for Chinese caricatures to engage in meaningful interactions, further enhancing their caricatural nuances.

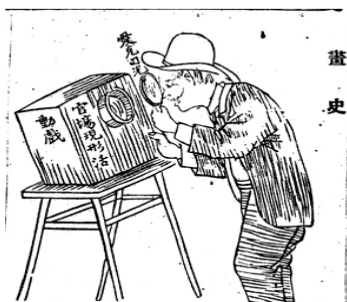


Figure 2.35 Untitled (*Shenbao*, 10 March 1908).

Needless to say, the two types of “mirrors” — the raree-show and the x-ray machine – pair up perfectly to “reveal the officialdom” as depicted by an untitled *Shenbao* caricature (Figure 2.35) that likens the officialdom to a huodongxi 活動戲, a peepshow in an enclosed box. The show is being viewed by a man who delights in watching it through x-ray lens, 愛克司光. The contrast of the two devices emphasizes the distinction between concealment and a bright light being cast on the darkness of government. It is worth noting that the show is being watched not by a Chinese but rather by a westerner who peeps into the box, seemingly competent to control the box by the way he holds it. Moreover, as evidenced by his big, wide grin, the man obviously enjoys what he sees, revealing that he knows all about the tricks the Qing court is playing. The insinuation that the Chinese government performs in a raree-show and that the viewer is a foreigner further underscores the seriousness of China’s internal and external crises.

The historian, Lawrence H. Streicher (1967, 436), in discussing the nature of caricatures points out that “caricature may be called yet another kind of distortion, one which articulates the subject within the framework of probabilities, but in a unique sense. It is that in which “the object is presented to the spectator in a whole,” that “the distortions of caricature as means of presenting an otherwise hidden reality”. Caricature has claims to truth as do other forms of art which attempt to represent and reflect reality.” The statement universally refers to the caricatures themselves; this chapter, by far, manifests that the early Chinese caricaturists visualized the proposition concretely through an array of mirror caricatures. The incongruity between the reality and the reflection underscores the truth, a “distorted” reflections.

## 2.5 Conclusion

As argued by Tang (2018, 120), the pictorial structure of mirror caricatures equates newspapers, caricatures, and caricaturists to mirrors for their ability to discover the truth. Such implications are intensified in mirror caricatures that have no visible mirrors. By decoding that insinuation, this chapter demonstrated how Chinese newspapers and caricaturists visually attempted to promote the atmosphere of revelation so that Chinese readers might be able to understand the characteristics and functions of caricatures. As the late Qing and the early Republican era seem to be periods covered by huge curtains, literature as well as news coverage featured various ways to reveal realities. This incongruity between the truth and the appearance provoked an abundant production of satirical works in both texts and visuals.

The 1907 Tianjin's *RJHB* offers a mode for discussing the essence of caricatures in newspapers. The title, Renjing 人鏡 (Human and Mirror), clearly points out the relationship between the reflector and the reflected. Textually, on the cover of the first issue and included in the inaugural statement, the newspaper expounds on the power and value of mirrors by invoking the words of the Sage (Tang Taizong) and the current atmosphere (Revelation) that employed multiple tones, such as narration, announcement, and debates. Visually, *RJHB* published a series of caricatural covers that suggest the truth exists only in reflections. The newspaper reinforced the interconnection between mirrors, caricatures, and truth-revealing by repeating the pictorial pattern of the reflected and the reflector in each issue. Noticeably, introduction of western optical apparatus extended the realm of Chinese mirrors to include glass mirrors, telescopes, and x-rays that were all dubbed "mirrors." These western "mirrors" offered more ways to reveal the truth in caricatures.

The first part of this dissertation (Chapters One and Two) demonstrated various conventions adopted by caricaturists to make images more comprehensible to the public. In my opinion, these conventions by caricaturists and editors are a tactic to reverse an asymmetry in realizing the painting genre caricatures between Chinese and foreign readers. As flourishing due to the transcultural exchange, Chinese caricatures was taught to the Chinese public through "cultural brokers," as argued by Wagner (2019, 23-24). The second part of my study (Chapters Three, Four, and Five) will address another asymmetry: discrepancies in the publications of Western-style humorous magazines and caricatural visual languages between China and foreign countries. To reverse these asymmetries, Chinese caricaturists, whether foreigners or Chinese, imitated foreign

## CHAPTER TWO

publications and caricatures on Chinese soil. This phenomenon can be regarded as a “massive translation” in Wagner’s transcultural theory.

The second part commences with the renowned British publication, the London *Punch*, a humorous magazine established in 1841. This periodical was one of the crucial channels that carried caricatures and even disseminated caricatures on a global scale. Consequently, numerous *Punch*-inspired magazines emerged worldwide, including in China. Part two aims to illustrate the dual instances of domestication of *Punch*-like magazines in China. The first occurrence transpired from 1868 to approximately 1903 when foreigners in China created three English humorous magazines (Chapter Three). The second instance unfolded from 1918 to 1919 when Chinese painter Shen Bochen 沈泊塵 initiated his business named *Poke* (潑克), the Chinese translation of *Puck*, another popular humorous magazine from the same era (Chapter Four).

In addition to these publications, Chinese caricaturists also imitated various foreign caricatures, employing new visual languages and adapting them to the Chinese context. A discernible global visual flow can thus be observed through the process of caricatural visual translation (Chapter Five). In short, Part Two examines how caricaturists and editors, both foreign and Chinese, worked to overturn the asymmetry in caricatural publications and images. Their efforts integrated China into the broader scope of “the cartoon empire” at the turn of the twentieth century.

**Part 2 Massive Translation:  
Publications, Images and Concepts**

## **I. Periodicals**

## Chapter 3

# Indigenizing Western Humorous Magazines in China I: The Encounter(s) of Empire(s)

In September 1792, a year before Lord Macartney (1737-1806) led a delegation of British government representatives and merchants to China for commercial purposes, the pivotal English caricaturist, James Gillray (1756-1815), regarded as one of the greatest and most prolific eighteenth-century British caricaturists, created an etching caricature, entitled “The Reception of the Diplomat & His Suite at the Court of Peking”, to envisage that crucial moment” (Figure 3.1). Gillray illustrates a scene of the courtly encounter when Chinese Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1811-1899) receives Lord Macartney, who proposes the creation of a permanent English mission to the Court at Peking (Beijing) and requests trading privileges (Fordham 2011, 62).



Figure 3.1 The Reception of the Diplomatique & his Suite at the Court of Peking (September 1792).

Produced in the age of the French Revolution, the caricature reflects a recurring artistic theme at that time: courtly encounters. In the 1790s, the fever of the French Revolution challenged the existing ruling class in France and questioned the legitimacy of governance of other European countries, including that of the British Empire.<sup>81</sup> Such political anxieties later converged into a visual theme, “scenes of the courtly encounter.”<sup>82</sup> The caricature envisages an encounter between China and Britain: the former representative of a long-standing empire

<sup>81</sup> “How Britain can govern a large Empire upon a plan of freedom” and also achieve to a stable balance “between local institutions and centralized power, obligation and independence, conversion and reason” set out to be the British Empire’s main concern in face of the revolutionary fashion. See Fordham (2011, 69).

<sup>82</sup> With vivid illustrations of the receptions of the British Empire with other foreign entities, these pictures witness an “emergent British ornamentalism” that “refers to a renewed emphasis on aristocratic signs and courtly protocols in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that assuage and extend British imperial might. The scenes of courtly encounters construct a variety of “vernacular images of royal authority embedded in specific, cultural contexts” to “fashion and tie the empire abroad.” See Fordham (2011, 62 and 70).

### CHAPTER THREE

and the latter, a growing empire. The most obvious visual contrast is between the Chinese Emperor Qianlong and Lord Macartney, the British diplomat. Gillray depicts Qianlong as a corpulent emperor with long and crooked nails, who sits “immovable upon a cushion,” smoking his pipe. Behind him stand two Chinese ministers and one sword bearer, both disinterested in the English delegation. Lord Macartney, dressed formally with a wig, looks directly at the emperor. He does not submit to the Chinese protocol requiring that anyone making a presentation to the emperor prostrate himself. Rather, Lord Macartney “kneels on one knee reverentially” and raises an official letter sent by England’s King George III, requesting trading privileges. Compared to other members of the delegation who are shown kowtowing, Lord Macartney appears to retain his national British dignity during the ceremonial process (Fordham 2011, 66).

*The Reception of the Diplomatique & his Suite at the Court of Peking* depicts the theme of courtly encounters that “spanned serious and satirical artistic genres, and which, given the overheated political rhetoric of the day, often blurred boundaries between them” (Fordham 2011, 62). On the surface, the caricature portrays an encounter between two empires, but the satirical device of the caricature foregrounds conflicts on multiple levels. While reaffirming western superiority by juxtaposing the Chinese Emperor with Lord Macartney (Gillray 1966), the illustration calls into question the ingenuousness of the British Empire.<sup>83</sup> Ironically, the caricature is not just imaginative but prognostic, as proved by Lord Macartney’s actual voyage to China in June 1793. In accordance with Gillray’s prophesy, both sides actually collided over concerns of Chinese courtly protocol. The awkward situation was solved by the fact that Lord Macartney paid Qianlong, the Chinese Emperor, the symbolic English compliment of kneeling on one knee, while all the Chinese made their usual position.

On top of that, discussions on commercial issues did not work out as expected. In October 1793, the English mission received the Chinese Emperor’s reply to King George III, which validated Gillray’s prediction:

---

<sup>83</sup> In an analysis of the pictorial arrangement, the English scholar Douglas Fordham (2011, 64-74) argues that Gillray “included all the objects with deliberate symbolic intent to show the delegation as inept, pompous and condescending, trying to cloak their imperialist motives of ‘aggressive mercantile expansion’ as cultural exchange.” Gillray suspects the authority of emerging gentlemanly capitalists, such as Lord Macartney, who “saw in empire a means of generating income flows in ways that were incompatible with the high ideas of honor and duty.” It was a group of autocrats that spearheads Imperialism, rather than manufacturing interests. In this light, the disinterestedness of the Chinese empire in the western objects in Gillray’s caricature seemingly proves the failure of such a disingenuous diplomatic stratagem. Gillray decries those who would minimize the imperial power “through greed and self-interest.”



### CHAPTER THREE

..... Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated into every country under Heaven, and Kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As you ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures.<sup>84</sup>

The various asymmetrical power relationships represented in the caricature, as expressed by the Chinese Emperor Qianlong's rejection of Lord Macartney's gifts, foreshadowed a series of future events that occurred after the commercial negotiation of 1816 failed. Those events included the First Opium War in 1839, the Treaty of Nanking and the cession of Hong Kong in 1842, the Second Opium War in 1856, and other collisions resulting from various commercial and political issues. Also, the caricature shows, by their outfits and facial expressions, contrasts between Chinese barbarism and western civilization. Lord Macartney, by presenting a number of objects as gifts, endeavors to promote British-produced goods. The English businessmen behind him hold miniatures of summer and winter carriages along with firearms, telescopes, air guns, a weathercock, a magpie in a cage, and a Union flag. At Lord Macartney's feet are all kinds of children's playthings, such as a lantern, battledores (a type of badminton racket) shuttle bocks, and rat traps. As a sign of Britain's desire to trade with China, these articles display a modern civilization from the west, indicating that western materialism would play a crucial role in scenes of imperial encounters. Against the backdrop of those objects, the British empire appears as "a new form of Universal Empire without national boundaries and guided by global profit" compared to China, depicted as an out-of-date empire. (Fordham 2011 62, 67; Gillray 139).

From the caricature to the real world, one can see how asymmetrical power flowed in the real world from side-to-side (Welsh 1993). It shifted from the Chinese Emperor's turndown of Lord Macartney's gifts to the so-called unequal treaties, and over time from Lord Macartney's refusal to follow rules of the Chinese courtly protocol to establishment of the British embassy in China, and from the rejection of the western objects to China's importation of western institutions. In turn, the asymmetrical power relationships heralded the arrival of a worldwide cultural and visual exchange. At the court in 1816, China received not only the British Empire but also a comic empire. Among the articles at Lord Macartney's feet, as shown in the caricature, is a magic lantern with devils on either side of a comic strip and a figure of Mr. Punch in the center. (Fordham 2011, 63). For a viewer living in Gillray's time, the image of Mr. Punch was reminiscent of a protagonist in the traditional and farcical puppet show while for contemporary readers, it is a blazing sign that connects publication of the British *Punch*

---

<sup>84</sup> Sir A. F. Whyte, *China and Foreign Powers*, London 1927, 14 (qtd. in Gillray 139).

### CHAPTER THREE

that was founded in the year 1841 to a collection of globally influential humorous magazines that were named after the Mr. Punch, puppet character.

As Australian scholar Richard Scully (2013) notes, the British *Punch* magazine was constructed as “a Comic Empire.” The invention of lithography fostered reproduction of caricatures in newspapers and magazines. With expansion of western colonialism and imperialism, the British *Punch* as a humorous magazine circulated not merely on a national or continental scale but globally. Scully’s research has shown the trajectories of *Punch*’s great expedition as the humorous magazine moved from country to country. The British colonies worldwide were hotbeds for various *Punches*. From the perspective of the colonizers as well as the colonized, circulation of the British *Punch* magazine as well as the colonies’ own *Punch* magazines served the purpose of maintaining the British lifestyle and, most importantly, associated Britain with colonial power, both visually and mentally. As a result, graphic satire belongs to the world of commodities, like the objects surrounding Lord Macartney.<sup>85</sup>

It might have never occurred to either Gillray or Lord Macartney that after decades, Mr. Punch turned out to be a strong cultural symbol that represents British satirical culture. My research echoes the insinuation that caricatures constitute a commercial and cultural commodity that circulated on a global scale. In fact, the commodity of caricatures can be divided into two layers: one layer is the carrier of the caricatures, namely, the publications and their formats, which is main focus in Part Two; the other layer is comprised of the caricatures themselves, that is, the images and their visual languages, which will be deal with in Part Three.

According to Wagner (2019, 24), transcultural interaction is characterized by “massive translation.” The process of adoption and adaptation serves as the starting point for examining the process of translation. Part Two will focus on “the quantity and quality of the massive translation and investigate the changes in the shared “core feature of translated elements.” I argue that the foreign and Chinese cultural brokers who initiated and managed the caricature business in colonies, settlements, and Chinese territories contributed to the widespread appearance of Punch-like magazines in China. Punch-like magazines underwent a two-stage process of indigenization to cater to both the local audience and the market. The initial stage was instigated by foreign entities conducting business in China, introducing *Punch*, the original British humorous magazine, around the late nineteenth century. This led to the publication of representative local magazines such as the *China Punch* in Hong Kong, *Puck: or the Shanghai*

---

<sup>85</sup> “The collection of Boydell engraving at the emperor’s feel bring this paradox to the surface, recalling the dependence of Gillray’s satires upon the commercial ambition of others.” For more information on Boydell Prints, cf. Fordham (2011, 64, 74).

## CHAPTER THREE

*Charivari*, and *the Rattle* in Shanghai. The second stage of localizing humorous magazines in China took place from 1918 to 1919 and was spearheaded by the Chinese cultural broker, caricaturist Shen Bochen 沈泊塵, and his two “Pokes” 潑克: *Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克 (Shanghai Puck) and *SSXB*'s literary supplement “Poke.” These were based on the concepts and formats of humorous magazines. Notably, *Shanghai Poke*, the first monthly Chinese caricature magazine, showcased the works of Shen Bochen, marking a significant milestone in the history of Chinese caricatures.

Chapter Three investigates the massive translation of Western-style humorous magazines, a venture undertaken by foreign cultural actors, specifically the Western diaspora. This chapter will outline two pathways through which diaspora members introduced their native forms of humorous magazines to China. The first pathway involved foreign newspapers in China, which occasionally featured news articles referencing various Punch-like magazines and their caricatures of rapid responses to the prevailing international political landscape. Interestingly, these newspapers even reported on a public meeting where a speaker discussed how to interpret these caricatures.<sup>86</sup> The second, arguably more significant, pathway was the imitation of Punch-like magazines in Hong Kong and Shanghai, i.e., China, within a broader context. Through these strategies, these transcultural actors aimed to address the asymmetry in caricature publication between China and their home countries.

Before delving further into Chapter Three, it is important to note that previous research has focused on conflicts between Chinese and foreign communities in caricatures published in these foreign humorous magazines in China. My research, by comparison, places greater emphasis on politics and disputes among the foreigners themselves. Even nations that aligned themselves with China focused mainly on themselves, their own political and social lives in far-away lands of East Asia. The attention directed to their own social and political satire of events represents a pivotal dimension that has rarely been explored.

### **3.1 Pathway One: Reporting Humorous Publications and Caricatures**

Since the late 19th century, the Shanghai-based English-language newspaper, the *North China Herald*, had more than once informed the audience of the arrival of the latest issues of the English *Punch* or France's *Le Charivari* in the Shanghai settlement. In these English newspapers in China, to describe and explain these foreign caricatures becomes a sort of news

---

<sup>86</sup> This news will be discussed in the Conclusion.

### CHAPTER THREE

coverage. For example, on 13 December 1881, *the North China Herald* described a caricature, published in the latest number of the *Charivari*, appearing to testify to the brotherhood of Europe but in fact divulging the intricate power relationship among European countries (“Summary of News” 1881b Dec. 1881).

One more example. On 18 July 1884, *the North China Herald* clipped an article from *the New York Herald*. The article criticized the American railway investor, Jay Gould, who had provoked many controversies due to his speculative and unscrupulous way of running the business. (Klein 1986)<sup>87</sup> The article began with a *Puck*’s caricature in which Jay Gould was ironized as the one who “would be in charge of the infernal regions shortly after his arrival there.” Nevertheless, “judging from Mr. Gould’s career upon earth,” “after a time he would have wrecked even hell,” and “left the institution to run itself.” Due to such citation, the *Puck* seems to have won recognition by its contemporary in New York. Through *the North China Herald*’s excerpting, the endorsement spread even further to the Far East (“Summary of News” 1884).<sup>88</sup>

In light of locality, these magazines and caricatures are foreign, but to the targeted audience, English speakers in China, these publications and images may be no less “home-made” and “native.” The ambiguity characterizes the global network of circulation intertwining the readers, the publications, and their locations. Judging from these reports of caricatures, the China-based foreign-language newspapers concern more about the affairs in their locales rather than those in their homelands. Therefore, most of time, these imported images work more like a mirror to reflect and comment on China’s then-current situation. On 13 July 1872, for instance, a newspaper article entitled “Telegrams” began with a “very capital caricature” in the British *Punch*, drawn by a famous *Punch* caricaturist, John Tenniel (“Telegrams” 1872) with this caption: “Under the Dark Blue Waters” (Figure 3.2) The caricature illustrates an irritated Father Neptune with two mermaids who had been decapitated by a “snake-like coil of the cable that lies twisting its ugly curves in the bed of mid-ocean.” The ceaseless messages communicating through the cable irked the Greek God Neptune who threatened to break the cable if his Whits’n holiday is disturbed (“elegrams” 1872).

---

<sup>87</sup> From 1881 to 1890, the American *Puck* had published many caricatures in relation to Jay Gould an extremely wealthy American railroad tycoon, just to name some: the issues on 6 Jun. 1880; 26 Jan., 23 Feb., 188, 5 Oct., 12 Oct., 19 Oct. 1881; 14 Jun., 20 Sep. 1882; 10 Jan., 7 Feb., 18 Jul., 19 Sep., 12 Dec., 1883; 22 Jan., 6 Feb., 9 Feb., 18 Jun. 1884; 12 Aug. 1885; 3 Nov. 1886; 18 May 1887; 22 Aug. 1888 and 12 Mar.1890. For more information about Jay Gould and his trains business, see Klein; Peterson.

<sup>88</sup> Besides the two examples, one can also read the articles referring to the foreign in *the North China Herald* on the following dates: (just to name some) June 22 1883, 15 September 1866, 24 January 1890, 20 January 1905, On 20 February 1891, there was even a brief report to mourn the death of a *Punch*’s artist, Charles Keene (1823-1891).

## CHAPTER THREE



Figure 3.2 Under the Dark Blue Waters (the London *Punch*, 25 May 1872).

This caricature, in reference to the diplomatic dispute of the Alabama claims between Britain and the U.S. satirizes the “over” civilized world that has become overwhelmed by information (Robson 1961; Sexton 2003).<sup>89</sup> The messages transmitting through the cable symbolize the interminable negotiations between the U.S. and Britain that lasted as long as five years (1867 to 1872) as well as the massive but uncertain communication wired from one place to another. Poking fun at “the code,” which varies in meaning according to one’s occupation and cultural background, the newspaper article points in particular to Shanghai’s commerce. The author emphasizes the divergency between ordinary people and Shanghai merchants in their comprehension of some of the given terms, and draws a satirical conclusion that “we are not altogether gainers by Telegraphy.”

Another example, an essay, “Feng-Shuey,” 風水 published on 5 September 1868, disagrees with a piece of news that says a Shanghai local called Ting-jih-cheng, his rapid rise occurred because of the influence of his patron Li (“Feng-Shuey” 1868). Instead, the essay’s author proclaims that it is all because Ting “raised up Feng-Shuey as an argument against foreign enterprise.” Ting and the Taotai of Shanghai asserted that the erection of posts for the Pootung telegraph system had violated local Feng Shuey and tragically occasioned a villager’s death. The accusation ushered in the demolition of the line of the telegraph. The essay further features an increase in conflicts over Feng Shuey since 1865, which had become an obstacle to the realization of foreign “ideas” in China (“Feng-Shuey” 1868).

To deride such obstructive actions, the author of “Feng-Shuey” referred to a caricature appearing in the Russian *Charivari*. Judging from the magazine’s title, it should be a punch-like magazine in Russia. This caricature depicts the siege of Sebastopol in the Crimean War

---

<sup>89</sup> For more information about the Alabama claims and its contribution to codify the international law, cf. Cook (2019); Robson (1961); Sexton (2003).

### CHAPTER THREE

(1854-1855). On “hearing from Sebastopol that the Allies (French, Ottoman, and British) were opening trenches before it,” the Russian Prince Gortschakoff knew the city was undefended and would probably be occupied in the end. However, instead of acting depressed, he “executed a pas de seal, exclaiming in the exuberance of his joy,” saying that “I have saved Sebastopol.” By referring to this caricature of the Sebastopol siege, the author intends to ironize Ting and his official superiors. He mocks this anti-western group for indulging in “the similar manifestation of delight” and sarcastically questions the Chinese national defensive competency of fighting “against the allied onslaught of steam and electricity.” (“Feng-Shuey” 1868).

But not all the reports about punch-like magazines in English newspapers in China focused on conflicts. Some call for justice. An editorial, published on 15 November 1882, cites a British *Punch* caricature that harshly criticizes the Shanghai administration. This caricature, “THE SUBLIME – SUPER”, illustrates an English General, Sir Garnet Wolsey’s quelling the “Urabi Revolt in 1882 Egypt” (Figure 3.3). The caricaturist, Tenniel, compares the military operation to a drama rehearsal. Sir Garnet Wolsey, as a stage manager, disparages the Egyptian Sultan’s demonstration of opposition to an adversary’s position --- “DOWN WITH URABI” - -- and sent him to the back for waving the banner. The Sultan is ironically downgraded to a part of the stage setting, which significantly implies the ebb of his political power (“The Native and Foreign Authorities in Shanghai” 1882).



Figure 3.3 The Sublime – “Super” (the London *Punch*, September 16 1882).

With the image highlighting Sultan’s awkwardness, the editor condemned the Chinese conservatives for selling official positions and hampering the country's advancement, for example, installing electric lights. Such irrational mentality led to a revered Shanghai Magistrate’s transfer to another place, which triggered the essay’s author to reassess the relationship between China and foreign authorities in Shanghai. The author claimed the reassignment of the magistrate was caused by the corrupt Chinese bureaucracy that “disparages

### CHAPTER THREE

novelty” and succumbs to fake rumors, such as electric lights slaughtering all Shanghai inhabitants. But what astonishes the author most is that the consular body of the Anglo-American Settlement had already acquired details about the magister’s reassignment but remained silent for a long time due to commercial considerations. By exposing the illegal behavior, the author reprimands the authorities’ administration for the publicity and lack of transparency (“The Native and Foreign Authorities in Shanghai” 1882).

From these reports, one could sense that a global network of humorous magazines was taking shape. The *North China Herald* had extracted from a Sydney newspaper a piece of news that enumerates Japanese native newspaper-press as many as two hundred and fifty. In Tokyo alone, there were “some ten daily papers- not including prices current.” Besides, there were several comic newspapers following the manner of *Punch* and *Puck*.” (“Summary of News” 1881a Nov. 1881) This news excerpt pointed to an international itinerary of news circulation on the one hand and suggested the fact that many cities had their own comic magazines following the format of the British *Punch* and the American *Puck*, the two pivotal magazines, on the other hand.

As the title of a successful comic magazine, the term of “Punch” evolved into a metonymy of humor and wit in the news report (“The Weather” 1863). In 1863, the weather in January was much hotter than that in the preceding year. A weather report accounts for the unusual meteorological phenomenon and concludes in a witty remark:

Only once or twice a thin scum of ice covered the ponds, and there is fear of a scarcity of that valuable commodity for the summer; consequently, we may remark in the language of “Punch,” that, although a pleasant, it has not been “an ice” (a nice) winter.

Apparently, “the language of ‘Punch’” denotes a funny expression. Playing with the liaison, the author cleverly turns “an ice winter” into “a nice winter,” which suggests that “a winter without ice is not a nice winter.” With the word play, the report indicates that the British *Punch* not only succeeded in popularizing the mode of humorous periodicals but also in creating idiosyncratic playful rhetoric used and accepted in the journalism (“The Weather” 1863).

Taken together these news reports, one can observe how the foreign caricatures were described and utilized in the Settlement’s English newspapers. These reports updated the publication information, employed these images to express political opinions, and impressed the audience with an equivalence of the comic magazine and humor.

As the cases in other countries indicated by Scully, the *Punch*’s transcultural journal was

## CHAPTER THREE

led by the foreign diaspora rather than the ethnic Chinese groups. The following section will examine the humorous magazines founded in China by foreigners or foreign companies. I contend that these foreign-language magazines, found in Hong Kong and Shanghai, are the first local response to the global expansion of “the comic empire.” The diaspora established their own humorous magazines by mixing the foreign and Chinese elements, catering to their compatriots. These periodicals enrich the worldwide trajectory of various humorous periodicals and, significantly, unveil the colonial mindset in the Far East through a funny and whimsical lens.

### 3.2 Pathway Two: Imitating Humorous Publications and Caricatures

#### 3.2.1 The Colonial Supervisor: *China Punch* in Hong Kong

The London *Punch* (Figure 3.4) and the American *Puck*, have circulated worldwide (Scully 2013; Harder and Mittler 2013). China is no exception. This global circulation of publications contributed to the encounter of the two Empires: the comic empire from the U.K. and the old far-eastern empire of China. Following other colonies, it was not until 1867 that the Far East’s British Colony, Hong Kong, became a part of the Comic Empire thanks to the publication of the *China Punch*, an imitation of the London *Punch*. Unlike reporting caricatures as news sources, the appearance of the *China Punch* also announced the advent of the first stage of “massive translation,” to borrow Wagner’s term, of *Punch*-like magazines on far-eastern soil.

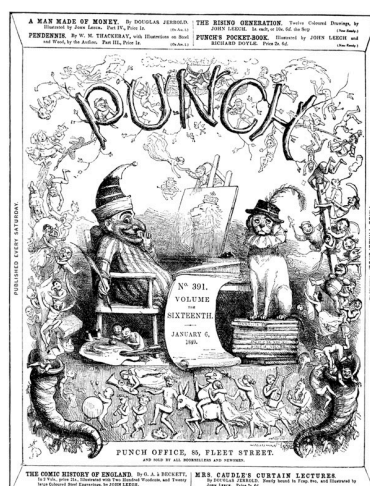


Figure 3.4 A Cover of the London *Punch* (6 September 1849).



### CHAPTER THREE

*The China Punch* (Figure 3.5) was an appendage to *The China Mail*,<sup>90</sup> which was founded in 1845 by the English publisher Andrew Shortrede and came to end in 1874.<sup>91</sup> Running as long as 129 years, *the China Mail* was the longest and most influential English newspaper in the crown colony. As the “Official Organ of All Government Notifications in Hong Kong”, *the China Mail* carried commercials, Hong Kong government Gazette and essays by missionaries and experts, greatly influencing Hong Kong in politics and culture (King and Clarke 1965, 58-63). Most importantly, the fact the China Mail published Chinese newspapers enhances the development of Chinese journalism such as the *Jinshi bianlu* Hong Kong News in 1864, and the *Zhongwai xinwen qiribao* in 1871 (Sinn 2002, 424-425).



Figure 3.5 The Cover of *the China Punch* (July 11, 1867).

*The China Punch* adopted a notable characteristic from its predecessor, the London *Punch*: the inclusion of a humorous figure, Mr. Punch, accompanied by his dog, on each issue's cover. Originating as a character in traditional glove puppet slapstick, Mr. Punch assumed the role of a branded satirical persona, representing the collective identity of the London *Punch* and its contributors (Maidment 2013, 41). This comedic persona served “as a satirical presiding spirit” (Maidment 2013, 16) and gradually incorporated various features—such as a clown, a Lord of misrule, a friend of the oppressed or misunderstood, and an incorruptible defender of moral standards to offer the non-partisan objectivity of the outsider (Maidment 2013, 43) for exhibiting the multiple essence of the London *Punch*.

Mr. Punch's multifaceted images are also evident as he ventures worldwide. Scully's research (2013) highlights that, in various *Punch* magazines across different regions, Mr. Punch strives to embody a native persona by donning the attire of national characters and engaging in

<sup>90</sup> The *China Punch* called jokingly *the China Mail* “The China Snail.” See Rea 2013, 395.

<sup>91</sup> The English press started in Hong Kong with *the Friend of China and the Hong Kong Gazetteer* in 1842, sequenced by the *Hong Kong Register* in 1843 and *The China Mail* in 1845, among which *the China Mail* was the only one to survive beyond the 1860s.

### CHAPTER THREE

local cultural and political events. For instance, in Canada, Mr. Punch is depicted climbing a snow-covered mountain, adorned in a thick snow coat. In Japan, Mr. Punch transforms into a samurai against the backdrop of a massive sun with radiating lines. In India, Mr. Punch takes on the role of a local loyal king, presiding over a group of Indians. This kind of visual presentation, crafted by different British diasporas, served as a mechanism to localize this form of humorous magazine in numerous exotic territories. It appears to be customary for those initiating Punch magazines outside Britain to re-characterize Mr. Punch in alignment with their local political, cultural, and natural conditions

*The China Punch* has two publishing periods-- the first one ran from 1867 to 1868 and the second runs from 1872 to 1876; during these two period it released more than 40 issues (Rea 2013, 394). In the first period, the magazine cover illustrates a rectangle frame of bamboo in which Mr. Punch, following his “brothers” who wear regional characteristic clothes when appearing in a new region, dresses himself as “a stereotyped a Qing official, complete with cap, pigtail, robe decorated with a dragon and tigers, and long fingernails. (396)” He warmly opens his arm to invite the readers with a smirk and a wink, which reveals his irreverence and impishness, the very gist of the humorous magazine (396; Wong 2001, 31).

In the background stand “two dragons thumbing their noses at each other, holding a circular plate that frame a Chinese landscape.” (Rea 2013, 396) Similar to a Qing official and dragons, the landscape symbolizes China. The landscape is the famous Willow Pattern (Figure 3.6), which bears witness to a fashion of Chinoiserie, “the seventeenth and eighteenth western style of interior design, furniture, pottery, textiles, and garden design that were inspired by art and designs of silk, lacquer and ceramic products imported to Europe and represents fanciful European interpretations of Chinese style.”<sup>92</sup> The British merchants, in an attempt to promote imported porcelains, fabricated a Chinese love story in which a young couple who elopes to escape an arranged marriage decided by the father of the bride-to-be. Unfortunately, they end up being caught and committed suicide. A God miraculously transforms them into doves so that they could be together forever. The Willow Pattern displays the principal icons of the story with the decorative patterns, especially willow trees. The Willow pattern is such a widely recognized Chinese symbol that the legendary story was later staged in England as a one-act comic opera and adapted into a film. Children in England could find in an encyclopedia the Willow Pattern and its story so that as adult audiences of the original London *Punch*, they were

---

<sup>92</sup>See Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. “Chinoiserie.” Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://shorturl.at/hmnyL> (accessed 20 March 2024).

## CHAPTER THREE

able to identify the design in some of the China-related caricatures published in the colonies.

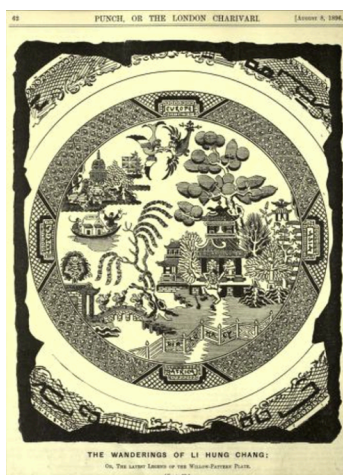


Figure 3.6 The Wanderings of Li Hung Chang (the London *Punch*, 8 August 1894).

In the colony of Hong Kong, the Willow Pattern might have affected British readers in a paradoxical manner in that it functioned as reminiscent of the far-away-land fable but also as a reminder that at that time the readers were, in fact, living and working in that far-away-land. During the second publication period of *the China Punch* (1872- 1876), the illustration on the cover changed. With an array of “pseudo-Chinese imagery”, many foreign elements were incorporated (Figure 3.7). Within the bamboo frame, a coolie is nailing to the wall several bamboo sticks that compose the word “CHINA”. Under him is hanging a dragon that forms the word of “PUNCH”. Clad in the official Qing garment, Mr. Punch is shown in the company of a stone lion that rests its paws on a globe. The lion can be regarded as a replacement of Toby, Mr. Punch’s pet dog. The globe refers to Mr. Punch’s global comic empire and, further, the influence of British imperialism. *The China Punch* also features highlights of Mr. Punch’s grand assortment of books leaning against the back of his chair with the words “Hoax” and “Wit” written on the cover (Rea 2013, 396-397; Mittler 2013, 431).



## CHAPTER THREE

Figure 3.7 The Cover of *the China Punch* (November 1872).

The witty quality of *the China Punch* is also evinced by another iconography. The cover contains many textual allusions to Shakespeare plays wrapped within the Chinese mode of decoration. The horizontal scroll reads “Take our Good Morning, for our judgment sits/ Five times in the ere once in our five wits”, a line taken from the play *Romeo and Juliet*. The scroll on the left reads: “We beseech thee take it not amiss”, a revised line from *Richard III* (I do beseech you, take it not amiss). On the unrolled scroll on the right reads: “If we offend, it is.....,” a line from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. According to Rea (2013, 398), these outwardly irrelative lines actually construct “a well-intentioned wit” that seems to absolve *the China Punch* from displeasing their readership as humor magazines often do, whether intentionally or accidentally.

Contrary to the British *Punch*, whose editors and caricaturists were known by readers, *the China Punch* reveals very little information in this regard. So far, I have found only related information in *Europe in China*, a history book of Hong Kong published in 1895 by Ernest John Eitel (1838-1909). While delineating the formation of political associations during the administration of Sir R.G. MacDonnell, Eitel (1895, 470) noted the birth of *the China Punch*, portrayed as “a semi political but less aspiring association formed by Mr. W.N. Middleton”, the editor mentioned in the announcement of the publication’s farewell statement. Several local artists, such as Mr. J. Coughtrie and Mr. E. Beart, joined the magazine, and in Eitel’s words, “humorously but most effectively criticized and caricatured, to the intense amusement of the community, local politics and manners, celebrities, and oddities.” Thus far, I have found very few accounts of the lives of those two artists; hence, to fill this informative gap will be the next task for future research.

According to Maidment (2013, 19-31), the nature of a *Punch* page (Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.12) includes being “double-columned, squarish in shape, big enough to accommodate an assembly of small images dropped into the text or a large single image and capable of the elaboration of rules, borders, and devices (20),” particularly shown in pages. Thanks to the advantages of wood engraving, *Punch* pages contained various styles of images in both tiny and immense sizes (From Figure 3.8 to Figure 3.12), which relegates the traditional elements of words to the background as the core of magazines. The London *Punch* carried an array of images derived from different graphic traditions such as “the silhouette visual/verbal jokes,” small and plain silhouettes, and vignettes down and around the page, serving as a visual reminder of “Regency obsessions with body shape” (Figure 3.8).

## CHAPTER THREE

Additionally, sophisticated illustrations at the top or across two pages satirized political and social evils (Figure 3.10 and Figure 3.11)



Figure 3.8 A Page of *Punch Almanack*, 1842.<sup>93</sup>



Figure 3.9 A Page of the *London Punch*.<sup>94</sup>

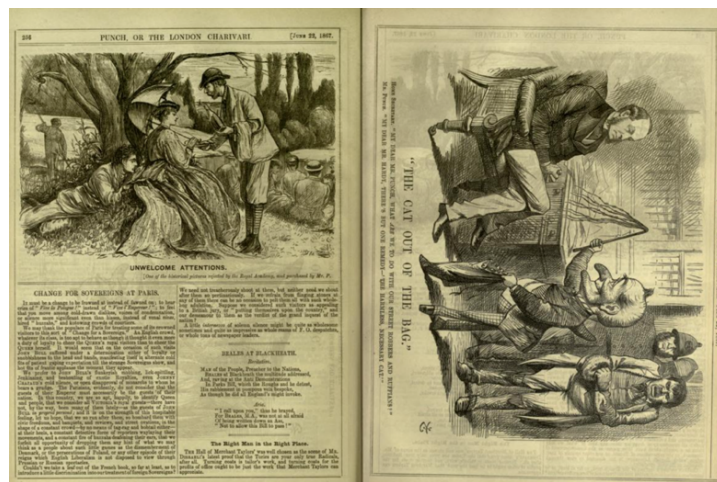


Figure 3.10 Two pages of the *London Punch* (22 June 1867).

<sup>93</sup> The image is taken from Maidment (2013, 20).

<sup>94</sup> The image is taken from Maidment (2013, 21).

# CHAPTER THREE

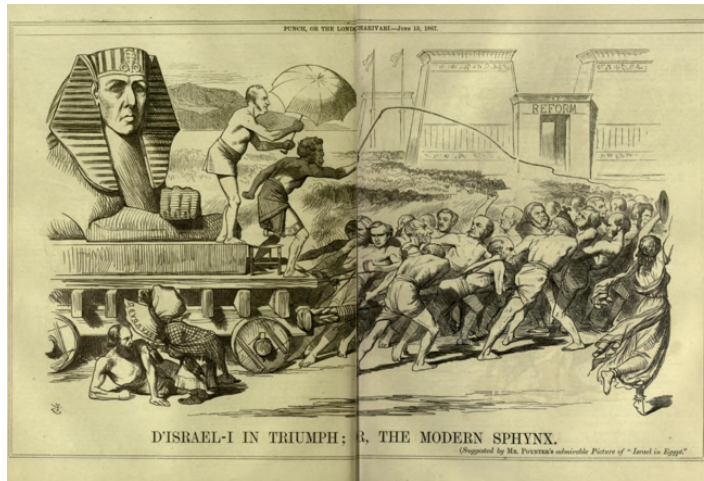


Figure 3.11 A Caricature Across Two Pages (the London *Punch*, 22 June 1867).

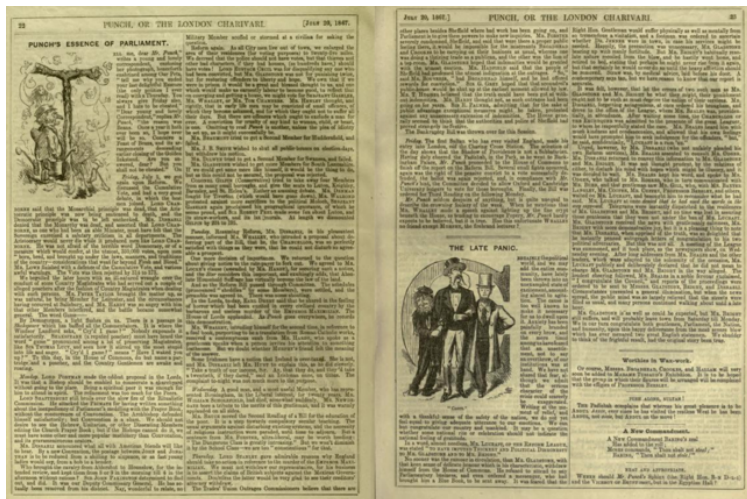


Figure 3.12 Two Pages of the London *Punch* (20 July 1867).

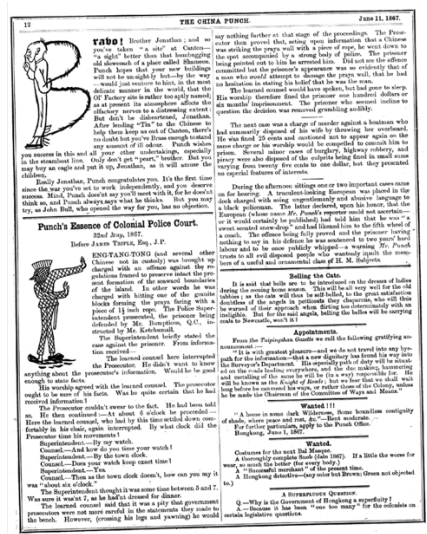


Figure 3.13 A Page of the *China Punch* (11 June 1867).

## CHAPTER THREE

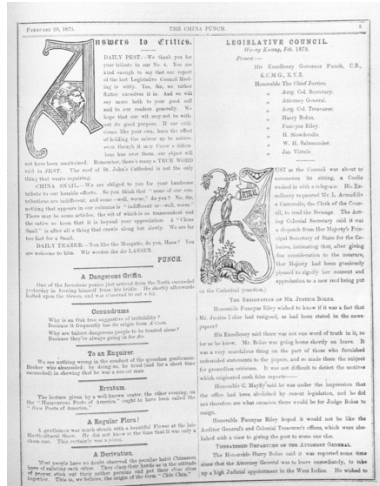


Figure 3.14 A Page of *the China Punch* (20 February 1873).

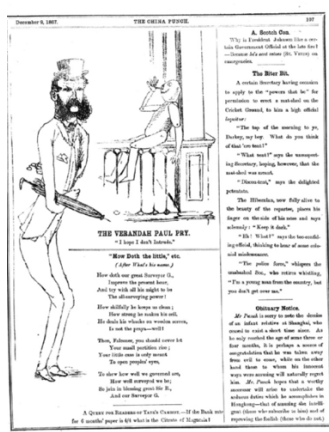


Figure 3.15 A Page of *the China Punch* (11 June 1867).

*The China Punch* apparently imitated the page layout of the London *Punch*. Pages in the *China Punch* was also a double-columned, dividedly into two halves, evenly (Figure 3.13 and Figure 3.14) or not evenly (Figure 3.15). The page and its units were squarish in shape: the pages are framed in a square and composed of a travesty of various textual blocks such as sonnets, parodical essays, comic pseudo-meeting records and the vignette decoration. Among pages can be found that huge images dropped into the text as shown in Figure 3.15. A giant western gentleman stands across two rows. His upper body observes a puppet inclining to the pillar and drinking alcohol while lower part leans with a poem. His umbrella even pokes into the railings where the puppet sits. The composition of Figure 3.15 demonstrates *the China Punch*'s printing technique that combines different types and even different art works together in a page.

As Maidment (2013, 39-40) points out, the London *Punch*'s "late Victorian imitators" in the Britain recognized that the large scale of illustrations, mostly political caricatures, served

### CHAPTER THREE

as its visual attractions. *The China Punch*, undoubtedly, shared the same idea by continuing this visual tradition. *The China Punch* frequently published caricatures at the top and bottom of pages, as well as full-page caricatures. However, slightly different from the *London Punch*, I have not found any cross-two-page caricatures in the issues I have encountered so far. *The China Punch* inherited another amusing vignette from the *London Punch*: the whimsical decorations of the first character of essays and editorials (Figure 3.12). *The China Punch*'s comedic treatment of characters also embody "Regency obsessions with body shape." As Rea (2013, 408) indicates, *the China Punch* plays with the bodies of the colonized, Chinese and Indian, in a sense of mockery. Figure 3.13 makes fun of the Chinese coolie's pigtail, which forms two curves that turn out to be a 'B' with a coolie body, while a dark-skinned Indian subject gestures an 'F' with his face to the left side and two arms to the right side. Although later issues exhibited elaborated ornaments of English characters (Figure 3.14), the vignettes in Figure 3.13 (and other similar images) deserve more of our attention. They highlight the colonized's racial traits (Chinese hairstyle and Indian skin color, for instance), revealing the British superiority complex in the colony.

The content of *the China Punch* "includes caricatures of colonial government officials and their Chinese counterparts, roundups of fictitious social events, satirized telegrams and letters to the editor, witty rhymes on financial, political, commercial and social topics and copious puns." (Rea 2013, 399) These images and texts demonstrate a fruit-bowl collection of comedic forms, such as satirical mimicry, travesty and more in addition to a wide range of topics such as society, commerce, and more (400). No matter whether in textual or in visual materials, Mr. Punch's position as a colonial superintendent is conspicuous, though he disguises himself as a Qing official on the magazine's illustrated covers. In the first issue of "the revived the *China Punch*" in 1872, Mr. Punch announced to return to Hong Kong with "promises to remonstrate with colonial administrators" and "exhort citizens to pursue higher ideals." (398)

*The China Punch*'s self-proclaimed majesty is clearly projected in its regular column entitled "Legislative Council." Informing readers of current colonial politics, it parodies the narrative form of *The Government Gazette*, the official English-language newspaper that carried reports of proceedings and debates that carried the official report of the proceedings and debates in the legislature. By contrast, in *the China Punch*'s legislative council, Mr. Punch often presides as "His Excellency Governor," presiding over all the officials and council members whose names are humorously changed. For instance, the Honorable Chief Justice,



## CHAPTER THREE

Kenny Smale, is noted as “small” and the Honorable Acting Colonial Secretary, Clementi Smith, is duped with a flavor of Chinglish as Clementini Smitii. Mr. Punch, who is obligated to moderate the council meetings as chairman, listens carefully to the members’ debates on colonial government policies and most of the time offers recommendations for resolving current situations, of course, almost always in a sardonic tone (“Legislative Council” 1873).

Together with the textual reports, Mr. Punch’s highness is re-confirmed in the caricatures, as well. A caricature dated 1872 shows Mr. Punch (Figure 3.16), clad in full western attire with an umbrella in hand, who greets the governor, Arthur Kennedy (1805-1883), saying: “Here we are again.” Kennedy wholeheartedly welcomes Mr. Punch into his office by saying: “Delighted to make your acquaintance”. The conversation alludes to Mr. Punch’s intimacy with the colonial power and the political orientation of the magazine. In his response, Governor Arthur reveals it is his first time to meet Mr. Punch but is ready to work with “him.”<sup>95</sup> The composition of the caricature is worth noting due to its visually asymmetrical effect. Mr. Punch’s ridiculously giant head and grotesque nose occupy most space on the left side of the image, while Kennedy’s secretary, John Gardiner Austin, with his exceptional rangy figure and twisted face, stands alone on the right side. The fact that Mr. Punch visually outweighs both colonial officers suggests that the influence of *the China Punch* compares favorably as a political entity. In other words, the comic empire does not rank second to its English counterpart.

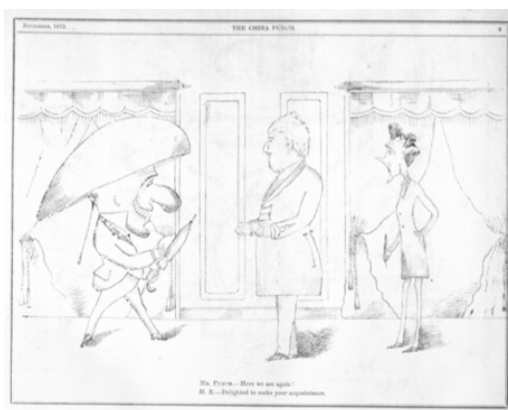


Figure 3.16 Untitled (*the China Punch*, November 1872).

### 3.2.1.1 Social Satire: A Moralist of Manners

As Brain Maidment (2013, 19) indicates, the London *Punch* was noted for its “outspoken criticism of various social ills” and, even in its later history, “remained a broad-based repository of social and political commentary.” Therefore, it goes without saying that the satirical attitude

<sup>95</sup> The Hong Kong governor in the office during *the China Punch*’s first publishing period was Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell (1814-1881).

## CHAPTER THREE

toward the government and society was *Punch*'s crucial spirit. To examine whether and how this spirit was inherited and adapted in the Chinese context, the best approach is to delve into these imitators' social and political satire.<sup>96</sup>

In an analysis of *The China Punch*, Rea (2013, 398-399) lays bare a “topsy-turvy world” in which “government officials can do no right, gender norms are suspended (if not inverted) and Europeans are often at the mercy of their supposed inferior, the Chinese.” The world is, of course, under “the misrule” of the “benevolent lord,” Mr. Punch. Despite the ridiculously muddled situation, one can nevertheless sense that Mr. Punch is attempting to get things back on track with his highly acerbic comments. For instance, when Hong Kong became a place for European dreamers to seek their fortunes, *the China Punch* observed that the remoteness from their homeland seemingly encouraged them to cast off their morality in terms of social constraints, especially in romantic relationships. Several caricatures point to a commonly depraved manner that appears to have prevailed in Hong Kong in which (married) gentlemen attempted to strike up relationships with and even harass married women.

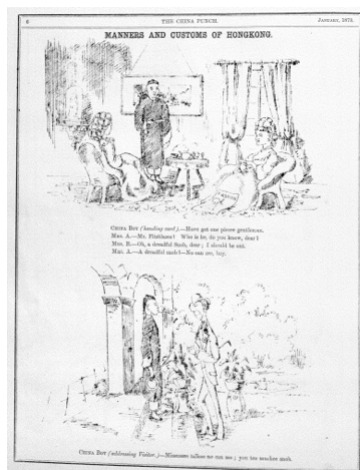


Figure 3.17 Manners and Customs of Hong Kong (*the China Punch*, January 1873).

Figure 3.17 illustrates a gentleman, Mr. Fitzblazes, trying to visit two married women at their homes. In the upper picture, a Chinese boy hands the gentleman's card to the two mistresses who decide to reject his visit because he is thought to be a snob. In the lower picture, the Chinese boy relates what the two mistresses say in pidgin English: “Missussee talkee no can see; you too muchee snob.” Continuing the same theme, Figure 3.18 shows Mr. Fitzblazes' “perseverance” in such matters. At a horse race, he strikes up a conversation with another married woman, Mrs. Widesware. Seen standing in the forefront, opposite the mistresses in

<sup>96</sup> I will also investigate the other two Punch-like magazines, *Puck: or Shanghai Charivari* and *The Rattle*, using the same approach in the later sections.

## CHAPTER THREE

Figure 3.17, she responds to Mr. Fitzblazes' flirtatious behavior with a bet from which she will definitely profit:

You give me two to one on [Nou?pre??]; that is, if he loses, you pay me two pairs of gloves, and if he wins, only one.

Confronted with a bet that he will lose, Mr. Fitzblazes does not hesitate to book it and to “retire perfectly enraptured.” The horse race betting eventually becomes a game between him and the married lady and as insinuated by the caricature, even in a crowded place, such as the horse race, flirtatious behavior seems not to have been taboo and could be conducted audaciously.

Facing a bet that he will at any rate lose, yet, Mr. Fitzblazes does not hesitate to book it and “retire perfectly enraptured.” This horse race eventually becomes a game between him and the married lady and as insinuated by the caricature, even in a place with crowds, such as a race field, the flirtatious behavior seems no taboo and can be conducted audaciously.

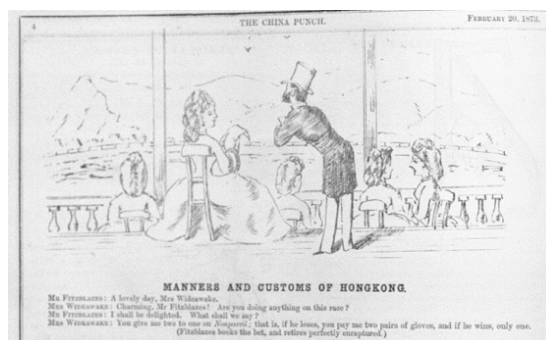


Figure 3.18 Manners and Customs of Hong Kong (*the China Punch*, 20 February 1873).

Observing such decadent “manners and customs” being practiced in the colony, Mr. Punch does not reconcile himself just to witness but endeavors to change the atmosphere, the responsibility of an administrator. Appearing in 1867, Figure 3.19 portrays bystanders watching a horse carriage passing on the road. Curious about whom to sit beside on the carriage, they exchange a witty but ironic dialogue:

New Arrival (with Umbrella): Is that Mrs. Barnum in that carriage?  
Veteran Colonist: Oh no; can't be; it's Mr. Barnum that's driving.  
[New arrival doesn't understand.]

The contrast between the newly arrived colonist and the veteran colonist standing on the street reveals their very different points of view based on their understanding about what constitutes acceptable social behavior in the colony. The passing carriage draws the newcomers' attention to the well-dressed and elegant Mrs. Barnum, a passenger. Most

## CHAPTER THREE

newcomers would likely assume that that the man sitting next to her would be her husband, Mr. Barnum, while the veteran residents would likely assume that the man *least* likely to sit beside Mrs. Barnum would be her husband. Such divergence in the two points of view hints that in Hong Kong, married upper-class women often go out but not with their husbands, an unsaid convention that, as the caption reads, “New arrival doesn't understand.”



Figure 3.19 Manners in Hong Kong in 1866-7 (*the China Punch*, 27 July 1867).

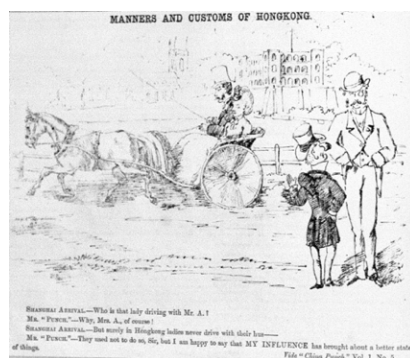


Figure 3.20 Manners and Customs of Hongkong (*the China Punch*, February 1873).

In 1873, a similar scene recurs in *the China Punch* (Figure 3.20). A newcomer from Shanghai stands by the street with Mr. Punch:

Shanghai Arrival --- Who is that lady driving with Mr. A.?  
 Mr. “Punch” --- Why, Mrs. A., of course!  
 Shanghai Arrival: But surely in Hongkong ladies never drive with their hus ---  
 Mr. “Punch” --- They used not to do so, Sir, but I am happy to say that MY INFLUENCE  
 has brought about a better state of things.

In the caricature, the new arrival still acts ignorantly. Asking who is driving with Mr. A., he would never think of Mrs. A. based on his old knowledge. But the situation has changed. Mr. Punch, in a righteous and proud tone, reverses his indecent impression about Hong Kong and takes credit for this “better state of things.” Whether the situation had really changed or it is was just Mr. Punch’s bragging, *the China Punch* propagates (or exaggerates) its INFLUENCE, which appears to transcend both spatial and temporal restrictions.

From the Government House to ordinary streets, as suggested by the caricatures, Mr.

## CHAPTER THREE

Punch existed in all quarters of the city so that the people might not feel surprised bumping into him when turning a corner. Furthermore, the 1873 caricature refers to the 1867 caricature with an annotation of “vide 'China Punch' Vol.1 No.5.” This information would draw the audience's attention to the span between the two caricatures' publishing dates. The suspension of the publication for almost five years (February 1868 to October 1872) did not lessen the “INFLUENCE” of Mr. Punch on the colony; on the contrary, the duration of six years witnessed the effects of Mr. Punch's rectifying social manners in Hong Kong. Overall, Mr. Punch was molded to possess omnipresent superpower to a degree so that no Hongkonger could escape his superintendence. In fact, that power might not have been novel to the Hong Kong colonists, who perhaps showed a tint of nostalgia for the caricatures while living in a culture that historically had never known that type of humorous tradition, because by 1878, *the China Punch*'s “Mother”, the British *Punch*, had been exercising similar power for some thirty years over Britain, Hong Kong's colonial Mother Country.

### 3.2.1.2 Political Satire: A Political Savior

Reading about what were perceived as bad manners in the colony, of course, one cannot ignore the gender asymmetry behind the caricatures. Barbara Mittler (2013, 437-438), pointed out that *the China Punch* itself embodied nineteenth-century discrepancies in social status between men and women. *The China Punch*, just like its original, the British *Punch*, was a periodical designed for men who constituted both its the authorship as well as its readership. “The discussions of celebrated, notorious, and newsworthy men” occupy most pages of *the China Punch*, with only rare descriptions about women. The male predominance accounts for why these caricatures about manners usually focus on women's behaviors as examples for moral lessons.



Figure 3.21 The Compliment of the Season (the *China Punch*, 24 December 1867).

## CHAPTER THREE

Such gender asymmetry is reflected in political satire in a more complicated style. Figure 3.21 compares Hong Kong to a fatigued woman tormented by five rambunctious children that signify then-current controversial colonial government policies. Mr. Punch, at the time, comes to converse with her:

Mrs. Hongkong: It's really kind of you, Mr. Punch, to call and wish me "a Merry Christmas" and "a Happy New Year" --- indeed you have always been so good to me, but with all these children ---  
Mr. Punch: Well, well, keep up your spirits, the Government will no doubt do something for you during the next year, and I'll keep an eye on the children.

The juxtaposition of Mrs. Hongkong and Mr. Punch fits Edward Said's "Orientalism." As Said (1979, 207) put it, "Orientalism itself, furthermore, was an exclusively male province. Like so many guilds during the modern period, it viewed itself and its subject matter with sexist blinders. This is especially evident in the writings of travelers and novelists: women are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing". The Orient is often ascribed to "its backwardness", "its feminine penetrability", and "its supine malleability" (206).

Although Said emphasizes that the writings of travelers and novelists construct the orientalist discourses, the colonial caricatures, which essentially underscore differences and even stereotypes of things, were able to demonstrate the orientalist mindset in terms of both the production and reception of those differences. For Hong Kong, a colony in the Far East, the double inferiorities qualified the colony "to be effeminate." Mr. Punch, based on his European origin as a symbol of masculinity, turns up in the caricatures to listen to Mrs. Hongkong's complaints, to console her, and to promise her a better future. If we consider that the caricature was published on Christmas Eve in 1867, a festival day exclusively devoted to comfort and joy, Mr. Punch acts like a seasonal savior. Against the backdrop of the wrecked house, a scene of backwardness, Mr. Punch appears mighty and powerful in his decent outfit in contrast to Mrs. Hongkong, a helpless woman in a shabby dress.

### 3.2.1.2.1 The First Child: The Praya Wall

How Mr. Punch saves Mrs. Hongkong emphasizes his political essence. In their conversation, Mr. Punch states that it is the government's responsibility to "do something for Mrs. Hongkong" and he, as a supervisor of the colony, a status even higher than the colonial government, is going to "keep an eye on the children." The children symbolize respectively different governmental policies, which aroused vehement debates in the colony.

### CHAPTER THREE

The mischievous boy with a strong arm held by Mrs. Hongkong has “Praya Wallon” displayed on his clothes. The term “Praya” is a Portuguese word that denotes “a sea-front promenade or thoroughfare.” In the colonial context, it refers to the coastline of Macao, a Portuguese colony of the time, where there stood an array of grandiose houses - a view that impressed all new arrivals. To replicate a similar scene in Hong Kong had long been an aspiration of Hong Kong governors, not only for the purpose of creating a magnificent colonial landscape but also for developing northern Hong Kong in terms of transportation. The Praya Wall in Hong Kong usually indicates the area extending from Causeway Bay to Navy Bay, a long coastline divided by landing piers belonging to different businessmen or companies for loading or unloading their commodities (Le Pichon 2009).

Constructing the Praya Wall was never easy for any of Hong Kong’s governors. Not until 1855 was a bill proposed as a reclamation project, which the fourth Hong Kong Governor John Bowring (1792-1872), claimed as his great scheme.<sup>97</sup> Little support, however, was given to his proposal due to arguments with marine-lot owners who insisted the land was private property and that Governor Bowring’s plan infringed on their ownership rights. High construction costs and rental payments for reclaimed property also provoked heated debates. Although most Chinese and European holders of marine lots consented to the arrangements, several European lot holders, who had considerable influence on the colony’s Legislature, stood in opposition. Governor Bowring’s deteriorating relationship with European holders of marine lots caused the Governor to lose support of the Legislative Council to the extent that the bill was deferred for discussion until 1859 (Eitel 1895, 327-342).

Consequently, the Praya scheme was executed by Bowring’s successor as the fifth Hong Kong Governor, Hercules Robinson (1824-1897).<sup>98</sup> In 1862 the wall was completed but with deficiencies that resulted from under-funding of the project and a piecemeal process. Accordingly, Governor Robinson demanded a reconstruction project with a seaward extension of “a further strip of land 100 feet in width” from the coast and a promise to lot-holders that they would own the newly reclaimed lands as indemnity against their expenses on the project. However, the lot-holders did not endorse Governor Robinson’s proposal so that he had to make a compromise by announcing in 1864 that “the extension of the Praya wall would not be enforced where not desired by the lot-holders.” (Eitel 1895, 377-378).

In the summer of 1867, a highly destructive typhoon struck Hong Kong and demolished

---

<sup>97</sup> John Bowring served as the fourth Governor of Hong Kong from 13 April 1854 to 9 September 1859.

<sup>98</sup> Hercules Robinson served as the fifth Governor of Hong Kong from 9 September 1859 to 15 March 1865.

## CHAPTER THREE

the Praya Wall. Richard Graves MacDonnell (1814-1881),<sup>99</sup> the sixth Hong Kong Governor, decided to rebuild the wall and, not surprisingly, was confronted by stiff opposition from lot-holders, as experienced also by his predecessors. Due to a budget shortfall, Governor MacDonnell requested the lot-holders to pay partial expenses for the reconstruction, but the lot-holders rejected the latest proposal right away. After fruitless negotiations, Governor MacDonnell asserted that it was the landholders' responsibility to repair the wall based on a clause in their land leases. He also sought legal support of the judiciary. Nevertheless, the lot-holders still rebutted the governor's assertion, insisting that maintenance of the wall was the government's responsibility. Later, the government sued one of the marine-lot holders in court for payment of the reconstruction. Unexpectedly, the special jury vindicated the holders by claiming that terms of the leases obligated them to repair only all public quays, piers, and roadways, adjacent to their lots, including the seawall (Eitel 1895, 443-444).

It is this dispute of 1867 that the mischievous boy who wants to get rid of the hand of Mrs. Hong Kong is referring to. His strong arm alludes to the violent obstruction of the Navy Lot holders. Several blocks are piled up under the boy's feet. One of them has the word "Praya" written on its surface, alluding to the dilapidated state of the Praya Wall and, more importantly, the never-ending wrangling over it. As for the awkward political situation, on 8 November 1867, *the China Punch* published a comic verse called "A Lay of the Wall" in which a narrator sings to the audience a song entitled "queer old rotten wall." The lyrics describe the events of the Praya Wall from the time of its construction to the time of its destruction by the typhoon. The verse criticizes the government, by parodying MacDonnell's converse with the colonial secretary:

"This bothering wall," says great Sir Mac, to his lathy Secretaire,  
"Is a terrible bore and something more of a burden than I can bear;  
"So the holders of lots must pay, you C., and you must prove it fair,  
"For the bungling is none of mine, I vow, and they must make it square."

The governor's words reveal his perspective about the incident. In his view, the Praya Wall was a troublesome case to deal with. The fact that the seawall was erected before he assumed the governorship, of course, exonerated his administration from payments for repairs, thus, he rationalized that it was the lot-holders' task to cover the repair costs. However, the governor's position was defeated by the lot-holders and the special jury that ruled in favor of the lot-holders. Although Hong Kong's Governor MacDonnell is satirized as a reckless

---

<sup>99</sup> Richard Graves MacDonnell served as the sixth Governor of Hong Kong from 1 March 1866 to 16 April 1872.



## CHAPTER THREE

administrator, the verse that accompanies the caricature ends with a tone of advising the Governor:

Now surely it would be better far than all this grand pretense  
About the “rights” which none admit possessed of common sense,  
If Government at once “shelled out,” and, warned by past events,  
Took care to see, when a job was done, it was free from ugly “rents.”

The stanza criticizes Governor MacDonnell for his handling of the conflict. In particular, it emphasizes the governor’s inexperience in not being “warned by past events”, which always ended up not favoring the government, as suggested by the term “shelled out”, failure to take responsibility for covering the reconstruction costs. Had MacDonnell noticed the problems in advance, he would not have had to solve the issue in such an improper manner.

### **3.2.1.2.2 The Second Child: The Stamp Act**

The kid who tugs at Mrs. Hongkong’s skirt symbolizes the Stamp Act, a colonial attempt to increase government revenue. Hong Kong Governor MacDonnell initially proposed the Act in August 1866. According to legal historian Butt (2016, 38-41; 118-127), many social-economic factors contributed to MacDonnell’s decision to implement the Stamp Ordinance. First and foremost, it was expected to solve the colony’s financial difficulties. In 1866, Hong Kong faced a three-year financial shortfall that would continue through 1867. To tackle the crisis, based on Hong Kong’s international commercial trade structure, Governor MacDonnell asserted that no other form of taxation other than the Stamp Act was suitable. Historically, the British government decades earlier had established a Stamp Act, which was extended to the colonies. The 1765 conflict between the American colonies and Britain made the Home Government in London more willing to discuss a similar policy in other colonies, a political tradition that facilitated enactment of the Stamp Act in Hong Kong.

Stressing the urgency to collect more tax revenue to develop the colony, MacDonnell shared details of the budget shortfall with the local Legislative Council and sought members’ support. Several members encouraged the governor to increase householder taxes. In response, MacDonnell revealed his second objective: namely, to reduce householders’ financial burdens. At the time, the householder tax was Hong Kong’s only form of domestic taxation. However, most taxpayers did not enjoy the infrastructure made possible by the householder tax because most residential construction was limited to urban areas. Attempts to achieve social fairness made known MacDonnell’s third intention: to resolve Hong Kong’s urban problems caused by high population density. The Governor claimed the Stamp Act would not levy taxes on poor

## CHAPTER THREE

properties but, importantly, would improve the colonial sanitation problems and, overall, raise Hong Kong's environmental standards, especially in poverty-stricken areas where poor Chinese families lived (Butt 2016, 49-54).

The new Stamp Act stirred a heated backlash in commercial circles among business leaders. Some British businessmen, as unofficial members of Hong Kong's Legislative Council, severely criticized the fiscal reform, requested to postpone several public works projects and, as aforementioned, demanded for an increase in householder taxes. They expressed deep concern that once executed the Stamp Ordinance, might set a negative example of overly empowering the colony's government in legislation so that the Hong Kong governor could randomly invent new taxes in order to reduce budget deficits. With regard to the expense of public works, the businessmen advocated raising public debt funds instead of introducing a new tax. They reasoned that because the latter would negatively impact commerce, many traders would send their orders to other places to avoid the new tax. (Butt 2016, 42-43).

A particular anxiety for the British group was the fear that the Chinese would evade the new tax because of the tax collector's inability to communicate with Chinese people. As a result, eventually, only foreign businesses would be seriously affected, not the Chinese. The resistance of these unofficial Council members provoked public opposition to the proposed Stamp Act. Noticeably, even within the Chinese community existed voices of objection to the Act (Eitel 1895, 426-427; Butt 2016, 46).

In the face of strong objections, MacDonnell convened public meetings on three occasions to allay the public's apprehension (Eitel 1895, 427). Supported by the Home country's government, he amended the Ordinance in 1868 by following the suggestions presented (428). MacDonnell's cleverness demonstrates his strategy of persuasion by learning from the experience of Singapore, another British colony similar to Hong Kong, that was able to put the Stamp Act into effect without damaging its economic prosperity. The Hong Kong public, in the wake of the passage of the Stamp Ordinance, accepted it on the grounds that severe damage to the colonial commerce, a deep fear of local traders, did not occur. On the contrary, the new tax turned out to be a crucial source of national revenue for Hong Kong (Butt 2016, 45). Thus, MacDonnell was able to complete implementation of the new tax a goal that his predecessors had tried but failed to accomplish.

Despite the successful implementation of the Stamp Act in the colony, *the China Punch* reflects the extended controversy during the implementation process from the perspective of Mr. Punch who apparently opposed the Act for all the chaos it created. Figure 3.22 illustrates a comic scenario that highlights the bill's absurdity. Mrs. Turtledove (on the right side) newly

### CHAPTER THREE

arrived in Hong Kong, as her husband (on the left side) cannot wait to run to embrace her. However, Mrs. Turtledove came to Hong Kong by the “mail,” thus, making her an item covered by the Stamp Ordinance. A High Government Official (in the middle) interrupts the couple’s meeting by saying: “Excuse me, is this by mutual agreement? Because if it is, it must be stamped.” The caricature wittily pushes the scene to an extreme by explaining that whoever reaches a mutual “agreement” requires stamps regardless of the circumstances. Such inflexibility and idiocy, embodied in this stern High Government Official (H.G.O.), satirically reveals the Act to be so preposterous that even couples must get stamped whenever they want to meet each other.

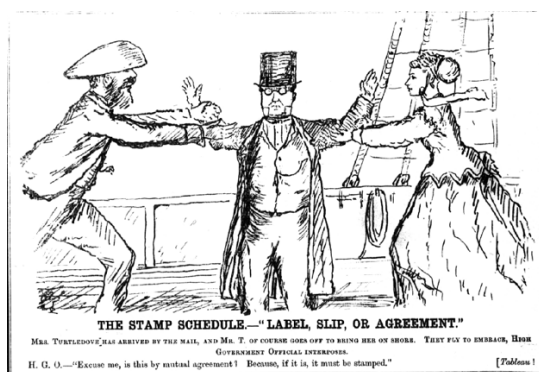


Figure 3.22 The Stamp Schedule ---“Label, Slip, or Agreement” (*the China Punch*, 8 November 8 1867).

The first Stamp Duty Bill included twenty-three taxable items, such as affidavits, arbitrations, and so on. The miscellaneous items and complicated lists compounded the colonists’ confusion (Butt 2016, 44), as illustrated in Figure 3.23 where a crowd crams into the stamp office, one of them even falling onto the ground, asking whether the documents they were holding required a stamp. The “bewildered collector,” swears and waves his hand as he seeks to disperse the approaching crowd and announces: “I really can’t tell --- we never thought of these things.”

Interestingly, *the China Punch* wittily compares the clamor of the crowd to “a chorus of inquiring colonists”:

“Does this require a Stamp?” ---“I say old hoss, I’ll want a Stamp for this I guess!” ---  
“Monsieur, Est il necessaire?” ---“Ist es nothing dasz diese Documents?” ---“Senhor, Se  
pode dizer me se?” --- “Massa, This piece wantchee no wantcheee?” --- &c., &c., &c.

The bewildered collector’s words and the chorus of colonists point out the government’s neglect in planning for enforcement of the Stamp Act. Frustratedly, the colonists were puzzled by the perplexing and chaotic situation that clerical personnel had to cope with. Another noteworthy point in this caricature is that the colonists, rushing into the office, are of different nationalities, identified by their characteristic garments, “singing” in multiple languages:

## CHAPTER THREE

English, French, German, Portuguese and Pidgin English, and even more, as suggested by “&c., &c., &c...” The caricature captures the multiplicity of ethnic diversity in the colony, underscoring evidence of Hong Kong’s international commerce. To mitigate the public’s antipathy toward the 1856 Stamp Ordinance, Governor MacDonnell reduced the number of charged items to six categories: agreements, bonds, conveyances, mortgages, bills of exchange, and promissory notes.



Figure 3.23 Stamping, and Searing (*the China Punch*, 14 October 1867).

### 3.2.1.2.3 The Third Child: Gambling

In Figure 3.21, Mrs. Hongkong embraces a baby that symbolizes an additional heated-debate issue: specifically, the licensing of gambling houses. Soon after Hong Kong was ceded to Britain, gambling became a sticky issue for the colonial administration. Although Britain could efficiently control gambling by legislation, that model could not be applied to Hong Kong where gambling ran amuck among in gambling houses and stalls that existed everywhere. Of concern for colonial administrators, the rampant vice heavily corrupted the Police Force, which secretly collaborated with the gambling businesses for pay-backs (Eitel 1895, 428).

Figure 3.24 portrays a scene of street gambling. As the caption hints, the “reduced circumstances” denote simple settings of a table and (seemingly) some ivories. The Chinese man, whose back is visible to viewers of the caricature, plays a game with a “respectable old gent”. Surrounding the stall are Chinese people, ranging from middle-aged adults to kids, implying the popularity of gambling in Chinese communities. To solicit gamers, the “respectable old gent” shouts:

“Here you are, my sport Gents! Now’s the time to try your luck. Everything’s as fair as the day, and as open as my pocket. You’ve never had such a chance as this before, my Gamey Covees, ‘cos’ the Bobbies; but now there aint one on ‘em can touch yer --- me and the Gov’ment have settled that. So stake yer browns, them as has any, --- them as hasn’t, let ‘em go and raise some.”

## CHAPTER THREE



Figure 3.24 Thimble Rigging in the Far East (*The China Punch*, 27 July 1867).

The caricature may vividly replicate shouted words heard on the streets. Whether the Chinese people could understand remains unknown but the language seems not to be a problem for the bettors. The European “respectable” gentleman attracts the Chinese by cleverly inviting them to “try your luck.” In an analysis of Hong Kong’s gambling, the historian Frank Welsh (1993, 237) states that Chinese people’s indulgence in gambling is a cultural phenomenon related to the Confucianist worldview. Confucianism emphasizes the importance of providence, cultivating Chinese people’s tendency toward seeking luck in their lives, which is embodied throughout the society, ranging from the emperor’s worship of gods for a better future in the Temple of Heaven to the coolie’s gambling at the street stalls. The phenomenon, not limited to the soil of China, extended also to the other British Asian colonies that were populated mainly by Chinese communities. For the Chinese, nearly everything can be a gambling game.

In this caricature, the respected gentleman’s behavior exposes the complicity between the police force and the gambling practice as a coverup of crime. Judging from the gentleman’s words, “but now there aint one on ‘em can touch yer --- me and the Gov’mment have settled that,” it is clear that the “respected gent’s” assurance doubtlessly derives from illegal deals. He and the government, namely, the police force, have come to an underground agreement that none of the gamblers would be “touched”, viz., apprehended, even when playing games in public.

According to Eitel’s *Europe in China* (1895, 429-437), the whole gambling affair can be described briefly as follows. To repress gambling that plagued colonial Hong Kong was tough for the government to achieve. It was not until Bowring became governor that the colonial administration undertook measures to resolve the problem. But Governor Bowring was not sanctioned by the Home Government to implement his idea of imitating Macao’s mechanism to license gambling houses. Neither was his successor, Governor Robinson, who shared the

## CHAPTER THREE

same idea as Bowring.

Using a similar scheme earlier in 1866, Governor MacDonnell chose initially to adopt fierce regulations and discipline to suppress gambling and to clean up the police force. By doing so, he could avoid abhorrence toward a licensing policy by the British government as well as by the Hong Kong public. This repressive measure produced the desired effect at the beginning but soon, in May 1867, the situation did not go as well as expected. Things seemed to resort to the ways they were before the fierce regulations were established.

The result was ostensibly frustrating but, in fact, was part of Governor MacDonnell's scheme, which rendered his insistency more convincing, that the only way to suppress the corruption was to license a limited number of gambling houses under the control of the police. In 1866, MacDonnell drafted an Ordinance in the name of "for the maintenance of order and cleanliness" including the requirement that to open a gaming house, licenses had to be issued. He asked for the right to execute the new system even though it had not yet been approved by the British government and accepted to raise additional revenue. Later, the Secretary of State, the Earl of Carnarvon, accepted the Hong Kong case and approved Governor MacDonnell's proposal to issue licenses for opening new gaming houses. In July 1867, MacDonnell announced the new regulation to the Hong Kong public and opened sixteen gaming houses in the forthcoming months. According to MacDonnell's report, the licensing system worked well in the colony for reducing the crime rate and cutting the illegal tie between the police and the gambling houses.

The measure, although successful in repressing the fervent activity of gambling, encountered strong opposition from different groups. For example, the power of the church. Letters of protest written by the Hong Kong missionary the Rev. F. S. Turner were circulated in England, which enlisted several others in the Home Country to support his position. In July 1867, they proposed a Memorial to the British parliament against licensing gaming houses in Hong Kong for two reasons. One was that Governor MacDonnell passed the bill in an underhanded manner, which was regarded as "un-English." The other was that no government could be authorized to consent to and permit evils, let alone the gambling ordinance that was deemed to have increased gambling. In September 1867, the Social Science Association in London joined the growing opposition, an action that must have greatly hurt MacDonnell, who was a member of that group. The association chastised his administration for arbitrarily passing the Ordinance that disgraced England and suggested that the colony should adhere to Chinese strict and brutal laws to eradicate gambling, such as razing all gambling houses and torturing the gaming house managers, punishments that had never been practiced in England.

## CHAPTER THREE

In response, MacDonnell refuted the accusations as false. For instance, in May 1868, while the missionaries criticized him as Anti-Christ and dishonest with the public, MacDonnell denounced his critics as people with “a lazy and easily satisfied morality” who nourished crimes but accomplished nothing. He reasserted his determination to repress the vice of gambling with recognition from his superiors in the Home Country.

The money collected from gambling licensees had been a sensitive issue since MacDonnell initially proposed the bill, evolving into a raging controversy that subsequently ended the Ordinance. Whether it was proper to raise money from gambling was always a contentious topic between the Home Country and the colonial government. While the former focused on the morality of the policy, the latter pointed out that the corrupt system persisted whereby the administration was unable to repress the gambling and avert corruption of the Police Force.

From 1867 to 1871, Governor MacDonnell communicated about the policy with the Earl of Carnarvon, the Duke of Buckingham, and Earl Granville, the three Secretaries of State, who had unanimously restricted the use of gambling house license fees. Earlier in 1866, the Earl Carnarvon supported MacDonnell’s proposal on the condition that “license fees must not be farmed out but treated as a matter of the police and by no means as revenue.” However, at the end of 1867, the Earl Carnarvon, stated that the reports he received astounded him in that the license fees were, in fact, utilized as a source of revenue. Therefore, he questioned MacDonnell’s real intention and threatened to terminate the Ordinance. In 1869, Earl Granville, who succeeded the Duke, maintained the same critical attitude toward the policy, and expressed his ensuing strict supervision of the colony.

To mend fences with his Downing Street superiors in London, Governor MacDonnell, by means of a sick-leave, traveled back to England in April 1870, seeking an occasion to explain the situation. During his absence from the colony, his opponents united to castigate that the Ordinance that had heavily harmed Hong Kong’s development rather than achieving anticipated effects. The opponents included his cabinet members, prominent merchants who used to support MacDonnell, and some Chinese communities, among which Chief Justice J. Smale who performed as a leading figure and conveyed all the grievances to the Colonial Secretary in 1870 and 1871. After a series of juristic debates, the British government agreed to stop the bill, claimed as a victory of the opposition. After the license system was suspended in December 1871, the MacDonnell administration no longer attempted to prohibit gambling houses or to hinder the police corruption, but rather simply ignored gambling as a social problem proliferating in Hong Kong.

## CHAPTER THREE

Considering that the caricature of Mrs. Hongkong appeared at the end of 1867 (Figure 3.21), the depiction of gambling as an infant alludes to the status of the five-month-old of licensing Ordinance, which was passed the previous July. As mentioned earlier, implementation of the Ordinance was followed by strong opposition from missionaries and merchants. *The China Punch* echoes the social ethos by debunking those who ridiculed the policy, as shown in Figure 3.25. In this caricature, Governor MacDonnell is illustrated as a robust cow with the words of “GAMBLING REVENUE” branded on her body. The calves that kneel and suckle the milk produced by MacDonnell are his two subordinates: The Registrar General, Cecil Clementi Smith (1889-1893) on the left and the Attorney General, Julian Pauncefote (1828-1902) on the right. In 1867, on behalf of Governor MacDonnell, the Register General Cecil Clementi Smith refuted the missionaries’ questions about the legitimacy of the Ordinance. Not only did Smith send a letter to condemn the clerical members, but he also presented a report upholding the governor’s claims that the policy had a positive effect and functioned with the support of the Chinese communities (434). In 1870, the Chief Justice was John Jackson Smale. About the same time, the Attorney General Julian Pauncefote commenced a string of angry assertions against critics while also stepping forward to defend the policy, which in his view, factually reduced the colony’s crime rate. He also sternly demanded that the Chief Justice Smale end senseless act. 438-439).

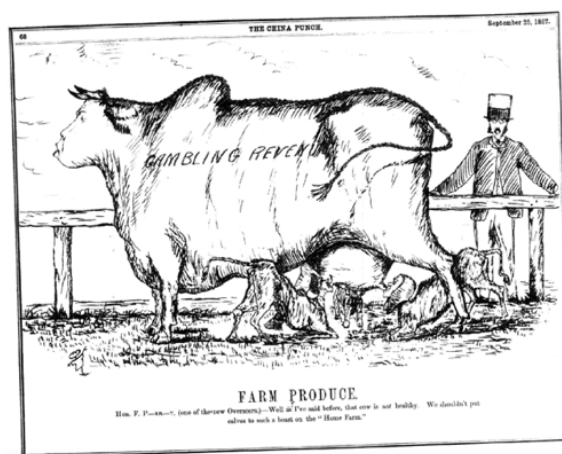


Figure 3.25 Farm Produce (*the China Punch*, 25 September 1867).

This illustration shows standing outside the fence Francis Parry, a British merchant and an unofficial acting member of the Hong Kong Council. According to Governor MacDonnell’s statement, when he introduced the Farm Gambling License Ordinance to all unofficial members in the Legislative Council in October 1868, Parry was the only one who opposed it (433-434). *The China Punch* parodies Parry’s objection with these words: “Well, as I’ve said before, that cow is not healthy. We shouldn’t put calves to nurse such a beast on the ‘Home



## CHAPTER THREE

Farm”’. He figures that the milk produced by MacDonnell through the gambling system, was polluting the minds of government officers who suckled it. In his opinion, the giant cow was nothing less than a poisonous beast, and farm gambling licenses created a judicial system that was harmful to the “Home Farm,” which hints at Hong Kong, probably including England, their Home Country, as well.

### 3.2.1.2.4 The Forth Child: Military Contribution

The baby carried on Mrs. Hongkong’s back refers to the military contribution, the main factor causing Hong Kong’s financial deficit. In the British convention, the colonies were obligated to make military contributions to the Home Country. In Hong Kong, the annual military contribution was HK\$94,000. Compared to the deficits presented by MacDonnell before the Legislative Council in 1866, the contribution fee was far more than other expenses required for the people’s well-being, amounting to as much as four-fifths the total budget items (Butt 2016, 40; Eitel 1895, 442).<sup>100</sup>

Whether the Prary wall, the gambling Ordinance, or the Stamp Act, the military contribution had more or less influenced the need for more revenue. In 1867, when the Prary wall was being rebuilt, one of the reasons that the government asked the marine-lot holders to pay a certain amount of money was because the military contribution had consumed other accessible funds (Eitel 1895, 443). Implementation of the gambling Ordinance was partly attributed to the need to prevent the colony’s insolvency in paying the Military Contribution, especially due to an enormous loss for the Hong Kong Mint without the aid of the Stamp Act (Eitel 1895, 432).<sup>101</sup> The military contribution was, as Butt (2016, 63-64) describes it, an intangible incentive to establish the Hong Kong Stamp Duty. In 1865, the colony clashed with the British government because the Hong Kong Council voted against the military contribution and later even intended to delete it. In 1866, Governor MacDonnell protested against the levy of the military contribution to the Colony Office but failed (2016, 289-290). He understood how sensitive the issue of the military contribution was, so he tactically avoided broaching it

---

<sup>100</sup> 1. Maintenance of gun-boats HK\$26,000, 2. Reservoir at Pok Fu Lam HK\$50,000, 3. Sanatorium at Kowloon HK\$11,000, 4. Carriage Road to Gap HK\$23,000, 5. Roads in Kowloon HK\$4,000. The total is HK\$114,000. See Hong Kong Hansard 5 September 1866 (qtd. in Yiu Yu, 40).

<sup>101</sup> The Hong Kong Mint was established by Governor Hercules Robinson in 1866 to make seignories, silver Mexican coins as a means to stabilize the fluctuating value of the Mexican dollar (one of the official currencies in Hong Kong) and provide a supply of silver coins in the colony. However, the seignories made by the Mint were unpopular in the colony and the low rate of exchange endangered the operation of the Mint because manufacturing costs exceeded profits. After a brief two-year operation, the negative financial situation caused the Hong Kong government to cease making the Mexican coins and in 1868 the Mint was closed. The machines were all sold to the Japanese government and the buildings to a private company for a sugar refinery. For more information about the Mint, see Eitel (345, 374-376, 441-442).

## CHAPTER THREE

when talking the Council into supporting his proposal of the Stamp Act (2016, 40).

In 1867, Alfred Percy Sinnett (1840-1921), an editor of a local newspaper, *Hong Kong Daily Press*, founded a reform association that aimed at bettering Hong Kong's political system. The association soon handed in a Memorial to the British government for the abrogation of the Stamp Act. As secretary for the society, Sinnett, insisted that the Act was contrary to the colony's economic interests and scared off Chinese traders. Most importantly, Sinnett opposed the tax imposed on the people because the revenue would become part Hong Kong's military contribution. Despite Sinnett's lack of success, his petition made history in Hong Kong's constitutional reform (Butt 2016, 289-290; Eitel 1895, 470).

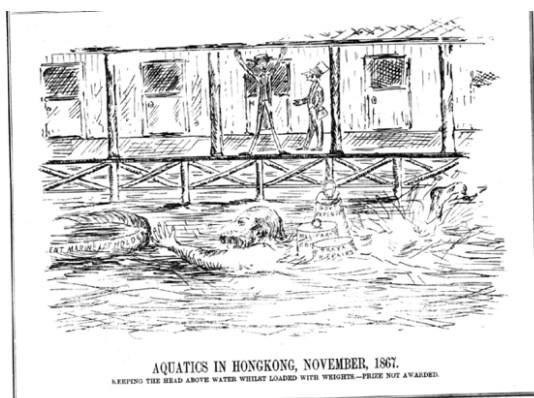


Figure 3.26 Aquatics in Hongkong (*the China Punch*, 9 November 1867).

*The China Punch's* caricatures often debunk the government's budgetary constraints, including the Military contribution. Figure 3.26 likens the financial situation of Hong Kong to the aquatics with one player and two spectators. Resembling Governor MacDonnell in appearance, the only swimming player is, as the caption notes: "Keeping the head above water whilst loaded with weights." The swimmer struggles to reach for the lifebuoy in front of him, symbolizing the marine-lot holders. The caricature obviously satirizes MacDonnell's scheme to hold the lot-holders responsible for the Praya repairs. The two spectators stand in a hallway: one is cheering MacDonnell on while the other, indifferent to the sport, alludes to the conflict between the governor's administration and the Hong Kong Legislative Council's position on the policy. Among caricature's pictorial elements, the three weights on MacDonnell's back are most likely to catch the audience's attention because he requested the lot-holders to pay the government expense, the Praya repairs, and the military contribution. These weights visualize the then-current financial difficulties as if they were causing the government to drown. At the center of the caricature is the weight of the military contribution that resembles the governor's panicky face. That pressure and vulnerability are related to Mrs. Hongkong on whose back rides the unshakable baby of the military contribution. Whether intentionally or not, these

## CHAPTER THREE

pictorial compositions insinuate the Hong Kong government's hardship in meeting the demands for its military contribution.

### 3.2.1.3 Formation of a Network of Foreign Humorous Publications in China

Before turning to humorous magazines in Mainland China, it is important to note that *the China Punch* also appeared in the Shanghai Settlement, regularly circulating between Hong Kong and China. For example, on 8 May 1875, the editors of the *North China Herald* noted the receipt of a number of issues of *the China Punch*. In order to appreciate *the China Punch*'s humor, the editors quote an article from *the China Mail* that describes the periodical's highlights. It is noteworthy that the news summary compared *the China Punch* to Shanghai's local humorous magazine, *Puck: or the Shanghai Charivari*, which was suspended for three years in Shanghai, termed by the editors as "our own dead favorite."<sup>102</sup> Unquestionably, *Puck: or the Shanghai Charivari* was highly accepted in the Shanghai Settlement. The association between two similar periodicals – one in the Hong Kong colony and the other in the Shanghai Settlement – suggests of a network of humorous publications in China.

It is obvious that *the China Punch* was not published only for readers in Hong Kong, but also for audiences living in the Shanghai Settlement. For example, Shanghai English newspapers often updated their audiences about latest news reported in *the China Punch*. On 13 January 1876, for example, *the North China Herald*, published in the Shanghai Settlement, mentioned having received the latest *China Punch*, published in Hong Kong, and praised it for containing "several allusions that are quite intelligible outside of the circle in which the jokes are of course chiefly 'applicable'." The article provides evidence of the frequent circulation of English humorous magazines between the Colony and the Settlement. These humorous publications appeared to have a common readership across a broadly-defined China and distributed news to diverse foreign diaspora communities.

### 3.2.2 The Preacher for Humor: *Puck, or the Shanghai Charivari*

As Wagner (2019, 22-23) points out that the more encounters the two unities make, the more asymmetry perceived, which leads to more massive translation. The journey of *Punch* did not end in Hong Kong, but extended to Shanghai, the Settlement. where the foreign diaspora nurtured the popularity of the humorous magazine. It is alleged that China encountered the Comic Empire in Shanghai, the British crucial settlement in the Far East,

---

<sup>102</sup>The humorous magazine, *Puck: or the Shanghai Charivari*, will be discussed in detail in the next section.

### CHAPTER THREE

instead of in Hong Kong. As early as the 1860s, some English news reports about the Settlement had referred to the publication of *the Shanghai Punch*. Although so far, I have not found any paper copies of the periodical, we can roughly online it based on news reports. A news summary in 1865 emphasized that an event was held on the same day that “*the Shanghai Punch* was presented to the public” (“Summary of the Week” 1865). In 1868 an English news editorial referred to *the Shanghai Punch* gave the magazine’s publishing date, and offered an evaluation of the publication (“A New Magazine” 1868).<sup>103</sup> While commenting upon the poor quality of Chinese humor magazines, the article regarded *the Shanghai Punch* as “a comet-like manifestation of genius”. Its caricatures, “though often witty in design, were below criticism in execution.” Altogether, the essays revealed the transitory nature of *the Shanghai Punch* due to its short span as a publication. However, the special focus on *the Shanghai Punch* bears witness to the importance of the publication at that time.



Figure 3.27 A Cover of the *Shanghai Puck* (April 1, 1872).

Other kinds of humorous magazines also appeared in the settlement enclave. *Puck: the Shanghai Charivari*, for example, came to being in 1871 (hereafter, the *Shanghai Puck*) (Figure 3.27).<sup>104</sup> It was printed and published by the company of F. & C. Walsh. According to an advertisement in the *Shanghai Puck*, the business sold wholesale and retail stationery and printers, handled various types of stationeries, such as account books, account book papers, drawing papers, Bristol boards, writing papers, envelopes, and such. It also provided letterpress printing. Its trade covered exporting to other port cities as a remittance was required to

<sup>103</sup> According to an editorial, *the Shanghai Punch* first appeared “last Christmas” around 25 December 1865 but was “defective for the time taken in elaborating the idea was evidently of the shortest and except one or two felicitous definitions, there were few happy hits in its pages”.

<sup>104</sup> Chapter Four will discuss the Chinese humorous magazine, *Shanghai Puck* 上海潑克, entitled in English “the *Shanghai Puck*.” To avoid mixing up the two magazines whose titles contain “Shanghai” and “Puck,” I will call *Puck: or the Shanghai Charivari* as the *Shanghai Puck* while sticking to the Chinese title of the *Shanghai Puck*, as it is a Chinese-language magazine, *Shanghai Puck*.

### CHAPTER THREE

place an order (“Kelly and Walsh” 1969).<sup>105</sup>

After November 1872, without notice and without any further accounts, the Shanghai *Puck* ceased publication. The magazine’s sudden suspension could be attributed to an obituary that appeared in the sixth issue in July 1872. Under a caricature that illustrates a fancy of scene of Shanghai tramways travelling on a street, the obituary, by contrast, was imbued with solemnity and grief:

It is with deep regret that we have to that we have to notice the sudden death of Mr. CHARLES WALSH, one of the publishers of this periodical, with took place on the morning of the 1st instant.

Though not a prominent member of the Community, he was esteemed and respected by all who knew him, and, in his profession, he held one of the highest positions in the East.

We cannot allow this number, on which he was engaged when his illness seized him, to appear without recording the fact, that much of the success which has attended the Shanghai Charivari is due to his attention and skill.

Judging from his last name, Charles Walsh must have been a member of the Walsh family who established the business. Consistent with the obituary, Mr. Walsh contributed much attention and skills toward accomplishments of the publication of the Shanghai *Puck*. The ensuing success earned him social respect as “he held one of the highest reputations in the East”. The likelihood of overpraising the dead notwithstanding, the obituary lays bare to the audience the loss of a big wheel in the Shanghai *Puck*, which possibly led to the termination of the publication at the end of 1872.

In surveying Punch-like magazines in nineteenth-century Britain, Maidment (2013) indicates that these imitators, akin to Mr. Punch in the London *Punch*, would “develop a branded satirical persona to serve as the voice or collective identity of the periodical and its contributors.” This represented a long-standing British tradition of conveying “the public voice through the mechanisms of semi-mythical individuals” (42). The fact that the figurative persona, John Bull, symbolized Britain in the nineteenth century serves as a good example.

The figurative persona in a whimsical world also appeared in the Punch-like magazines outside British soil. Interpreting the cover illustration of the Shanghai *Puck*, Rea (2013, 402) notes that “the *Puck* transports the readers into an East-West fantasy realm through its use of Shakespearean motifs from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*”. The dreams as described in the publication, however, are not always sweet and novel but also horrible and confusing for both

---

<sup>105</sup> It is important to note that according to Rea’s analysis (2013), the magazine has no relation to the American *Puck* which was published in 1872.

### CHAPTER THREE

the new arrivals and the natives.<sup>106</sup> The bottom of the illustration clearly points out the magazine's inspiration as the words, "A Midsummer Night's Dream" appear. The delights, as depicted in the elves' world, are conveyed by a spectacle in which foreigners laze away their days on recliners and enjoy wine served by Chinese. The Puck, a naughty genie created by Shakespeare, flying in the mid-center, "puts a girdle round about the earth"<sup>107</sup> and oversees the entire world. Above him, the letters of PUCK are displayed by a bunch of tree roots with which many Chinese amuse themselves. Two long ladders border the image, a deluge of Chinese (right) and foreigners (left) rushing up to the top (some even fall down to the ground) and rendezvousing at a pagoda in the sky above. In the scene they bow each to other amiably seeming to suggest that the collisions between China and the Powers is in reality an enduring peace, anticipated, above all (402-403).



Figure 3.28 Untitled (the Shanghai *Puck*, April 1, 1872).

"Why does Puck wing to the oriental land from far away"? A long poem in the first issue reveals the elf's reasonability in Shanghai. The King and the Queen of the fairyland found out the mortal world had seriously degenerated since they left and decided to revisit the "dull world". Soon after, they realized their power was ineffectual in the West that had become bloody battlefields, full of curses and fearful sounds. Thus, the King and Queen decided to "move further Eastward". "Through the atmosphere, with rapid motion," they arrived in the East. The King asked his henchman, Puck, "what is that land of graveyards and corpses? Whence comes that mud discoloring the sea?" The elf Puck answers (Figure 3.28):

We've passed the Rhone and Rhine, ah!  
That river's the Wang-Poo: this must be China.  
Pass on! I think we have been here before.  
This is the land that never knows a change;  
It's been the same two thousand years or more, it is altered now, it will be strange.  
("Introduction" 1871, 1)

<sup>106</sup> This complicated mentality about the Settlement is demonstrated in the caricature "A Vision of the Future" (1 May 1872). More discussion about that caricature can be found later in this chapter.

<sup>107</sup> This quote is adopted from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act 2, Scene 1. Line 175.

## CHAPTER THREE

Hovering over the unchanged land, the King is shocked by the loud singing and howling from foreigners. These noises remind him that the place is Shanghai, “a world within a world, within another.” Curious about what foreigners do here so far from home, he dispatches the Puck downward for observation. Puck watches the people on the street, follows them into a club, listens to their conversations, and even dines with them in hopes of picking up “something of the mortal tone”. He finally understands that Shanghai’s papers can best account for “the world within a world” and brings them back to the King. The papers, nevertheless, cannot totally satisfy the King in his quest to find a leader that mixes “fact and driveling poesy.” The King then dispatches Puck back to Shanghai to teach the people how to be funny and implicitly tells him that being funny is also a way to make money. The poem ends at the point when Puck begins his assignment:

And Puck has come, no more of idle boasting,  
Written below behold his guarantee;  
He’ll roast all subjects that may need the roasting, ---  
Henceforth he’ll rule the roast. So mote it be. (“Introduction”, 2)

What subjects “need the roasting?” It must contain all the topics or targets of Puck’s humor in the Shanghai Settlement (Rea 2013, 406). A letter written in an article, “A Word to the Wise”, gives the audience a clear answer:

We have this day established ourselves as General Supervisor of all Public affairs in China and Japan, and anywhere else we may hereafter think fit. We have also taken charge of the Legations at Peking, the Consular establishments at the various Ports, and all Governments, Municipal and otherwise, in all Foreign Settlements. To this Censorship we have added the profession of General Punsters, Riddle Manufactures, Wits, Critics, and Public Autocrats, N.B.--- Dramatic and Musical critiques written to order, and a Free Ticket (to include supper) accepted for all performances--- No bribery.  
(Signed) PUCK  
Hong Name--- Heä – wi- ah

The fact that Puck signs the letter declares his status equal to a General Supervisor of all public affairs in China and other places. He claims authority on matters concerning the Legations, the Consular establishment, and the governments at all levels. Similar to Mr. Punch, Puck acts as a colonial administrator with almighty power. Instead of political power, he draws on his unique humorous endowment to inspect the enclave, such as puns, riddles, wits, etc. As expressed by his business (Hong) name, Heä – wi- ah (Here we are), the arrival of Puck represents “an international trend of whimsy” into China and demonstrates the potential of visuals on public affairs (Rea 2013, 390-390, 406).

## CHAPTER THREE

While the elf Puck assumes his title of the Elf King's envoy to the mortal world, the Shanghai *Puck* correspondently employs a variety of letter(-like) forms to create an atmosphere of frequent message-exchange, demonstrated by columns like the Puckyal Proclamation, Intercepted Correspondence, Puck's Letter Writer, and more. For instance, in October 1871, the Shanghai *Puck* made an announcement "to his many loyal and faithful subjects" ("Puckyal Proclamation" 1871). In the first part devoted to the ladies, Puck sends forgiveness to those who deserted the Settlement in the summer when the heat was raging but bestowed his blessing on those who stayed and comforted the community by their presence. Eventually, he asked the ladies for assistance in an upcoming winter festival. In the second part dedicated to the gentlemen, Puck compliments them for bearing the red-hot season bravely and rewards them permission "to seek health and enjoyment mid the sports of the field". The fact that the announcement concludes with an official statement, "given under our hand and seal at our Council Chamber," adds a likely incredibility about Puck's authority. Apparently, the Proclamation is a satire on the weather and the people's life in the summer's Settlement. For colonizers, it seems excruciating to live under the suffocating heat. As Lord Paramount over everything and everybody, therefore, Puck cannot help but gain attention by consoling his people in the comic realm.

Besides its cover, the page layout and content of the Shanghai *Puck* were also similar to those of the London *Punch*. The Shanghai *Puck's* basic page layout consisted of two columns with three formats: only texts, only illustrations, and a combination of both (Figure 3.29 and Figure 3.30). Occasionally, it included tables of information on commercial products (Figure 3.31). It featured textual and graphic satire on political and social issues. Graphic satire took the form of vignettes, series, one-third, half, and full-page caricatures, while textual satire manifested in parodies, lampoons, sonnets, witty poems, and travesties. Both of them also feature caricatures/cartoons in the form of series (Figure 3.30 and Figure 3.32). The targets of satire encompassed its home country, the Qing court, and all entities or members in the Shanghai Settlement: the Shanghai Municipal Government, the Shanghai local Daotai, and foreign and Chinese inhabitants. Both the satirical content and publishing format establish the magazine among *Punch*-like magazines.



CHAPTER THREE

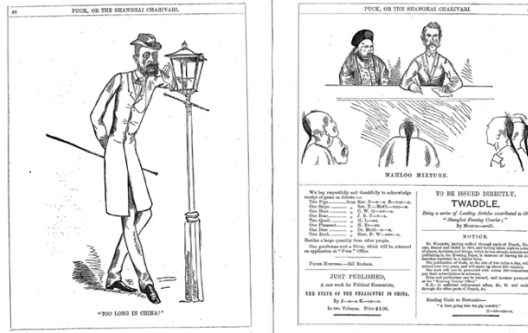


Figure 3.29 Two Pages of the Shanghai Puck (1 January 1872).

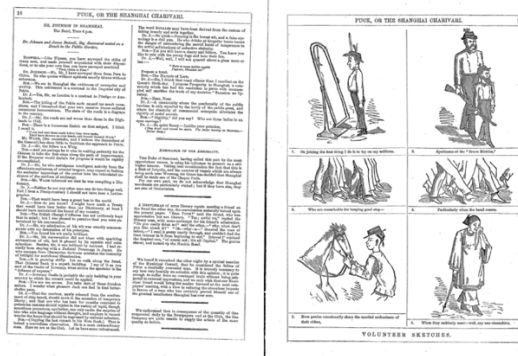


Figure 3.30 Two Pages of the Shanghai Puck (1 July 1871).

PUCK, OR THE SHANGHAI CHARIVARI

**THE  
SAD REFLECTIONS  
OF  
SEVERAL YOUNG MEN.**

"I've left Oregon, Tuttle & Co. Of course they smashed me out of their doors for the "Duck Ring Lie," and I've neglected to send my new address, and request that my name may be retained in Wagon Way. Lots of people would take care of they have my observations. War is war!"  
Happy Thoughts—It used to be dry in Oregon.

**THE GRIDIRON HOTEL.**  
On a corner next  
**TWO FIRST CLASS BED ROOMS.**  
BATHS, TRAVELING CASES, TABLES, AND KITCHEN.  
Fines in the dining room.  
GARDENS, WALKS, DRIVING, OR OF  
THE GREAT WALL.  
A FINEST VIEW OF THE GREAT WALL AND  
MOUNTAINS OF THE DISTRICT.  
Arrangements are made for food and milk  
for the sick.  
E. FARR, Proprietor.  
Farrington and Austin Streets, always leading street.  
Residence, in January, 1872.

**PROTECTION AGAINST FIRE!!!**  
**SHARP GARDEN'S FIRE KNIVES.**  
**L'EXTINCTEUR** is the very best protection  
against fire and is the only one of its kind  
that is portable and for any place. It is  
the only one that is safe and reliable.  
It is the only one that is safe and reliable.  
It is the only one that is safe and reliable.  
**W. BIRT & CO.,**  
Residence, in January, 1872.

**Le Nouvelliste de Shanghai.**  
PARAIT DEUX FOIS PAR SEMAINE.  
Prix de l'abonnement: \$4 par semaine.  
Publié par M. H. H. H.  
29, Rue de Commerce,  
Canton Shanghai.

**Le Nouvelliste de Shanghai.**  
**PUBLISHED BI-WEEKLY.**  
Subscription \$4 per Quarter.  
29, Rue de Commerce,  
Canton Shanghai.

Figure 3.31 Product Advertisement (The Shanghai Puck, 1 January 1872).



Figure 3.32 A Page of the London Punch (3 August 1867).

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.2.2.1 Publishing the *Shanghai Puck*: A Hit in Shanghai Journalism

Reading English newspapers in Shanghai, one gets the impression that the *Shanghai Puck* was born with the blessings of Shanghai English journalism. Soon after the appearance of the *Shanghai Puck*, the *North China Herald* published a eulogy to the new recruit (“Review” 1872). The new humorous magazine was praised as a well-written, well-printed, and well-illustrated comic magazine, exceeding in many aspects other attempts of the same nature which had previously been made in China. Its founding fulfilled the requirement in the Settlement where “a comic paper has long been needed.” The publication of the *Shanghai Puck* seemed an important cultural event at the time (“Summary of News” 1872a). When the initial issue was released, the *North China Herald* referred to it as municipal news and introduced the textual visual content to its readers.<sup>108</sup> In the review of the second issue of the *Shanghai Puck*, the author explained that he introduced and evaluated each issue's images and letterpresses --- wit and funniness were the assessment criteria (“Summary of News” 1872b).

The seventh issue of the *Shanghai Puck* published a funny illustration depicting “the Chief Paper-Hunt of the Season.” (Figure 3.33) Self-promotive and exaggerated as it might be, the illustration offers us, as well as readers at that time, an imagined glimpse into the popularity of the *Shanghai Puck*. On the right side of Figure 3.33 stands the elf Puck delivering the latest issue of the *Shanghai Puck* at the door of the house of F & C Walsh, publisher of the magazine. A commercial on the display window lists the price per copy. Near the elf Puck are piles of magazines on the ground, a Chinese employee putting them in order for sale.



Figure 3.33 The Chief Paper-Hunt of the Season (The *Shanghai Puck*, 1 November 1872).

On the left side, a group of people from different social strata rush toward the elf Puck to “secure a copy”. Many characters are clearly recognizable. As *the North China Herald* notes, there are a “few leading citizens, mounted on their particular hobbies or pursuits.” Judging

<sup>108</sup> See “News of Summary” on 7 July and 4 October 1871, 4 January and 6 July 1872.

## CHAPTER THREE

from their outfits, accessories, and mode of transportation, they range in status from a judge to businessmen, captains, and councilors to governmental administrators. The visual funniness derives from their modes of transportation, including a sedan chair, the keel of a ship, a steamer, and a cow. The sedan chair carries a wigged judge who wields his stick and hastens the Chinese coolie. A westerner rides a huge Chinese character “Qi” (氣). In the Chinese culture, Qi represents an inner force in a human body. With sufficient practice, one is believed able to artfully manipulate Qi to acquire good health or a special Gong Fu. The image suggests that westerners in Shanghai might start learning, or at least take interest in, some Chinese traditions. An English word “bottomry” is printed on a piece of the ship keel, insinuating that western businessmen and captains are burdened with loans in order to seek their opportunity in this strange land.

A Qing officer also joins the crowd. His official hat with a cocktail feather is conspicuous. Behind him come forth a flock of elves, Puck’s fellows, descending from the fairyland above the cloud. The attraction of the Shanghai *Puck* appears to transcend all demarcations: social/political hierarchy, ethnicity, occupations, and im/mortal. The image further indicates Puck’s confidence in satisfying whoever reads the publication. In the first issue, the Shanghai *Puck* depicted itself as an educational stimulus for Chinese readers as predicted that reading it regularly would be a future custom. Here, the Shanghai *Puck* presents itself as a settlement sensation. These self-portraits account for the self-expectation that the publication will promote enlightenment and commerce of Shanghai journalism.

### 3.2.2.2 The Social Satire: New Arrivals, Old Residents, and Future Visions

From the moment the steamer that carried George Balfour (1809-1894), the first British consul in Shanghai, docked at the Huangpu riverside in 1843, the new, open-trade port had already received thousands of foreigners looking for lucrative business ventures in the East (Bergère 2009, 11). The departure and arrival of various ships since then had become an ordinary scene in Shanghai, signifying Shanghai’s change from a poor fishing village to a global city.

The creation of a foreign settlement, as French scholar Bergère (2009, 15-18) puts it, signaled a turning point for Shanghai. Forced to open up due to the failures of two opium wars, Shanghai demonstrated China’s change in diplomacy from that of a tribute system to a treaty system. In terms of the economy, the arrival of foreigners, mostly merchants, promoted “the birth of Shanghai capitalism” (50), i.e., “Sino-foreign capitalism (74-76). The western economic system, as symbolized by banks and speculations, began to appear followed by the

### CHAPTER THREE

by the industrialization of Shanghai's manufacturers (54-62). In turn, industrialization paved the way for a number of foreign capitalists and Chinese compradors, including a vigorous international business environment that produced a buoyant economy (50-52, 71-74) so that, as a result, Shanghai became one of the world's major port cities of the time (52-54). With regard to politics, Shanghai implemented western political and judicial systems, slightly adjusted for the particular setting. In 1854, the International Settlement established the Shanghai Municipal Council, a government entity responsible for handling various issues in the Settlement. The council, however, had no right to interfere with the jurisdiction of their respective consulates. In 1864, the Mixed Court came into existence to adjudicate trials between Chinese and foreign inhabitants. The position of magistrate was supposedly to be filled by a Chinese who represented Daotai 道台, but in fact, his foreign assistant often held the power. Later, because Chinese magistrates lacked the ability to arrest criminals, the court came under foreign control (112).

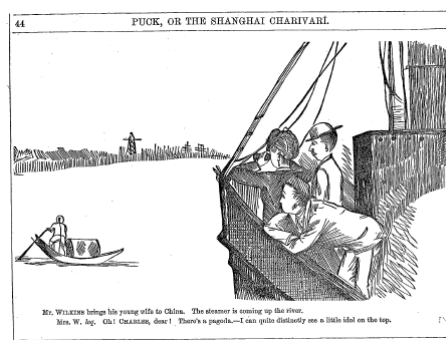


Figure 3.34 Untitled (the Shanghai *Puck*, 1 January 1872).

Scholars have noted that the English-language humorous magazines, though characterized by their location in China, nevertheless, paid more attention to foreign newcomers and their motherland (Rea 2013, 411). In this far-away eastern nation, the elf Puck kept an eye on these foreign adventurers from the moment they reached Shanghai. Figure 3.34 depicts a scene in which a British man, Charles Wilkins, brings his young wife to China. Nearing the riverside, the couple stands on the ship deck looking through binoculars at this mysterious land as his wife exclaims: “There’s a pagoda--- I can barely see a little idol on the top.” On the next page, the Shanghai *Puck* presents the actual appearance of the idol (Figure 3.35) that was not an idol, but rather a robust western guy with a beard who seems to be looking out at the Family Wilkins’ Steamer. This pair of caricatures reveals the newcomers’ curiosity, excitement, and perhaps most importantly their ignorance about this “promising land.” The incongruity between what they expected and the reality that validates these newcomers’ lack of knowledge about the world. The caricatures capture the conceit and pretense they brought

## CHAPTER THREE

with them via the long journey from their homeland.

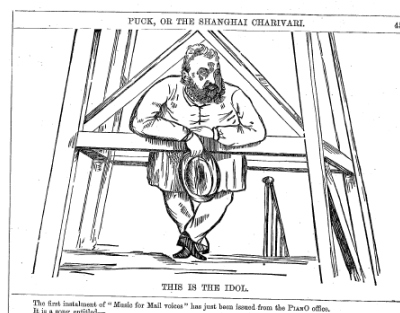


Figure 3.35 This is the Idol (the *Shanghai Puck*, 1 January 1872).

The *Shanghai Puck* often asks the question: what happens when newcomers meet native residents, i.e., the Chinese people? The caricatures tend to accentuate the absurdity caused by their mutual misunderstandings and ignorance. Figure 3.34 presents a sharp contrast between a Chinese sampan and a foreign steamer. The difference in the size of the boat and the ship alludes to the asymmetrical power relationship between China and foreign countries. As the colossal steamer approaches, the small sampan seems not able to rival it. This power hierarchy underlies the International Settlement. According to the Land Regulation in 1845, Chinese people were not allowed to live in the foreign settlement, nor were the foreigners encouraged to contact the locals. Yet, the advancement in living conditions and more work opportunities drew many Chinese into the Settlement. This migration reached its peak during the uprising of the Small Sword Society (1853-1855) and the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). A mass of Chinese people fled to the Settlement for safety. Since then, scenes of the Settlement changed to the extent that foreign residents were able to buy houses to rent to Chinese families, which previously had been forbidden by law.

To be precise, “the Chinese” in the *Shanghai Puck’s* social caricatures are depicted as Chinese servants, likely reflecting the foreigners’ demands for higher standards of living in real life. Originally, the first English Consul Balfour, considered establishing the consulate within the city of Shanghai but that idea was soon objected to by the Britons, who preferred setting up a residential area of their own with living conditions that corresponded to western standards. They constructed walls and gardens, and other architectural structures that could segregate themselves from Chinese residents, setting up what the French referred to as a “cordon sanitaire.” For that reason, the foreigners issued resident permissions only to those Chinese who worked as servants and compradors (Johnson 1995, 323).

Figure 3.36, for instance, describes a newcomer’s experience in learning about the British and Chinese in Shanghai. In this caricature, the master receives a newcomer, Mr. Johnna, and

## CHAPTER THREE

at dinner demands of his Chinese servant: “Boy, chop chop catchie dinner.” The funniness lies in both the master’s utterance and the newcomer’s astonishment. The master uses pidgin English to communicate with the Chinese servant. “Catchie” is an English pronunciation with a strong Chinese accent. The reason why “Catch” becomes “catchie” is because Chinese people tend to end a word with an extra syllable. According to a survey by an Indian writer Lakshmi Gandhi (2014), the phrase “chop chop” is “pidgin English used on ships and later by Chinese servants and traders who regularly interacted with foreigners.” As for the literary record, the phrase first appeared in an 1834 U.S. essay in *Canton (Ohio) Register* and later in *The Penny Magazine*, an English publication for the working class, which defined the term as “the sooner the better.” Based on an 1886 Anglo-Indian dictionary, the phrase stems from a Cantonese word, “Kap 急 (hurry)” that foreigners quickly absorbed as “Chop Chop” into their daily lexicon and used with the Chinese. Gradually, the term was heard in other situations, such as military officials urging their soldiers to act. During World War II, “chop chop” took on a new meaning that referred to food and eating, because of the influence of the Korean language.



Figure 3.36 New Arrival in China (the Shanghai *Puck*, 1 January 1872).

Tracing the phrase’s historical itinerary, it is noteworthy that “chop chop” always intertwines with class, for it is “almost always said by someone powerful to someone ‘below’”. For example, in 1882 history records, a superior used “chop chop” to mandate a coolie to finish a task faster (Gandhi 2014). Compared to the textual records, the caricature, entitled “A New Arrival,” published in 1872, provides early visual evidence on the matter of how “chop chop” was used.

The newcomer’s reaction deserves our attention. After hearing the master’s order, the newcomer “wonders how the boy is going to catch the dinner and how long he’ll be about it.” His astonishment reveals his uncertainty about the Settlement. He had only the slightest clue about life in this Far East land, epitomized by the young Chinese boy’s preparation for their dinner. The iconographic arrangement intensifies the confusion. The two westerners are

## CHAPTER THREE

depicted at the front of the illustration, facing forward, showing their suits and the lifestyle that foreign audiences understand. By contrast, the Chinese boy stands with his back to the audience without a clearly defined face. The iconography insinuates the Chinese people's subordination to that of westerners while the foreigners are mystified by the Chinese life and culture.

According to Rea (2013, 414–415), diplomatic relationships are often gendered: the Orient is typically feminized while the Occident is masculinized. However, the stereotypical expression was twisted and even reversed in caricatures. In the *China Punch*, for example, Chinese people were depicted as “sexually aggressive” (414) towards Westerners in the Chinese-British diplomatic relationship. The inversion of the gender metaphor suggests the West's fear of a reversal of the power relationship between China and the West.

Rea's observation offers other perspectives on the Chinese role in these foreign caricatures, presenting the Chinese not as always weak and uncivilized, but potentially as an innocent witness to the chaotic world, able to articulate words of honesty and morality. As these caricatures target their far-east diaspora, one might sense that the caricaturist does not always attack Chinese ignorance but debunks Westerners' pretense through Chinese people's ignorance. Therefore, these caricatures confirmed the asymmetry in the power relationship between the foreigners and the Chinese. Still, the satirical content might implicitly reverse the ostensible asymmetry, which proves Wagner's claim that any power relationship evolved in transcultural interaction cannot always be interpreted as stable and unchanged. It is mobile and defined by cultural actors.



Figure 3.37 Untitled (the *Shanghai Puck*, 1 May January 1872).

Figure 3.37, for instance, illustrates a western gentleman greeting a lady on the street by taking a bow. As the caption says, he is proud of “the elegance of his bow,” a gesture proving his persistence to practice the courtesy of the western upper-class culture even in a far-away land. Yet, to the two Chinese coolies, who are bystanders, the gentleman's behavior has nothing to do with nobleness. One asks the other: “He no got hair topside; what for he wanghee pay he

### CHAPTER THREE

look see he head.” For them, it is confusing why this man wants to show his bald head to the lady. The lady who is walking on the street wears a heavy evening gown that also manifests Western upper-class formality. The coolies’ words, on the surface, result from their lack of knowledge about western manners, while the query debunks the hypocrisy of etiquette. Chinese coolies, often thought to be poor and underprivileged, occupy a low social position at the perfect angle for creating satire. It is unnecessary for coolies to chat in English between themselves so that their words spoken in Pidgin English are obviously the articulation of the caricaturist.



Figure 3.38 A Vision of the Future (the *Shanghai Puck*, 1 May January 1872).

The *Shanghai Puck's* caricatures link grassroots Chinese residents and new western arrivals in the present while also foreshadowing the future. The reversal of the asymmetrical power relationship reveals the two opposite attitudes of the Westerners toward China: fear and prospect. In Figure 3.38, entitled “A Vision of Future,” the elf Puck is having a midnight dream. Yet, the dream is not sweet as he falls asleep with a frown. The images around him represent the future in which positions of the Chinese and westerners are completely reversed. For instance, westerners start fill the role of Chinese servants in various situations: like when Chinese men are playing chess, sleeping on a hammock, or riding in a rickshaw. Or the westerners become boatmen hustling a rich Chinese man to purchase their boats. Western women work as Chinese women’s nannies. The most shocking depiction in the caricature is that of several westerners shackled as prisoners in the custody of the Chinese guards.



## CHAPTER THREE



Figure 3.39 Another Vision of the Future (the *Shanghai Puck*, 1 July 1872).

The image might be funny due to its contrast with reality, but it does reveal a western mentality of fearing China. The dread might penetrate the Settlement, warning that westerners would be “the subjects” in the future (Rea 2013, 402-405). Two months later, a positive vision replaced Puck’s horrible dream. In 1872, four years before China started operating its first railway, the *Shanghai Puck* depicted Shanghai as a hot hub of transportation. Figure 3.39 is a scene in a grand railway station where many Chinese are waiting for their trains. Two incredible advancements are shown: the first posted on the banner: “To excursionists, to the Great Wall and back in 24 hours”; the second is listed on the billboard at the left announcing that trains can reach New York via several foreign cities such as Saigon. The two routes are unlikely to become operational due to geographic and technological restrictions, making the caricature a comic world of unrealistic optimism in contrast to the development of Chinese railways. All in all, comparing these two visions of the future, one can discern the contradictory mentality of the colonists. Even though Shanghai was never a colony, we can view similarities to other colonies. The British colonialists held an unshakable terror toward Chinese subjects who lived in Shanghai while believing that western civilization with its technological achievements could improve the quality of life of the colonial subjects.

### 3.2.2.3 Political Satire: Controversies at Different Levels

Inheriting the critical spirit of Punch-like magazines, the *Shanghai Puck*, by claiming at the very beginning to send messages from this remote, far eastern country, shows his concern about politics. In the second issue, the *Shanghai Puck* enthusiastically designs for the municipal council a new seal that consists of a lion and three eagles (Figure 3.40). Smoking a pipe with its chin on one hand, the lion sits beside a round table drinking with three eagles. Its British identity is revealed by the round table’s decorative patterns of the British flag. The eagles represent America as suggested by an American national flag under the foot of one of the eagles. The meeting of a lion and three eagles insinuates that it is Britons and Americans who control the municipal council. Under the round table lie a gun, a sword, and an unknown box with

## CHAPTER THREE

Chinese words on it: 這是麼 (What is it?) and 你是善人 (You are a philanthropist.) Different from the icon on the actual Shanghai Municipality Flag, the symbol of unity in the caricature is demonstrated by the juxtaposition of many national flags. Puck's new seal design indicates fatigue and defensiveness, while the lion's frown suggests he does not enjoy the wine and is generally perturbed about everything in his surroundings. The design of Puck's new seal, comic though it is, discloses the true nature of the municipal council, perhaps an impression assigned also to others. The seal seemingly authorizes the Shanghai *Puck* to supervise the far-away land by using political caricatures to unveil various controversies between China and the West as well as clashes among "the colonized."



PUCK'S DESIGN FOR A MUNICIPAL SEAL!

Figure 3.40 Puck's Design for a Municipal Seal (the Shanghai *Puck*, 1 July 1871).

### 3.2.2.3.1 The Conflict between China and the Foreign Power

The Shanghai Settlement, due to its foreign essence and distance from China's political power center in the north, secured permission for its press to report in newspaper articles the Qing court's interference in journalists' news coverage that criticized the Qing government (Fang 1992, 305-307). As a member of Shanghai's press, the Shanghai *Puck* enjoyed this advantage. Its caricatures were drawn as if a pair of eyes from the south were directed with humorous gazes of discontent toward the north, the court of Peking.

Figure 3.41 satirizes the Chinese government for its chicanery in diplomatic policy. The caricature depicts a Qing official fanning upward a foreigner who is dressed like a butterfly. This Qing official appears treacherous in contrast to the foreigner's innocence. The set of actions, as the caption points out, is a vaudeville act called "the Butterfly Trick". Here, we can see how a transcultural interaction facilitates artist performance to gain "transcultural satirical techniques." According to British scholar Chris Goto-Jones's research (2016, 285), the performance originated in Japan and its European debut was in 1867 London, performed by a Japanese troupe. The same year, another Japanese troupe performed the trick in San Francisco in America. Soon the Butterfly Trick was learned by Western magicians. Within a month after the Japanese troupe's performance, a British conjurer imitated the trick in London, followed

## CHAPTER THREE

by other magicians who delivered the same performance.



Figure 3.41 Untitled (the Shanghai *Puck*, 1 April 1871).

The Butterfly Trick was performed differently in Britain than in Japan. In Japan, the conjurers sit on the floor, while in the British performance, they stand without any covering behind a small table on which are placed a China bowl, a bunch of flowers/blossoms, and two folding fans. After several introductory lines, the western performer would shape some tissue paper into the form of a butterfly and then fan the “butterfly” as if it were flying naturally. Then, he would take out another fan with a picture of flowers for the butterfly to rest on. As butterflies symbolize conjugal blessings, the performer would then make another paper butterfly to match the existing one. Then, with two fans, he would control the pair of butterflies to hover above and rest on the real flowers to enjoy nectar from the blossoms and to drink water from the bowl. Afterward, the butterflies would enter the bowl and not come out. The performer would then conclude the show by telling the audience that the two butterflies had peacefully fallen asleep (273-274).

The fact that the Shanghai *Puck*'s caricaturist likens the Butterfly Trick to the relationship between China and Britain suggests a cultural exchange between the East and the West has occurred. The popularity of the Butterfly Trick further reveals a trend in the nineteenth century among Western magicians to imitate magic shows popular at that time in China, India, and Japan. Japanese magic, which included acrobatics as well as traditional religious performances, drew much attention, surfacing “as a mixture of difference in dexterities and delicate skills” in a “mysteriously symbolic world of meaning.” Such characteristics rendered Japanese magic as enigmatic and perplexing. Although Japanese magic performers later endeavored to change that image by presenting more feats of acrobatics and modern mechanical devices, the western magicians continued to be fascinated by the ritual-like vaudevilles, such as the Butterfly Trick (271-272).

### CHAPTER THREE

The Butterfly Trick challenges the long-standing notion that magic always relates to deception, despite the fact that magic actually involves “feats of dexterity,” requiring “much study and persistent practice”. Unlike the traditional magic performance that drags the audience into a world of enchantment, the magic of the Butterfly Trick is accomplished by its visual effects that emphasize the performer’s competence of skills. (277). The manipulation behind the magic, hence, lays bare those skills to the audience. Seen in this light, from the perspective of western viewers, Figure 3.41 offers a way to see how China manipulated the West. Noticeably, displays of manipulation are found not only in politics but also in the transformation of different visual languages. In this illustration, the western caricaturist reversed the mystifying oriental language of performance into the western political language of caricature, thus revealing the illustrator’s high level of awareness of different visual art forms across multiple borders. Figure 3.41 intends to emphasize the West’s inferiority to China as depicted by a tiny westerner controlled by a huge Chinese official; similar pictorial patterns can be seen in later Chinese caricatures, reflecting a similar mindset. Both Chinese and western caricaturists in China, in succession, exhibited a world of asymmetrical power relationships that were opposed to one another.



Figure 3.42 The Audience Question (the Shanghai Puck, 1 May 1872).

In contrast to Figure 3.41 that draws an analogy between the court of Peking and an open magic show, Figure 3.42 likens the court of Peking (Beijing) to an exclusive circus. This 1872 caricature illustrates the Grand National Circus tent put up in Peking, that includes written on the surface the show’s introduction and rules. The show master is “the great emperor TSAI SHUN” (載順), namely, the emperor “TUNG CHIN” (同治) (1856-1875). On the right side, a line of Chinese officials is entering the tent that is decorated with a Chinese lantern. On the left side, a man is trying to sneak into the tent; judging from his pants, he must be a westerner. Above him is listed this warning: “Europeans Not Admitted” with a Chinese official running with a whip toward the intruder to punish him for ignoring the sign.

### CHAPTER THREE

Along with the caricature was published a parody report of the legation's criminal court. It states that the foreigner attempting to creep under the canvas comes from "the only country in the world looked upon as equal in greatness with China, the ruler of which received from the Chinese the high title of Hwangti 黃帝/皇帝" referring to Germany. The official with the whip works as a member of Tsungli Yamen 總理衙門 and cannot understand why this foreigner commits such a crime because he is known to be a nobleman of good character. Announcing his status as an acting envoy extraordinary from the emperor of Germany, the foreign criminal defends himself by emphasizing that he had asked many times to see Emperor Tung Chih but failed to meet him, even though the German envoy offered to pay. The envoy asked why the emperor did not invite "distinguished foreigners" to introduce themselves at the performance, a common ritual in Europe. After all, in his view, the Chinese Grand Circus was not different from those in Europe. Thomas Wade, leader of Tsungli Yamen, seemingly cares less about his defense than about how he was able to persuade the Chinese emperor to recognize the German Kaiser as Hwangti. The envoy responds: "They thought I'd make them do it, if they didn't, and so they made a virtue of necessity". After the debate, the case was closed without the envoy not being punished.

Emperor Tung Chih is often regarded as open to the West because he launched a westernization movement and started sending Chinese students aboard. However, this caricature (plus the previous one) acknowledges that, in fact, it was a period of closedness and enmity between China and the West. The title of "The Audience Question" hints that xenophobia resulted from the Qing court's decision about who was considered an "acceptable" audience. The concern about "audience" reflects the then-current controversial Chinese diplomacy, arising from different diplomatic notions that China and the foreign countries entertained. Even if China were forced to gradually adjust to the western system, China could still not shake off the mentality of Tianxia 天下, an inherent cultural concept of China as the center of the world. This caricature, accordingly, suggests that this conceit might contribute to China's brutal treatment of foreigners, such as whipping the foreign envoy. Obviously, it is China's superiority and atrocity that the image intends to deride. From the perspective of the German acting envoy extraordinary, the court of Peking is no more than a circus show, no different from others. This disparagement depicts the Qing court's self-proclaimed high esteem as an absurd example of parochial arrogance.

Another noteworthy point depicted in this caricature relates to multiple national relationships. For example, why does the caricature illustrate a "German" envoy who wants to

### CHAPTER THREE

enter the circus tent that symbolizes the Qing court? The conflict between China and the West is apparent here. However, if we consider that the Shanghai *Puck* was an English magazine, we might wonder whether the relationship between Germany and England, the depicted and the depicting, plays a role in this visual presentation. After all, “the West” is essentially plural, through which rapidly changing relationships between western nations compete to establish their own interests with non-western countries.

Keeping that idea in mind, we notice that during the period of the Shanghai *Puck*'s publication (1871-1872), China was making massive diplomatic progress in developing a relationship with Germany. As a newly rising empire, Germany was ambitiously extending her power in the world to catch up with other empires. Against that background, Germany surprisingly encountered challenges similar to those of China, which at that time was an ancient empire in decline. In tense relationships with England, China and Germany started to collaborate in various aspects, among the most important being the modernization of China's military. England was so greatly perturbed by their cooperation that it sought to interfere with agreements signed by China and Germany.

Thus, Figure 3.42, although the text accompanying the illustration describes Germany's relationship with China from the German envoy's perspective, it cannot be ignored that the magazine itself was an English publication that implicitly supported the standpoint of its motherland. The caricature perhaps intends to reveal Germany's ambitions to knock on and open the door of China. No matter how the relationship might unfold, as of 1872 when the caricature was published, the empires of Germany and China shared, at least, the exact same honorary title of “Hwangti”, suggesting that China gave to itself and to Germany the same national status (Yu 2014, 166-168).

Figure 3.42 reminds us that the asymmetrical power relationship exists not only between China and the West but also within the West. As Wagner suggests, the asymmetry can take place at any time, on any occasion, between any two entities. However, I would extend Wagner's theory one step further by arguing that the asymmetry might not only occur between two entities but involve multiple entities. Figure 3.42 exemplifies the complex relationship among China and at least two foreign countries, and the following section will examine two British cases to reveal the intricately asymmetrical power relationship among the homeland government, the settlement government(s), and the Chinese government. All relationships kept fluctuating in the transcultural interaction.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.2.2.3.2 The conflicts within the colonized

The Shanghai *Puck* carried many caricatures of political figures at that time.<sup>109</sup> Rendering these figures distorted and grotesque indicates the Shanghai *Puck*'s spirit of satire. The merits of these caricatures lie in their disclosure of tensions within the colonized. Figure 3.43, for instance, deals with the conflict between the Shanghai administration and the British government, a rare theme that appears in English-language humor magazines in Shanghai. Contemporary readers might find the caricature familiar because it was adapted from a well-known illustration by George Cruikshank (1792-1878) in Charles Dickens' novel, *Oliver Twist* (Figure 3.44). George Cruikshank was a noted British artist, political caricaturist, and book illustrator in the nineteenth century. His father, Isaac Cruikshank (1764-1811), was also a successful political caricaturist and established a print factory that engaged all his family members in the business of producing etching prints.<sup>110</sup>

Figure 3.44, "Asking for More", is one of the famous illustrations by Cruikshank in *Oliver Twister* that depicts a notable story scene in Chapter Two where Oliver Twist asked for more food. The plot is about Oliver, who is transferred to a workplace to live with many teenagers about his age. They suffer from severe hunger because the parish beadle, Mr. Bumble, burdens them with heavy labor but feeds them only a little gruel. One day after dinner for all the teenagers, Oliver goes to the master and begs for food by saying: "Sir! I want some more",

---

<sup>109</sup> Each issue published one-or two-page caricatures of political celebrities.

<sup>110</sup> Here are the brief introduction of George Cruikshank's caricature career and his friendship with Dickens. Cruikshank started drawing caricature early as his teens. From 1811 to 1814, he regularly produced one large caricature for the magazine *The Scourge*, a *Monthly Expositor of Imposture and Folly*. In 1818, he worked with William Hone (1780-1842), a publisher and bookseller, and their pamphlet, *The Political House that Jack Built*, which caused a sensation and sold 100,000 copies in a few months (Kosik 2018). Experiencing various types of political tumult, George Cruikshank "clamped", rather than integrated, realism and fantasy in his caricatures. "Everything seems exaggerated and distorted because there is a gap between the means (realistic, scientific, factual) and message (moralistic, emotional, fantastic)" (Stoehr 1965, 276). His achievements in creating political caricatures at that time could match those of his great predecessor, James Gillray (1756-1815), a renowned caricaturist of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England (T. Editors of *Encyclopedia Britannica* 2019a, 2020a).

As Dickens' friend and colleague, Cruikshank illustrated Dickens' two other novels: *The Mudfog Papers* and *Sketches* by Boz. As English scholar Richard L. Stein (2001, 167-172) points out, the visual art, (i.e., book illustrations and portrait) were crucial in affecting Dickens' consideration of his double role as an author and illustrator. In this matter, Cruikshank's drawings play an important part, giving rise to a particular work routine between that of Dickens and Cruikshank. Dickens delivered drawing instructions to Cruikshank (also to other illustrators) concerning what should and not be drawn. Cruikshank did not always follow Dickens' instructions and proclaimed, for example, to have created several characters and situations in *Oliver Twister*. The case of Cruikshank's illustrations in *Oliver Twister* suggests the visuals' potential to enhance the story's dramatic effects and to influence the writing itself. Cruikshank and Dickens' friendship lasted for years but ended because Dickens could not stand Cruikshank's conservative view on temperance (alcohol consumption). *Oliver Twister* was hence the last book that Cruikshank illustrated for Dickens.

### CHAPTER THREE

a well-known sentence in *Oliver Twist*. The illustration renders Oliver as thin and weak, standing alone in the center, holding a small bowl out of proportion to a giant spoon. Behind him sits a table of terrified boys observing what is about to happen. The master in an apron angrily stares at him with astonishment about his ungracious request. His assistant, a slender woman with a wrap, also appears aghast.

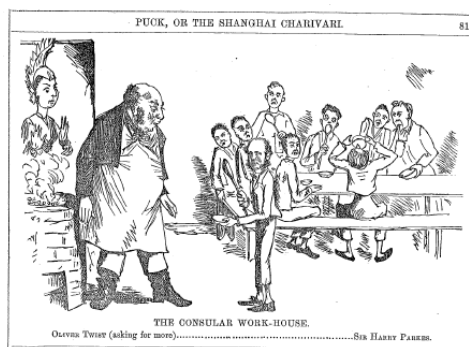


Figure 3.43 The Consular Work-House (the *Shanghai Puck*, 1 July 1872).



Figure 3.44 An Illustration of *Oliver Twist*, 1843.

Judging from the iconographic arrangements, Figure 3.43 is doubtlessly inspired by Figure 3.44, adapting Oliver's situation to the contemporary context. The scene is changed from a workhouse to "THE CONSULAR WORK-HOUSE" where the young Oliver turns out to be a middle-aged man, Sir Harry Parkes (1828-1885) (Figure 3.45). Harry Parkes was from an English family in Walsall and moved to China in 1841. He started his career in the official administration and later became a translator. He was appointed a consul in Amoy in 1854, acting consul in Canton from 1856 to 1858, and the consul at Shanghai in 1864. In China, Parkes had gone through several wars and clashes between China and England and had helped establish consulates in China's ports. From 1865 to 1873, he was designated as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Japan. During that time, he involved himself in Japan's modernization of its political system, currency, finance and transportation construction.



## CHAPTER THREE

After briefly back in England, Parkes returned to the Far East by assuming the consulship in China and Korea from 1883 to 1885 for signature of a treaty with Korea. In March 1885, he passed away in Beijing due to an illness.<sup>111</sup>

Figure 3.43 delineates Parkes' presence before the committee of the House of Commons in 1872 in London regarding a sensitive affair involving Christians' persecution in Japan. With a very little knowledge of East Asia, the council members expected Parkes, a highly regarded specialist on East Asia, to report more about the actual situation there. Seizing the opportunity, Parkes shared his concern about the British diplomatic policies in China and Japan. First of all, he insisted that the British government should maintain all the consulates in China's open ports for commercial purposes. Hence, he strongly objected to the proposal of abolishing consulates for locations that appeared to be politically unimportant. As an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Japan at the time, Parkes promoted the commercial potential of Japan and described the actual lifestyle of British officials and employees there. For the British diaspora, Parkes pleaded for the council to consider several measures to improve their living conditions, such as subsidies for student interpreters, sufficient salaries for official consular staff members, secure pensions, and coverage of medical expenses. Finally, he spoke briefly for himself in an attempt to obtain a salary increase. His current income was not sufficient because he needed to maintain residences in Tokyo and Yokohama and, meanwhile, receive many guests at the British legation (Daniels 1996, 124-130).



Figure 3.45 Harry Parkes (1828-1885)

Corresponding with his comments at the hearing in London, the caricature likens the dilapidated dining space to a hard life in Japan. Boys sitting around a table become British expatriates with differences in social status who needed help. The master facing Parkes looks like the national personification of Britain, John Bull. Behind him is another national symbol,

---

<sup>111</sup> For more information about Sir Harry Parkes, see Daniels (1996 1-15) and Douglas (1910 830-831).

### CHAPTER THREE

Goddess Britannia, transformed by the woman who was originally the master's assistant. Both of them act appalled and sullen, alluding to the motherland's ignorance about and cold-heartedness toward the diaspora.

But why would a Shanghai-based humorous magazine satirize an event in Japan rather than in Shanghai? The answer shows us a parallel but also referentially asymmetrical relationship that engaged the homeland government and two colonial governments. A *North China Herald* editorial, entitled "Consular Reforms" (20 July 1872), asserts that the English consulates in China also needed reforms similar to those proposed by Parkes for Japan. Praising and analyzing the caricature, the editorial refers to the current English consul in Shanghai where Mr. Walter Henry Medhurst (1822-1885) had just put forward a series of consular reforms. The author supports these systemic reforms so ardently as to expect them to carry out as soon as possible. The reforms included several aspects. First, Mr. Medhurst suggests the Consul in Shanghai should "have local rank as Consul-General." Bestowed with this title, the English consul could obtain the privilege of dealing with a variety of affairs on behalf of the motherland. Moreover, he was able to rationally request his own promotion and salary increase as justified by his additional work responsibilities.

Second, Mr. Medhurst advises the motherland to take good care of the consular staff. By reason of their assignments, staff members needed to spend a great deal of money for frequent moves; therefore, the government should guarantee the supply of heavy household furnishings. Based on the particularities of consulate work, Medhurst further proposed to decrease the number of staff while increasing salaries. The consul and his subordinates require "the certain qualities, the result of education, training and experience", which make the legation a place full of professionals who know their jobs very well and can swiftly react to emergencies. They also understand how to process all information received and can defend their national merits. In short, efficient consulate work hinges largely on the above-mentioned qualities in which the official administration should hence keep investing. Both the caricature and editorial indicate that the consuls had a clear picture about their responsibilities in China without neglecting the very fundamental concern: the financial situations and most significantly, revealed the general problem of managing Far-East British consulates in how to support their official staff and their diaspora overseas.

Another tension displayed in the caricatures of the Shanghai *Puck* is between British politicians in China with contrasting attitudes toward China. They were politicians but also, as Wagner would call them, cultural brokers situated at opposite ends of the spectrum, respectively representing their homeland and the "new homeland." I use the term "new

## CHAPTER THREE

homeland” to signify who shifted positions to the Chinese government and assisted the Qing court in westernizing China. Figure 3.46, as the title indicates, is adopted from Shakespeare’s historical play *King Henry the Fourth*. It illustrates act five of scene five, where Prince Hal ascends to the throne as King Henry the Fifth. On hearing that the new King is parading in the street, the dissolute old knight, Falstaff, hurries to meet him with the anticipation of receiving rewards for his previous buddy Hal, who was still a prince. However, King Hal rejects Falstaff and all prior time spent with this vile and dissipated “old and grey clown.” The King warns Falstaff and his despicable gang to keep away from him. Soon after Falstaff leaves, the Chief Justice carries them all to prison. Based on this plot, the caricature is vertically divided into two parts. On the left, the fat guy dressed like a clown is Falstaff; on the right, the man in the noble’s suit is King Henry the Fifth (formerly Prince Hal). While Falstaff stretches out his arm, the King intentionally dodges his gesture and loathsomely stares at him. The caption below is a famous line in this play that betrays the King’s resolution to cut himself off from the past: “Presume not that I am the thing I was.” (Shakespeare 1999, 227-235)



Figure 3.46 A Scene from Shak(e)speare (the Shanghai *Puck*, 2 October 1871).

According to the caption, the Shanghai *Puck* has “cast” two men to play its version of *King Henry the Fourth*: “King Henry V--- T. F. W---DE” and “Sir John Falstaff. ---Mr. R---T H---T”. Intentionally, these actors’ names are partially missing, a device of riddles that add to the pleasure of guessing but perhaps also meant to shun the governor’s censorship. For contemporary audiences, nevertheless, these blanks do not hinder them from recognizing the real faces of the two men who were influential British political figures in China: Thomas Francis Wade (1818-1895) (Figure 3.47) and Robert Hart (1835-1911) (Figure 3.48). Wade, a British diplomatist and sinologist, came to China in 1842 to learn Chinese and later became an official interpreter. In 1845, he started to work for the British diplomatic corps in China, served in many ports, and took part in the process of signing treaties. After ten years as Secretary in the British Legation, he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in

## CHAPTER THREE

1871 until he resigned in 1833. He also engaged in China's westernization, especially in terms of diplomacy, that he taught in a pedagogical manner.<sup>112</sup> Robert Hart came to China in 1854 and worked as a British consular official from 1854 to 1859. In 1859, he became a customs inspector in Guangzhou as an employee of the Qing court and, in 1863, became inspector general of the Maritime Customs Bureau, an organization that collected Chinese imperial tariffs on imports. Hart also assisted China in dealing with foreign issues and promoted China's modernization in education, the postal system, and similar areas.<sup>113</sup>

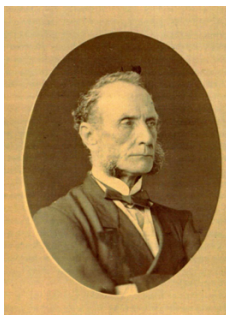


Figure 3.47 Thomas Francis Wade (1818-1895)

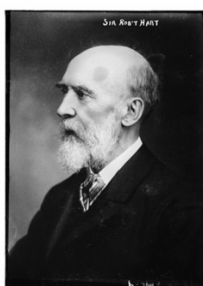


Figure 3.48 Robert Hart (1835-1911)

By comparing the two early and later British consuls to King Hal and Falstaff, the caricature intends to unveil clashes within the British community in China, a subject rarely touched on by magazines of the same kind. When Robert Hart decided to assume the position with the Chinese customs service, his relationship with his motherland had changed as the British government warned him that he could not return at will to the British consular. (Bredon 1910, 42) Afterward, Hart often represented the Chinese government in coping with foreign

---

<sup>112</sup> There is much research in relation to Thomas Francis Wade's biography, just to name a few: Cordier (1895) "Sir Thomas Francis Wade", Hevia (1995) "An Imperial Nomad and the Great Game: Thomas Francis Wade in China"; and Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopedia. "Sir Thomas Francis Wade." <https://shorturl.at/dlzU1> (accessed 21 August 2021).

<sup>113</sup> There is also much research in relation to Robert Hart's biography, just to name: Drew (1913), "Sir Robert Hart and His Life Work in China"; Horowitz (2006), "Politics, Power and the Chinese Maritime Customs: the Qing Restoration and the Ascent of Robert Hart"; Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. (2021) "Sir Robert Hart, 1st Baronet." <https://reurl.cc/zlRyOQ> (accessed 16 February 2022).

## CHAPTER THREE

affairs and disputes and his double standpoints incited doubts among his contemporaries.

The historian Han van de Ven (2006, 660-661) indicates that the turn of the twentieth century witnessed the formation of two different “international networks of entrepreneurs, statesmen, journalists, and diplomats.” Hart represented one network; the other was represented by the increasingly powerful Tianjin Commissioner, Gustav Detring (1842-1913). Hart’s group supported notions of a liberal, progressive orientation toward the world of the British empire, while Detring’s network was linked to Germany with a vision of new global entrepreneurship.

Seen from this perspective, the world of that time was composed of different systems so that national identities could no longer determine the views of foreigners. Transcending the fixed national boundaries in any possible way is one of the primary features of transculturality (Wagner 2019, 25). For example, the negotiation about the Chinese postal service aroused disputes among foreigners. The most severe confrontation was, however, between two Britons, Robert Hart and Thomas Wade that ended their long-standing (but sometimes uneasy) friendship (Reisz 2018, 4, 7-8). During the 1870s, Hart was antagonized by many consuls supported by Wade, a phenomenon that reflected British anxiety that Hart would undermine the British position instead of strengthening it (Van de Ven 2014, 71).

Figure 3.46 captures a snapshot of the growing conflicts between the two Britons. In 1871, when the caricature appeared, Wade assumed the position of the Minister, holding substantial power as an official representative, similar to the newly crowned King Henry the Fifth in Shakespeare’s play. The linkage between Hart and Falstaff implicitly pronounces the Shanghai *Puck’s* judgment about Hart for his possible oscillating standpoints with Chinese officials, a reminder of the gang that Falstaff aligned himself. Hart previously admired Wade but now firmly regards him as a threat, similar to the interaction between the two Britons in the caricature that embodies both a deteriorating relationship and a broadening fissure between China and Britain in political and economic interests.

### 3.2.2.4 The Shanghai *Puck* in a Rivalry of Funniness

It is noteworthy that the term “Puck”, more than the title for a humorous magazine, serves as a synonym of funniness in the news and editorials. The record of an annual meeting of ratepayers noted a conversation that took place after a gentleman gave a lengthy and tedious speech that others ironically regarded as amusement “which would perhaps have been better suited to the pages of the Shanghai *Puck* than for this meeting.” (“Public Meeting: Annual Meeting of Ratepayers” 1874) Moreover, a *North China Herald* essay, “Summer Heat and Sedition” (August 10, 1872), humorously describes the hot weather in Shanghai and mocks the

## CHAPTER THREE

Chinese people for having different mental faculties than those of foreigners. The author posits that “our friend ‘Puck’ would doubtless think it hard to have to concoct a new number during the heat of a Chinese July, and foreigners find it most mysteriously difficult to come up with an idea to draw on.” On the contrary, the author adds, it is the heat that contributes to the natives’ crowding in the street, which offers a great opportunity for the Shanghai *Puck* to observe their motions and their lives. Thereafter, he continues with a lengthy description of the activities of the Shanghai people, a description that extends to political unrest due to ubiquitous rumors of revolution. The article, although unrelated to the Shanghai *Puck*, exemplifies how the author sprinkled humor into his essay with reference to the Shanghai *Puck*.

Hence, “Puck” becomes complimentary rhetoric for brilliant humorous textual and visual works. For example, in an analysis of a humorous essay carried by two journals that did not often publish those kinds of articles, the author praises the journals as worthy of “*Puck*”. Apparently, *Puck* served as a standard to evaluate humorous writings (“The ‘Chinese Recorder’ on Connection Between Garlic and Chinese” 1872).

Interestingly, to be funny could be a highly competitive activity. Since *the China Punch* also circulated in Shanghai, a rivalry between the two kindred periodicals, the Shanghai *Puck* and *the China Punch*, seems to have been inevitable. On 21 November 1872, *North China Herald’s* “Summary of News” compared the Shanghai *Puck* with *the China Punch*. The author made clear his preference for the Shanghai *Puck* by claiming that *the China Punch’s* sketches and letterpress “are good, but lack variety.” With a simple examination of *the China Punch’s* layout and content, the author quotes a sentence from the preface of *the China Punch’s* preface to express his “sarcastic” blessing: “may it have a long and successful run, say we.” Despite a personal evaluation, the blessing suggests a competitive rivalry among similar periodicals at that time as well as the potential for a funniness publication market.

### 3.2.3 The Inheritor of Colonial Humor: *The Rattle*

In 1896, fourteen years after the Elf Puck flew away from Shanghai, a joker came to town (Figure 3.49). The magazine, *the Rattle*, appeared in the land. In the cover illustration, its “branded satirical persona” (Maidment 2013, 41), a joker, donned a blatantly showy costume and rode a dancing donkey with a bucket tied on its tail that was dragged on the ground. Much noise must have been made because of a loop of bells around the donkey’s neck, so that Chinese people, attracted by the dazzling newcomer, gathered in two lines and unwaveringly followed his lead, delightedly signified by the flag being held up. Interestingly, the cover illustration

## CHAPTER THREE

introduces the two pivotal characters responsible for the content: painters and authors, embodying two crucial elements of the magazine: images and texts. On the upper left side, a painter carries a color palette and several paint brushes, stands before an easel, and draws a picture; on the upper right side, an author solemnly bends over his desk and writes essays one after another as the pile of paper suggests. At the upper right corner two tools are displayed as symbols of editing: scissors and a bottle of paste. The two objects connote that texts and images are discreetly selected (cut off) and printed (pasted).

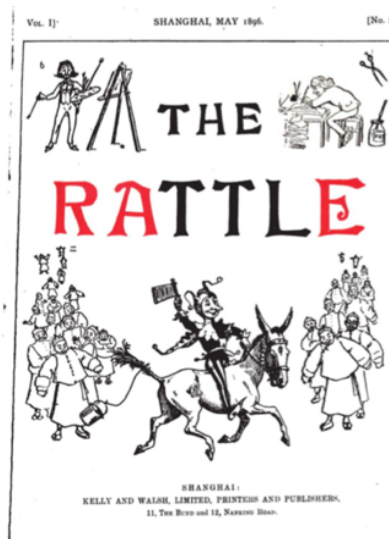


Figure 3.49 The Cover of *the Rattle* (May 1896).

*The Rattle* was issued by Shanghai's Printers and publishers, Kelly and Walsh. Kelly and Walsh was a merger of two publishers, Kelly and F. & C. Walsh; the latter who also founded *the Puck: or the Shanghai Charivari*. In 1876, F. & C. Walsh merged with a Shanghai bookseller, Kelly and Company, that created a new publishing house, Kelly and Walsh. "The firm's main concern is bookselling", but also publishes books and "runs an important printing business, turning out high class work of every description." The company was incorporated in 1885 to expand its business to Hong Kong and elsewhere. 1896, the birth year of *the Rattle*, marked a significant milestone in Kelly and Walsh's commercial transactions as they opened a branch in Singapore, which later grew into a momentous enterprise in Southeast Asia ("Kelly and Walsh" 1969, 163-164).

As aforementioned, "Kelly and Walsh" was not a greenhorn in the business of publishing humorous magazines. Based on its previous experience, the company seemed better able to characterize *the Rattle* by exploiting humor as a value proposition. In its manifesto ("Spring the Rattle" 1986, 2-3), *the Rattle*, or we can imagine the "branded satirical persona" of a joker, highlighted a diachronic asymmetry in the humorous atmosphere of Shanghai. According to

### CHAPTER THREE

its observation, the city had long been devoid of the joy and amusement that once pervaded the Settlement after the foreign diaspora ceased publishing humorous magazines locally. To overcome the asymmetry, *the Rattle* self-declared itself as a successor of colonial humor, with responsibility reviving “the mud-float mother of model Settlements” in want of funniness and laughter. Shanghai, in its view, was sinking into a crisis of “restoratives” to “heal the gross-fed humor and vapors of transitory prosperity or to lighten the melancholy of undue depression.” The very remedy was not at all medication but represented also the two departed “cheerful physicians,” i.e., the *Shanghai Punch* of 1867 and the *Shanghai Puck* of 1871. Therefore, *the Rattle* appears to have inherited “the cheerful physicians” by emulating and even “surpassing their excellences”, carrying on “the good work interrupted by their taking-off.”

The genealogy maps placement of *the Rattle* in the network of China’s foreign humorous magazines. In contrast to its forerunners, *the Rattle* did not avoid soliciting financial support from its readers. Primarily, *the Rattle* appears to meet the urgent need of the Settlement as intensified by “the condition of things political, social and journalistic.” Hence, it sought to gain “the public’s support and indulgence as well as “labors for the welfare and good cheer of China in general and of Shanghai in particular.” Even so, *The Rattle* did not ignore its crucial task of entertainment since the “Shanghai public requires not only to be kept honest, but to be kept amused.” For all its aspirations, *the Rattle* spoke bluntly that “it requires its money’s worth.” The public should, in return, “rush for every edition freely and spontaneously--- and pay for it.”

While solemnly delineating its publishing proposition, *the Rattle* introduced its office and staff playfully. According to the description, the periodical was seemingly located in nowhere and composed of fictional and grotesque figures, such as Tweedledee and Tweedledum, characters of Alice in Wonderland. It possessed correspondents at every outpost to extend its coverage of news reports and four reports that “will be let loose as occasions offer; being paid by results”. Among the staff, a legal gentleman is specified “as a guarantee of good faith.” The position of law utters that “any action or suit brought against the *RATTLE* will be quite futile in a matter of dangerous.” The statement suggests that the news media at the time might handle lawsuits so frequently as to set up a legal section. It is conceivable that a humorous magazine with satirical essays and images, like *the Rattle*, would more likely to deal with litigation.

Then, in the manifesto, the *Rattle* made a closing remark in relation to its publishing goal:

Our aim is to be cheerful without being caustic; to be cultivate the literary and avoid the leaden; to pursue pleasantries and eschew personalities; to serve up periodically something light and piquant, whereby the public palate, jaded of soporifics, may haply be tickled; to



## CHAPTER THREE

allow every lurking genius in our midst an opportunity to blossom forth and expand; to give expression to that lighter side of Shanghai life which is now weighed down by press of pidgin and the conditions of our exile: in a word, to be “funny without vulgar” --- to point the moral and annex the tael.

The central assertion is the self-definition of *the Rattle*: to be “funny without vulgar”. To reach that goal, *the Rattle* points out several aspects. The first concerns the mode of the content. It prefers light and harmless humor and rejects acerb and vitriolic language. The second is the people. It appeals to the audience as possible and guides whomever with high potential into the arena of promoting humor. The third is the distinctiveness of the newspaper. Criticizing the current ponderous and dreary Shanghai newspapers, *the Rattle* stands out for its revelation of the other side of Shanghai life, bright and pleasing. The fourth is the realistic aspect that *the Rattle* always keeps in mind. The magazine cares not only about morality but also about the tael (money), a material dynamic to the publisher.

It is noteworthy that the Rattle also wittily pointed out a synchronic asymmetry, indicating that numerous humorous publications existed beyond China. *The Rattle* thus extended itself to become a publication of a global network rather than limiting itself to a local Shanghai paper. Take the manifesto, for example. It first points out that *the Rattle* works for “good cheer of China in general and of Shanghai in particular” and later asserts that “*the Rattle* commends itself to the good graces of Shanghai and the Far East”. That aspiration makes obvious that *the Rattle* anticipates the readership to include geographically the city of Shanghai, the country of China, as well as the region of the Far East. The ambition is fully demonstrated in “WHY RATTLES?” a rhyme that distinguishes *the Rattle* from other newspapers and magazines. It is significantly interesting enough to cite in full length (“WHY RATTLE?” 1986):

WHY RATTLE?

BECAUSE ---

Sketch is too picture-y, Punch too nosey,  
Advertiser too frankly bare;  
Forum is horribly stiff and pose-y,  
Times too grand for a small affair;  
Figaro isn't a name to wear,  
Mail's too fettered and Star too free,  
Puck and Life are a giggling pair  
RATTLE's the name of names for me!

Mercury's volatile, Chronicle prosy,  
Comet is nothing but gas and glare;  
Spectator savours of all that's doze-y  
Press--- of ink and an editor's chair;  
Post has a supercilious air.  
Gazette is an omen of things to be,  
And News, well, really I shouldn't dare ---  
RATTLE's the name of names for me!

## CHAPTER THREE

Arrow recalls to me scenes not rosy Australia  
And gentlemen notably short of hair  
In private sitting-rooms far from  
Snapping on skilly or similar fare;  
That Echo is garrulous all declare;  
Argus sees what it shouldn't see,  
And Courier threatens of mal-de-mer ---  
RATTLE's the name of names for me!

The poem stands out as a rare and valuable piece of textual evidence, showcasing how a culture broker perceived and then strategized to overcome the imbalance in the worldwide publication of humorous magazines. As the title of the poem intends, the poem answers the question why people should read *the Rattle*. Why is *the Rattle* unique? Rather than elucidating the excellences of *the Rattle*, the poem reversely enumerates the disadvantages of other English newspapers in other countries including America, Britain, and Australia. For example, the model of the humorous magazine, *Punch*, is mentioned in the very first sentence. The poem taunts it as too nose-y, a pun that refers to Mr. Punch's huge nose and implies the content is multifarious and disorderly, for the term sounds like noisy. The American *Puck* and *Life*, two other humorous magazines in the United States, are regarded as "a giggle pair", insinuating their intimacy and their function that has been reduced to giggling only. On top of that, the poem tends to play with the newspapers' titles: "Comet is nothing but gas and glare; Courier threatens of mal-de-mer" ---; and hilariously, "News, well, really I shouldn't dare."

Through the poem, *the Rattle* ostensibly downplays its contemporaries by pointing out their imperfections and further builds itself up in the competitive news market. Viewed the other way around, the fact *the Rattle* juxtaposes itself with these established newspapers might be to claim a network of global journalism, for it never wishes to be a newspaper just for Shanghai, China, or the Far East. Standing among its forerunners, the *Rattle*, a newcomer, immediately shares their esteemed status and social reputations. Noticeably, such ambition unveils a complicated sentiment between the periphery and the center. Since most newspapers mentioned originated from Britain, *the Rattle*, on the one hand, exhibits the metropolis' achievement in the news business; on the other hand, it pokes fun at the others, challenging their current privileges and authority in journalism. Whether the center always prevails over the periphery was the hidden concern of *the Rattle*, a joker who always messes around, never restrains himself, and tends to subvert the extant order of the world.

Next to the poem, the essay, "To Our Readers," tells a story of how *the Rattle* "drew up and protected" the manifesto with its editing staff members, such as Tweedledum. The specialty of the essay lies in the fact that *the Rattle* referred to two crucial pictorial generators:

## CHAPTER THREE

artists and draftsmen. According to the essay, *the Rattle* features many illustrations by which the artists present “portraits of prominent citizens, well known jockeys, notorious criminals and other celebrities of the day, as well as a variety of sketches dealing with matters of local and general interests”. Moreover, *the Rattle* pays attention to draftsmen and supplements their efforts “by letterpress tending to the identification of the subjects of his pictures.” In brief, the paragraph covers *the Rattle’s* exterior and interior settings in which an illustration is produced: the content of images, the production of images and the printing technology; such a comprehensive discussion of images is rare in the humorous magazines.

Like its predecessor, *the Rattle’s* content also lampooned the colonial government, foreign inhabitants, and Chinese residents through caricatures, parodies, spoofs, witty rhymes, and funny puns. The themes spanned from political conflicts, social events to commercial deals. Notably, *the Rattle* vividly illustrated the foreign diaspora's leisure activities, depicting them playing golf, horse racing, and engaging in various social events. The colony exuded an atmosphere of joy but was concurrently characterized by chaos. The layout of *the Rattle* is also akin to its genre. The page structure features a fundamental two-column layout, embellished with a mix of long and short texts (Figure 3.50, Figure 3.51, and Figure 3.52). The illustrations are strategically positioned, varying in size from one-third to two-thirds, encompassing full pages, and even crossing across two pages.

*The Rattle* has preserved certain visual elements from the London *Punch*, such as the playful use of drop caps within articles on its pages. As discussed earlier, the London *Punch* often turns drop caps into comedic vignettes, while *the China Punch* furthermore transformed them into visual satires, particularly targeting Chinese residents. *The Rattle* has successfully adopted and continued this pictorial embellishment of vignettes. In Figure 3.12, there is a whimsical image in the lower right corner where a large “C” seems to be a door, with three gentlemen standing in front of it. A comparable scene can be found in *the Rattle*, where the significant “C” turns out to be a window, and through it, a man with an oversized head is seen enjoying a large cigarette (Figure 3.51). Moreover, akin to the London *Punch*, *the Rattle* incorporates images that interact with or encircle the text. In Figure 3.52, a horsewhip extends into the text from above, and in Figure 3.53, two flowers stand on either side of the page with text nestled between them. These visual elements, reminiscent of the London *Punch’s* clever use of visuals, serve as a reminder to readers of the connection between these publications, despite the vast geographical distance that separates them.

# CHAPTER THREE

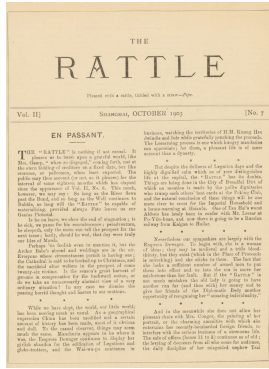


Figure 3.50 A Page of *the Rattle* (October 1903).



Figure 3.51 A Page of *the Rattle* (September 1896).



Figure 3.52 A Page of *the Rattle* (June 1896).



Figure 3.53 A Page of *the Rattle* (January 1897).

### 3.2.3.1 The Caricaturist of the Settlement: Henry Goodenough Hayter (1862-1915)

It is difficult to identify foreign caricaturists working for the humorous magazines because they left behind very little personal information to be traced. Fortunately, the *Rattle* is an exception. Most of caricatures in the *Rattle* are marked, for example, with a “long, sweeping and vertical” H.H, the British caricaturist and illustrator, Henry William Goodenough Hayter (1862-1915). As for the caricaturist Hayter, Taiwanese art historian, Chou, Fang-Mei (2019) has conducted comprehensive research that invaluable demonstrated a foreign expatriate caricaturist's, background and experiences in promoting transcultural interactions beyond his homeland.

According to her study (2019),<sup>114</sup> Hayter was born in London in 1862, a son of a merchant, Henry Goodenough Hayter, who owned a company that was in the business of packing products and personal property for shipping from Britain to overseas outposts for the army. In 1882, Hayter moved to Shanghai and worked for his father's firm in the tea trade. Later, he moved to administrative posts and eventually held the position of Managing Director of China Printing Company from 1909. Besides his commercial career, Hayter devoted himself to Shanghai's art, culture, and sports activities at that time. His talent as a cartoonist and passion also for hunting, performing, and horseback riding allowed him to engage in many amateur clubs, one of which even rewarded him a silver plate for his contribution.

It was in the Far East that Hayter began his drawing career. In February 1886, Hayter exhibited his cartoons in Shanghai. From 1883 to 1889, the Shanghai Art society held thirty-three exhibitions, in which Hayter joined two times (1888 and 1889) and displayed up to a dozen of his cartoons. Besides Shanghai, Hayter's cartoons also appeared in the British press. On 13 October 1888, a representative pictorial, known as the *Illustrated London News*, carried a full page of Hayter's drawings entitled “A Tea Taster's Life and Work in China.” The drawings depict a British merchant's lifestyle in China, including his arrival there, his daily routine of enjoying the tea and bargaining with British and Chinese merchants over the price, the Chinese coolie transporting boxes of tea, and his sending a letter to his boss in Britain. The editor of the *London Illustrated News* praised it as an “amusing sketch,” the amusement deriving from his long experience and observations in Shanghai.

In Hayter's publishing history, he had participated in the inauguration of two humorous magazines: *the Rattle* in 1896 and *the Eastern Sketch* in 1904. In 1889, with a good reputation

---

<sup>114</sup> The following introduction of Henry William Goodenough Hayter was based on Chou's paper “The Pen is Mightier Than the Sword,” (2019, 149-160).

### CHAPTER THREE

in the Settlement for his drawings. Hayter met J.O.P. Bland (1863-1945), who worked at the time for the Imperial Maritime Customs and seven years later, became a legal advisor to the Shanghai Municipal Council, Duncan McNeil (c. 1840-1935) who joined them in initiating publication of *the Rattle*. Hayter contributed almost all the illustrations for each issue, including small and large two-page caricatures/cartoons. News in *the Rattle* always received positive attention in the Settlement as evidenced by favorable comments made by other English-language newspapers, such as the *North China Daily News* and the *North China Herald* often made favorable comments about *the Rattle*'s textual and visual content. *The Rattle* was well accepted in the market as its older issues were always twice the price. In 1902, Hayter published a collection of caricatures of Shanghai celebrities that included twenty-one caricatures that originally appeared in *the Rattle*.

*The Rattle* ceased publication in 1902. Before long, the original crew launched another humorous magazine, the *Eastern Sketch*, in September 1904. As a weekly, the *Eastern Sketch* had a larger format than that of the *Rattle* and was printed in black-white lithography (in color only for special issues like Christmas). In the first years, it published 12 pages for each issue, and after 29 April 1906, added an extra 8 to 12 pages. Its editors-in-chief were W.R. Prior and George Roddis, the former having painted magazine covers for three issues by photographs. The *Eastern Sketch* carried many images, such as caricatures/cartoons and photographs, as well as essays regarding local and international news. Its ambition of bridging China and the Foreign was revealed when in 1909, the publication hired a translator as part of the editing crew so that the *Eastern Sketch* began reprinting Chinese caricatures with English explanations. Hayter could hence caricature some events reported only in the Chinese newspapers. In terms of finance, the *Eastern Sketch* was continually profitable until 1909, when the business was over-extended and not able to break even. In December of the same year, the *Eastern Sketch* was suspended forever.<sup>115</sup>

Apparently, *the Eastern Sketch* readers had liked Hayter's caricatures/cartoons and illustrations judging from the fact that he was responsible for most covers and in 1906 even started a series of humorous covers that featured the topic of Chinese pidgin English. During his time of working for *the Eastern Sketch*, Hayter completed numerous caricatures/cartoons, some of which were reprinted in a European newspaper. One of Hayter's illustrations, in particular, deserves mention in which he portrayed himself and another three artists in Shanghai.

---

<sup>115</sup> *The Eastern Sketch* was beyond the scope of my dissertation because of my lack of availabilities to this humorous magazine. For more information about *The Eastern Sketch*, see Chou (2019, 156-160).

## CHAPTER THREE

Their paintings had been exhibited at the Shanghai Masonic Hall in 1907 and were highly acclaimed, especially Hayter's 42 caricatures/cartoons. A 1902 *North China Herald* article especially praised the distinctiveness of Hayter's caricatures. The author states that H.H.'s caricatures had "infused the gaiety into the society" for the past fifteen years and praised these caricatures, as follows:

Ever ready, ever skillful, prompt to seize folly as it flew, to transfer to paper every humorous incident, and with an unequalled gift to catch likenesses, "H.H." has been a power in the land, and while we may truly say that he has left nothing appropriate to his art untouched and has touched nothing that he has not adorned, we can say as truthfully that he has never abused his powers, has never struck with anything heavier than a feather, or stabbed with anything more deadly than a rose. His brush has never been dipped in vinegar, and there has never been even cynicism in his caricatures, while his unfailing good humor has never declined into weakness. ("H. H.'s" Caricatures" 1902)

The author applauds Hayter's mastery in caricaturing, such as exposing the absurdity of various events and catching the likeness of persons. In the author's view, Hayter becomes "a power", confirming the influence of H. H.'s caricatures throughout the Settlement. Yet, Hayter wielded his power with caution, wisely and adequately, knowing how to select and satirize the objects without being tart and mean. Most importantly, the moderation did not strangle the crucial element of caricatures, namely, humor. From 1910 to 1915, Hayter left and went back to Shanghai two times. At the end of 1915, Hayter returned to England and died at his parents' home in Sidmouth. Without any wives and children, all his property in Britain belonged to his father of eighty years, and his effects in China were dispersed among his friends in Shanghai.

### 3.2.3.2 Social Satire

Echoing its self-proclamation, *The Rattle* continued his predecessor's critical yet amusing viewpoints while assessing the social and political affairs within the Settlement and China. Its caricatures illustrate people at all levels of society living in the Settlement, ranging from foreign and Chinese officials to celebrities, Shanghai defenders, and the common people. Like images in *the China Punch*, *the Rattle's* caricatures emphasized gender differences and conflicts. Such characteristics might have reflected at that time the changing demographics as Western women living in the Shanghai Settlement increased dramatically between 1880 and 1905 from 296 to 3,207. With the large immigration of Western women, the period of young bachelors exploring and constructing the Settlement passed and after the immigration of the Western women, there were more Western families who lived in Shanghai. Additionally, because Chinese servants aided the Westerners with their lives in the Settlement in

## CHAPTER THREE

housekeeping and childcare tasks, Western men as well as women were able to take part in and enjoy social and recreational events, such as elegant dinners and formal dancing balls (Bergère 2009, 93).



Figure 3.54 Untitled (*the Rattle*, July 1896).

Against that historical background, it is not surprising that *the Rattle* snipes at the interactions between western men and women in their homes and at social events. Figure 3.54, for example, reveals a husband and a wife's different tastes in reading and levels of knowledge:

Brown (monometallist): I have got here an exceedingly interesting article on the advantage of the Gold Standard.  
Mrs. Brown (who hasn't studied the subject): oh, is that what is meant by the Gold Cure, dear?

The fact that the wife confuses the Gold Standard with the medical Gold Cure was the highlight of their conversation. The Gold Standard was a “monetary system in which the standard unit of currency is a fixed quality of gold or is kept at the value of a fixed quantity of gold.” The world monetary used to be only the silver standard until the United Kingdom started adopting gold as the standard in 1821. In the 1870s, Germany took the monometallic gold standard for its monetary principal, followed by France, the United States, and other countries. The change resulted from the discovery of gold in North America, leading to more gold than could be sold or converted into paper currencies. The gold standard lasted until the outbreak of the First World War due to difficulties in transporting gold internationally (T. Editors of Encyclopedia. *Britannica* 2019b).

The Gold Cure, having nothing to do with the monetary system, was a worldwide famous therapy for eliminating alcoholic and drug addictions in the late nineteenth century. The cure, also known as Keely's Cure, was named for its inventor, an American, Dr. Leslie E. Keeley (1832-1900), who claimed alcohol and drug addiction to be curable diseases and devised the formula comprised of gold chloride that was alleged to produce the main medical effect. In



## CHAPTER THREE

1879, with his two pharmacists' partners, he started promoting the therapy in their clinic in Dwight, Illinois. Within a few years, the cure successfully attracted many patients, so he decided to sell his franchises and open his branches worldwide. By 1893, Keeley Institutes had set up 118 clinics in many countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Australia. As its clinic logo shows, the Keeley clinics had “belted the world.” However, the cure incited criticisms of the mainstream medical profession due to several false advertisements. Keeley's insistence on keeping his formula a secret also raised suspicion. All controversies led Keeley Institutes to be charged with quackery. By the mid-1890s, the expansion of the Keeley company decelerated for several reasons, such as the increasing number of patient relapses. In 1900, Keeley's death negatively impacted the operation of managing international branches that soon brought the business to a near-standstill. In the first decades of the twentieth century, only some of Keeley's clinics were open. The clinic that remained in operation the longest was the original one in Dwight, Illinois, which did not close until 1966 (Hickman 2021).

Figure 3.54 wittily adopts “Gold Standard” and “Gold Cure,” two rising, popular concepts at the time, that illustrate contrasting images of men and women. As a “monometallist,” Mr. Brown acted as a gentleman, sitting on a sofa, reading a book about new knowledge. His concerns about the Gold Standard, which reveal his status of a businessman, like those of most foreign gentlemen in Shanghai. In contrast, Mrs. Brown, who came to Shanghai probably because of her husband's job, holds a tabloid with a pattern on the cover that does not suggest serious news. She cares about ordinary affairs, such as the Gold Cure, which alludes to addiction problems resulting from social life in the Settlement. However, the caption reminds readers that Mrs. Brown “hasn't studied the subject,” an irony generated from the different attitudes toward the acquisition of knowledge: one that is diligent, the other half-hearted. These details demonstrate gender stereotypes that might have intensified with the arrival of more women living in the Settlement.

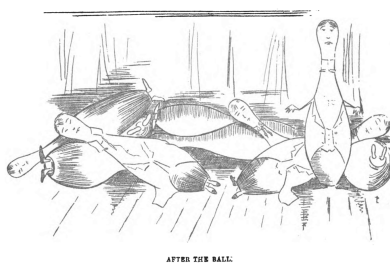


Figure 3.55 After the Ball (*the Rattle*, September 1896).

## CHAPTER THREE



Figure 3.56 Untitled (*the Rattle*, February 1897).

The Shanghailanders' leisure activities are frequent visual topics for *the Rattle*.<sup>116</sup> Figure 3.55, "After the Ball," makes fun of the Britons' lifestyle by using homonyms. The term "ball" has two meanings: proms or round objects for sports. This caricature compares a dancing ball to a bowling game where the bowling pins emblemize the people in western suits attending a formal ball, illustrated as a fancy ballroom dance event. Struck by a "ball," the bowling pins are lying on all sides, signifying a messy condition after a prom. While delineating the scene of leisure activities, Hayter accurately captures the interaction between men and women. Figure 3.56 illustrates a conversation taking place at a ball. A man asks a woman why a girl "goes about with her face all smothered in powder." The woman responds sarcastically: "She cannot help it. She has been through many engagements" This conversation makes one imagine a ludicrous scenario: a girl is desperately busy with social interactions in search of a man. However, the color of her face exposes her past: a white face means many unsuccessful dates.

Figure 3.57, depicting a hockey game that combines male and female players, exaggerates a stereotype of women's inability to play sports. A woman wearing a skirt and a sun hat stands with arms akimbo and holding a club, staring solemnly at a man in front of her. The man was heavily wounded with his head bandaged and hands bleeding, walking lamely with a hockey club as his crutch. The caption says:

Poor old Jack Heftyman only played hockey with the ladies once, and we distinctly remember his telling us afterwards that these mixed games are absolute rot.

The narrator in the caption seems to be a friend of Mr. Heftyman and hears his complaints about playing hockey with ladies. Heftyman's frustration impresses the narrator with this hockey game during which, like in a war, Heftyman was severely injured as if a defeated prisoner of war. The caricature assumes that women who play hockey are invincible even to a "hefty man" (insinuating the name Heftyman). Of course, the caricature is not meant a

---

<sup>116</sup> *The Rattle*'s cartoons frequently portrayed these expatriates' playing hockey, golf, horse-racing and the like.

## CHAPTER THREE

compliment to ladies, but rather deep prejudice based on the general notion of gender inequality. These caricatures touch upon aspects of social life in Shanghai's diaspora, a subject that deserves more academic attention.



Figure 3.57 Untitled (*the Rattle*, March 1901).

Besides gender, social conflicts extend to the issue of race. As mentioned earlier, foreign humorous magazines tended to play for fun with the concept of Chinese bodies, demonstrative of colonial power differentials. One can observe that *the Rattle's* caricatures produced funniness based on Chinese characters who were usually presented as beaten or dissected figures, a visual technique that heightened racial prejudice as well as stereotypes.

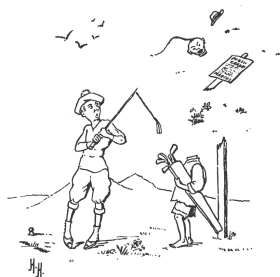


Figure 3.58 Untitled, *the Rattle*, May 1896.

Figure 3.58 shows cruelty that might arouse the laughter only of foreigners. The caricature illustrates a foreigner playing a game of golf in a public garden with a Chinese coolie. The foreigner made such a hard swing that he decapitated the Chinese coolie. Cruel and bloody as the scene is, the foreigner has no sympathy for the decapitated coolie. The image suggests once more the dominant power of the hierarchy between the foreigner and the Chinese in daily interactions. It also points out a culture in which the foreigners despised the Chinese to such an extent that they did not care about the Chinese people's feelings.

## CHAPTER THREE



Figure 3.59 Untitled (*the Rattle*, July 1896).

Figure 3.59 points to other racial conflicts that existed between the Chinese in Shanghai and the Sikh, a racial group from India, another British colony in Asia. The Sikhs also lived as foreigners in Shanghai. Regarding this topic, Cao, a Chinese scholar, conducted comprehensive research in which he traces from a global perspective the Sikh's migration and engagement in Shanghai's policing establishment. According to Cao (2016),<sup>117</sup> the British administration often adopted a so-called “let-aliens-rule strategy” to manage order in the colonies. The strategy means “recruiting colonial subjects from one colony and deploying them to other colonies to police the people with whom they were unfamiliar.” In Asia, the British intended to use men from India to take charge of other colonies and safeguard British interests because India functioned as the base for the British colonizing in East Africa and Asia. The Sikh, one of the racial groups in India, represent the people from the Punjab who practiced the religion of Sikhism. Among the Indians, they were regarded as the most suitable for military and patrolling purposes because the British categorized them as a “martial race”, an invented concept inspired by the then-current theory of race (49). From the nineteenth century forward, Indian policemen customarily appeared in several British colonies, such as Mauritius and Malaya, to “check insurgents and maintain social order. (48)”

Not until 1884 did Shanghai start to employ the Sikh to maintain the security and order. Before that, the Shanghai Municipal Consul had failed to recruit the Sikh as a way to improve the Settlement's order. The British colony earlier hired locals and Europeans as policemen, a contingency plan that was short-lived due to budget shortfalls and inefficiency. It was too expensive to employ Europeans as police staff. Recruiting of locals was cheaper, however, locals were subject to the local government and their own interpersonal relationships. Thus, malpractice in policing often occurred in Shanghai as the local administration often aligned themselves with local police in trial cases. In 1883, the chairman of the Watch Committee of

---

<sup>117</sup> The following three paragraphs about the corporation of the Sikh into the Shanghai Municipal Police Force are based on Cao's monography (2016, 17-82).

### CHAPTER THREE

Shanghai Municipal Police, Charles J. Holiday was expected to solve this problem based on his experience in Hong Kong, where the colonial government there set a good example of successfully hiring the Sikh as their police force, a model for other colonies to pursue. Holiday, who ran his business in Hong Kong, was expected to propose a similar scheme applicable to Shanghai. Nevertheless, his scheme was rejected by the Shanghai Municipal Council due to political and financial issues. Most members deemed it difficult to integrate the Sikh into the Chinese society and defined Holiday's scheme as being too "Hong-Kong," not suitable for the Settlement.

The situation changed when the 1884 Vietnam War broke out due to a degenerated diplomatic relationship between China and France, when the presence of Chinese garrisons near the Settlement disturbed the residents, leading to a crisis of security. Therefore, based on ratepayers' demands, the Shanghai Municipal Council consented to J.P. McEuen's (birth and death date unknown) proposal and the newly appointed Captain Superintendent, who had worked in Hong Kong for some time, enlisted the Sikhs from India as protection for the Settlement. Besides the recognized need for security, public support also facilitated McEuen's implementation of the decree. In 1883, despite the official objection, the public showed enthusiasm for the Sikh policemen. The *North China Herald* even sent reporters to Hong Kong to examine whether it was difficult for the Sikhs to learn Chinese and assimilate into the Chinese society. The reporters found a favorable situation, contrary to the Shanghai Municipal Council members' concerns. In 1885, the tense circumstance eased up although the council still disapproved of Sikhs joining the police force. However, the ratepayers strongly advocated for the Sikhs to continue their jobs. Thanks to their insistence, the Sikhs were eventually incorporated into the Shanghai Municipal Police force and maintained social order in the Settlement for more than fifty years.

As policemen, the Sikhs could arrest Chinese people suspected as culprits at any time and place. Figure 3.59 likens the arrest to a game by playing on a homonym that alters "the GAME of HIDE and SEEK" to "Ye GAME of HIDE and SIKH." The alteration of "Ye" alludes to Chinese Pidgin English, mimicking the Chinese tendency to pronounce "th" without putting their tongue between their front teeth. The fact that "seek" changes the homonym to "Sikh" connotes a scenario where municipal policemen run after the Chinese as if in a game of Hide and Seek. Those who seek Chinese people are precisely the "Sikhs," as illustrated by the caricature where in the street, the Sikh police chase, seize, and bat the Chinese to force them to obey.

## CHAPTER THREE

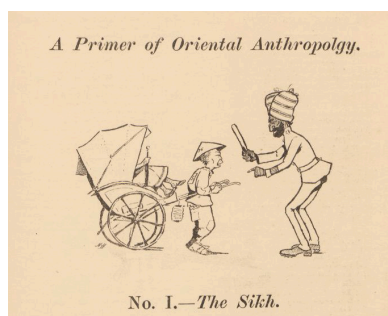


Figure 3.60 The Sikh (*the Rattle*, January 1901).

Figure 3.60 is another graphic satire regarding the Sikhs. From February 1901 to 1902, Hayter, the foreign caricaturist living in Shanghai, drew a series of caricatures entitled “A Primer of Oriental Anthropology”. As the title suggests, Hayter sketches specific ethnic groups from the perspective of “anthropology,” as a funny discipline rather than an academic one. Each caricature is accompanied by a comic poem that seems to serve as a brief guide for getting to know people who live in the Settlement.

The first observed “Oriental Subject” is the Sikh man (Figure 3.60). The picture illustrates the Sikh policeman holding a wooden bat to stop a Chinese rickshaw. The accompanying comic verse vividly describes the Sikh’s responsibilities as well as inevitable conflicts with Chinese coolies. With a gorgeous turban upon his head where he can keep “a nest of mice,” the Sikh with “long and weak limbs” expels rickshaws from the streets by his bat.

The verse then goes on by highlighting the Sikh’s duties in the street:

When you are big, if you should be  
In the Mu-ni-ci-pal-i-ty,  
The Sikh would say to you “Sa-laam!”  
As sweet-ly as a black baa lamb.  
But if (O fie!) you combed the beach,  
And of the Peace should make a breach,  
Al-though his ne-their limbs are thin  
The Sikh would prompt-ly run you in,  
And would not give a tin-ker’s d---

Here, “the big and in the Municipality” denotes those in power. To show loyalty and make good connections, the Sikh would actively greet the officials in the traditional manner of “Salaam,” spoken in a gentle and agreeable tone. By contrast, those who “combed the beach” means the Chinese rickshaws as they randomly sprinted through the streets. Pursued and captured by the Sikh, the Chinese rickshaws were treated as lawbreakers with no mercy. On the condition that the rickshaws wanted to avoid the Sikh’s hunt-down, the verse gives them some advice in the end:

## CHAPTER THREE

If you then said to him “Sa-laam!”  
Learn to be sober, chaste and meek,  
And ne-ver hind from a-ny Sikh.

This verse distinctly delineates “the game of hide and seek/Sikh” mentioned in in Figure 3.59 and further unveils the Sikh’s opposite attitudes toward the superiors and the inferiors (referring to the Chinese). In a broad sense, the Chinese and the Sikhs were all “the colonized” in the Settlement, but the latter represented the colonial mighty. In Figure 3.60, the body sizes of the superiors/inferiors symbolize the huge difference in terms of their power: the Sikh is gigantic, while the Chinese coolie is small (even his rickshaw is smaller than the Sikh). In short, Figure 3.60 provides snapshots of daily scenes in the Settlement: collisions between two subjective races, the Chinese and the Sikh. The ostensible racial conflict demonstrates the Shanghai police’s force as well as an asymmetrical power relationship between China and the West, which the Sikhs embody.

### 3.2.3.3 Political Satire

*The Rattle’s* political caricatures satirize not only the Settlement’s political affairs but also Chinese political events such as Chinese economic policies and the Qing’s reaction to the Boxer Uprising and the Eight Nations Alliance. As for the Settlement’s political events, Figure 3.61 depicts the 1901 annual Council election. There were eleven candidates for nine seats. The caricature draws ten candidates standing in line, carrying placards that state their political views:

Vote for Prentice and Free Repairs.  
Vote for Ede and Free Risks.  
Vote for Landale and Free Sport.  
Vote for Hardoon and Free Rents.  
Vote for Hewett and Free Passages.  
Vote for Rohde and Free Flight.  
Vote for Kinnear and Free Argument.  
Vote for Bayne and Freedom of Speech.  
Vote for Quackenbach and Free Teas.  
Vote for Ball and Free Rags.

Although photographs of the candidates for purposes of comparison are not available, details of their facial expressions in the illustration suggest that Hayter caricatured them based on their individual appearances. According to Jackson (2018, 67-68), the first irony of the caricature is the candidates’ political views that relate to “their line of business”. For example, Charles Ede, who was in charge of the Union Insurance Society of Caton, advocated for “Free risks.” The property investor, Silas Hardoon, offered “Free rents.” E. A. Hewitt, working for

### CHAPTER THREE

the Peninsular and Orient Shipping Company, guaranteed “Free transport.” These “impracticable” promises reflect the tight association between politics and commerce in Shanghai. The businesses provided a foundation for these businessmen, later Council members, who actively engaged in the political arena.



Figure 3.61 Untitled (*the Rattle*, March 1901).

The caricature insinuates the election was no more than a comedy in the Settlement. A report in the *North China Herald* on 23 January 1901 analyzes the election by introducing the candidates. According to the author, the body of the council candidates is international as Mr. Quackenbush is an American representative and Mr. Rohde belongs to the German community. The current nine council members, Messrs. Ede, Hardoon, Hewett, Landale, Prentice, Quackenbush, and Rohde, will continue their posts without question. They were elected to their positions a year earlier during an extremely tumultuous time when the Shanghai Settlement was under lethal military threat, doubting whether foreign aid would arrive in time to help. The nine members bravely took responsibility for leading the Settlement through the crisis. As a consequence, there was no reason that the voters would not vote for them.

Regarding the other four candidates for the two remaining seats, the report predicts that Mr. Kinnaer will win the election. Mr. Kinnaer was a Council member prior to returning home for a holiday. Now, he has “public-spiritedly come forward and offered himself for another term of service.” His experience might guarantee his expectation of being elected a Councilor again. The other two candidates, Mr. Ball and Mr. Bayne, are also experienced in several aspects. As the only American candidate, Mr. Ball, although new to Shanghai, had been in East Asia for some time. Mr. Bayne had lived in Shanghai for thirty years before going to the Straits of Japan years ago. Despite his absence, he always kept updated on information about Shanghai. Not long ago, he returned to Shanghai to run for office. The report reveals *the Rattle’s* support for Mr. Bayne, praising him as a “popular and eligible candidate, with the vigor and open-mindedness of youth, a wide knowledge of affairs, and a philosophic mind that years are wont to bring.”



## CHAPTER THREE

Compared the “veterans,” in some sense, the eleventh candidate was the most distinctive among others running for office. In the caricature, he stands far away in a grotesque outfit: wrapped by a newspaper, holding an American National flag and a placard flag with “Boeck,” his name, on it plus the campaign slogan “progress.” Mr. Boeck is new to the political arena, a possible advantage that could help him win the election as the two giant billboards beside him canvass voters for new council members. On the left, the billboard says, “No more Ripvanwinkledom for US.” “Ripvanwinkledom” is apparently a new term created based on Washington Owen’s novel *Rip van Winkle*. After drinking wine with the elf in the mountain, the protagonist, Rip van Winkle, falls asleep for twenty years. As he wakes up, the world he knew has almost changed: he knows nothing about the American civil war and his family either grew up or had died. In a word, Winkle, owing to his long sleep, missed a generation of two decades. The novel makes Rip van Winkle a term that describes those whose lives are stuck in the past. The term Ripvanwinkledom combines Rip van Winkle with a noun suffix, “dom,” implying the condition of time-later. On the right, the board announces clearly and simply that What We Want Is New Blood. The contrast between Ripvanwinkledom and New Blood foregrounds Hayter’s criticism of the municipal council for its lengthy control by older members and further amplifies his appeal to welcome new faces to the discussion of public affairs.

The publicity with fanfare might be the irony in the image. Despite recognizing the need for new members, the report in the *North China Herald* criticizes Boeck for his newness as ignorance. As a new candidate, Boeck is known to voters only from his “published utterances and his placard and advertisements.” The report devalues Boeck’s candidacy on the grounds that he lacks knowledge about the job he strives for because Boeck deems that the Shanghai public wants tramways installed. In fact, it was the Shanghai public who voted to squelch the project. The mistake underscores Boeck’s lack of knowledge about the politics of the municipality, for example, that the Land Regulations function as the Settlement’s constitution, including the fundamental principles for actions and reforms. The report declares that the new blood in the Council should be willing to learn from, rather than to teach, the experienced and, therefore, predicts that Boeck would not win the election. This critical attitude toward Boeck might account for his weird shape in the caricature, insinuating his disqualification for a councilor position.

As Rea (2013, 421) and Mittler (2103, 438) pointed out, although featuring Chinese flavors and adding to Chinese visual icons, these humorous magazines still treat China as a “side dish.” The content of the magazines focuses mostly on the colonial government and

## CHAPTER THREE

lifestyle of Westerners living abroad. China, as a comic icon of the Chinese people, is portrayed in *the China Punch*, as a visual adornment. However, it cannot be ignored that these caricatures served as a witness, offering an invaluable perspective of Chinese historical events. Those published in China provided details about and evinced also critical attitude toward the Chinese political situation.



Figure 3.62 The Chinese Imperial Postal Administration Up to Date (*the Rattle*, October 1896).

During its first publishing span, *the Rattle's* caricatures often criticized China for not completing the reform project. *The Rattle* began in 1895, a year in which the Qing government failed in its thirty-year self-strengthening movement owing to China's disastrous defeat in the Sino-Japanese war. Yet, the construction of western institutions still continued in an unanticipated manner. Figure 3.62, for instance, targets the Chinese postal system by illustrating a smoking man slowly peddling a sampan as Chinese people standing on the bank were surprised to see. One in the crowd rides a water buffalo, some carry stuff with a yoke, and some stand in a front of a long-neglected house marked "the Office."

The caricature spotlights the sampan in the center of the drawing with an "Imperial Chinese Post" sign positioned on the roof. The Imperial Chinese Post was founded in 1896, the first official institution established in China as a western-style postal system (Cheng 1970, 99). Since pre-modern times, the Chinese ruling class had never regarded a national postal service as an official responsibility. Hence, China's postal system was divided into two parts (51). The government would send documents and decrees through the Imperial Relay Service (I-Zhan 驛站) with postal offices set up in different provinces, reserved exclusively for official affairs. The private postal service was offered by the native letter "hongs," traditional logistical organizations that developed their own routes and means for cooperating with each other (Tsai 2015, 899-901). In addition, Chinese senders of mail would also entrust acquaintances to deliver correspondence (901-903). The traditional mail service changed with the opening of treaty ports when the two-part system was challenged. As China lacked a united postal service,

### CHAPTER THREE

the foreign powers asked the Qing government to handle postal services for the foreign posts (Cheng 1970, 57). The Chinese Maritime Customs, accordingly, took over the postal business in the treaty ports where foreign postal agencies surged, and local posts was opened by municipal administrations. With the growth of the postal business, the end of the nineteenth century saw seven or eight types of services that operated simultaneously in China (84).

Judging from clues of the sampan drawing, the foreigner who is peddling is doubtlessly Robert Hart. As mentioned earlier, Hart was the Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, and assumed full responsibility for managing the Chinese Imperial Post. As early as 1861, Robert Hart urged Tsungli Yamen to reform China's postal system following the western model (Cheng 1970, 1). Subsequently, he continued to urge Yamen do so in 1876, 1885, and 1892 (5). In 1878, Hart expanded the Customs Post Service to include a regular postal service and established a national post office. With Li Hung-chang's support, the Customs Post Service created several postal routes among the treaty ports that were open to the public. This expansion turned into an official institution in 1879 that offered postal services for all the treaty ports, known as "the Haikuan Po-ssu-ta shu-hsin kuan" (Post Office of the Maritime Customs) (72-76). In 1885, the many different types of postal services existing in China, created so much confusion that Hart decided to establish a postal reform. From 1892 to 1893, he urged Tsungli Yamen to establish an imperial post office soon and presented related project proposals. Meanwhile, he realized that the task was not easy because many problems were involved, such as financial shortfalls and distrust toward foreigners (92).

Proposals from other officials followed, forcing Tsungli Yamen to act. Hart was therefore invited by Yamen to discuss the matter and renew his plan. Unfortunately, the process to establish a national post service was interrupted by the 1894 war with Japan. One year later, after the war ended, Hart engaged once again in cooperation with Yamen for the postal plan. That same year, the Viceroy of Liangjiang 兩江總督, Chang Chih-tung 張之洞 (1837-1909), issued an announcement for the postal reform, a decisive action supporting the postal projects. In March 1896, Tsungli Yamen finalized a statement to the Qing court, recommending Hart as a suitable candidate for the design and execution of postal projects. On 20 March 1896, an imperial decree was issued by England to establish the Imperial Chinese Post and the Chinese Maritime Customs Service under the supervision of Robert Hart who would take charge of all procedures (Cheng 1970, 98-99).

Appearing six months after the promulgation of the decree, Figure 3.62 turns viewers' attention more toward complaints than celebrations. The moving sampan emits a sense of

### CHAPTER THREE

sluggishness that contradicts the envisioned efficiency of the postal services and reveals dissatisfaction with the progress of China's postal development. As mentioned previously, Hart had proposed a national postal service as early as 1876. The proposal was even used in negotiations between Li Hung-chang and Thomas Wade in 1876 as a solution for the Margary Affair. Asked for advice on the negotiation, Hart suggested that Li could include in the proposed postal system for China terms for the development of a currency mint, a long-standing concern in Wade's mind. In the meeting, without actively discussing those issues as expected, Wade confirmed to Li the resolution to alter the postal service (Cheng 1970, 70-72). The truth might have frustrated Wade, for it took nearly twenty years for China to finally start the reform process.

The sense of sluggishness is portrayed in the caricature from the entourage that features a farm scene with mountains, raggedly-dressed Chinese people and their domestic animals, insinuating that the sampan was passing by a rural area of inland China. According to Chinese historian Wu Min's research, the Imperial Chinese Post had branched out to include more than three hundred posts in China. The mail routes were divided into three areas in the north, central, and south based on topographical features that determined the means of delivery. Water was an important mode of postal transportation, especially in the south (Wu 2014, 56). That service required advanced modern facilities, a practical problem for inland China. Some posts were hard to reach without combinations of various forms of transportation, such as railways, ships, horses, and man-made devices. Besides, the service needed to construct facilities for the posts, install various tools, and employ a well-trained staff who could understand and manage the entire process, many requirements that could not be completed within a short time (Wu 2010, 112).

The sluggishness of implementing the system, resulting in part from political and environmental restrictions, undeniably also reflected Hart's deliberation in promoting the new-style postal system. In Figure 3.62, the Chinese people on the shore appear to be ignorant, a visual feature of the illustration. Their ignorance implies their genuine reaction to this western-style postal system (Cheng 1970, 88). For fear of Chinese resistance, Hart, who wore many hats in China, patiently took a gentle approach in setting up the new post offices. For him, the most challenging part was not so much the issue of facilities but rather the Chinese mentality: namely, how to persuade the Chinese to believe him and his foreign colleagues. His strategy was so unexpected among foreigners that it incited Chinese nationalist sentiment. According to the historian Tsai Weiping's research (2015, 899-917) on the process of setting up post offices, during the first two years the Imperial Post Office was engaged mainly in internal

## CHAPTER THREE

affairs, such as setting up accounting procedures, financial matters, postage rates, and training of the primarily Chinese staff to minimize the backlash of potential opponents, for example, workers of the traditional hong. In addition, Hart sent foreign employees to inland China to establish relationships with the locals. He especially advised them to emphasize that they were representatives for China,” explaining that they worked for the Chinese government and what they were doing was for the benefit of China. The approval by the Qing court and the connection with the Chinese bureaucracy made these foreigners “an emperor’s voice;” seem no different from the Chinese people.



Figure 3.63 In the Net (*the Rattle*, March 1897).

In 1897, *the Rattle* published a related caricature. Figure 3.63, which appeared in March 1897, one month after establishment of the Imperial Chinese Post. The caricature illustrates a man who sits on an elevated chair, enjoying scrumptious food and surrounded by a crowd of boys. Based on pictorial indicators, the man is Robert Hart wearing a hat with two letters of the English alphabet, “I.G.,” the initials of his position as the Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs Service. The bowl of food signifies the postal revenue. The boys represent the local Posts in different cities, as indicated by their hats: Shanghai, Wuhu, Kiukiang, Tientsin, Hankou, and Foochou. Their body sizes insinuate the scale of the postal business in each city with Shanghai and Wuhu being unsurprisingly the largest and the smallest of boys in the crowd.

The caricature reflects a financial issue under the banner of modernization: the postal interest. Symbolized by a pile of the food, China’s postal business contained many potential financial benefits and served as one as an incentive for China’s government to adopt the postal system. In 1885, a proposal for a national post office was presented to Tsungli Yamen along with a British commissioner’s memorandum that mentioned the financial success of the British postal system (Wu 2010, 110; Cheng 1970, 88). Around the same time, articles calling for a western postal system to be established in China began to appear in English-language newspapers in China (Cheng 1970, 95). In 1892, Hart had urged that the postal system be reformed but he as well as several of his followers did not succeed because the Qing

## CHAPTER THREE

government did not regard the postal system as a crucial issue.

Not until 1895 did the government seriously change its attitude, attributed partially to the eminent crisis caused by foreign indemnities that forced the Qing court to find new sources of revenue (Wu 2010, 111). In 1895, the pivotal high official, Chang Chih-tung 張之洞 (1837-1909) urged development of the new postal system. The next year, Tsungli Yamen, after reporting the rich postal revenues in the United States and Britain, presented another request to the Qing court to approve the reform, a measure that could reduce the financial strain of China's National Treasury (Cheng 1970, 98).

The establishment of the Chinese Imperial Post, although it did not immediately take over all the postal rights, started a state monopoly of the postal business. As mentioned above, from 1860 to 1896, there were several types of postal services in China. Among which, it is worth noting, municipal governments in the concessions organized their own postal service and issued stamps. Shanghai, for example, was the first to open its own local post office in 1864. In 1892, its local post, due to the prosperity of business, intended to join the Universal Postal Union, but not with the status of a national post. In 1893, the Shanghai Local Post began surcharging mail to other posts, a provocative measure that urged the municipal administrations of other posts to boost their local postal services. In the coming years, besides Hankou, where post offices had existed for years, Chefoo, Chunking, Chinkiang, Wuhu, Ichang, Foochow, Amoy, Nanking, and Kiukiang launched other new postal services, embodied as teenagers in the caricature (Cheng 1970, 54-57).

Not long afterward, these municipal councils realized that opening local posts generated considerable revenue via the ordinary postal business and the sale of stamps. Selling stamps could generate “enormous profits from the stamp dealers, private buyers and speculators.” (Cheng 1970, 58) However, establishing the China Imperial Post seemed to deprive these local posts of returns. The caricature insinuates, with the support of the Qing court, that Robert Hart is the only adult sitting on the high chair; that image of adulthood and high position demonstrates Hart's superiority over the teenagers (the local posts). The food in Hart's bowl alludes to the postal profits in the enormous untapped inland market that would not share with the local posts. The teenagers' craving expressions display their inability to access the prodigious revenue swallowed by the Inspector General (I.G.), Robert Hart.

Analyzing the caricature, one perspective cannot be ignored. When viewing the caricature, Chinese readers might be concerned about the loss of China's economic rights, a serious issue at that time, because Robert Hart and the teenager sailors (all foreigners)

## CHAPTER THREE

surrounded China's postal revenue. The *Puck's* caricature (Figure 3.46), as shown above, reveals the awkward situation that Hart's working for China incurred from his English colleagues in terms of questions and rejection due to his assisting China at the expense of the local posts. According to Wu's study (2010, 111-115), despite Robert Hart's loyalty to the Qing court, his strict regulations required of the Chinese postal business severely damaged business interests of the local hongers. For example, he set low postal rates and by law permitted only river steamers to carry the mail of the Chinese Post. As a result, policies the nationalized postal service put some traditional hongers out of business. Although originally able to avoid conflict with the Chinese people whose livelihoods depended on postal delivery, Hart's regulations were blamed for the hongers' business losses, thus leading to resentment among some high officials who demanded that he resign his position. Their protests were often associated with nationalist discourses that expressed concerns that Hart enforced the policies only to rob the postal interest from the Chinese people in order to gain foreign benefits. The rumors lasted until Hart returned to Britain and several high officials, such as Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1844-1916), a crucial high Chinese official who took charge of the Qing's affairs of economy and finance that had much to do with the foreign power, became determined to establish the Minister of Posts and Transportation (郵傳部) to place all postal rights under the control of the Chinese government.

Shen's xenophobia made him a nuisance in the eyes of foreigners. Figure 3.64 lampoons Sheng and the financial measures he operated against foreign powers. This caricature is arranged in two columns: on the left, the Bank of China (中國銀行) is symbolized by the miniature model of a bank building covered with a bell glass over the top, while the column on the right features a miniature train model that symbolizes construction of the Chinese railway (中國鐵路公司). Two lines of people are shown depositing money into the two institutes, two types of infrastructure described in the columns as: "Put a penny in the bank and wait for the interest" and "Put a penny in the slot and see the railway work." Between the two columns sits a Chinese official who smokes and sneers. and wait for the interest" and "Put a penny in the slot and see the railway work." Between the two columns sits a Chinese official who smokes and sneers. The briefcase in front reveals his identity as: "Sheng Esg Director of Everything." He is, by all means, Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷.

## CHAPTER THREE



Figure 3.64 Virtue Is its Own Reward (*the Rattle*, June 1897).

Together the bank, the train, and Sheng Huaixuan are visual elements that concisely illustrate scenes of the late Qing economy. The Bank of China refers to the first Chinese national commercial bank, the Imperial Bank of China (Zhongguo tongshang yinhang 中國通商銀行), that was established by Sheng. As mentioned above, during the late Qing, Sheng was pivotal in Chinese economic affairs that involved the foreign powers. After China's defeat in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, foreign capital investors gradually took over China's transportation and mineral businesses. In 1896, while in charge of the construction of the Luhan Railway 盧漢鐵路, Sheng found it urgent to open a Chinese bank. In his view, since China began trading with foreign countries, many foreign banks had opened branches in China, severely undermining China's economic benefits. Therefore, to prevent the foreign powers from controlling the Chinese railway construction, China needed a state-owned bank to collect revenue and manage Chinese capital. Those considerations led to establishment in 1897 of the Imperial Bank of China located in Shanghai, which later opened branches throughout China (Cheng 2003, 10-36; Ou and Luo 2011, 35-36).

To foreigners, Sheng's financial policies were doubtlessly regarded as hostile. *The North China Herald* criticized China's unfriendliness toward foreign capital investors that engaged in China's railway construction (Riu 1995, 166). *The Rattle's* caricature that was published the same year that the Imperial Chinese Bank opened is another visual reaction of foreigners' perceptions of China's hostility. This caricature was published the same year the Imperial Chinese Bank opened. Figure 3.64 illustrates the foreigner's perception of the Chinese people's response as a national salvation movement by which Chinese people were depositing their wealth in banks and railroads as a way to strengthen China's economic power. In other words, the caricature visually turns the acts of Chinese patriotism into Chinese xenophobia of



### CHAPTER THREE

foreigners, a threatening but ludicrous perspective. In the caricature, Hayter depicts the Chinese people as a group of ignorant and laughable dolls that simply follow the officials' fraudulent advocacy, as demonstrated in the comic verse below the caricature:

Put a Penny in the slot,  
There's a little dear,  
If you get it back or not  
Isn't very Clear.

China for the Chinese Keep,  
Syndicates evade,  
We can shear out Chinese sheep  
Without foreign aid.

The first verse derides the Bank of China as an institution where the Chinese could not get their savings back, even a penny. The bank is hinted to be nothing but a cheating place. The second verse makes fun of China's attempt to collect Chinese capital and expel foreign interference, which is ridiculed as exploitation rather than unity. The most sarcastic part of the doggerel is the last two sentences. The author implies that China can still squeeze the people's money without others' help. Namely, it is the Chinese government itself that deceives its subjects. The irony shows perfectly through the image of Sheng: an old, demonized, and nefarious official with a sinister smile that implies the bank and the company are his tricks of graft. Chinese money falls on Sheng's official gown rather than into the columns. Sheng, as the "Director of "Director of Everything" is blamed for the farce.

Two series of caricatures amplify the Rattle's observation on Chinese politics. The first is Li Hung-chang's journey as an envoy to visit America and Europe in 1896, a theme rarely seen in caricatures published outside China. Hayter's caricatures despised China's measures to strengthen its economy, regarded as a useless struggle. *The Rattle* carried five caricatures with regard to Li's 190-day trip diplomatic mission to Europe where he learned about western political systems as well as technologies and sought cooperation with the western powers. His trip contributed to enhancing the idea of reform, while, his signature on a secret treaty with Russia unintentionally put China at risk of foreign invasion.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> For details of Li's visit to Russia, see Liang Qichao (2004, 119-127). Li's diplomatic efforts were controversial in then-current political arena as well as in modern contemporary academic circles. In the past, he was criticized as national "betrayor" for his appeasement and strategies of restricting foreign power by aligning China with other foreign powers (以夷制夷). However, in the recent decades, academia has started to judge Li in a more practical light, re-defining him as a patriot. For a detailed discussion about Li's successes and failures in Chinese diplomacy, see Wang Chengren and Liu Tiejun, (1998, 140-189).

## CHAPTER THREE

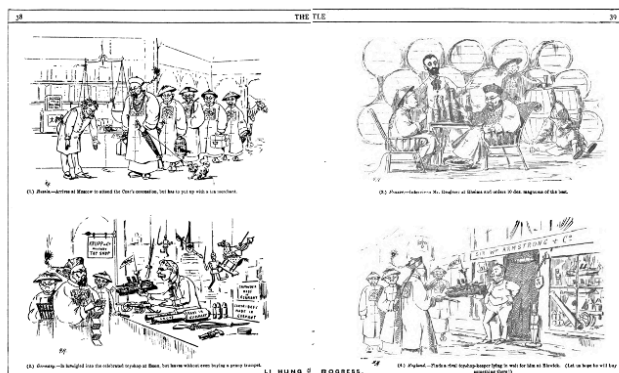


Figure 3.65 Li Hung-Chang's Progress (*the Rattle*, July 1896).

*The Rattle's* full-page caricatures emphasize Li's ignorance of the western civilization and his dithering in the purchase of warships. Figure 3.65, entitled "Li Hung-Chang's Progress", sketches his journey in four European countries. In Russia, Li was scheduled to "attend the Czar's coronation but has to put up with a tea merchant." Even though Li stayed in the residence of a prominent Muscovite tea-merchant. Although the Russian merchant respectfully took a bow before him, Li nevertheless appears to be dissatisfied with members of the merchant's delegation.

In Germany, Li "is inveigled into the celebrated toyshop at Essen but leaves without even buying a penny trumpet." The toyshop is Krupp Company, a German arms manufacturing company that supplies weapons for the Qing court. The caricature funnily compares Li's visit to Krupp for the purpose of purchasing toys. The salesman demonstrates a variety of products on the table while Li checks his list toys bought and his assistants calculate the price with an abacus. With hesitation, the Chinese delegation ends up buying nothing, which alludes to Germany's disappointment about the failure of Chinese arms procurement.

In France, Li went to the famous winery at Rheims and ordered "doz. Magnums of the est". Mr. Roederer served the Chinese delegation bottles of wine and some members became so drunk that they leaned on the barrels. In England, Li "finds a rival toyshop-keeper". As the shop poster suggests, "the rival toyshop" is Sir W. G. Armstrong Whitworth & Co. Ltd., which competed with Krupp, the German manufacturer for the supply of Chinese armaments. The caption that the keeper is "lying in wait for him at Elswick" accentuates the eagerness of the Armstrong manufacturer to persuade Li to buy arms from their company. The shopkeeper stands by the door sobbing, suggesting that no purchase was made. Together, the images about Li's visits to Germany and England insinuate that the purpose of his journey was to procure weapons and to purchase a battleship. Altogether, the caricature images regarding Germany and England insinuate Li's journey was military oriented.

## CHAPTER THREE

Figure 3.66 is another caricature with the same title of Li Hung-Chang's Progress. Here, Li is shown riding a bicycle alongside a British lady. The caption allegedly quotes Li's words:

Quite my most pleasant experience during my visit to Europe has been the bicycle riding in Hyde Park, London. In this country the women are permitted to ride in company with the men, which seems to me a very sensible plan. I find my yellow riding-jacket both useful and becoming.

The words reveal a leisurely aspect of Li's diplomatic mission that he found to be very pleasant. The image, in contrast, shows Li as an awkward man riding in a hunched position while looking at the lady who enjoys her ride. In analyzing the two caricatures, nevertheless, we must keep in mind that "Li's progress" is probably based on the caricaturist's imagination rather than on actual events that happened. According to Li's schedule, he had not yet visited France and England nor had he just started visiting London when these two caricatures were published. Moreover, the caption under the Armstrong Company - "Let us hope he will buy something there" - explains the event as envisaged, with the center of the irony of the illustration being the anticipated outcome.



## CHAPTER THREE

4th do. --- "This foieign doggy my too muchee fear, he wantchee bitey my---so fashion no can!"

ALL TOGETHER --- "Heh yah! Hej yah! too muchy handsome. Heh yah!"

On one hand, the caricature employs Chinglish to make the conversation more "authentic" and funnier in a Chinese setting. The lack of fluency in English attributed to "Those Mrs. Li's" reveals their lack of knowledge about the West. On the other hand, the use of Chinglish shows the westerners' stereotype of the Chinese admiration for western attire as symbols of fashion. According to their compliments, western objects represent extravagance, superiority, and implicitly aggression as hinted by the dog biting Mrs. Li's clothes. Their unanimous commendation to Li for being "too muchy handsome" insinuates that Li's mission could transform China only superficially rather than essentially.



Figure 3.67 The Return of the Wanderer (*the Rattle*, November 1896).

In 1900, *the Rattle* resumed publication with outbreak of the Boxer Uprising and the ensuing Eight Nations Alliance. These two significant events thoroughly overturned the destiny of China. In 1889, the Boxer Rebellion outbreak in Shandong Province 山東 immersed China for the next two years in endless turbulence. The Boxers attacked foreigners and Christians and even the German Minster, Baron von Ketter, who was killed. In June 1900, the Dowager Empress Cixi declared war against the foreign powers and soon Beijing was overtaken by foreign troops that marched to Pao Ting and other places to quell the rebellion. In 1902, the Qing court signed the Boxer Protocol that forced China to give up much of its military right in its own land and to pay exorbitant indemnities to the foreign powers. Finally, the entire riot came to an end (Zhang 2021a).

The Boxer Uprising and the Eight Nations Alliance took place during "the age of the periodical" when photographic images were not yet being published in magazines. Therefore,

### CHAPTER THREE

those two events were the last major Chinese news topics covered mainly in the form of caricatures and sketches by Western humorous magazines (Smith 2016, 203). Audiences were able to comprehend details of those two events by immersing themselves in an abundance of news illustrations and various types of graphic satire. Several French and Japanese publications also carried news illustrations. Among the French newspapers, *Le Petit Parisien* (1876-1944), published news illustrations on its cover every Saturday. The illustrations were related to articles printed on the inside pages. During the Boxer Uprising, *Le Petit Parisien* published numerous illustrations that vividly represented tense and cruel scenes staged in the Far East.<sup>119</sup> The covers illustrated the madness of the Boxers, such as destruction of railroad tracks and burning of a train station that involved the allied troops that fought the Boxers, the execution of the Boxers, the peace talks, and the role of Li Hung-chang.<sup>120</sup>

As the Boxer Uprising and the Eight Nations Alliance were global affairs, related caricatures were published worldwide in various newspapers, magazines, and postcards. The German Scholar Knuesel Arian (2017) indicates that the caricatures published in Britain and America often featured the pictorial pattern of slaying a dragon (舉例). The powers are symbolized by their typical national garments or particular icons, such as Saint George identifies Britain and an eagle to depicts America. Their task is to slay a dragon, an evil creature in the western concept, the killing of which connotes heroic glory. By contextualizing these caricatures in their original political milieu, Arian points out that British caricatures emblemize China as a dragon, a visual allusion to justify the British Imperial scheme in China. By contrast, the American caricatures associate the dragon only with the Boxers, which fit America's political claims of Exceptionalism, thus, distancing the U.S. from Imperialism without hindering American missionaries' preaching in China. Although Arian merely uses the British and American caricatures as examples, her insights in this regard also apply to caricatures published in other foreign countries. Even though each nation had its own calculations, nearly all the images portray the foreign powers as justice doers, intent on punishing the Chinese people and severely demonizing the Chinese government.

Compared to the China-foreign binary opposition emphasized by caricatures published outside of China, Hayter's caricatures that were published within the Shanghai settlement focus instead on exposing the absurdity and ridicule of various incidents. Hayter drew on details that might be easily and quickly acquired due to his residence in China. For example, Dowager Cixi

---

<sup>119</sup> More information about *Le Petit Parisien* see <https://shorturl.at/giw17> (accessed 25 February 2023).

<sup>120</sup> These illustrations can be found on Hsu, Chung-mao's online article (2021): "The Boxer Rebellion: A Wound in China's Modern History."

## CHAPTER THREE

and Emperor Guangxu's fleeing to Xi'an. On 15 August 1901, when the western allies occupied many cities and entered Beijing, Empress Dowager Cixi fled to the west with Emperor Guangxu and took with them many other officials and servants of all kinds. According to Chinese historian Zhang Huateng (2021a), their fleeing can be divided into two phases. The first phase ended in their arrival in Taiyuan 太原 where they stayed from 15 August to 10 September 1900. Because the action was secret and sudden, Cixi and others left Beijing dressed in plain clothes, travelling on poor transportation, and without sufficient amounts of food. The second phase extended from Taiyuan to Xi'an. With the help of local officials, Cixi and her officials enjoyed the glorious and impressive benefits of their leadership positions, not worried about issues of their livelihoods. During their stay in Taiyuan, Li Hung-chang requested that Cixi and Guangxu return to Beijing to pacify the people and negotiate with the foreign powers. Owing to their own fear and the 120 forewarnings of other officials, Cixi refused to go back. On 26 October 1901, more high-ranking officials eventually arrived in Xi'an. Altogether, the trip took more than seventy days.



Figure 3.68 Latest Boxer Movement (*the Rattle*, November 1900).

In November 1900, the foreign powers alliance that had occupied Beijing and recently seized Po Ting Fu suspended military operations and proceeded to engage in peace negotiations. By then, the Boxer Uprising had nearly come to an end. At the time, *the Rattle* published a caricature entitled “Latest Boxer Movement.” (Figure 3.68) As the title indicates, the image reveals the turbulent events that occurred on recent occasions. In the caricature, a boxer falls on the ground, astonished to see a caterpillar approaching him. The shoes on the caterpillar's feet represent different countries, suggesting it is not purely an organism but is rather composed of many countries. The composite international strength enables the tiny caterpillar to knock down the colossal boxer and shout: “Backward---on all four” (the caption). Hanging on the wall behind the boxer, who would never have thought of being defeated by a caterpillar, is an edict that announced: “We have this day removed our court to Hsianfu where business will be

## CHAPTER THREE

transacted as usual.”<sup>121</sup>

This imaginary edict pokes fun at the Qing court’s pretense as the content reveals that China had evaded a crisis of subjugation arising from a foreign military attack, by only lightly touching on the topic as if it were a normal way for the court to move to a new capital city. Empress Dowager Cixi, the main initiator of evil, stands behind a wall watching the tumult as it escalates to an uncontrollable degree. Her concealment and indifference render her uglier and more irresponsible, a negative highlight situated at the center of the caricature.



Figure 3.69 The Trials of an Emperor Dowager (*the Rattle*, November 1900).

Ostensibly, the edict announces that the capital is being moved but actually marks the start of Cixi’s fleeing, depicted by Hayter’s caricatures that show her on a long journey as if a laughingstock. In January and in May 1901, *the Rattle* released two more caricatures with the same title, “The Trials of Empress Dowager.” Hayter synthesized news illustrations and caricatures as his expressive technique to debunk the Qing court’s buffoonery and idiocy as if reporting the latest news about the Empress Cixi and the Emperor Guangxu. Hayter’s wit demonstrates how he knit together these incidents, blurring the line between reality and fakeness. For example, Figure 3.69, the first scene of the trial takes place in Cixi and Guangxu’s residence in Taiyuan. In the temporary residence, Emperor Guangxu is excited about receiving the German General Waldersee’s invitation to attend a Christmas party. Putting on a normal western suit, Emperor Guangxu asks the Empress Dowager Cixi whether he can return to Beijing to attend the party, a question that astonishes the high-level officers around him. Guangxu does not realize how serious the situation is. Not surprisingly, Guangxu’s attire and his request irritate Cixi to the extent that she immediately commands Guangxu to take off the western style clothes and orders a soldier to keep an eye on Guangxu lest he might secretly run

---

<sup>121</sup> Hsian is the spelling of Xi’an 西安 in the Wade-Giles, a romanization system of Chinese characters that was developed by Thomas Wade and an English sinologist and diplomat, Herbert Giles (1845-1935) and commonly used in the late Qing and early Republican time.

## CHAPTER THREE

off to Beijing.

The German General Waldersee, despite his position as the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in China did not arrive in China until October 1900. By the time of his arrival, the military operation in Beijing had already ceased. It was then that he initiated the powers' negotiations with the Qing court to pacify the tumultuous uprising. The invitation in Figure 3.69 alludes to General Waldersee's request for the Qing court's participation in the proposed peace agreement. Of course, neither Cixi nor Gaungxu in Xi'an would attend such an embarrassing occasion, thus Li, Hung-chang and I-Kuang 奕劻 (1838-1917) were authorized to deal with the protocol arrangements.

Against that historical backdrop, a question worth considering is why Hayter fictionalized General Waldersee's invitation to Emperor Guangxu, an event which never actually happened. Judging from the interaction between Cixi and Emperor Guangxu, it is clear that Hayter intended to unveil their tense relationship, a remote cause of the political disaster. Before the Boxer Uprising, Cixi squelched the Self-Strengthen Movement led by Guangxu in 1895. Guangxu's ambition to westernize the country in a somehow radical manner agitated Cixi so much as to cause her to want to dismiss him from the throne, but eventually failed. However, Guangxu's inclination toward the West remained a thorn in Cixi's mind. In Figure 3.69., Cixi's anger at Gaungxu's westernized style of attire wittily indicates a vast difference in their political viewpoints. The Christmas party insinuates that the powers reached a consensus on the protocol, which was submitted to the Qing court even before the Christmas of 1900.



Figure 3.70 The Trials of an Emperor Dowager (*the Rattle*, May 1901).

In May 1901, another “trial” was published in the *Rattle* in which Hayter illustrates a scene of Cixi, Guangxu, and other accompanying officials fleeing (Figure 3.70). On the way to Xi'an, they rest behind a wrecked wall for fear of being caught by the alliance military. In their camp, they erect a national flag with a flying dragon. In such an embarrassing condition, ironically, they continue their ordinary lifestyle as if they were in the palace: Cixi sits with her



## CHAPTER THREE

legs crossed and knits an item of clothing.

One official reads a newspaper while smoking opium; another official plays card games with his subordinate; the other attentively looks at the surrounding wilderness. Guangxu, the Emperor, is once again depicted as a naughty boy without wearing the dragon rope to demonstrate his authority as he holds a telescope to observe what is happening in the distance. Empress Cixi asks the naughty boy emperor what he sees to which he innocently responds that a German General, as well as the Chief General Waldersee, are soon to visit them. Again, Hayter fictionalizes the incident by portraying General Waldersee as chasing them. Reactions of Guangxu and Cixi to General Waldersee's troops once again demonstrate Guangxu and Cixi's immeasurably different attitudes toward the Westerners. For Guangxu, it was a normal visit while for Cixi, it was a terrifying message that causes her to run for her life.

In the caricatures, Cixi and Guangxu are seemingly trapped as a result of fleeing but, in reality, they prepare to resume their power in Beijing. After the Qing court signed the Boxer Protocol on 7 September 1901, the Boxer Movement ended, leading the foreign powers to withdraw their troops from Beijing. Soon afterwards on 6 October 1901, the Qing court decided to return to Beijing. The return journey took ninety-three days via travels through the areas of Shangxi, Henan, and Zhili. The magnificently huge procession included the Emperor, the Dowager Empress, high officials of all ranks, soldiers, eunuchs, servants, maids, bearers, and more, purportedly amounting to more than a thousand people. On 3 January 1902, the high officer, Sheng Xuanhuai, arranged for the Emperor, the Empress Dowager, and other people to take a train to Beijing, which was the first time for Cixi to take this "modern transportation." On 7 January 1902, Cixi and Guangxu finally arrived in Beijing where they were warmly welcomed by the entire capital city, fabulously decorated for a grand celebratory ceremony. The Qing court's return to Beijing, an event that consumed enormous financial and human resources, was reported in Chinese and English newspapers (Zhan 2021; Zhang 2021a, 2021b).

The caricature of the series that most directly exposes Cixi's nature of mercilessness and greed, was published in *The Rattle* in February 1902, one month after the Emperor and Dowager Cixi returned to the Forbidden Palace in Beijing (Figure 3.71). It was the last caricature in the series that featured an ostentatious reception. Above the caricature is a "special telegram" that announces, "Their Majesties arrived at the Machiapu terminal by Imperial Train from Paoting today at noon." The term "Their" reveals the caricaturist's perspective of illustrating the Chinese other. From Hayter's perspective as a foreigner, the scene of the train's arrival was messy. A high official cheerfully gets off the train, finally stepping on Beijing soil again. Cixi continues to act harsh and uneducated. As the mother of the nation, she carries her

## CHAPTER THREE

own clothes, a bag, and even an opium smoking pipe. Guangxu, the Emperor, appears silly with a doubtful look at the bun cake in his hand. They are surrounded by various groups of people and among whom are several officials who drop to their knees and kowtow to Cixi with fear and respect. However, all these ceremonial behaviors fail to win Cixi's compliments, as the caption beneath the caricature describes:

Empress Dowager [to the high officials who are respectfully bowing] --- Now then! Don't go on groveling like that all day long! Get up and make Yourselves useful. The heavy trunks and the luggage and all the small parcels. Go in the carriage. Ching has the tickets. Let Jung Lu carry my jewelry box and Kwangie's ??? and tell Kung to call a four-wheeler chop-chop. My holy ancestors! It's good to be back home again.

Without giving an inspiring speech or encouraging the officials, Cixi regards the subordinates' loyal kowtowing as less important than her luxuries. She cares only about who will carry the valuable belongings and how to continue a comfortable life, such as asking for a four-wheeler coolie. Ironically, the railway was the western stuff that the Boxers at the very beginning wanted to destroy but now is being enjoyed by Cixi on her return to Beijing. On the city wall stands a crowd of foreigners; some are Ministers who silently look down, and some are journalists who engage in photographing the historical scene. The pictures taken that are of little importance represent nothing but a funny and ridiculous farce of China rather than a ceremonially solemn moment (Zhang 2021b).

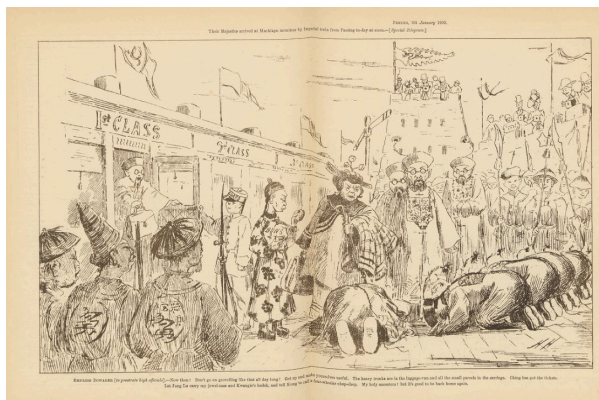


Figure 3.71 Untitled (*the Rattle*, February 1902).

### 3.3 Conclusion

This Chapter argues that 1867 to around 1902 was the first period of localization of western-style humorous magazines in China. During this time, foreign newspaper editors and caricaturists introduced in the format of the western-style humorous magazines and caricatures to Hong Kong (*the China Punch*), a British colony, and to the Shanghai Settlement (*Puck: or*

### CHAPTER THREE

*The Shanghai Charivari* and *The Rattle*). Caricaturists and editors may have become quickly aware of an asymmetry in the publication of humorous magazines between China and the West because they came from the place where people customarily read the humorous magazines. The three English-language humorous magazines presented in this chapter can be seen as a means to reverse the asymmetry. *The China Punch* and the *Shanghai Puck* were apparently an extension of the existing brand of European humorous magazines. *The Rattle* endeavored in its first issue to prove its orthodoxy of humorous blood by comparing itself with many other well-known humorous magazines.

Shanghai foreign humorous magazines introduced various kinds of whimsical worlds in China as every magazine had its own imaginal figure that betokened the humorous magazines' self-positions in the Far-East land. Despite being products of localization, these magazines nevertheless bore a distinct colonial perspective on the Far-East land. They played the role of their Homeland to superintend all the subjects, including the colonized and even the British diaspora. Mr. Punch is a colony supervisor; the elf Puck is an observer of the Settlement and a messenger for the King of the fairyland, an allusion to their western motherland; the clown of *The Rattle* is a westerner who comes to town and claims to inherit his predecessors (*The China Punch* and *The Shanghai Puck*) in all aspects, even their supervisory role. These magazines followed the British tradition of being political critics and moralists who debunked the government's absurdities and the residents' obscenities (often between men and women of the British diaspora). Although associating themselves with China, these magazines adapted the format and adjusted the content to meet tastes of the British diaspora. The "China," precisely speaking, refers mainly to the affairs of foreigners living in the Colony and the Settlement, while the "Chinese," as Rea (2013, 411) points out, often served as decorative elements.

The caricatures and related information collected from Shanghai's English-language newspapers and the three humorous magazines in Hong Kong and Shanghai bring attention to several noteworthy points. First and foremost, these foreign publications emphasize the importance of humor as if a pedagogical product on sale with the pivotal task of teaching people to enjoy humor and laugh. The magazine's title, *Puck*, becomes the alternative name for humor. Noticeably, these publications point out the commercial value that humor and being funny likely had on foreign markets in the Far-East land. Secondly, while most previous research has focused on how caricatures exposed conflicts and controversies in the colony and Settlement, the trans/cultural essence of the caricatures manifest in the illustrations cannot be overlooked. For example, the transcultural exchanges of artistic forms and techniques between the West

### CHAPTER THREE

and the East as demonstrated by the Butterfly Trick used in in Figure 3.41 or the pictorial imitations in Figure 3.43 reveal hidden political twists and turns in the relationships between China, Japan, and the Europe. From pictorial details of the magic skills, we can also catch glimpses of the artistic backgrounds of the foreign caricaturists, even though most caricaturists remained anonymous. Thirdly, these humorous magazines offer a unique and crucial perspective into China. Unlike caricatures critical of China that were published on foreign soil, caricatures in humorous magazines created by foreign who lived and worked in China manifested their own observations.” The caricatures published within Chinese borders offer more details for satirical purposes. As a result, those images portray China not only as a collective noun based on news articles circulating outside China. Rather, the familiarity of foreign caricaturists who were based in China had firsthand knowledge about Chinese affairs that enabled them to acridly pierce the core of conflicts between China and the West. These visual examples can be seen in the caricatures regarding Chinese gambling (*the China Punch*) as well as in depictions of Li Hung-chang, Emperor Guangxu, and Empress Dowager Cixi (*The Rattle*).<sup>122</sup>

It was fifteen years after suspension of *The Rattle* in Shanghai that the second indigenization of the western-style humorous magazine was ushered in. In 1918, the highly regarded caricaturist Shen Bochen 沈泊塵 founded *Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克 (Shanghai Puck), the first Chinese-language cartoon monthly in China. As suggested by its title, this humorous magazine, famous for its imitation of the American *Puck* and *Tokyo Puck*, was distinguished from other Chinese-language newspapers and pictorials that carried caricatures around the same time. In 1918, Shen also started a Chinese-language newspaper supplement, entitled *Poke*, that was published in Shanghai’s *SSXB* as a means for Shen Bochen to continue to expand his career of caricatures before he died, only a year later in 1920. In the next chapter, I explore the second time of localizing the western-style humorous magazines by focusing on Shen and his two Pokes. In that analysis, the two publications are analyzed in terms of their publishing history, strategies, and layout to understand how they responded to the worldwide trend of publication of humorous magazines at that time, leading up to development of a transcultural product

---

<sup>122</sup> My research centers on the presence of three foreign humorous magazines in China and their visual characteristics, based on my current research findings. However, the investigation into how these magazines reached China still remains unexplored. This highlights the necessity of uncovering additional historical documents related to publishing companies, editors, and caricaturists. This crucial aspect of the study remains open for future research endeavors.

## Chapter 4

### Indigenizing Western Humorous Magazines in China II: Shen Bochen 沈泊塵 and His Two “Pokes” 潑克 (Puck)<sup>123</sup>

Chapter Three explored the first stage of western-style humorous magazines indigenized in China during a period that spanned more than 35 years from 1867 to 1903. In this stage, the agency to cope with the asymmetry in publications of humorous magazines was released by foreigners, who brought their humorous culture from Home to this Far-Away Land. The measure, as the previous chapter demonstrates, derived from both political and commercial considerations. For westerners, humor was not only a weapon aimed at those in high positions but also a business required by the Hong Kong colony and the Shanghai Settlement.

Chapter Four examines the second stage of western-style humorous magazines in China, a brief period of only one year from 1918 to 1919 when the agency was released by a Chinese caricaturist, Shen Bochen 沈泊塵 and his two “Pokes” 潑克 (Puck). As the previous chapter noted, the style of *Punch* and *Puck*, as popular humorous magazines in the nineteenth and twentieth century, was frequently adopted and adapted all over the world. From 1918 to 1919, in response to that trend, Shen created *Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克 (Shanghai Puck), the first cartoon monthly in China, by learning from Punch-like magazines being published in foreign countries yet continuing to display his own Punch-style caricatures in the supplement of “Poke” in Shanghai’s *SSXB*.

The two Pokes are typical products of multidirectional transcultural exchanges. Chapter Four will deliberate the following questions: How did Shen’s two Pokes relate to foreign humorous magazines? Here, the focus will be not only on the British *Punch* but also on the American *Puck* as another possible template. This chapter also investigates the global agency of the two Pokes: What does the intervisuality observed on the pages and in pictorials of Chinese, Japanese, and other foreign satire magazines tell us about the anxieties of the respective journals’ readers whose reactions may have been devoid of emotions triggered by such images? How were China and the Chinese, as well as foreigners, portrayed and transformed pictorially on the pages of Shen’s two Pokes? What strategies did Shen’s caricatures employ when it came to raising China’s global position and reflecting contentions

---

<sup>123</sup> This chapter is revised and extended based on my 2013 book chapter “Participating in Global Affairs: The Chinese Cartoon Monthly Shanghai Puck” In *Asian Punches*, edited by Hans Harder and Barbara (2013, 365–387). Berlin Heidelberg: Springer.

between the old and the new cultures that clashed in then-current China? This chapter contends that Shen's two 'Pokes' were the products of transcultural interactions, which enriched significantly Chinese journalism and altered China's visual narrative from victimhood since the late Qing era to that of a global participant. The publications and caricatures exemplified China's previous inclination towards pseudo-symmetry, but now signal a pursuit of power symmetry with foreign nations.

#### 4.1 *Shanghai Poke* (上海潑克) and the Founder Shen Bochen (沈泊塵)

*Shanghai Poke* (上海潑克) was the earliest caricature monthly in China. It was published in 1918 by Shen Bochen (沈泊塵, 1889-1919), also called *Bochen huaji huabao* 泊塵滑稽畫報 (Bochen's Comic Pictorial). Shen Bochen, its founder and chief caricaturist, who was educated as a traditional painter, is recognized as one of the most influential and prolific caricaturists of the "May Fourth Movement," a cultural and political crusade.<sup>124</sup> During the time, Shen published more than a thousand of caricatures critical of the Chinese government in *MQHB*, *SZHB*, *SSXB*, *Shanghai Daily*, *Dagonghe ribao* 大共和日報 (Great Republic Daily), and other Shanghai newspapers and pictorials.<sup>125</sup>

After a short visit to Japan in 1916 and Beijing 1917, Shen founded *Shanghai Poke*, a caricature monthly magazine to which he and other painters such as Chen Baoyi 陳抱一 (1893-1945) and Wang Dungen 王鈍根 (1888-1951) contributed caricatures. According to *Xinshenbao* 新申報 (1916-1927), more than 10,000 copies of the first issue of *Shanghai Poke* were distributed in the lower Yangzi River region.<sup>126</sup> Because the magazine was published during the May Fourth period, most of its caricatures were directly related to political issues current at that time. However, *Shanghai Poke* was short-lived with only four issues prior to its termination at the end of 1918. Shen extended Puck's influence with a start-up publication of the Supplement of Poke, a weekly one-page collection of caricatures and articles. published by *SSXB*. The Supplement of Poke lasted for about a year, terminating not long before the death

---

<sup>124</sup> The movement grew out of student demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919, protesting the Chinese government's weak performance in the negotiations over the Treaty of Versailles, especially its inability to return to China the German settlement of Shandong that was given to Japan. The demonstrations sparked a wave of national protests and an upsurge in nationalist thinking.

<sup>125</sup> See Shen (2001, 109).

<sup>126</sup> See the page of advertisement of the second issue of *Shanghai Poke*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

of Shen Bochen near the end of 1920.<sup>127</sup>

### 4.1.1 The Web of Punch, Puck, and *Shanghai Poke*

Wagner’s theory of asymmetry suggests that every transcultural interaction begins when the actors perceive an asymmetry (Wagner 2019, 16). The opening statement of a magazine might showcase the thoughts emerging from the actor’s mind when perceiving an asymmetrical situation between themselves and others. In the inaugural issue of *Shanghai Poke*, Shen introduced Puck to his audience as a famous character in William Shakespeare’s play *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. Shen described Puck as a clever and mischievous elf, a trickster, and wise knave. Then, Shen explained (slightly skewing the genealogy, see the table below) that the elf’s name was initially used as the title of an English caricature magazine that had amused large numbers of readers, served to educate the people, and thus helped improve society. Shen further pointed out that English *Puck* soon become hugely popular while similarly successful magazines began to appear in America – St. Louis, Missouri and New York, and in Japan –Tokyo and Osaka (Bochen Shen 1918a).

Table 4.1 *Puck* and *Punch* Genealogies

Publication	Place	Author(s)	Term	Frequency
Punch	London, UK	Henry Mayhew & Ebenezer Landells	1841-2002	Weekly
Puck <sup>128</sup>	St. Louis, Mo. & New York City, USA	Joseph Ferdinand Keppler, Immigrant from Austria	1871-1918	Weekly (1871-1917) semi-weekly (July, 1917-Jan, 1918) weekly (Feb-Sept, 1918)
Puck <sup>129</sup>	London, UK	William Mecham	1889-1890	Weekly
東京パック (Tokyo Puck)	Tokyo, Japan	北沢楽天 (Kitazawa Rakuten)	1905- 1912 1919-1923	Weekly
大阪パック (Osaka Puck)	Osaka, Japan	赤松麟作 (Akamatsu Rinsaku)	1908- n/a	Semi-monthly
上海潑克 (Shanghai)	Shanghai, China	沈泊塵 (Shen Bochen)	1918	Monthly

<sup>127</sup> Shen, “Lianhuanhua and Manhua,” 109-110.

<sup>128</sup> Several years later in 1876, the publication moved to New York City where it became known as the first edition of American *Puck*.

<sup>129</sup> In July 1890, *Puck* (London), as an important notice on the front page declared, changed its title to *Ariel, or the London Puck* in order to ‘prevent the prevalent confusion with the American *Puck*, with which the *London Puck* has no connection’. Therefore, the *London Puck* seemed to have no official and administrative relation with the American *Puck*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

Poke)				
-------	--	--	--	--

Although *Shanghai Poke* is considered the beginning of China's humorous magazine history and although many *Shanghai Poke*'s caricatures were influenced by models and templates from elsewhere, it is not entirely clear the order of the publication's lineage. A number of Japanese scholars and caricaturists contend that since Shen published *Shanghai Poke* soon after returning from a short visit to Japan that *Tokyo Puck* must have been its immediate model (Ishiko 1995, 10-11). In the inaugural issue of the magazine, Shen mentions numerous humorous magazines named Puck that appeared in both the West and Japan. This suggests his familiarity with the early publishing history of "Pucks". Indeed, pictorial evidence (as discussed below) shows that in later issues, the intervisual and intertextual connections between the American Puck and the Shanghai Poke are quite obvious.

A number of Chinese scholars and caricaturists contend that neither the Japanese, the English, nor the American *Puck* were decisive in the conception of *Shanghai Poke* but that, instead, *Shanghai Poke* was influenced by London *Punch* (Chu 2004, 80-85). This chapter will show that, indeed, there are important connections between *Puck* and *Punch* that become particularly apparent when we explore the visual aspects of *Shanghai Poke* caricatures. My contention is that by referencing both *Punch* and *Puck*, China's *Shanghai Poke* situated itself neither as a direct descendant of either *Punch* or *Puck* although both were acknowledged as important models. Rather, there is evidence that the Chinese monthly positioned itself as a member of a much larger network of satirical caricature magazines from around the world, following a trend similar to that of satirical magazines over several decades.



Figure 4.1 The Cover of the first New York edition of the American *Puck* (27 September 1876).

The earliest evidence of an international trend among satirical magazines is reflected in an illustration on the cover of a German-language *Puck* (founded in St. Louis, Missouri in



## CHAPTER FOUR

1871). On the cover of American *Puck* (Figure 4.1), Joseph Ferdinand Keppler, an Austrian immigrant caricaturist and founder of the American *Puck* magazine, depicts Puck as an elf, standing on a stage passing out subscriptions to audience members – some of whom are delighted, some appalled. With sheets of papers scattered and flying everywhere, readers are able to figure out the features and other practical information about the American *Puck* magazine, including price, the illustrator's name, and portraits that suggest the variety of its content.

In the caricature, a large crowd of onlookers, among them crowds standing on the balconies to the right above Puck, we see also mascots representing notable satire magazines of 19th-century Europe. On the left, a man with a cock's head portrays the *Kikeriki* magazine (Cock-a-doodle-doo) in Vienna. Next to him is Mr. Punch from the English magazine *Punch*. The grinning boy with a finger pointing downwards represents the German magazine *Kladderadatsch* (Crash) and the two men, with moustaches and wearing bandannas, represent the French magazine *Figaro*. *Charivari*, a traditional French satirical magazine, also present, stands behind everyone else, dressed as a clown.

Not surprisingly, Keppler (caricaturist for the American *Puck* cover), who contributed many caricatures to *Kikeriki* in Vienna when faced by the absurdity and distortion of American politics, came up with the idea to express his opinions with caricatures and satirical pictures (West 1988, 6-7, 14-15). That was probably a matter of course for Keppler who had contributed caricatures also to similar satire magazines, such as *Punch*, *Figaro*, and *Kladderadatsch*. The caricature on the cover of the first edition of American *Puck*, thus, signified that magazine's legacy: namely, the European tradition of satirical papers. The figure of Puck, central in the illustration, who receives much praise from his predecessors- *Charivari* cheering, *Kladderadatsch* smiling, and *Punch* applauding – clearly indicating a relationship of closeness among the related publications. For example, *Punch*, for one, never missed a debut of a new *Puck* regardless of its location in America or London, reporting and ever-praising new sibling journals. For example, the first issue of London *Puck* in 1889 carried an image that conveyed the same idea as seen in Figure 4.2. Here, Puck is depicted as a thin, graceful figure, cap in hand, standing before an assembly in London attended by various British provincial newspapers with Mr. Punch in front. Accompanying the image is a report, written in fairy-tale fashion that records a dialogue among other newspapers that have assembled to “inspect” Puck as a new “want-to-be” member by testing and questioning him. According to the text, in the end and after several arguments, “amid a whirlwind of applause, Puck was ensconced on a throne, relieved of his overcoat as well as five guineas as an entrance subscription, and elected,

## CHAPTER FOUR

without opposition, a Full Member of Journalistic Guild.”<sup>130</sup>



Figure 4.2 The London *Puck* (12 January 1889).

In these self-depictions, questions were never raised about whether *Shanghai Poke* was descended from *Puck* or *Punch*. Every new satirical journal is depicted in caricatures as being welcomed in joining a larger field of (not just satirical) journalism. Instead of neatly categorizing satirical journals into either *Puck* or *Punch* types, all considered themselves part of a tightly knit community of (satirical) journals and, as the London *Puck* image insinuates, associated with the larger world of journalism. For example, the London *Puck* competed with not only *Punch and Judy* but also many other newspapers such as *The Star*, *The World*, *The Daily Telegraph*, or *The Morning News*.



Figure 4.3 Ever-lasting Memory to Our Late Contemporaries (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 September 1918).

The ongoing process of each publication inscribing itself into the larger picture of journalism is reflected even more directly in the illustration by Shen Bochen that appeared in the first issue of *Shanghai Poke*. Entitled “Ever-lasting Memory to Our Late Contemporaries” (Figure 4.3), *Puck* not as a caricature but as a man wearing a classic Western style formal morning suit who removes his hat and bows respectfully toward the tombstones of some of the more famous casualties of the late Qing newspaper censorship. In that scene, the other Chinese publications, *Shanghai Poke*’s “contemporaries,” all deceased, are unable to act as inquisitors.

<sup>130</sup> A description of the illustration, the London *Puck* 1, 12 January 1889.

## CHAPTER FOUR

They include *Subao* 蘇報 (*Jiangsu Gazette*, censored in 1903) and Yu Youren's 于右任 (1879-1964) unsuccessful "People's Trio" from 1909-1910, and *MLB*. An editorial, entitled "Responsibilities of This Paper," provides an explanation of the image, stating that "nowadays newspapers which maintain justice cannot be found very often," adding those publications were not strong enough to sustain themselves. As a consequence, the article added, *Shanghai Poke* was being "started up" in an attempt to make the unfulfilled wishes of its deceased contemporaries come true (Bochen Shen 1918b, 6). Thus, Shen affirms his uncompromising attitude for *Shanghai Poke* to serve as a medium of public opinion and political criticism. In doing so, Shen seeks to follow the same path that Keppler prescribed in his introductory caricature that introduced American *Puck*.

### 4.1.2 Transplanting New Visual Worlds

In its later editions, "*Shanghai Poke*", as just one participant in a rather complex web of *Pucks* and *Punch* versions, and other such journals, continued to incorporate ideas from caricature magazines all over the world. Time and again, we find concrete pictorial evidence illustrating how 'Shanghai Poke' was an integral part of global trends and circulations of satirical journalism. From the publishing format to the types of satirical pictures and caricatures it carried, 'Shanghai Poke's' visual appearance draws on a variety of different sources. Shen Bochen produced many original pen-and-ink drawings in a style similar to Western drawings from both *Punch* and *Puck*. 'Shanghai Poke' shares with *Punch* one feature in its layout: the page containing a picture in the middle with a text surrounding it (see Figure 4.4, from *Shanghai Poke*, and Figure 4.5, from the London *Punch*) *Puck* and *Tokyo Puck*, on the other hand, do not often feature this particular page arrangement.



Figure 4.4 A page of *Shanghai Poke* (1 November 1918).

## CHAPTER FOUR



Figure 4.5 A page of the London *Punch* (9 August 1916).

Caricatures as well as caricature styles were often exchanged among magazines within the *Punch* and *Puck* family. For example, *Shanghai Poke*'s visual language borrowed visual vocabulary, such as the use of huge heads for figures being ridiculed (e.g., from *Punch* Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7). The German Kaiser, for instance, is ridiculed for his belief in militarism by *Shanghai Poke*. The bandaged earth appearing in the third issue of *Shanghai Poke* is an example of a direct “visual quote” from the American *Puck* (Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.9). Moreover, *Punch* was not the only brand to influence satirical production all over the world. Several satirical journals became transcultural brands, so to speak. *Punch* may have been one of the interlocutors for *Shanghai Poke* based on the observation that caricatures in other humorous magazines, such as the American *Puck*, to which *Shanghai Poke* appears to have responded most directly in terms of pictorial quotations, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

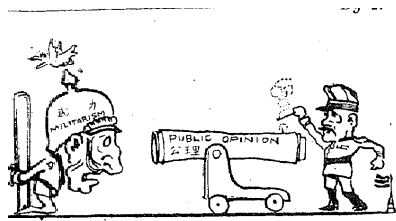


Figure 4.6 Untitled (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 November 1918).



Figure 4.7 A Page of the London *Punch* (1918, no exact date given).

## CHAPTER FOUR



Figure 4.8 The News in Rime, American *Puck* (1917, no exact date given).



Figure 4.9 Untitled (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 November 1918).

### 4.1.3 Multilingualism: Asymmetrical Reversals

These images strongly suggest that the visual language used in *Shanghai Poke* was an international language. Linguistically, publications like *Shanghai Poke* reached out to the world: meaning that *Shanghai Poke* as well as *American Puck* and *Tokyo Puck* had a multilingual background. As mentioned above, *Puck* was originally published in German in St. Louis, Missouri in 1871, primarily for Germans living in America. Many years later, and with successful sales, *Puck* moved to New York City and began issuing both English and German language editions. *Tokyo Puck*, rather than publishing several editions in different languages, carried texts in several languages in the same edition and provided each picture with multi-language captions: Japanese, English, and later also Chinese as seen in Figure 4.10. The editor, apparently aware of interested readers outside Japan, attempted to internationalize his magazine. *Shanghai Poke* also incorporated this feature by using Chinese and English both in its captions as seen in Figure 4.11 and in its texts.

This use of the English language in a Chinese satire magazine might appear slightly asymmetrical but, in fact, it was a method used to minimize asymmetries between the two worlds by associating Chinese public opinion with that of the world, thus presenting a China vying for equality and respect. In terms of quantity, the number of English texts increased over time, thus making the situation appear even more asymmetrical. There were seven English and twenty-six Chinese articles in the first issue; in the second issue the number of Chinese texts

## CHAPTER FOUR

dropped to eighteen. This trend continued in the third and the fourth issues where the number decreased to eleven. Meanwhile, the number of English texts gradually increased. In the second and third issues, nine English articles appeared, in the fourth issue there were fourteen so that the number of English texts exceeded the Chinese texts by three.



Figure 4.10 The Cover of *Tokyo Puck* (4 November 1910).



Figure 4.11 The Great Chinese Citizen. *Shanghai Puck* (1 November 1918).

From the perspective of content, an acknowledgement of a power asymmetry was clearly not the point. Rather, the choice of language served as a method of empowerment. The English texts were used to voice some of the more critical topics, perhaps as a safety device. Generally speaking, English texts dealt with both domestic and international themes, such as “The Opium Tragedy,” “An Editorial: China as a Participator in the Coming Peace Conference,” “The League of Nations,” and “Chinese Women and Dresses” while Chinese texts focused mainly on domestic issues, such as governmental policies and opium issues. In the first issue, use of the Chinese language served as the primary channel; however, by the second issue the English language was used in articles and editorials that addressed sensitive domestic topics, such as the new president, freedom of speech, and the question of selling opium as medicine. Increasingly, the English texts were used to discuss domestic concerns. The third issue presented bilingual contents in a tightly connected way by translating and publishing a series of criticisms against China’s governmental policy of selling opium as medicine. In the fourth

## CHAPTER FOUR

issue, the significance of English texts rose dramatically because concern had shifted from internal to external affairs. At that point, issues such as the Versailles peace conference were discussed mostly in English, which had become the principal and primary voice for expressing disapproval of Chinese policies.



Figure 4.12 The Great Chinese Citizen (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 November 1918).

The multilingual print format used by *Shanghai Poke* visually and linguistically created two very different worlds, literally on the same page, in which the Chinese-language texts that were customarily printed in vertical columns to be read from right to left in sharp contrast to the horizontally-aligned print of English-language texts that are printed to be read left to right. A good example is seen in Figure 4.12 where there are no separate sections designated to contain print for either language so that the two contrasting worlds blend together forming an overall design of blocks of contrasting vertical and horizontal typeface print.

According to Shen's inaugural statement introducing *Shanghai Poke*, the magazine was designed to accomplish three specific aims: first, to give advice and warnings to the two governments of China (the north and the south) and to encourage them to work in a concerted effort to create a unified government; second, to help Westerners understand Chinese culture and customs in order to raise China's status in the world; and third, to promote new morals and practices while discarding the old. The second aim appears to have necessitated the use of bilingualism with the English texts helpful to foreigners trying to understand the Chinese culture, thus offering a way to bridge different worlds (Shen 1918b, 6).

In order to implement the third goal of promoting a new morality while discarding the old, multilingualism served to highlight distinctions between diverse worldviews and standpoints. *Shanghai Poke* was published during a period that gave Chinese people first-hand opportunities to view western culture and customs, often described as new and novel, compared to Chinese traditions that many considered old and outdated. The different languages used on the pages of *Shanghai Poke* sometimes also represented different ideologies. For example, in the fourth issue, the fashion page indirectly focused attention on fashions of Chinese women

by featuring pictures of western women's attire. While the theme was clearly beamed at Chinese readers, the main text was written in English in order to underline the novelty of western-style clothing.

## 4.2 Poke: the Supplement of *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 (The China Times)

In December 1918, Shen published the fourth and final issue of *Shanghai Poke*. It is said the publication's suspension resulted from the owner's severe illness. However, Shen did not stop cease publication of political caricatures and articles when the magazine shut down. On the contrary, he linked up with a Shanghai-based newspaper, *SSXB*, that carried the Supplement of Poke weekly as a full-page devoted to entertainment-related literary texts such as fiction, poetry, and humorous stories as well as political caricatures. "Supplement" referred to coverage of a single page devoted to a specific category of topics. Practically-speaking, the Supplement of Poke provided Shen with a medium to continue satirizing the government and society with his Puck-style caricatures. A focus on the Supplement of Poke in this section probes its publishing strategies as well as its political and social caricatures. My aim is to present an overview of Shen's "Puck business" by describing a missing part in the study of Chinese caricatures, previously overlooked by earlier studies.

*SSXB*, publisher of the Supplement of Poke, had a relatively long history that included two predecessors in Shanghai: *SSB* 時事報, founded on 5 December 1907 and *Yulun ribao* 輿論日報 (Public Opinion Daily), started on 29 February 1908.<sup>131</sup> The two previous newspapers merged in 1909 leading to *Yulunshishibao* 輿論時事報 (Public Opinion and Current Affairs Times Daily) that in 1911 was sold to several noted Chinese intellectuals including Huang Shuochu, Zhang Gongdu, and Zhang Dongsun 張東蓀 (1886-1973). At that time, the publication's name was changed to *SSXB* and many important literati joined the *SSXB* newspaper organization. Editor-in-chief, Wang Jianqiu 汪劍秋<sup>132</sup>, was a veteran of Chinese journalism. Important for its financial success was Wang Yinian 汪詒年<sup>133</sup>, the first manager who along with his brother Wang Kangnian 汪康年 (1860-1911) made significant

<sup>131</sup> The following three paragraphs about *SSXB* and the development of the Research Clique 研究系, are based on Wu (2012, 33-38) and <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/newsite/node2/node2245/node4522/node5501/node5503/node63720/userobject1ai8647.ht> (accessed 30 July 2018).

<sup>132</sup> Wang Jianqiu's exact years of birth and death are unknown.

<sup>133</sup> Wang Kangnian's exact years of birth and death are unknown.



## CHAPTER FOUR

contributions to the modernization of China's media industry. Wang Kangnian started up several other newspapers as well while Wan Yinian, as head of the business side, introduced new business practices for accounting, marketing, circulation, and more.

Over the years, *SSXB*'s political positions as well as management fluctuated as a reflection of China's chaotic domestic events. During the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, when the Qing dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China was established, *SSXB* started a noon-time issue in order to disseminate news quickly. After the Republican era began, the publication was managed by the Republican Party and later by the Progressive Party (Jinbudang), eventually serving as an institutional newspaper for the Research Clique (研究系), led by Liang Qichao, a descendant of the Progressive Party. The Yuan government utilized *SSXB* to confront Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party). Subsequent to establishment of the Peace Planning Society (Chouanhui), a political group that supported Yuan's efforts to restore the monarchy, Liang Qichao, a strong opponent of despotism, published an essay disclosing details of Yuan's scheme. Consequently, *SSXB* became one of the newspapers opposed to the Yuan government and was prohibited from distributing the newspaper beyond Shanghai City, until after the death of Yuan Shikai in 1916.

In addition to introducing to modern business practices to China's newspaper industry, *SSXB* also introduced significant innovations to China's journalism practices, such as sending Chinese correspondents to foreign countries, devising a system of local reporters, and more. Chinese science and culture, in particular, benefitted from *SSXB*'s introduction of one-page newspaper supplements that focused on specific topics. Shen Bochen's Supplement of Poke, for example, disseminated new ways of thinking about domestic and international politics and encouraged the writing of literature, especially during the May Fourth Movement period.

The Supplement of Xuedeng 學燈 (Learned Lamps), another one-page supplement, was launched on March 4, 1918, as one of four newspaper supplements introduced during the New Culture Movement.<sup>134</sup> Promising to eliminate sectarian bias 門戶之見 and benefit young students, "Learned Lamps" aimed to expand Chinese audiences' worldview and knowledge by introducing news in various areas of academic scholarship, such as discussions about political ideologies as well as scientific knowledge and cultural practices (mostly regarding the western cultural). In only two years, "Learned Lamps" evolved from a weekly to a six-day a week

---

<sup>134</sup> The other two are the supplements of the Supplement of *Chenbao* 晨報, the Supplement of Juewu 覺悟 (consciousness) of *Minguo ribao* 民國日報 and *Jingbao fukan* 京報副刊 (the Supple of Beijing News). How these four supplements built Chinese cultural and literal landscape, see Yuan (2011).

supplement. From 1919 onward, *Learned Lamps* was a pivotal platform for New Literature 新文學, publishing the works of many influential writers, including Lun Xun and Tian Han. Until *SSXB* ceased publication in February 1947, “*Learned Lamps*” remained true to its commitment as an educational supplement, fulfilling its promise to disseminate knowledge to its readers while at the same time making numerous adjustments to its publishing modes and content.<sup>135</sup>

### 4.2.1 Poke as a Newspaper’s Supplement

On 20 December 1918, *SSXB* announced its original supplement of “*Learned Lamps*” 學燈 would be published more frequently as a daily but never on Sundays. To fill the gap, *SSXB* announced to initiate a Sunday supplement entitled “*Poke*” 潑克 (Puck) that would carry caricatures. Two days later, the first issue of the Supplement of *Poke* appeared. On the masthead of the first issue were six Chinese characters written in calligraphy: “Xin qi ceng kan: *Poke*” 星期增刊：潑克 (the weekly supplement: Puck). Starting from January 5, 1919, a month after the final issue of the *Shanghai Poke* was released, the Supplement of *Poke* came into being with a masthead that presented a very gloomy illustration. Featured was a Chinese wedding procession with some participants holding lights and tools, others playing musical instruments, and others carrying the bridal sedan chair (Figure 4.13). In the middle of the procession, the groom rides a horse. Silhouetted against a long wall are three large sign boards that state the supplement’s title. As depicted in the illustration the wedding is obviously not a joyful celebration. Members of the wedding party appear as human-like black shadows, marching forward as stiff and lifeless ghosts. Thus, visually the masthead conveys the sense of China’s national condition as dismal and obscure.

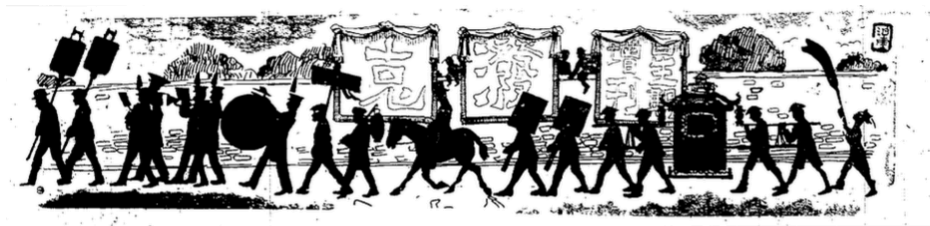


Figure 4.13 The Masthead of the Supplement of *Poke* (5 January 1919).

Although not mentioned in the inaugural announcement, Shen Bochen is considered responsible for the masthead illustration as well as for most caricatures carried in the

<sup>135</sup> About the comprehensive study about “*Xuedeng*” and its contribution to the Chinese New literature, see Wu (2012).

## CHAPTER FOUR

Supplement of *Poke*. The instant success of *Shanghai Poke* undoubtedly propelled *SSXB* to adopt *Puck* as its title of the supplement, and the ensuing popularity of the Supplement of *Poke* proved *SSXB*'s good judgement and the attraction of Shen's caricatures. On *SSXB* caricatures, Shen signed his name either as Bo 泊 or as Bochen 泊塵 so that audiences could easily recognize his work. A direct connection between Shen and *SSXB* has not yet been determined; however, by examining the background of the then-current editor of *SSXB*, Zhang Dongsun 張東蓀, we may learn that both his responsibility to increase readership and his similar political stances with Shen's might contribute to the birth of the weekly supplement: *Poke*. Before working in *SSXB*, Zhang was a former editor of *Dagonghe ribao* 大共和日報, a newspaper where Shen for a long time had published his caricatures. Through their association with that newspaper, Zhang and Shen may have known each other and shared political views, especially with regard to the election of parliament members in 1918. Zhang, who was a member of the Research Clique 研究系, may have felt strong resentment in response to that election outcome, similar to Shen's indignation at the members of the Anfu Club 安福會 revealed in the caricatures of the *Shanghai Poke*.<sup>136</sup> Despite no hard evidence, those two factors may have accounted for the start-up of the Supplement of *Poke* (Dai 2009, 138-147; Wu 2012, 39-42; Zuo and Wang 1997, 131-138).



Figure 4.14 Untitled (the Supplement of *Poke*, 22 December 1919).

Each issue of the weekly “Supplement of *Poke*” carried from one to six caricatures –one-panel caricatures as well as comic strips. Criticism of China’s government is still the main topic.

---

<sup>136</sup> Anfu Club was established by the Anhui Clique in 1918 for controlling the government. Originally, it was a group of people assembling for their political interest. It was named after the fact that they gathered in a house at the Line An Fu in Beijing. Strictly speaking, it was literally not political party but functioned as a party. In 1918, the members of Anfu Club won the election of member and dominated the parliament. The whole political farce enraged the intellectuals such as Sun Dongsun and Shen Bochen. For more details in relation to the Anfu Club and its influence in Chinese politics, see Chang (1998) and Nathan (1983, 271-279).

## CHAPTER FOUR

Take the supplement on 22 December 1918 for example. Figure 4.14 likens Duan Qirui's reform of China's monetary system to a frog swallowing a fish. Secretly cooperating with the Japanese government, Duan took out a huge loan from Japan and in August 1918 promulgated "the Regulation of Golden Bills" 金券條例. The new regulation soon led to internal and external unrest because its implementation would allow Japan to dominate the Chinese economy through implementation of a new currency system.<sup>137</sup> The toad swallowing a fish symbolizes Japan's ability to control China's monetary system. A pair of clogs reveals the toad's Japanese connections, alluding to the Japanese financial councilors and the Japanese loan, both associated with Duan Qirui.

Figure 4.15 unmasks the deception of the political circle. As the text accompanying the illustration notes, during term of the Legislative Yuan in Beijing, President Xu Shichang 徐世昌 gave as a gift to all participants a picture of himself with his signature on it. Some who received the picture added their own names on it, plus the word of "ceng" 贈 (given as a gift) under Xu's name. In that way, the recipients made it appear to others, as if the picture was a personal present from the president, for purposes of elevating their own status. By means of the pictures of the President, the caricature debunks Chinese officialdom's hypocrisy.



Figure 4.15 Untitled (the Supplement of Poke, 22 December 1918).

Figure 4.16 was representative of one recurring theme in the supplements – frustration with the progress of China's anti-opium campaign. The caricature features an opium storeroom with three doors locked (the front, the right- and the left-side) and one door unlocked (the back). Through the open backdoor, opium spills out and spreads around China. By playing a word game, the title indicates the ineffectiveness of China's anti-opium policy. It is a "three-sided" blockade 三面封鎖 instead of "four-sided," insinuating the government was taking incomplete

<sup>137</sup> For more analysis about the Regulation of Golden Bill, see Zhuo (1986, 125-129).

## CHAPTER FOUR

and unproductive measures to ban opium.

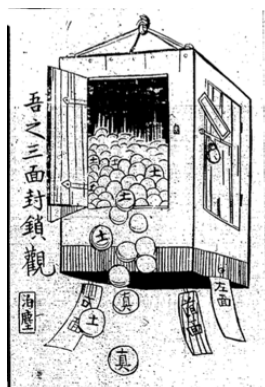


Figure 4.16 My View on Three-Side Blockage (the Supplement of Poke, 22 December 1918).



Figure 4.17 Delivery of Civilization (the Supplement of Poke, 22 December, 1918).

The caricature “Delivery of Civilization” 輸送文明 (Figure 4.17), anticipates that the West will bring joy and hope to China after World War One. Such the positiveness for the Western civilization permeates the supplements of Poke. As a conspicuous symbol of the West, Santa Claus delivers many presents all the way to China, depicted in the background by traditional Chinese houses, a pagoda, and rice fields. However, instead of material items, Santa delivers valuable treasures of peace, happiness, ethics, civilization, and spirituality. Accompanying the caricature is a silly poem by someone called Mr. Maer 馬二先生.

Santa Claus especially delivers presents at the winter solstice.  
 Now, he is giving lots of favors to Chinese people as if handing out many presents.  
 升泰亮老司專送冬至禮  
 今惠我國民有如許東西

Mr. Maer explains that he composed the comical verse on seeing Shen’s “Santa Claus Delivers Presents” because he realized that China was actually in great need of those presents. So, as a token of his gratitude to Shen, Mr. Maer wrote the verse. As Mr. Maer puts it, the

## CHAPTER FOUR

caricature clearly reveals Shen's ardent expectation that the West will advocate for justice toward China in the international community as well as imbue China with righteousness and joy. The image epitomizes the collective Chinese mentality during the post-war era.

From one page of the supplement of *Poke*, we realize the caricatures within touch on China's domestic policies, political celebrities, the anti-opium campaign, and China's international situation after the First World War, the themes that could also be seen in all issues of *Shanghai Poke*. The similarities of themes provide strong evidence of continuity of the *Shanghai Poke* to the Supplement of *Poke* in light of content and the critical standpoint toward the government. Take the opium issue for instance. The third issue of the *Shanghai Poke* was devoted to the anti-opium movement. Shen extended that theme in the Supplement of *Poke* by publishing a series of portraits on the destructive effects of opium along with other caricatures that celebrated significant milestones of progress achieved in addressing that issue.<sup>138</sup>

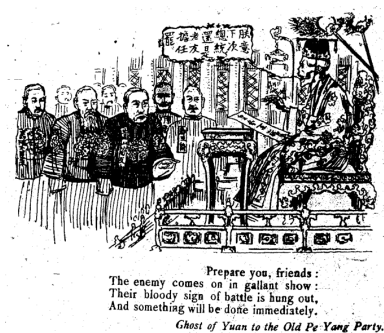


Figure 4.18 Ghost of Yuan to the Old Bei Yang Party (*Shanghai Poke*, September 1918).

In terms of domestic politics, Figure 4.18, entitled “Ghost of Yuan to the Old Bei Yang Party”, provides insights into Shen's political concern. Published in the first issue of the *Shanghai Poke* (January 1918) the caricature points out that Yuan Shikai remained influential in Chinese politics even after his death in 1916. As a skeleton dressed up like an old-time emperor sitting on the Dragon Chair, Yuan is designated to be the next president and all members of the Beiyang warlords respectfully await his instructions. Yuan's appointment of “an old friend” 老朋友 suggests that manipulation of the Beiyang warlords continued to prevail over Chinese politics. A year after publication of the “first” Yuan ghost caricature, the skeleton emperor reappeared in the Supplement of *Poke*. (16 March 1919). With a tomb as his body, Yuan faces a group of ghosts dancing, wandering around, begging for his advice. No doubt, he was still the China's government leader at the hearts of the Beiyang warlords.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>138</sup> See *SSXB* on 16, 23 January and 22 February 1919.

<sup>139</sup> Shen points out that Yuan still affected Chinese politics by appropriating the Luo Pin 羅聘's “Guiqutu” 鬼趣圖 (Ghost Pictures), an painting generally thought as an early Chinese political caricature by many scholars. About

## CHAPTER FOUR

It is worthwhile that the Supplement of Poke carried many short texts as well. These articles, printed in many small columns, included short stories, theatre news, songs, poems, doggerels, essays, travel notes, humorous news, culture comments, theatre plays, and more. The content of the texts covered a vast array of topics ranging from political issues to funny jokes. Many short stories conveyed themes related to current affairs, such as governmental struggles and China's international status. At the conclusion of each story, the writer added a comment about morality, a common practice in Chinese novels and news reports writing.

Interestingly, the supplement featured a column of New Games 新遊戲 that, instead of introducing already existing games, invented new games for children to play. The new games were largely political. For example, the column published on 22 October 1919 created two new games: "Take away and then erect the flags" 拔旗立旗 (or "Return Qingdao" 還我青島) and a second, "Boycotting Japanese Products" 抵制日貨. As the columnist noted, the two games attempted to encourage Chinese children's military spirit to avenge national insults against China and to provoke Chinese children to boycott Japanese commodities. In the first game, the children were instructed to simulate a war to take back Qingdao (a major city in China's Shandong Province awarded to Japan at the Peace Conference after World War I). The goal was to change out flags of different colors. In the second game, children were asked to arrange Chinese characters "dizhi rihuo 抵制日貨" (boycotting Japanese goods) by holding sticks in their hands. Both games concluded with child players shouting slogans to demonstrate their determination to resist Japan. By following the instructions, the two games were easy to play.

From January to September 1919, Shen's caricatures were published weekly in the Supplement of Poke. For several weeks, the supplement carried mostly essays, rarely caricatures. Then on 19 October, the supplement resumed publication of caricatures drawn by another caricaturist, Zuoren 左韜, not by Shen. That rapid change may have resulted from Shen's declining health. About a month later, on 23 November 1919, *SSXB* officially announced the publication of the Supplement of Poke would be discontinued with political caricatures being moved to the Supplement of Learned Lamps. At that point, Shen's Puck businesses formally came to an end. Shen Bochen died soon afterwards.

### 4.2.2 Poke as a Title for Caricatures

As Chapter One demonstrates, Chinese caricatures had no fixed title in the late nineteenth

---

Chinese caricaturists used *Guiqu* as a motif see related discussion in Chapter One.

## CHAPTER FOUR

and early twentieth centuries. In fact, Poke 潑克 (Puck) once became one of the terms used for caricatures. In the first issue of *Shanghai Puck*, a reporter 記者 explained that Puck referred to either an elf or to satirical caricature magazines. Similarly, in an announcement prior to follow-up publication of the Supplement of Poke, *SSXB* described the meaning of Puck to its readers as follows:

Poke 潑克, as the translation of the English word of Puck, refers to huajihua 滑稽畫 (comical pictures). Nowadays, newspapers of all nations tend to carry Pokehua 潑克畫 (Puck-style pictures), a painting genre that can stimulate and stir readers' sentiments and emotions. Generally speaking, Pokehua is able to reduce stress caused by reading solemn and boring texts. For those reasons, our newspaper decided to publish the Supplement of Poke on Sundays to replace Learned Lamps.

(潑克), 即英語 Puck, 此言滑稽畫也。各國報紙大多載有潑克畫, 以其具有直覺的感刺, 足以興動閱者。大凡讀沉悶之言論後, 必一閱此, 藉舒胸臆。本報因擇每星期日發刊, 以代學燈, 正師此意耳。

“Puck’s” worldwide popularity and ability to entertain was detailed in a Supplement of Poke article. Interestingly, that description of Pokehua, 潑克畫 (Puck Picture) applies to a type of Chinese traditional notion of “huajihua” (comical pictures.) This attribute reflects what has been demonstrated in Chapter One. Since the late Qing, Chinese caricatures were often duped as huajihua to highlight its funniness to draw Chinese readers’ attention. The magazines and newspapers often call for contributions of huajihua to enhance the interaction with and attract Chinese readership as well. Although not all comical pictures can be regarded as caricatures, caricatures were very often placed under this category.<sup>140</sup>

The tendency in China to equate Puck with a painting genre is observed in several examples.<sup>141</sup> In a 1922 advertisement, the magazine *Xingqi* 星期 heralded its plan to offer a new illustrated publication as a gift to subscribers, explaining that the Chinese magazine would be modelled after two American publications, *Puck* magazine and *Life* magazine that carried many humorous and satirical pictures (滑稽諷世等畫). The name of the new illustrated magazine was Huaji 滑稽 (Funniness). The advertisement did not mention the term of Pokehua but directly associated Puck with comical pictures. Based on these examples, we can see how the idea of Puck in China evolved from a magazine genre to a painting genre within the field of Chinese visual journalism.

Although *SSXB* created the term of Pokehua, Shen Bochen never used it when referring

---

<sup>140</sup> For the discussion of huajihua 滑稽畫 (comical pictures), see Chapter One, 44-48.

<sup>141</sup> Despite beyond the time frame of my dissertation, these examples are worth noting.



## CHAPTER FOUR

to his caricatures in the Supplement of Poke (nor in *Shanghai Poke*). Instead, Shen used only the term *manhua* 漫畫. From when and by whom the term of *Manhua* was used to indicate Chinese caricatures has drawn the contemporary academic attention. Opinions vary among scholars as evidence is inconclusive. Yet, it is widely accepted that *manhua* was, for the first time, used in 1903 to designate caricatures in *JZRB* and thanks to promotion by the crucial cartoonist Feng Zikai 豐子愷 was made the term known to the public in the second half of the 1920s. However, the up-to-date discussion overlooks Shen's probable attempts to popularize the term, *Manhua*. In the Supplement of Poke, Shen used *shishi manhua* 時事漫畫 (the caricatures of current events) on 9 March 1919 and as *shiju manhua* 時局漫畫 (caricatures of current political situations) and again on five other occasions: 2 and 16 March, 22 June, 27 July, also 13 August. The term even appeared on 19 October, the date when Shen may have stopped contributing his caricatures. The high frequency of utilization of this particular term only demonstrates how Shen attempted to “rectify the names.” The phenomenon probably relates also to the newspaper's editorial strategy but, not to be ignored, the Japanese influence on Shen. In other words, Shen may have followed the Japanese custom of referring to caricatures as *manhua*, almost ten years earlier than Feng Zikai did in the 1920s.<sup>142</sup>

### 4.2.3 Poke as a Controversial Term

So far, I have discussed the production side—how caricaturists select and critique the caricatures. However, understanding the recipients' response is equally important. Unfortunately, texts about readers' responses to caricatures are scarce. The most evident recipient response often manifests as controversies triggered by these caricatures, typically involving conflicts between newspapers and the government.

For instance, in 1905, during the peak of the anti-American campaign due to discrimination against Chinese laborers in America, the Minister of Armed Forces traveled to Guangzhou with his daughter, seen as a symbolic act to suppress Chinese indignation. Pan Dahui 潘達徽 (1880-1929) and He Jianshi 何劍士 (1877-1915), who worked for the Guangzhou-based newspaper *Shishi huabao* 時事畫報 (Current News Pictorial), created a caricature titled “Turtles Carrying a Beauty” 龜仔抬美人, satirizing their visit by depicting a girl being carried by turtles (Figure 4.19). Printed as a flyer and distributed in the streets, this

---

<sup>142</sup> Shen also nourished his caricature drawings with an abundance of Japanese caricatures. Chapter Two will demonstrate Shen's imitation of many Japanese caricatures in Chinese newspapers.

## CHAPTER FOUR

caricature enraged the American government so that they demanded the Qing government to prohibit its circulation, and to punish the artists.<sup>143</sup> Additionally, some caricatures even resulted in the banning of the newspaper. In 1911, the Beijing-based newspaper *Gonglun shibao* 公論實報 (Public Opinion Daily) published a caricature titled “Picture of Fighting Dogs” (群狗競爭圖) along with a political comment called “Dogs’ Speech” (狗說), mocking the council as nothing more than a place where dogs gather to bark at each other for their own benefit. The selected council members were incensed, demanding the government reprimand the newspaper, ultimately leading to its permanent suspension.<sup>144</sup>



Figure 4.19 Pan Dahui and He Jianshi, *Turtles Carrying a Beauty* (1905).<sup>145</sup>

Similarly, *SSXB*'s supplement of *Poke* has aroused controversies, but in the literary circle rather than in the political field. The supplement of *Poke* published two comic strips that derided the “new-knowledge scholars” 新學家 and “new literary scholars” 新文藝家, fueling controversy within the intellectual circle, which irritated Lu Xun, a pivotal leader of China's literati group at the time, to condemn Shen and these caricatures with numerous comments and despised the supplement's caricatures as the products of old and outdated notions.

The first of Shen's anti-new-knowledge comic strips appeared on 5 January 1919 (Figure 4.20), depicting a radical new-knowledge scholar who strongly advocates the abrogation of Chinese characters. However, the scholar has a hard time learning Romanization and therefore asks a doctor for help. Turning to a Roman, the doctor comes up with a remedy to replace the scholar's heart with a roman dog. After the surgery, the scholar tries to read the Romanization of Chinese characters out loud, but others hear only the barks of a dog. The caricature acridly

<sup>143</sup> More information about the affair, see Bi and Huang (1986, 28).

<sup>144</sup> I have not yet had access to this caricature, but there are still some textual news reports in this regard., see Wu (2017, 32-35).

<sup>145</sup> The image is cited from Huang and Bi (1987, 24).

## CHAPTER FOUR

satirizes the Chinese linguist Qian Xuetong 錢玄同 (1887-1939) for his proposal to abolish Chinese characters and create Romanized Chinese. Shen compares Qian's idea to substituting a Chinese heart with the heart of a westerner but, instead, the Chinese man eventually ends up with the heart of a dog. Therefore, when the Chinese man spoke Romanized Chinese, he sounded like a dog barking.



Figure 4.20 New Knowledge Scholar (the Supplement of Poke, 9 January 1919).



Figure 4.21 New Literary (the Supplement of Poke, 9 February 1919).

The second anti-new-knowledge comic strip, published 9 February 1919, in the Supplement of Poke (Figure 4.21), depicts an arrogant literary scholar who despises all writings by ancient and modern Chinese literati. To prove his superiority, the scholar flaunts his own works of new literature. However, it turns out that he derived all his thoughts from *waiguo ouxiang* 外國偶像 (foreign icons). Despite his haughtiness, the scholar is perceived by others as a man with potential. Portrayed as a supercilious utilitarian in the first three panels, in the last one, the scholar is believed to still have a good nature and possibly returns the right track. The caption then suggests that as long as avoiding his earlier footprints that symbolize the defects of his character (such as never admitting his mistakes), the scholar enters the house with four sign boards inside that write: honesty, loyalty, love and modesty, four moralities that he would once again cultivate in his mind.

Not long, these two caricature strips irritated Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), a revered literati leader at the time. Before attacking the caricatures, Lu Xun harshly criticized the caricaturist of the Supplement of Poke, Shen Bochen. In his essay “Suiganlu 43” (隨感錄 Impromptu

## CHAPTER FOUR

Reflections), Lu Xun (1982 (1925), 330-331) noted that the Chinese art circle needed advanced artists who, in addition to their painting skills, possessed progressive ideas and were respectable characters. Lu Xun added that the artists' creations represent their thoughts and personalities in ways that not only entertain but also affect the viewers' spirits. Moreover, he explained that artists should act as prophets guiding the people instead of as leaders of a civil group,<sup>146</sup> and that their art work should be “the specimen marking the highest point of Chinese national intelligence” 中國民族知能最高點的標本 instead of “expressing derogatory thoughts that fall below the average waterline” 水平線以下的思想的平均分數.

In “Suiganlu 46”, Lu Xun (1982 (1925), 332-334) continued his condemnation of the unnamed Supplement of Poke artist (Shen Bochen) for the two comic strips. In his verbal attack on the anti-new-knowledge scholar in the caricature, Lu Xun described the artist as pathetic for his drawing that served as an ad hominem attack. He noted that the artist learned foreign painting skills to attack the foreign language but, ironically, published his supplement using as the foreign title. The caricatures, Lu Xun further noted, were meant to point out society's long-lasting illness and to prescribe a salutary remedy 針砭社會的痼疾. However, this practitioner focuses his eyes only on a square of paper and, worse still, cannot even see things clearly. So, Lu Xun asks: how can that individual recommend the right way to lead our society?

Moreover, Lu Xun indicated, the unnamed artist (Shen Bochen), who had targeted the new literary scholars, acquired his own painting skills and drawings of “Puck” from foreign sources yet he failed to realize that western-style paintings belong to the new literati. The artist comprehends his own career development as if being caught in a huge black jar with totally blurred vision. From that perspective, Lu Xun asks: How can we expect the artist to bring into existence delicate creations and make significant contributions to society? What infuriated Lu Xun most was Shen's use of the term of *waiguo oushiang* 外國偶像 (foreign icons). Lu Xun claimed it is iconoclasm that drives the evolution of the human civilization. In the West, many iconoclasts influenced the Reform of Religion and the French Revolution. Therefore, he explained, the greater number of old icons that are overturned, the more progressive human beings will become, leading to rules that support a war for justice 義戰 like the one that took place in Belgium during World War One and ignited the light of humanity. Internationally renowned influential figures, such as Darwin, Ibsen, Tostoy, and Nietzsche, Lu Xun added, were representative of great iconoclasts.

---

<sup>146</sup> A group of gangsters hired by Yuan Shikai to threaten the members of parliament for voting Yuan as the president.

## CHAPTER FOUR

Lu Xun's (1982 (1925), 340-343) castigation of the publications of *Poke*, the monthly and the Supplement, continued in "Suiganlu 53" with references to internal conflicts in five professions. What disappointed him the most was the one between Shanghai's artists. According to Lu Xun, the conflict was provoked by an artist in the *Pucks*, who, after breaking up the partnership of others artists, debunked them for their blindness to new and real art as depicted in Figure 4.22, "The Artists with Blind Eyes and Minds" 目盲心盲之美術家 by Chen Baoyi 陳抱一. Lu had envisioned that Chinese art would develop well as the result of Chinese artists' collaboration but at that time the artists' circle was deeply divided by controversies. Lu Xun sided with other artists and questioned whether the *Pokes'* artists really understood the new and real art because Lu Xun had never seen any new and real artwork by those artists. All the artists presented, he commented, were satirical caricatures in the Supplement of *Poke* that mocked the new literature and ideas. So, Lu Xun asked: Is this the so-called new art or is it the art of the-twentieth-century? Apparently, he disapproved of the latter.



Figure 4.22 The artists with Blind Eyes and Minds (*Shanghai Poke*, December 1918).

This case highlights the conflict between the old and the new sparked by what was termed "new-style" publications, the Supplement of *Poke*. Drawing from Lu Xun's essays, one might conclude that the artists associated with *Poke* were conservative and uninformed and that their caricatures represented the old, standing against the new. Additionally, considering Lu Xun's influence, 'Poke' might have been perceived negatively by advocates of the new cultural movement that emerged during the May Fourth period. However, *SSXB's* supplement 'Learned Lamps' claimed to disseminate new knowledge, and the Supplement of *Poke* was to serve as a medium for public and political opinion, both to some extent influenced by the West. Viewed in this context, the supplement should have unequivocally embraced everything new and advanced. Therefore, the response of Lu Xun, as a reader, to the satirical comic strip demonstrates a potential gap between the sides of production and reception, while at the same time accounting for the power of caricatures in conveying their meanings.

### 4.3 Reversing the Asymmetry in Power: From the Late Qing' Pseudo-Symmetry to the Early Republican's Symmetry

#### 4.3.1 Pseudo-Symmetry: Victimized Narrative in Late Qing's Caricatures

Shen's two Pokes significantly demonstrate the changes in China's attitude toward foreign powers and China's repositioning of the self in the global society. These caricatures show that China's identity evolved from a victim of the powers to a participant in the globe. To better comprehend the change, we have to start from the late Qing's caricatural discourse of victimization and the illusion of pseudo-symmetry. Since imperialism and colonialism reached China in the nineteenth century, Chinese illustrated newspapers had produced many kinds of images of foreigners. Those with satirical implications tend to stress the asymmetry between the respective sides. As shown in Chapter Two, Figure 2.28, Figure 2.29 and Figure 2.30 employed telescopes to highlight Chinese and foreigners' discrepant ways of seeing the other side. Differences in images of China and those of foreigners represent different mindsets in asymmetrical power relationships.

At the time, numerous caricatures in China's periodical press highlighted the power asymmetry between China and the foreign Powers—China's position is always “obviously” inferior. These caricatures construct a visual political discourse of victimization as caricaturists employ various ways, telescopes' visions included, to exhibit the asymmetrical power relationship in which the foreign powers are burly and oppressive and China puny and repressed.

The caricatures of this period often illustrate the foreign powers as burly and oppressive and China as puny and repressed. Such contrasts underline Chinese inferiority. A series of issues focused on territorial clashes and economic struggles with foreign powers generates a sense of victimization permeating these caricatures. The caricaturists tend to heighten foreign superiority to China's much lower status by various visual contrasts. The straightforward means is by comparing body sizes. In November 1907, an event in the region of River Xi 西江, an area that had been afflicted with robberies for many years, sparked a large-scale populist protest against the Qing and British powers. Local bandits plundered foreign and Chinese ships traveling on the River Xi and British authorities responded by sending several warships to the region on the excuse of protecting commercial shipping. The British action, tacitly approved by the Qing court, aroused the local people as well as the Guangdong provincial government that claimed the British intrusion was illegal (He 2007; Tan 2006). The caricature, “Negotiation”

## CHAPTER FOUR

交涉 (Figure 4.23), criticizes the Qing court for its submissive attitude toward the conflict by depicting a small Qing official standing on the river bank, bowing toward a gigantic western figure standing in the river. Apparently, the difference of body sizes accentuates the discouraging results of the diplomatic negotiation.<sup>147</sup>



Figure 4.23 Negotiation, (*SB*, 24 November 1907).



Figure 4.24 Not Being Controlled (*SZRB*, 2 August 1907).

Several caricatures compare the Chinese man to an inanimate object and the westerner to an animated human in order to accentuate the discrepancy. Figure 4.24, for instance, evinces the foreigner playing a Qing official who has become a puppet. There is an incongruity between the scene and the official's words. He declares that the government is never manipulated by foreigners 不受外人運動, and that newspapers always talk nonsense 報館總是瞎三話四. The caricaturist, nevertheless, contradicts what he says by addressing two contrasts: the huge versus the small and human versus a toy. As discussed above, a colossal foreigner and a small Chinese suggest that the foreign countries overpower China. The foreigner is a man, while the Chinese official is a puppet, a toy that owns the human appearance but cannot move without the other's

<sup>147</sup> There are some other visual examples, such as "Makes it Long or Short as He Wishes" 要長就長，要短就短 (*MXRB*, 6 November 1909). The caricature illustrates a mammoth foreigner who grabs a tiny Qing official and plays with the official's pigtail. In contrast to the giant foreigner, the tiny Chinese official appears impotent.

## CHAPTER FOUR

manipulation.<sup>148</sup> The motionless toy hints that China has lost his subjectivity.<sup>149</sup>

It is noteworthy that while rendering China a victimized image, Chinese caricaturists incorporated then-current political discourse in their caricatures. One example is “The Sick Man of the East Asia” 東亞病夫. According to a Taiwanese historian, the political metaphor of “The Sick Man of the East Asia” originally points to Turkey, as stated by English scholars, but later the “sick” man” metaphor is exploited by Chinese intellectuals for national salvation. In China, the analogy was first used to reveal China’s national weakness and the ensuing peril of subjugation. Later, the propositions of evolutionism and Xinmin 新民 (Renewing the People) was extended to the health of the common people. A sick nation is comprised of sick people, so it is crucial to protect a nation’s people from disease. Chinese nationalism and intellectuals’ advocacy transformed the image of the sick man from a national entity to that of an individual body. Such conceptual shift shaped “the Sick Man of the East” into “a collective/imagined ethical humiliation” in China for many years (Yang 2010, 17-67). Figure 4.25 is a *Shenbao* caricature with a similar title “The Sick Man of the East” 東方病夫, in which a huge man with a long beard and a wrinkled face, barely able to open his eyes, symbolizes China. Standing around him are two groups of people – westerners (who prescribe treatment for China) and two Chinese (who argue with each other about political revolution and conservation). The caricature echoes a popular political metaphor at that time of China as the sick old man of the East 東方病夫 in contrast to the young, healthy, energetic westerners. The old man turns toward the westerners, hinting that the only antidote is western medicine 西醫: namely, the western political system and civilization.

---

<sup>148</sup> Though this caricature did not refer to any specific event, an incident in 1905 Guangzhou might account for the foreign influence in Chinese journalism. In 1905, China and America were tense because the American government refused to sign a treaty to restrict the import number of Chinese laborers and protest those who had resided in America. The refusal provoked huge resentment in China. In order to know the actual situation in China, the American president of the time sent his daughter to China for travel. In protest to America, the Guangzhou-based caricaturist, Pan Dawei 潘達微 (1881-1911), drew a caricature in which a western woman was carried in a sedan chair by four turtles. The caricature was published in an illustrated newspaper and disseminated in the form of leaflets. This satirical painting called for the public not to serve the American lady, which infuriated the American Ambassador who urged the Qing court to curb it. The Qing court was so obedient as to arrest some people involved. But, instead of pacifying, the detention irritated the public, and Pan right away drew two other caricatures with his peers, further mocking the lady as a turtle too. The incident reveals foreign effect on Chinese affairs. Through the hand of the government, the foreign power could control Chinese journalism. See Bi (1982: 22-26).

<sup>149</sup> “The foreigner toys the Chinese official 外人播弄華官,” published in 1909 *MXR*B. shows a colossal foreigner looking down to a Chinese official transformed into a whipping top. The Chinese official can do nothing but spin around and around to the foreigner’s content. The visual contrast assumes that encountering the foreign powers; China is degraded into an inanimate object without subjective initiative. The nation becomes a playground for the foreign others and what is worse, a puppet regime under a subjugated threat.



## CHAPTER FOUR



Figure 4.25 The Sick Man of the East (*Shenbao*, 4 November 1907).

Likewise, Liang Qichao's "On Chinese Youth" 少年中國說 was also materialized in caricatures but in a reversed way. Focusing on China's national salvation, Liang's essay first points out that China, generally speaking, was thought of as an ancient great empire but later viewed as feeble and powerless in the world. However, Liang expounded on the situation in a different way by asserting that in light of the modern nation, China was just a newly-awakened political entity, similar to an active promising teenager set out to explore the world. Seemingly to respond Liang's words, Chinese caricatures likewise drew an analogy between China and an old man as well as China and children (1983, 7-12).

Figure 4.26 depicts China as "an old great empire" 老大帝國 sleeping on a melon whose vines, symbolizing four railways in China: Dongqing 東清, Nanman 南滿 and Huhangyong 滬杭甬 and Ganneiwai 關內外, as connected to three countries: Britain, Russia and Japan. The Dongqing Railway 東清鐵路, also known as the Zhongdong Railway 中東鐵路, was the first Chinese railway built by a foreign power (Zeng 1973, 538). It was an extension of the Trans-Siberian Railway because the original route was too difficult to construct and the Russian government decided to continue the construction by leasing lands from China 借地修路. After the defeat of the Sino-Japanese war, China actively wanted to ally with Russia to resist the rising power of Japan. Taking advantage of the situation, Russia appeared eager to cooperate but, in fact, promoted its railway project with negotiations that led to reaching a secret agreement with China. Moreover, making the best of the incident of Jiaozhou Bay 膠州灣, a serious conflict between Germany and China owing to a German missionary's death, Russia demanded from China to lease the seaport Lushun 旅順 for a Russian settlement. In only three years (1896-1898), Russia obtained much land as well as the right to construct and manage the Zhongdong Railway. China, on the contrary, invested much but profited little and, worst of all, lose much of its control over the northeastern territory (Tan 2016, 57-109).

## CHAPTER FOUR



Figure 4.26 The Crisis of the Foreign Invasion with Railways (SZRB, 14 April 1908).

The Dongqing Railway was started in 1897 and completed in July 1903. Six months later, Russia declared war against Japan for Russia's benefits in northeast China but eventually lost. The result of the war reversed the situation in the Manchurian region: Japanese influence rose while Russia's declined. With American intermediation in 1905, Russia and Japan signed the Treaty of Portsmouth in which Russia guaranteed to transfer to Japan the railway from Changchun 長春 to Lushun 旅順 and affiliated rights, benefits, and property including the coal mine. The Chinese government originally expected to expel all foreign military forces through the Treaty but failed. After Japanese delegates and Chinese representatives signed a treaty concerning the northeastern provinces in 1906, the Qing court acknowledged that Japan legitimately inherited all rights and profits that Russia used to enjoy in the area. Afterward, the section of the railway was renamed as Nanman 南滿 (southern Manchuria) Railway. Although the ordinances of management noted that the railway company's shares were held together by Japanese and Chinese governments and people, the arrangement never functioned as stated. The Nanman Railway turned out to be a Japanese government-merchant cooperative railway company, in which the Japanese government owned more than half the shares and controlled the railroad's business (Zeng 1973, 197-199; Tan 2016, 193-194, 420-421, 426)

Originally dubbed the Guandong 關東 Railway, the Guanneiwei 關內外 Railway (the Beijing-Shenyang Railway) was established for the safety of northeastern China (Ma 2005, 182). From 1887, Russia actively infiltrated Korea, attempted to occupy the Korean territory, and manipulated Korean politics. In 1890, Korea agreed to open commercial ports and, owing to other foreign powers' instigations, endeavored to change the suzerain-tributary relationship with China. To avoid the situation from worsening, China decided to build a railway from Beijing to the northeastern provinces (Zhu 2006, 281-283). However, the shortage of funds slowed progress; the Qing government had to make foreign loans to continue the project. The

## CHAPTER FOUR

loans incited a conflict between Russia and Britain in which Russia deemed that China should make loans for the railway and collaborate with Russia because the railway went to northeast China, viz., Russia's area of influence. Ignoring Russia's protest, Britain insisted on participating in the project to compensate for its loss in the Luhan Railway's (Lugouqiao-Hankou) 盧漢鐵 competitive bidding: Belgium was ostensibly the beneficiary but, in fact, the winners were Belgium's secret supporters, Russia and France (2005; 1976; 1996).<sup>150</sup> For these controversies, the Chinese government, at the very beginning, had selected to cooperate with Britain to balance different foreign powers in China. Namely, the Qing court hoped that Britain abated Russian influence in northeastern China, just like Russia reduced the British influence in the region of the Yangtze River (Ma 2005, 182). With the help of foreign funds, the Guanhai Railway hastened to completion in three years, but the whole process set up a negative model in Chinese railway construction: i.e., railway projects that necessitated foreign loans (Xu et al. 1996, 486).

The Huhangyon (the Shanghai-Hangzhou-Ningpo Railway) was formally known as Suhangyong 蘇杭甬 (Soochow-Hangzhou-Ningpo Railway). In 1905, the original station was moved from Soochow to Shanghai (Hu 滬); the railway was hence renamed the Huhangyong Railway. According to a preliminary contract signed in 1898 by the Chinese government and the British company Jardine Matheson & Co, the Suhangyong Railway (Soochow-Hangzhou-Ningpo Railway) was to be built through a British loan as well as under British supervision (Y. Xu et al. 1996, 490-491). Yet, the project was postponed for years due to the political turbulence of the time. In 1903, the local gentlemen and bourgeois elites in the provinces of Jiangsu 江蘇 and Zhejiang 浙江 (later abbreviated as Jiangzhe 江浙) established a railway company and subsequently urged the government court to end the deal. The Qing court accordingly requested that the contract be nullified because the plan deviated from the schedule but the British government did not agree. As soon as the British finally began the construction

---

<sup>150</sup> The Luhan Railway is very significant in the history of Chinese railways. It was the first Railway that the Qing court constructed initiatively after the Sino-Japanese War. The defeat of the war made the Qing court conscious of the importance of the railway and decided to build a north-south railway to strengthen the national defense. Oscillating between reliance on Chinese merchants' funds and foreign loans, the awkward financial situation forced the Qing court to choose the latter as a solution. Different foreign powers were involved in the loan; the participation of construction of the Chinese railway became their battlefield to grab the benefit in this land. At last, the Chinese government chose a small country Belgium for the balance of other great powers' influence, but Belgium actually secretly cooperated with France and Russia. The whole loan process did not go well with what China expected. The negotiations regarding the contract only led China little by little to lose rights of administration, employment of the staff, and etc. The most serious is that the contract set a vicious model for China of the mortgage secured upon the right of managing trains 行車管理權. The mode rendered Chinese railway businesses under foreign control over a long period of time. More details about the loan of the Luhan Railway, see Lee (1972: 117-174); Ma (2005: 166-180); Xu et al. (1996: 472-481).

## CHAPTER FOUR

in 1907, the Qing government resumed the loan process. This measure infuriated the circle of gentry and merchants in the Jiangzhe area (江浙), who were inspired by the 1905 success of reclamation of the Yuehan 粵漢 railway concession (the American Canton-Hankow Railway) and fervently demanded termination of the loan plans and launched a series of protests. In order to pacify public anger, the Qing court invited [the] local representatives to Beijing the contract; however, the negotiation did not meet the people's needs. In 1908, pressured by the British government, the Qing court signed a new agreement with some minor modifications. The result right away aroused turmoil in the Jiangzhe area, which lasted for a while but at last calmed down (Xu et al. 1996, 491-493; Ma 2005, 219-232; Lee 1972).

As most researchers note, the Huhangyong Railway concession was part of the large late-Qing railway rights protection movement that accelerated the overturn of the Qing empire. The historian Ma Linghe 馬陵合 (2005, 232-233), instead, focuses on contradictions in the whole story. In his view, the incident unveils a complicated and inevitable compromise between the popular strength, the government, and the foreign power. Even within the Jiangzhe people, the divergent opinions of realists and nationalists came into sharp conflict.

Against the backdrop of the entanglements of the late Qing railway projects and the foreign loans, Figure 4.26 underscores the discrepant positions of China and the foreign powers in these incidents. China is depicted as an elder surrounded by three fierce young men with arms akimbo, who do not surrender their profits in the railway construction to any countries (even China). The English man holds a sword, an intimidating image that insinuates his resolution to protect and expand Britain's political and commercial benefits. He threatens with the lethal weapon anyone who violates his rights. Russia and Japan stand straight and look down at China, both physically and mentally. Yet, if considering the development of the railway as an epitome of these foreign powers' tense diplomatic interaction, their scowls might be no less at each other than at China. In effect, not dealing with the powers respectively, China was helplessly positioned among them, unavoidably involved in their interest entanglements. The caricature reveals China's awkward situation in which she could not interfere with anything happening in her own territory; viz., China was the one to be decided rather than to decide.

By contrast, Figure 4.27 illustrates China as a child, but, contrary to Liang's expectation, he is ignorant and defenseless. The caricature points out another Chinese financial problem concerning military development. In 1861, the Qing court decided to strengthen its military power by learning western science and technology and, from 1864 to 1868, developed a

## CHAPTER FOUR

massive military industry in four cities, Nanjing 南京, Jinling 金陵, Fuzhou 福州, and Tianjin 天津. Despite taking no foreign loans in particular to establish these new military factories, the re-appropriation of the national budget nevertheless led the government to amend other financial deficits by taking out foreign loans (Xu et al. 1996, 264-277). To encourage the military industry aims to achieve the goal of self-sufficiency in manufacturing ships, weapons, and the like, most loans of the Qing court were, besides indemnities, for military purposes, such as the purchase of arms and ammunition. China's reliance on the foreign supply of military equipment exposed the Qing's feeble national defense as ridiculed Figure 4.27 (1996, 639-642). Attracted by an elderly western man who plays a rattle-drum, a Chinese child approaches a platform that signifies a western store that sells military weapons 軍裝洋行 and observes two warships and a cannon. The toys allude to China's limited capability in self-strengthening advanced military facilities. The irony in the caricature is to liken China's military power to child's play, which reminds the Chinese people of the urgency to enhance the nation's defense.

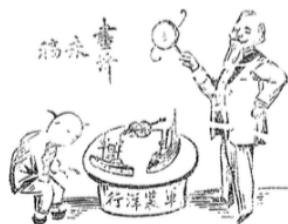


Figure 4.27 Criticism Illustration (*SZRB*, 28 April 1908).



Figure 4.28 Taking Up Someone's Breath (*MXRB*, 13 November 1909).

Figure 4.28 presents yet another mode of the elder-youth relationship by satirizing the late Qing craze for western learning. The drawing compares the Chinese-western relationship to mother and son. In a western-style room, a western woman holds a Chinese child on her lap and tells the child stories while she also holds a card with letters of the English alphabet and

## CHAPTER FOUR

two Chinese characters: wenpin 文憑 (diplomats). Entitled “Taking Up Someone’s Breath” 仰承鼻息, the child is depicted as inhaling the mother’s breath. As aforementioned, the craze for learning English during the late Qing indicates a political orientation toward westernization, an inclination that often created confusion and uneasiness among contemporaries. The difference of body sizes indicates an obvious asymmetry between China and the West in light of acquisition of knowledge and further insinuates, as portrayed by the huge western mother, seemingly represents a threat to the Chinese child, a rendering of the family relationship as snobbish and practical, far from warm and intimate.

Back to Figure 4.26, one can find two other political metaphors related to “Youth China”: a sleeping China and a national partition (Guafen 瓜分, dividing the melon). The German sinologist Rudolf Wagner, in his two insightful papers, delineates in detail the birth, usage and dissemination of two political propositions at a global level and then points out that Chinese caricaturists cleverly turned the concepts into the drawings.<sup>151</sup> Based on these observations, he argues that the abstract metaphors bear a sense of ubiquity, an essence of transculturality. Besides various examples of sleeping China as unveiled in Wagner's paper, we can see how the caricaturists wittily merged this metaphor with Chinese idioms in creating caricatures. Figure 4.29 for instance, connects the image of sleeping China with a well-known idiom “One cannot capture the young tiger without entering the tiger’s den.” 不入虎穴焉得虎子. It means that “nothing ventured, nothing gained.” Abbreviating the idiom to “Into the Tiger’s Den” 入虎穴, the caricature presents an ironic scene in which the westerner easily enters the tiger den and seizes the young tiger because the adult tiger, which symbolizes the Chinese government, is asleep. The caricature ascribes the national peril to a sleeping government: a senseless and motionless political entity.

The concept of partition (guafen 瓜分) articulates the discourse of victimization most sharply. Obviously, Figure 4.30 compares China to a melon partitioned by foreign powers. A 1907 essay in *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 (The Eastern Miscellany) reminds Chinese audiences of the crisis by using the term Ganfen 瓜分. The caricature chastises the Chinese government for continuing the mode of constructing railways with foreign loans. The manner was indeed the strategy being used by foreign powers to partition China (以遂瓜分之策), because the Chinese government could in no way repay the loans so that, as a result, the foreign powers could legitimately control China’s railways and other relevant benefits (“Lun tielu

---

<sup>151</sup> See Wagner (2011, 4-139; 2017, 9-122).

## CHAPTER FOUR

guoyouzhuyi” Lun tielu guoyouzhuyi yu minyouzhuyi zhi deshi 1907). The Figure 4.30’s comparison of China to a melon echoes the collective fear of the time. Although losing railroad rights one after another, China, the old man, nevertheless, falls asleep, ignoring several imminent crises. The melon was about to be divided. The connotation of the contrast between sleeping and awakening is obvious, indicating China’s vulnerability to the foreign powers. If we consider the notion of the late Qing inattentiveness as similar to sleeping, the negative and miserable caricature might seem to be slightly positive. China was only sleeping and, therefore, did not surrender all the nation’s power that would be retrieved after awakening (Wagner 2011, 61). The old man’s embracing of the melon, some might believe, was an attempt to maintain China intact.<sup>152</sup>



Figure 4.29 Into the Tiger’s Den (*SB*, 17 December 1907).



Figure 4.30 Chinese Crisis of Economic Partition by the Powers (*SZRB*, 25 August 1909).

Nearly all debts-related caricatures are variations of pictorial compositions of “*guafen*” 瓜分. Figure 4.30 is typical of such a visual presentation. In June 1909, after a series of controversies, a consortium of three nations – England, France, and Germany – was formed to extend loans for the construction of the Huibei Guangdong Railway (to combine two railways: the Yuehan Railway and the Chuanhan Railway). Annoyed by giving up the Yuehan Railway loans, America was agitated and protested this three-nation loan plan that deliberately ignored American benefits. The American president, William Howard Taft (1857–1930), even personally contacted the Qing court to express discontent regarding this issue. With multilateral

<sup>152</sup> For the through exploration on the metaphor of *Guanfen* 瓜分 (partition) used in foreign and Chinese contexts and its transcultural influence, see Wagner (2017): “Dividing up the [Chinese] Melon, *guafen* 瓜分.”

## CHAPTER FOUR

mediations, America finally joined the consortium in August 1909 (Xu et al. 1996, 511-512). Based on these affairs, Figure 4.30 illustrates England, Germany, and France carving up the melon based on loans that ironically represented much of the Chinese economy. Yet, that was not all, as the United States loan was almost a done deal. The caricature adopted the popular metaphor of dividing the melon to reveal how foreign loans were depriving the Chinese government of its economic autonomy.

“The Phenomenon of The Foreign Powers Slicing up China” 外人鬻割之現象 (Figure 4.31) features the foreign partition as a banquet scene. In the caricature, some foreigners are dining together; some of them having already been served. The figure, upper left, is a French man with his serving of Annam 安南 (Vietnam). Next to him, a British man is ready to consume Weihaiwei 威海衛 (Haiwei 海衛). The dish of Annam indicates that a diplomatic defeat in losing China’s suzerainty to Vietnam. After the Sino-French war (1843-1845), Vietnam, based on the China-French Treaty of Tientsin, was no longer a tributary to China and, instead, succumbed to France.<sup>153</sup> The British plate of food, symbol of Weihaiwei in the caricature, points to yet another setback. In March 1898, Russia leased the port of Lushun 旅順 in northeast China and readily took control of Bohai Bay 渤海灣. Britain perceived the action as a military and economic threat and consequently requested to lease Weihaiwei, a seaport in the Jiaozhou peninsula 膠州半島, located opposite Lushun across the Bohai Bay. In July, the British succeeded in entering and stationing troops in the region, thereby installing military facilities and controlling the Bay, as well (Lee 1992, 181-182; Wang 1967, 26-39).<sup>154</sup>

The figure at the upper right, with nothing on his plate, stares enviously at the others’ food. The roasted pig, the emblem of China, the centerpiece of the table, rests on a platter, ready to be divided up among the foreigners, who, in the lower register, appear to be quarreling over their portions. The most satirical element in the caricature is that of the Chinese official who serves alcohol to the guests, representing the profits squeezed from China’s railways and mines while China remained submissive and voiceless.

---

<sup>153</sup> It took nearly one year from drafting to signing the Treaty of Tientsin for China and France. In between, the war and subsequent negotiation were still going on. About all of the controversies, see Liao (2002: 379-390, 753-786) and Long (1996, 203-272, 356-367); Li (2010). The situation of Vietnam under French colonization, see Anh (1985).

<sup>154</sup> For the background, the ruling strategies and the aftermath of the British control on Weihaiwei, see Davis and Gowen (2000), “The British at Weihaiwei: A Case Study in the Irrationality of Empire.”



## CHAPTER FOUR



Figure 4.31 The Phenomenon of The Foreign Powers Slicing up China (*MHRB*, 18 May 1909).

With an emphasis on the asymmetrical power relationship that caused China to become victimized, these scenarios also express a deep hankering for a symmetrical global setting in which China exists equally with the foreign powers. Such hopes, however, rendered ironic in the caricatures: a dream fulfilled by numerous partitions and only leading China to a condition of pseudo-symmetry. In Ma Xingchi's "A Sale with Five Percent Discount" 九五扣大拍賣 (Figure 4.32), the Chinese official at the left, seeking to be as tall as the western businessman, removes his own hat and kneels, appearing to beg the westerner for money as indicated by his hat worn upside down. The official at the right stands on several blocks that symbolize China's railways, mines, territories, and territorial waters expressing his desire to become as tall as the gigantic westerner. The blocks on which the Qing official stands are inscribed with China's territorial and economic disputes, including the protest against the Suhangyong railway, the military conflict on the Xi River, and others.



Figure 4.32 A Sale with Five Percent Discount (*SZRB*, 15 December 1907).

Among the incidents mentioned on the blocks, those concerning Suhangyong Railway

## CHAPTER FOUR

蘇杭甬鐵路, Tongguanshan mine 銅官山,<sup>155</sup> the Jiandao 間島,<sup>156</sup> and the Xijiang Basin 西江流域 are discussed in this or will be in the next Chapter.<sup>157</sup> The other incidents reveal similar deprivation of Chinese sovereignty. The Puxin Railway (Pukou-Xinyang) 浦信鐵路 was one of five railroads that Britain asked to construct in 1898; of which three railways soon received the Qing court's promises to take out loans, inclusive of the Puxin Railway. Not long afterwards, this north-south railway was extended as the Huning Railway (Shanghai-Nanjing) 滬寧鐵路 (Zeng 1973, 566). As the scholar Shellen Xiao Wu points out, "the exploitation of natural resources" indexes the discrepancy of "power between the colonizer and the colonized (2015, 130)." China, despite not being completely colonized, exemplifies the situation. The Mindianjin 閩滇晉 mines refer to the mines in three provinces Fujian 福建, Yunnan 雲南, and Jiangxi 江西. Those in Jiangxi were intertwined mostly with the foreign loans from British and Japanese companies (Xu et al. 1996, 523-526, 533- 551).<sup>158</sup>

With respect to the territorial waters, the Yangtze River 揚子江 had been a sphere of British influence since the Nanjing Treaty in 1842. As shown in "The Situation in the Far East" (Shijutu 時局圖), the British bulldog/tiger sits on the Yangtze River Basin (Wagner 2011, 13 and 20). In 1898, while leasing Weihaiwei from China, the British also requested to confirm its privileged status in this region for fear that other foreign powers would try to compete. The

---

<sup>155</sup> The Mount Tongguan 銅官山 issue was a commercial dispute between an English merchant (John L. Kaye, representative of London and China Co.) and China's Anhui Provincial government regarding mineral rights in Mount Tougguan. In 1904, John L. Kaye, representative of London and China Co., signed a contract with the Qing court regarding the mine in Tongguanshan. However, during that entire year, the British company sent only a few experts to prospect the mine without actually initiating the project. The Anhui government, therefore, recognized that Kaye had violated the contract and returned the mining rights to the Anhui Mine Bureau. Disapproving China's legal assertion, the English ambassador insisted the company still held rights to the mine. To not offend the British government, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs compromised by extending the contract for two months. The concession agitated the Anhui's gentlemen and merchants, who urged to abrogate the agreement over concerns that Anhui's benefits would be severely exploited if the British company continued to hold the mineral rights. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs dared not enrage the people and continued negotiating with the British government but always failed. At the high tide of the mine rights movement, the Qing government knew the only way to solve the thorny problem was to redeem the mine of Tongguanshan. In 1910, the Chinese and British governments finally reached an agreement on the ransomed mineral rights and ended the long controversy, see Lee (1978, 163-174).

<sup>156</sup> The Jiandao event will be examined in Chapter Five.

<sup>157</sup> More analysis on the open of the Xijiang River area, see Liu (2010, 76-78).

<sup>158</sup> About the mining rights disputes and movements, cf., Lee (1978) and Wu (2015) Chapter Five: Nationalism Empires, and Mining Rights 1895-1911. Wu's contention is noteworthy. Different from most related research that regards the late-Qing mining rights movement as a victory of Chinese nationalism and anti-imperialism, Wu's study shifts the focus onto the then-current worldwide conceptual change in mineral resources that led many countries to legalize their mineral rights. Besides, the governments took initiatives to conduct geological investigations and advanced the technology of extracting invaluable mineral elements. China, just as the United States and Japan, looked into other countries' laws and made her own regulations. Wu regards China's reform in mining laws in 1900 as an echo of the global trend in shaping the new mineral concepts. The changed concept lasted till the Republican time even after the Qing was overturned, see Wu (2015, 129-159).

## CHAPTER FOUR

Qing court had hence to announce that the provinces and areas around Yangtze River would not be leased to other countries with the exception of Britain (Ma 2005, 114-115; Zeng 1973, 567). From 1842 to 1910, a series of treaties signed by China with different foreign powers rendered the Yangtze River nearly “public waters” for various foreign vassals, even including commercial and military ships (Liu 2010, 69-75).

On the upper-right side, the caption “The Equality of Rights” 權利平等 is noteworthy. Chinese literati studied the concept of rights and equality owing to the introduction of the western learning and the discrepant power relationship that resulted from the defeat of China in various wars and the ensuing unequal treaties. As the historians, Jin Guantao and Liu Qingfen (1999, 221-225) put it, the term “Quanli” was rarely used in premodern China; if and when employed, it often meant power and interest 權力與利益. The Chinese, like the westerners, from the outset understood the term from the perspective of law. In 1864, while translating *Elements of International Law* 萬國公法 into Chinese, the American missionary William Alexander Parsons Martin (1827-1916), also known by his Chinese name Ding Weiliang 丁韜良, rendered “rights” into “Quanli” denoting legitimate power and interest.

Starting with the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895), Quanli started to appear in Chinese political discourses. The crushing defeat made Chinese intellectuals experience and become aware of the loss of economic and political sovereignty, which enabled them to comprehend “Quanli” from the angle of national dependency and autonomy. The term then evolved into a political term, far removed from a legal concept. Before 1900, “Quanli” referred mainly to the nation and the community 國家與群體, thereby underscoring the unequal status of China and the foreign powers. After the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901), the usage shifted to the individual level as some scholars had already claimed in the 1898 reform that individual autonomy underlies national autonomy. Since then, the term “Quanli” has been utilized in a sense that approximates the western definition that stresses individuality. National and individual autonomies were no longer contradictory and Chinese intellectuals found it necessary to strive to achieve individual autonomy to strengthen the nation (Jin and Liu 1999, 226-242).

The shaping of the concept of “Pingdeng” 平等 (Equality) in modern China, according to the literary scholar, Chiu Wei-Yun (2015, 379-386), proceeded in similar phases to “Quanli” (rights). Taking the formation model proposed by Jin Guantao and Liu Qingfeng, Chiu points out that from 1860 to 1894, the concept of equality circulated in China without difficulty

## CHAPTER FOUR

because a similar idea already existed.<sup>159</sup> As exemplified by Kang Youwei, who accepted the concept of equality and tried to explain it from the angle of traditional Confucianism and of subjects related to subjects in China and the West. The defeat of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 forced China to enter the phase of learning western knowledge and systems (1895-1915). Chinese intellectuals directly adopted the concept of equality as a means to save the nation, endeavoring to bring it to public and private arenas. However, the attempt was challenged by the traditional family value, especially the issue of women's status.

In the Wuxu period when diverse political thoughts were accepted and produced 戊戌思潮 (1895-1898), most equality-related propositions focused on how China could obtain an equal international status to that of the Western powers. Moreover, China also encountered a situation in which East-Asian countries such as Japan and Korea, formerly China's tributary states, discarded the worldview of China as the center of the world and demanded to be treated as equals of China. The problem of inequality between nations was not a sensitive issue until China lost the war against Japan, which seemingly justified the power of the strong to mistreat the weak, as embodied in numerous unequal treaties. These profound changes drew China's attention to diplomatic concerns about national equality. After the Boxer Rebellion (1900-1901), Chinese intellectuals realized that the only way for China to elevate its international status was to become a strong nation. Their concerns hence shifted inward to political reforms and the quality of life for the Chinese people (2015, 386-389). By improving China's condition, the intellectuals believed, China could become equal in status to Western powers.

From the development of the two political terms – Quanli 權利 (right) and Pingdeng 平等 (Equality)-- we can understand the Chinese mentality of becoming aware of and adapting to changing political situations. “The Equality of Rights” 權利平等 became the guideline for China to deal differently with diplomatic issues than in the past. The caricature yet reveals the incongruity between the expectation and the reality. The greatest irony in the caricature appears

---

<sup>159</sup> Jin and Liu argue that the formatting process of modern political concepts in China can be divided into three phases: from the mid Qing dynasty to the Sino-Japanese War and the Self-Strengthen Movement (1860-1894), from after the Sino-Japanese War to before the May Fourth Movement (1895-1915) and the May Fourth Movement and hereafter (1916-1924). In the each of the phases, Chinese had different attitudes to the western concept. The first phase is called “the Period of Selective Absorption” 選擇性吸收階段. Chinese accepted the western conceptions following Chinese existent political culture and notions. They rejected those which had never come to being in the Chinese tradition. The second is dubbed as “the Period of Learning” 學習階段. Chinese were open to receive modern western notions without refusal. A number of foreign ideologies were introduced into China in this time. The third is “the Period of Reconfiguration” 重構階段. Chinese reconfigured these foreign concepts and knowledge based on the Chinese context. They focused on how these new concepts could react to Chinese state-building and rapid changing society. See Chiu (2005, 380-389, 404-407).

on the third-layer block inscribed Zhongguo 中國 (China), suggesting that the entire country, rather than just a single region, was being offered for sale. Together, all the ironies contribute to a state of “pseudo-symmetry” that China maintained at the expense of national esteem and interests. The simile of “the special discount” testified to the caricaturist’s acumen in perceiving the asymmetrical essence in the then-current situation, thus creating a corresponding pictorial figurative language.

### 4.3.2 A Symmetry in Power: Caricatural Presentations in 1918 *Shanghai*

#### *Poke*

*Shanghai Poke*’s caricatures is somehow different from caricatures of victimization since the late Qing by conveying a more critical but slightly hopeful attitude as a participant with regard raising China onto the global stage. In the early Republican era, the caricatures of victimization decreased in number, suggesting that China’s chaotic domestic political situation had become the caricaturists’ main concern, also that China’s international relationship with the powers had seemingly improved, despite many ongoing territorial and economic conflicts. Not until the First World War did Chinese diplomatic caricatures modify their motifs in dealing with international events. With that change, China’s image was transformed from that of a victim to an active participant in world affairs. That pictorial turnabout echoed the Chinese government’s discourse and the public’s attitude toward creating a new world order and joining the international community on an equal status as a result of playing a role in the Great War (Xu 2005, 164-167, 246-277; S - c. Chen 2009, 103-106). China’s desire to become active in the world of nations shaped the new mode of Chinese diplomatic caricatures that directly and straightforwardly criticized and commented on global affairs through their satirical language of visibility. An examination of several caricatures demonstrates how the caricatures depicted the Great War as well as how diverse visual metaphors were employed to illustrate both the causes of the war and appeals for a truce.

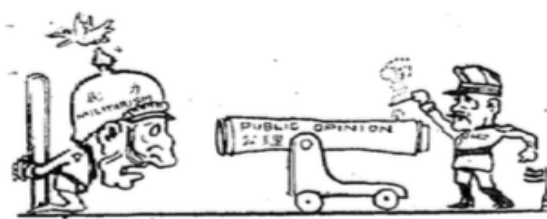


Figure 4.6 Untitled (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 November 1918).

China’s high expectations and enthusiasm for the approaching peace conference are

## CHAPTER FOUR

reflected especially well by caricatures and essays published by *Shanghai Poke*. For example, a caricature by Shen Bochen (Figure 4.6) equates the war victory with the efficacy of public opinion and the demise of militarism.<sup>160</sup> A cannon, representing public opinion, aimed at the German Kaiser with a flag flying at a hamlet in the distant background, symbolizes militarism. Shen was also deeply concerned about the coming peace conference. An editorial in the fourth issue of *Shanghai Puck*, entitled “China as a “Participant in the Coming Peace Conference,” praises the arrival of peace, stating that despite the sacrifice of many lives and much money, “the struggles between Right and Humanism, between Reason and Decency, and between Permanent Peace of the World distinguished the wrongs from the rights.” What brought the war to an end was “the strength of Reason and Decency.” Therefore, the coming peace conference was predicted to make 1919 a “stupendous year.”

The peace conference, the editorial continued, would offer not only an occasion for the Allies to discuss demands and returns “for the pains and sufferings undergone and the services rendered” but also to provide an avenue for making “a peace law and some fresh arrangements based on the modernized policy of Humanity and mutual Help.” The aim of the conference was envisioned by the editor as a way to “convert all wrongs into the right.” Based on those principles, China was predicted to be granted a seat among the powers as a result of its contribution to the war effort.



Figure 4.9 Untitled (*Shanghai Poke*, November 1, 1918).

However, the conference did not proceed as the Chinese government expected. Many secret agreements at the conference, especially between Japan and the other Powers, resulted in a situation extremely unfavorable to China. The conference outcome, at last, disillusioned

---

<sup>160</sup> In the other, Germany was depicted as a bull dragged by Britannia Goddess, an embodiment of England.

## CHAPTER FOUR

China.<sup>161</sup> The disappointment with the conference provoked many caricatures. These images display the caricatural techniques that Chinese caricaturists had learned and practiced since the late Qing. In the following sections, I will demonstrate how Chinese caricaturists imported, imitated, and adopted foreign caricatures into the Chinese historical context. During the World War I, the adoption of foreign caricatures can be found in which caricaturists borrowed “visual voices” from outside China to attack its enemies as well as to defend China. By re-contextualizing the foreign images, the Chinese public’s indignation as well as support for the Chinese delegates at the peace conference were legitimized.

In a caricature mentioned above, “Mr. Earth’s Weary Party after the War” (Figure 4.9), Mr. Earth hosts a feast to which the Allies are invited. The main course is militarism, embodied in a pig’s head with four knives ready to carve the main course. From the ceiling of the dining hall hang national flags, like banners, symbolizing their alliance. As host, Mr. Earth’s weariness and worries are seen in the bandages around his head. Even so, he serves the guests portions of pork. The caption states: “The encouragement to drink is what the guests naturally expect.” Everyone has his own goblet full of red wine, cheerfully conversing, waiting for his plate of food to be served. In the foreground, a frustrating reality is being played out between Japan and China. Sipping his wine, the Japanese man uses his ridiculously over-sized hand to prevent the Chinese man from receiving his share of pork being enjoyed by the others.

The interference agitates the Chinese man so much that he nearly jumps on top of the table. However, he is too small to even hold his goblet properly. As a result of his small size, no one around the table seems to notice or care, suggesting that China had no voice at the banquet table, a situation likely to recur at the upcoming peace conference. The caricature illustrates the unfair situation China encounter, which seems to repeat China’s victimized image. Yet, I would like to point out an important pictorial composition that China sits at the same table with the powers, which had never happened in the Qing caricatures. In comparison to Figure 4.31 that draws a Chinese official serving the foreign powers with China’s national benefits and Figure 4.32 that depicts China seeking for equality in power kneeling on or abandoning her territories and economic interests, Figure 4.9 demonstrates a scene of change that Chinese approaches a symmetric statue with the foreign powers by sharing the same table with the power. In the international issues, China had her voices to leash out.

---

<sup>161</sup> There are many studies regarding China’s failure and frustration in the Paris Peace Conference, see Xu (2005); S - c. Chen (2009); Ying (2001); Arhire and Roşu (2020), just to name some.

## CHAPTER FOUR

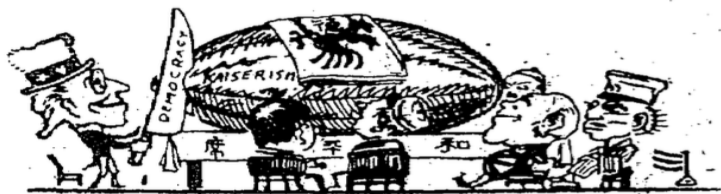


Figure 4.33 Untitled (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 November 1918).

The iconography of sitting at the same table could also be seen in another caricatures.<sup>162</sup> The third issue of *Shanghai Poke* carried a striking scene (Figure 4.33) in which the Allies sit around a table called “Seats for Peace” 和平席, sharing a tremendous watermelon that symbolizes German Kaiserism. The illustration depicts U.S. President Wilson, with a pleased smile, cutting the melon with a huge knife that signifies Democracy. The head-sizes of figures reveal the power hierarchy in the international community with the American, British, and Japanese men possessing enormous heads. Seated behind the melon is a Chinese man with a frown, his smaller head epitomizing his restricted power; nevertheless, he sits among the great powers.

Figure 4.33, in contrast to those in the late Qing and even in the early Republican era, significantly announces that China's position had changed. The late Qing caricatures, exemplified by Figure 4.26, Figure 4.30, and Figure 4.31, repeated China as a melon to be divided without any strength to fight against. This visual expression of cutting China lasted to 1912, after the Republican government was established. In 1912 *MQHB*, Qian Binghe's 錢病鶴 eight-part series extended usage of the *guanfen* 瓜分 metaphor to depict the then-current Chinese situation. Besides satirizing Yuan Shikai's government, Qina also pointed out that China was still in a crisis of foreign division. As shown in one of “Guaxi” caricature (Figure 4.34), a group of westerners tries to cut a melon into pieces by holding a gigantic knife. No doubt, the melon symbolizes China. Nevertheless, in this 1918 Shen Bochen caricature, the knife is finally cutting others than China. Figure 4.33 shows the that the big knife of democracy is ready to clatter German and her Kaiserism. China's sitting at the same table with the powers alters the decade-long visual convention of the Chinese partition, slightly reversing the power relationship. The image is therefore reinforced of China as part of the world rather than parted by the world.

<sup>162</sup> The fact that it published graphic satires against Japan stands for the escalating conflicts between two countries.



## CHAPTER FOUR

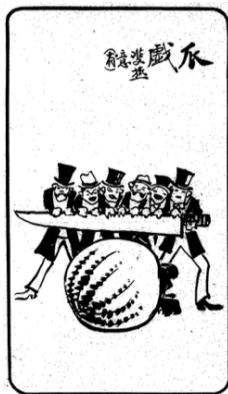


Figure 4.34 Games of Melons (*MQHB*, 6 October 1912).

Some other caricatural details also allude to the equality of China to the foreign countries in the power relationship. For example, the pictorial juxtaposition of particular symbols suggests a new world order. From the third issue on, the editorial page and last page of *Shanghai Puck* were often decorated with the countries' national flags, either in the form of an angel holding flags or as a simple "exhibition of flags." This was done intentionally in order to introduce an image of internationality. The caricature entitled 'The Question of Tsingtao' (Figure 4.35), for example, is concerned with the Japanese intention to take on what once were German profits in Shandong. In the caricature, a Chinese man and a Japanese man sit next to each other as equals; neither is inferior to the other. However, the English caption reads sarcastically 'Drink up the beer and return the bottle generously' while in the Chinese translation an addition is made at the end which openly expresses Chinese indignation: 'That is asking too much' 未免欺人太甚 (*weimian qirentaishen*).

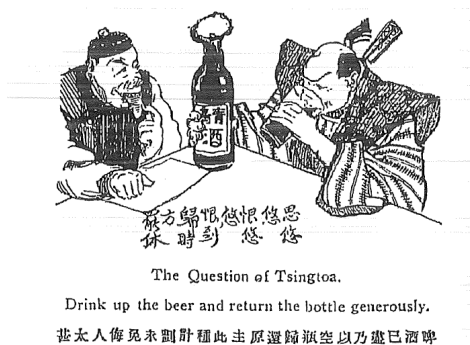


Figure 4.35 The Question of Tsingtao (*Shanghai Puck*, 1 December 1918).

These visual compositions clearly construct China's rising status and her growing concern for international issues. In earlier depictions, what so-called international issues refer mostly to China's collision with the foreign countries within China, not outside her borders. This might be a residue of the past when China had thought of herself as the centre of the world.

## CHAPTER FOUR

Now, Shen's two Pokes opened the world to its readers. International inequalities still exist, but China is starting to get involved internationally. The tenor of the satirical images in Shen's two Pokes now is "we face the same problems as others"; instead of the earlier "we have problems with others."

For instance, Shen's caricatures often demonized Germany and, in particular, Japan that had essentially become China's number one enemy in the war. However, Shanghai Poke caricatures the German Kaiser and his prince for waging the war, instead of illustrating the conflicts in Shandong, as a caricature in the third issue of *Shanghai Puck* portrays. The caricature presents German Kaiser, Wilhelm II (1859-1941), vaulting over the Crown Prince Wilhelm (1882-1951) and moving forward, as depicted in "The Kaiser and the Crowns Prince," (Figure 4.36). The caricature shows the two German politicians in a dark and emotionless fashion, their faces are intimidating as if they were approaching a military force. The caption states, "making it easy for him," a condemnation of the Crown Prince for his assistance in giving the German Kaiser military support.



The Kaiser and the Crown prince  
Making it easy for him!  
死力在男子大德德軍入德武德兵部之危險

Figure 4.36 The Kaiser and the Crowns Prince (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 November 1918).

Dealing with China's conflicts with foreign powers, Shen approached these issues by elevating them to international affairs. Therefore, these caricatures hold a more critical than victimized attitude to judge these disputes. During and after the War, it was Japan that impeded China from striving for her rights as a member of the international society. Interestingly, it was obvious that Shen Bochen was turning Japanese caricatures into Chinese illustrations against Japan. For example, "Pan-American Trust" (Figure 4.37) features a caricature of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt depicted as a hugely obese, greasy king sitting at a table.<sup>163</sup> He wears a

<sup>163</sup> The whole part regarding the visual association of obese men with Pan-Americanism and Pan-Asianism is

## CHAPTER FOUR

belt displaying Pan-Americanism, an image seeking to show how the U.S. had obviously found a better way to satisfy its own interests and strengthen its power by abandoning and burning the Monroe Doctrine treaty, that is represented in the caricature as a towel. Originally meant to stop European powers from influencing the U.S., the Monroe Doctrine was later interpreted as a way for the U.S. to interfere with other countries. Because of Pan-Americanism, the Americans undertook many actions relative to other countries from which they profited. The caricature insinuates that King U.S. has just eaten two courses leaving behind remains labeled: Cuba and the Philippines. America's greed not yet satisfied, the world map on the wall suggests that King U.S. will soon start a search for his next "meal."

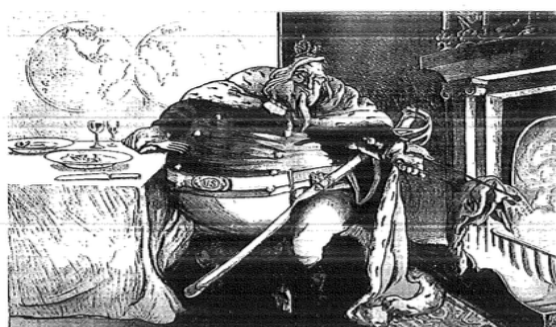


Figure 4.37 Pan-American Trust (*Tokyo Puck*, 15 October 1906).

The Japanese caricature was meant as a smear campaign against the U.S., who advocated Pan-Americanism and put it into practice with the obese, clumsy body alluding to America's foolishness and rapacity. At the same time, the caricature sent a message to the Japanese society that the U.S. may soon stretch out its claws and wield huge influence over Japan, thus accomplishing the King's goal to bring the entire globe to his "table."

Japan, in turn, adopted a similar strategy - Pan-Asianism/Great Asianism - proposed in the early twentieth century, urging that the ideology be used in Asia's fight against Western imperialism by uniting in solidarity and creating a continental identity to perpetuate Asian hegemony. Gradually, Pan-Asianism became the excuse to justify Japan's invasion, for example, into China. Therefore, from the Chinese perspective, Pan-Asianism served as a rationalization for Japanese military aggression and political absorption. Under the cover of solidarity and cooperation, Japan attempted to assert control over China and the rest of East Asia.

---

cited from my previous paper on *Shanghai Poke*, see Wu (2013, 385-386).

## CHAPTER FOUR



Figure 4.38 Untitled (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 September 1918).

In the first issue of *Shanghai Poke*, Shen caricatured a similarly obese man, incapable of maintaining proper posture due to his hugely oversized belly (Figure 4.38). Two symbols reveal his national identity: the traditional kimono and slippers plus Mount Fuji, in the background. Also, the man wears a “Pan-Asianism” sash wrapped around his extraordinary girth, likened to a huge balloon about to burst. The caricature makes a clear visual declaration that it would be impossible, without limitation, for Japan to keep expanding under the camouflage of Pan-Asianism.

The Chinese caption satirizes Japan with a parody of an ancient Chinese proverb, “The sun goes down after midday; the moon is eclipsed after a full moon” with wording that is changed to “The sun goes down after midday; the belly explodes after being sated” (rizhong ze ze, fuman se lie 日中則昃, 腹滿則裂). Shen reversed the letter sun (ri 日) to literally and symbolically signify Japan (*rihen* 日本) and the sun (ri 日) on the Japanese national flag. Thus, Shen mocked Japan's future in the same way that *Tokyo Puck* had mocked the U.S.”<sup>164</sup> In these two caricatures, we see a web of satirical exchanges as well as the way that content and apparent asymmetries could be reversed in the process. Changes in the selection and modification of pictorial elements from satire magazines worldwide thus revealed changing views of the power of China and of Chinese public opinion.

Scholars tend to emphasize that Chinese nationalism was in concert with victimization (Zhao 2013; Callahan 2004; Woods and Dickson 2017). Since the early twentieth century Chinese nationalism has been developing based on the statement that West victimized China. Against that backdrop, studies of early caricatures tend to emphasize how caricatures serve as an effective visual medium to reveal the history of the foreign powers victimizing the Chinese people. This chapter, however, presents a different perspective. While victimhood is doubtlessly one of the central characteristics of Chinese nationalism, Shen Bochen and his two

---

<sup>164</sup> The paragraphs citation ends here.

Pokes did not stick to that discourse, but instead, attempted to reverse, rather than strengthen, the asymmetrical power relationship between China and the West highlighting the sense of China-as-a-victim and humiliation.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

Chapter Four examines the massive translation of humorous magazines done by Chinese caricaturist, also as a culture broker, Shen Bochen, which I regard as the second period of domesticating western-style humorous magazine in China (1918 – 1919). The representative publications are Shen Bochen and his two Pokes 潑克: the 1918 humorous magazine, *Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克 and SSXB's supplement of Poke 潑克 (1918-1919). The reason why this period is so short is because a lung disease caused Shen's sudden death in 1920. In 1928, ten years after publication of *Shanghai Poke*, *Shanghai manhua* 上海漫畫 (Shanghai Sketch) made a special page for memorizing Shen Bochen. Two noted Shanghai caricaturists, Ding Song 丁悚 (1891-1972) and Zhang Guangyu 張光宇 (1900-1965), were invited to contribute mourning articles. In "Wangyou bochen" 亡友泊塵 (My Deceased Friend, Bochen), Ding (1928) mentioned Shen's death when recollecting memories of socializing and working with Shen. In his accounts, Shen had been in a bad condition for a long time. Additionally, the heavy workload worsened his health to the extent that he was inflicted with lung disease for two time. In "Heibai Huajia" 黑白畫家 (a Black-Write Painter), Zhang (1928) also mentioned it is so many paining works as to cause Shen's tragedy.

What the two caricaturists commonly broach is Shen's personality. Ding depicts Shen as an unsociable with a strong sense of justice so he cannot bear any wrongdoings. Such personality makes him taciturn, especially to those he is unfamiliar with, who therefore deem Shen arrogant. With friends, however, Shen loved sharing his witty and cynical criticism of the current situations. Similarly, Zhang describes Shen as easily enraged by and hence often cursed society's absurdities but still standing out against the evils. Yet, in Zhang's view, Shen's negative reactions to all happenings show a narrow-minded predisposition to the degree that nothing could please him.

As a pioneer practitioner of Chinese caricatures, Shen achieved many high-quality and influential caricatures with profound thoughts and delicate pictorial compositions, one of which even gave umbrage to the foreign authorities, nearly causing international negotiations. It is the great power exerted by Shen's caricature that Ding eulogized as he could not find such

## CHAPTER FOUR

caricatural power in his time. Also, Zhang extolled the far-reaching effect of Shen's caricatures but doubted whether the people in Chinese journalism of Shen's time could appreciate his caricatures' extraordinariness. Here, Zhang raises an issue of how caricatures balanced popularity and artistry, which might not be an eminent question in Shen's time but a research theme for Chinese caricaturists from the end of the 1920s onward, for caricatures had developed a known painting genre in China.

With very little information about Chinese caricaturists of the time, these two memorial articles about Shen appeared rare and valuable. They help us realize Shen's life and personality from contemporaries and mostly importantly, offered us a historical context which Shen and his two pokes located in and responded to, a primary theme of this chapter. This chapter revealed how the Western genre of humorous magazine made its inroads into the "Chinese-language" public sphere and began to wield power over public concerns which derived from China's peculiar "semi-colonized" status. As the first Chinese-language humorous magazine, Shanghai Poke shows itself in constant engagement with satirical publications worldwide. The Pucks and versions of Punch from which it draws its visual material are seen to belong to one global community of critical journals to which the Chinese journals such as the "Shanghai Poke" also belong. As such, "Shanghai Poke" and the following *SSXB*'s supplement "Poke" took up its responsibilities within and for Chinese society, in the same way that similar magazines in Europe and elsewhere did. It expended its efforts in drawing satirical portraits of current politics, denouncing social evils and political chicanery, criticizing what was felt as unfair, and reflecting public opinion, fearlessly, often against its own government and officials which were increasingly under attack after the diplomatic disaster at the Versailles Peace Treaty Negotiations and the ensuing May Fourth demonstrations in 1919.

Shen's two Pokes attempt to advocate China's participation and acceptance in global affairs is of great significance. On the pages of the "Shanghai Poke", one can see the urge to comment on international issues and the call for China's inclusion in the global community. In these images, and in the bilingual texts that accompany them, the Chinese, instead of assuming the role of weak victims, present themselves as forward-thinking participants in global imaginaries, sitting at the same table with others, sharing a drink and a meal (almost) as equals and expressing their (often controversial and aptly (mis-)translated) opinions. 'Shanghai Puck', by taking up the template of the humorous magazine, thus addressed the asymmetries that came with China's semi-colonial status and attempted to not only bring the world to China but to present China to the world as well.

## CHAPTER FOUR

Chapters Three and Four examine the two phases of domesticating Western-style humorous magazines in China. In addition to periodicals, another instance of “massive translation” occurred in caricatures in newspapers and magazines: the adoption and adaptation of foreign caricatures. While following the pattern of foreign caricatures, Chinese caricaturists emphasize their roles as “translators.” These caricatures facilitated the intangible but visible flow of images and visual languages that enriched China’s visual narrative in political and social satire. The next chapter will focus on images by investigating how Chinese caricaturists practiced foreign visual caricatural languages and “translated” foreign caricatures into the Chinese context.

## **II. Images**



## Chapter 5

# Decoding the Caricatures: (Re-) Contextualizing of Foreign Caricatures

In 1903, when *The Rattle* retreated from Shanghai's journalism, a year later, *ESJW* was established. Its first issue published an article entitled "The Current Situation" 現勢 (December 15) to unmask Russia's scheme to occupy northeastern China. Accompanied by the article was the caricature of "The Image of Dividing Up Like a Melon" 瓜分中國圖 (Figure 5.1), a pictorial variation of "The Situation of the Far East" 時局圖 (Shijutu) which visualizes the misery of China being partitioned so that the Chinese audience can realize the looming situation at an glance.

"The Image of Dividing Up Like a Melon", generally accepted as the first political caricature to be printed in a Chinese-owned newspaper, has received much academic attention (Liu 2004, 72). By interpreting its visual metaphor, defining its political significance, and verifying its status as a milestone in the history of Chinese caricatures, contemporary scholars have revealed the multiple facets of the picture.<sup>165</sup> These studies have pointed out that "The Image of Dividing Up Like a Melon" embodies a complicated and transnational visual network. For example, its connection of the animal symbolism with the Chinese map resembles the long-standing European map caricatures in terms of iconography and the political essence.<sup>166</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> Much ink has been spit on "The Image of Dividing Up Like a Melon" 瓜分中國圖, just to name a few, "Shijutu han Shijutu tici" 時局圖與時局圖題詞 (1954); Wang (2005); Cheng (2013 9-10); Wagner (2011, 4-139). These researchers approach the image from various angles; Rudolf Wagner's "'Asleep' and 'Awakening': A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It," in particular, traces the image from the perspective of cultural exchange and asymmetry and sheds light on the image's transculturality. My dissertation has been deeply inspired by his insight into the association of visuals and metaphors shown in Chinese caricatures.

<sup>166</sup> Map caricatures has long existed in Europe since the eighteenth century. As Ashley Baynton-Williams demonstrated, for centuries a number of whimsical and fantastic maps appeared in Europe for a wide array of purposes (mostly political). For example, in 1886, the English Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury (1830-1903) was wrestling with the leader of the Liberty Party, William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) in the political arena over the issue of Irish Home Rule Movement. Two years later, the noted caricaturist William Mecham (1853-1902), in *St. Stephen's Review*, published a map caricature in relation to this political conflict. The caricature, "Modern St. George and The Dragon", a parody of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland*, illustrates Lord Salisbury as St. George and Gladstone as the dragon with the spiny tone out. The two politician's bodies comprise the England map. Lord Salisbury's sword hurts Gladstone, symbolizing the failure of Irish Home Rule Movement. Though supporting the movement, Gladstone failed in reaching a consensus in his party and hereafter in promoting the bill in House of Commons. By contrast, Lord Salisbury won the election in 1886. Moreover, the English caricaturist Fred W. Rose (1849-1915) has completed several map caricatures since 1877. His "Serio-Comic Map" exposes the latest European political situation by either comparing the European countries to animals or drawing on kinds of characteristic clothing as national symbols. (Zhang 2017, 6-9, 106-113, 158, 190)

## CHAPTER FIVE



Figure 5.1 The Image of Dividing Up Like a Melon (*ESJW*, 15 December 1903).

As mentioned in the introduction, the late Qing's news illustrations and books of paintings 畫譜 demonstrate the visual flow between China and foreign countries. “The Image of Dividing Up Like a Melon” is another solid evidence for such visual flow. The earliest political caricature in the Chinese-language newspaper not only attested to visual elements that were not stationary in such an asymmetrical global surrounding but also forecasted the transcultural essence of Chinese caricatures. In Chapters Three and Four, I have shown that the asymmetrical balance of world power opened the door for foreign humorous magazines from Europe to reach China, eventually leading to the birth of the first Chinese cartoon monthly. The focus of this chapter shifts to an examination of “massive translation” of caricatural visual languages in Chinese caricatures. It explores how Chinese caricaturists (re)contextualized the foreign (and also Chinese) caricatures in Chinese socio-political milieu. They created a rich and intricate visual network by imitating, adopting, and adapting the images from foreign and Chinese Publications. Their appropriation of foreign caricatures as a visual response to the then-current socio-political situation gave rise to an indigenization of global images in China. Similar to the humorous magazines at the time, I contend that the asymmetrical political and cultural situation of the world in the early twentieth century facilitated the “insertion” of foreign visual languages into Chinese visual expressional system (Wanger 2019, 24). Such pictorial exchange of caricatures reveals a complicated visual network of images that reflect visual transculturation.

## 5.1 “Translating” Foreign Caricatures



Figure 5.2 The God of Peace in the Twentieth Century (*SB*, 25 February 1908).

On February 1908, *SB* launched a caricature column entitled “Caricatures from the World” “世界漫畫”. As the title suggests, it aimed to introduce foreign caricatures to Chinese readers. The first caricature illustrates a gigantic man sitting on artillery and cannonballs, holding a huge palm leaf, an icon symbolizing victory in armed conflict. As the title makes clear, the man’s identity in the caricature and title are contradictory: “The God of Peace in the Twentieth Century” 二十世紀平和之神 (Figure 5.2). The caricature refers to military tensions that engulfed Europe leading up to World War One. Ironically, as the caricature hints, the only way to maintain peace is to possess lethal weapons. The source of the caricature is indicated: *Debao* 德報 (a German newspaper).<sup>167</sup> In the span of one month, *SB*’s column featured eight caricatures from Germany, France, and Japan, most of which contained a brief account describing the content. After an abrupt suspension, the column continued to publish foreign caricatures but not on a regular basis: for example, an Egyptian caricature appeared on 4 September 1908, followed by a Japanese caricature on 9 May 1909.

The column might imitate a 1907 *Tokyo Puck*’s column with the identical title “世界の漫画” (Figure 5.3), as later one *SB* caricature was marked as “duplicating from a Japanese newspapers” 錄日報 (Figure 5.4). However, it needs to note that *SB*’s caricatures in “Caricatures from the World” mostly are different from those in *Tokyo Puck*, indicating that *SB*’ caricaturists and editors selected these images for their own political or commercial considerations. Around the same time, publication of foreign caricatures can be found in other Chinese newspapers as well, including the Beijing-based newspaper, *BJBHTRB* and many

<sup>167</sup> *SB* did not offer more information about from which German newspaper the caricature is taken.

## CHAPTER FIVE

Shanghai-based newspapers and magazines, such as *ESJW*, *MQHB*, *SSXB*, *SZRB*, *XWHB*, *Dagonghe Ribao* 大共和日報 (Great Republican Daily), *Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克.

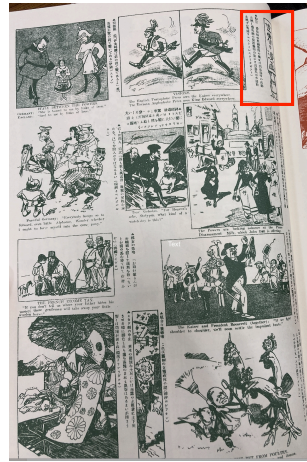


Figure 5.3 A page of “Caricatures from the World” (*Tokyo Puck*, 1 July 1907).

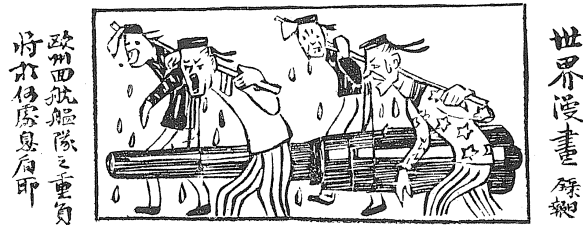


Figure 5.4 A Sample of “Caricatures from the World” (*SB*, 27 March 1908).

How did Chinese caricaturists view their jobs? Illustrations in *BJBHTRB* give us a clue. The newspaper’s caricaturist, Tatetsukane Jiron 經緯次郎 adopted many foreign caricatures from various Japanese and British publications and made representations of those caricatures available to Chinese audiences.<sup>168</sup> Interestingly, here, he used the term “yi” 譯 (to translate) (Figure 5.5), instead of “lu” 錄 (to duplicate), previously seen in Figure 5.4. In his opinion, the representations of foreign images were not simply artistic duplications but rather translation of the foreign visual symbolisms. The word of “Yi” (translating) implies Chinese caricaturists’ awareness of their responsibility to make foreign images comprehensible to Chinese readers. To bridge the gap in understanding, the caricaturists educate the Chinese audience to decipher the unfamiliar visual emblems through some measures such as offering content explanations or comments. The whole process is an integration of foreign pictures into a Chinese visual world. For instance, Chinese traditional paintings and news illustrations tend to add lengthy

<sup>168</sup> 經緯次郎 is a Japanese name, but the caricaturist should be Chinese rather than Japanese because most of his comments support China and sneer Japan. The Japanese pseudonym is used to imply that the caricatures he imitates originate from Japan.

## CHAPTER FIVE

related comments and news reports on the blank part. Figure 5.5 demonstrates how foreign caricatures were “translated” into such a format by filling out the page with “colophon” explanations and comments in calligraphy, an accustomed pictorial style to Chinese readers.



Figure 5.5 The Conflict of Jiandao (*BJBHTRB*, 11 November 1908).

The idea of “translating” foreign caricatures may indicate how Chinese caricaturists positioned themselves professionally during the late Qing’s “fever” of translating activities.<sup>169</sup> However, contemporary research on the Qing caricatures has paid scant attention to the international exchange of images, while in the field of translation caricature images are barely discussed<sup>170</sup>. As a result, caricaturists’ work in “translating” foreign caricatures has been overlooked at the time when visual and textual translation co-existed. Taiwanese historian Pan Guang-zhe (2006) has argued that late Qing newspapers, by means of “translating the news around five continents,” endeavored to “establish the public space of World knowledge” He examines the pivotal reformist newspaper in the late Qing, *Shiwubao* 時務報 (1896-1898) by focusing on its translating strategy and translated essays to see how a late Qing’s newspaper excelled in publishing foreign news. Altogether, Altogether, *Shiwubao* carried 1,706 translated essays and 58 Reuters telegrams covering news from 334 countries. This accomplishment rendered *Shiwubao* recognized as a hub of global news and knowledge and a reliable source for understanding the changing world.

<sup>169</sup> The vigorous upsurge of translation activity shows China as a nation eager to know everything western. Behind the craze for knowing the Other was the motivation to reform the Self and thereby reverse the unbalanced political-economic relationship between China and the Powers (Ye 2015, 3-5; Y. Li and Li 2000, 133-135; W. Li 2005, 1-5). A number of Chinese journalists aspired to mediate Chinese and western differences by translating and explaining foreign news to Chinese audiences. Therefore, much of the cultural negotiation and translation work took place in newspapers, as shown in Judge’s analysis of *Shibao*, *give page numbers*. Not surprisingly, newspapers that carried Chinese caricatures served as crucial media outlets for translating and publishing foreign essays. Some newspapers even carried more translations of foreign essays than Chinese essays.

<sup>170</sup> Scholarly research about translation work during that period covers a wide range of topics, including institutional establishments, the number and content of translated books, as well as relationships between translations, and western learning about Chinese literature and modernity. Most research focus on literature, concept, terms, science but seldom on images.

## CHAPTER FIVE

By comparison, Chinese caricaturists' translating visuals should not be ignored.<sup>171</sup> Take the aforementioned *SB*'s "Caricature from the World" for instance. Its title has stated a clear-cut intention to present the "World" in the newspaper. It translated caricatures from at least seven countries, testifying to the caricaturists' enthusiasm in importing "exotic" caricatures from elsewhere and helping Chinese audiences understand the content. Similar to the translated essays, the caricatures revealed not only the international situation but, more importantly, gave Chinese audiences insights into how the world viewed China. I will discuss the point in this section later. The rise of the caricatures illuminates that "the public space of World knowledge" is not limited to textual \ information but includes also visuals.

Although the caricaturist claims that he is translating images, we should still keep these questions in mind: were the caricatures actual translations or, in some cases, simply caricaturists' imitations of western-style caricatures? Chinese caricaturists generally provided very little information about the origins of their illustrations; hence, we need to be careful in evaluating the authenticity of their drawings. A phenomenon that was popular in the then-current arena of Chinese literature offers a valuable reference for this topic. Recent research has pointed out that in the late Qing as well as in the Republican era, Chinese writers were preoccupied with what is referred to as "pseudo-translations." A pseudo-translation is a translation that lacks an original text for purposes of comparison: in other words, a pseudo-translation is a literary creation in the *guise* of a translation. In the absence of disclosure by others or the translator's self-acknowledgement, a pseudo-translation in reality represented only itself yet affected the perception of audiences *as if* it were a genuine translation. "Pseudo-translations" creates a "preconception and manipulation of collective imagination of a foreign culture and a reflection of stereotypes held by local readers." In order to disguise themselves as foreign authors, Chinese writers needed a good command of a western language with convincing knowledge about its culture, history, politics, etc. At that time, Chinese writers and caricaturists alike were highly skilled at imitating western literary and visual work and such proficiency was demonstrated across many fields. For example, as an early crucial Chinese caricaturist, Zhuang Yuguan 張聿光 (1885-1968) painted stage scenery for the theater of New Stage 新舞台 by mimicking the western visual arts technique of perspective (Li 1987, 257). Some Chinese caricaturists, though trained as traditional painters at first, created their own caricatures and further shared with Chinese audiences the drawing secrets with instructive

---

<sup>171</sup> It has to be admitted that the number of translated foreign caricatures is far below that of translated foreign articles.

## CHAPTER FIVE

illustrations. For instance, they attempt to teach Chinese readers how to create pen and ink drawings 鋼筆畫, a western-style drawing techniques.<sup>172</sup>

Authenticity is undoubtedly a critical issue in this regard, but *SB* did not give more publishing details of these caricatures to the degree that it is difficult to trace their origins. To resolve such uncertainty, contemporary scholarship suggests credibility to the column. Henningsmeister's findings on the adoption of London News's illustration by *DSZHB* (1998) and Sun Liying's mapping of foreign nude images circulating in Chinese periodicals (2015) have firmly indicated a trend in adopting foreign images in Chinese journalism in the twentieth century. As part of images in newspapers and magazines, caricatures would very likely take the same approach.

Yet, even if "pseudotranslations", these caricatures deserve serious investigation as vehicles for political communication. As Chinese literature scholar Pan (2011, 18-19) emphasized in her study on Zhou Shoujun's 周瘦鷗 pseudotranslations, "instead of criticizing a work's lack of authenticity, we can attempt to understand how contemporary readers see a foreign culture by 'decoding a pseudo-translation.'" Zhou offers a good example of how a Chinese writer used his profession to meet market demands while simultaneously propagating ideologies under the "foreign gown" to attract and, more importantly, convince readers. Based on Zhou's case and the contemporary scholarship on foreign images in newspapers and magazines, this study regards Chinese caricatures marked as duplicated from foreign publications as translated caricatures, such as those in the *SB* column. Putting aside questions about the authenticity of these translated caricatures for the time being, I focus attention on the content of the caricatures to examine what message the visual (pseudo-)translations were sending to Chinese audiences.

Clearly, Chinese caricaturists translated foreign caricatures in order to inform Chinese audiences of the situation in foreign lands. For example, as described earlier, Figure 5.2 revealed martial tensions in Europe. Figure 5.4 emphasizes the pains of preparing for war by depicting four men carrying a heavy canon. Translated from *Debao* 德報 (German newspapers), Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7 unveil the threats that Germany faced after the Anglo-Russian Entente was established a year earlier, in 1907.<sup>173</sup> Figure 5.6, entitled "The Effect of Anglo-

---

<sup>172</sup> These instructional columns can be found in *Gauangzhou's Shishi Huabao* 時事畫報 (1905), Shanghai's *MQHB*, *SSB*, *THRB* and etc..

<sup>173</sup> According to Britannica Encyclopedia, it was "a pact in which Britain and Russia settled their colonial disputes in Middle East and Tibet. It delineates spheres of influence in Persia, stipulated that neither country would interfere in Tibet's internal affairs, and recognized Britain's influence over Afghanistan. The treaty led to the formation of Triple Entente." See Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Anglo-Russian Entente." Encyclopedia Britannica,

## CHAPTER FIVE

Russian Entente” 英俄協約之效果, features a swollen Russian taking an aggressive stride forward while an English man keeps inflating air into the Russian figure. The caption says “The British capital will blow up the Russian government. (英國之寶金能使俄國政府變? 充爆). The caricature unmasks the conspiracy of the two nations while also disapproving the English government’s providing the Russian government with the capital that enhanced Russia’s brutality. Figure 5.7 portrays the English government as a dreadful, hairy spider that approaches a motionless fly caught in its web, soon to be devoured by the spider. Explaining the metaphor of animals, the Chinese caption reads: “England Is the Spider That Can Catch German Flies,” (英國為蜘蛛，能擒德國蠅。).



Figure 5.6 The Effect of Anglo-Russian Entente (*SB*, 29 February 1908).



Figure 5.7 England Is the Spider That Can Catch German Flies (*SB*, 1 March 1908).

“English Whale and Russian Elephant Shake Hands” (英鯨與俄象之握手) again derides the coalition of England and Russia (Figure 5.8). The English whale is grounded on a beach where the Russian elephant reposes. The two animals lean on each other, suggesting their mutual reliance. However, the explanation under the caricature criticizes the “mismatch” on the basis of “the general principle of animals” (動物通理) and emphasizes that it is unlikely for them to shake hands for long time because terrestrial and aquatic animals by no means stand side by side (水棲陸棲不並立). The reason why the Chinese caricaturists adopted images

---

February 9, 2009. <https://shorturl.at/NTWX2> (accessed 10 February 2023). Simply speaking, the treaty was meant to impede Germany’s colonial expansion in the Middle East and Far East.



## CHAPTER FIVE

about the English and Russian relationship may not have been related to China's support of Germany. Instead, it may have reflected Chinese's fear and wrath toward the two nations that often collided with the Chinese government regarding territorial and economic affairs. Such sentiment was also aligned with Germany's resentment toward England and Russia. The adoption of caricatures that narrated events in foreign lands may have mirrored domestic tension within China.



Figure 5.8. English Whale and Russian Elephant Shake Hands (*SB*, 22 March 1908).

As mentioned above, translated foreign caricatures published in Chinese newspapers derived their meaning from external events; however, most of them may have conveyed a veiled double-meaning having to do with Chinese political events. A similar phenomenon can be found in Chinese textual translations. In fact, Pan's (2006, 6-11) analysis of *Shiwu* magazine found that most of the translations of foreign essays were China-related. During the process of translating foreign essays, Chinese translators and editors often commented the content of the foreign essays, thus propagating their ideologies that might have not been the main point of the essays. The ideologies expressed are frequently related to Chinese nationalism.



Figure 5.9 Political Caricature (*XWHB*, ca.1912).

Take for instance a series of caricatures entitled "Political Caricatures" 政治畫, which claims to have been adopted from Japanese newspapers, yet obviously intends to alert Chinese audiences to potential dangers of political division. One caricature illustrates several countries encroaching on China like silkworms nibbling on mulberry leaves (Figure 5.9). In the image,

## CHAPTER FIVE

America is portrayed as “the initiator of evil”, Uncle Sam, the American national symbol, deploying all the worms Figure 5.10 and Figure 5.11 refer to an incident regarding Outer Mongolia 外蒙古 that with strong support from Russia had claimed itself to be an independent country in 1911, when China was in revolutionary turmoil. Assisting Outer Mongolia in military and economic development, Russia signed several pacts with and demanded recognition from the newly-established Republican government. The event shocked the Chinese people, leading a national protest campaign against Russia, known as “going on punitive expedition to Mongolia” 征蒙軍 (Chang 1991, 269-270; Chiang 1912, 37-40).

In Figure 5.10 , a Mongolian soldier confidently waves toward a Chinese soldier a document of “Declaration of Independence” 宣告獨立, a political statement sent by Outer Mongolia twice in different versions to the Qing court in 1911. In 1912, the newly-established Republican government could not dissuade Outer Mongolia from independence. When all negotiations failed, President Yuan Shikai schemed to launch a military action. Learning of Yuan’s plan, Russia warned Yuan’s government and threatened to militarily help Outer Mongolia for self-defense. For fear of Russia, Yuan could only postpone the expedition indefinitely and let Russia officially interfere in the sensitive issue (Chang 1991, 268-271). Figure 5.10 vividly depicts China’s intimidation and dread in the face of the giant bear (Russia) and pessimistically foresee the loss of Outer Mongolia for it is already in the mouth of the Bear.



Figure 5.10 Political Caricature (*XWHB*, ca. 1912).

Figure 5.11 points out Japan’s attitude toward Russian’s role in Outer Mongolia’s independence. Russia and Japan had had been a cooperative and competitive relationship since the late Qing due to their interests in China. For the benefits in Mongolia and Manchuria, they had come to secret agreements for three times (1907, 1910, and 1912) (Chang 1991, 272). In 1912, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Dmitryevich Sazonov (1860-1927) advocated Russian intervention in the independence of Outer Mongolia in a speech about the international relationship in the parliament. By insisting that Russia’s diplomacy should follow the principle of “supporting Mongolia and restraining China” 扶蒙抑華 for the best interests, he proclaimed that the independence of Outer Mongolia would demarcate a clear boundary between Mongolia

## CHAPTER FIVE

and southern Manchuria to the extent of reducing controversies between Russia and Japan over the issue of interests in China (Chang 1991, 271).

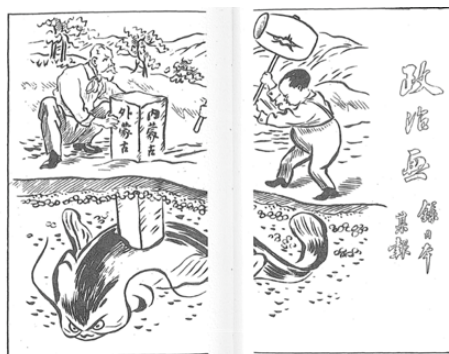


Figure 5.11 Political Caricature, (*XWHB*, ca. 1912).

Figure 5.11 seemingly asserts Japanese agreement with the Russian political standpoint by showing a Russian man holding a sign marking the boundary between Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia while the Japanese man hammering the sign into the ground. Their collaboration endorses Sazonov's view. Here, we can observe that one of the Chinese caricaturists' tasks deriving from translating foreign caricatures is introducing foreign customs and myths to Chinese caricatural presentations. One of the visual focuses in Figure 5.11 is the subterranean catfish, a legendary creature causing earthquakes. In the Japanese tradition, there were several creatures underneath connected to earthquakes, whose roots of mythologies can extend to China. In a China mythology, the world is believed to be supported by "ao" 鰲, a legendary animal with a dragon head and a fish body. Either its eye-blink or turning-over gives rise to earthquakes. Noticeably, ao resembles catfish very much. (Smits 2012, 45, 47-49).

In his 1592 writing, the general Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豐城秀吉 associated a catfish with an earthquake. Hideyoshi might be the first eminent figure who openly refers to the mythology. From the late seventeenth, a giant catfish was commonly linked to the occurrence of earthquakes (Smits 2012, 47). Figure 5.11 is an adaptive version of a typical Japanese catfish print of the Foundation Stone Catfish image, which was popular from 1855. The original pattern is the Kashima deity repressing a giant catfish by holding a Foundation Stone or a bottle gourd (Smits 2012, 43-45). In contrast, Figure 5.11 replaces the Foundation Stone with a sign stone and the Kashima deity with a Japanese and Russian man. The action of settling down the political disputes is rendered in a regional and metaphorical visual language, which improves Chinese readers' knowledge of caricatural expressions.

From the adopted caricatures, the Chinese audience came to know the foreign evaluation about China. For instance, as a special edition on the opium crisis, the fourth issue of *Shanghai*

## CHAPTER FIVE

*Poke* cites an illustration published in a British newspaper, *The National Review*, entitled “Lighten Our Darkness We Beseech Thee.” (Figure 5.12). In the British caricature, China is portrayed as plagued with opium, streets, congested with dark and dreary opium shops. An explanatory comment states: “The gruesome picture might have come from an inferno by Doré.” The caption ends in a hopeful tone because the caricaturist says the illustration will be “the last of the series.” The reason? Because of China’s opium ban.

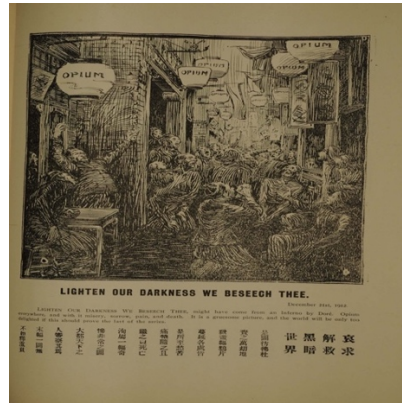


Figure 5.12 Lighten Our Darkness We Beseech Thee, (*The National Review*, 21 December 1912).

Considering the origin of Figure 5.12, we can find an irony within. This admonishing picture for China to keep off opium was carried in a British paper, while it is precisely the British who introduced and sold opium to China. The caricature and its caption appeared again in 1918 *Shanghai Poke* with a reporter’s 記者 short text (Figure 5.13). In this short text, the reporter implies his disappointment about the government’s ineffectiveness of banning opium by saying “we are sorry to reproduce it again to note that this gruesome picture is not the last of the series.” This caricature was supposed to be a visual testimony to China’s evading from the opium hell and seeing the light, “but within a few years; however, the country had once again fallen back into a dark world.” (不料數載以後中國又重入此黑暗世界也).

The contextual change makes the two identical caricatures connote differently. The original caricature (Figure 5.12) is meant to be the last scene of China plagued with opium, while the appearance of the reproduction (Figure 5.13) posits that “the last scene of the series” is not the last at all. The fact that *Shanghai Poke* reprinted this British caricature shows irony as well. A Chinese magazine claims the failure of the Chinese opium ban by reproducing a British caricature that admonishes Chinese people against smoking opium. However, it was the British who sold opium to China that should also be responsible for this failure. The caption says emotionally, “we are very sorry to reproduce.....,” but who should feel “sorry” leaves room for Chinese readers to ponder over.

## CHAPTER FIVE

Caricatures often function as a visual tool for foreign countries to criticize China; therefore, when translating caricatures, Chinese caricaturists also translate negative foreign views on China to the Chinese audience. For example, China was presented as unreasonable and dishonest, especially in dealing with international issues. On February 5, 1908, the incident of Tatsumaru, a Japanese merchant vessel. (二辰丸事件) was happened in Guangzhou. Tatsumaru was accused of illegally discharging munitions in the Chinese territorial waters, the Guangxi government hence detained it and arrested the crew. The event caused a huge conflict between China and Japan. According to Hsu's (2009, 137-140) research on the disputes of the territorial waters in Macao, the location where Tatsumaru was caught approximates to Macao, whose government permits shipping and selling ammunitions. As a consequence, while Japan negotiated with China for returning Tatsumaru and compensating all the loss, Macao inevitably involved in the controversy. The incident eventually led to the debate on the national demarcation between China and Macao.



Figure 5.13 Citation of “Lighten Our Darkness We Beseech Thee (*Shanghai Puck*, 1 December 1918).

The incident gave rise to a 1908 special issue of *Tokyo Puck* in the name of Anti-China Number (清國問罪ハック). The preface begins with a statement that Japan is a peace-loving country that has contributed much to maintaining peace in East Asia. This Far-East area, without Japanese effort, had already been subordinated by Russia, America, and other foreign countries after so many wars. What Japan has done all benefits China. Here, the author shifts his tone as if raising his volume to reprimand China for her ungratefulness, causing the latest series of disputes in between. The Incident of Tatsumaru is the first to mention. On top of that, the author continues to rebuke China for other dissensions on territories, economic interests, political rights, etc. Enumerating so many “crimes,” the author concludes in a pitch of justice

## CHAPTER FIVE

by saying that now Japanese acts of revenge are the punishments China deserves (“Anti-China Issue” 1908).

The special issue carried many caricatures that satirized China for recent diplomatic conflicts, including newly-drawn and reprinted caricatures from previous issues of *Tokyo Puck* and some other Japanese newspapers. Despite the apparent intention of insulting China, Chinese caricaturists imitated some of these caricatures. The frequent theme attacked by *Tokyo Puck* is the Chinese claim to their own economic rights and interests.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese people began efforts to take back control of China’s economic rights and interests 利權.<sup>174</sup> Starting in 1903, nationwide protests among the Chinese public were organized against foreign monopoly owners of Chinese mining and railway businesses. After 1905, demands for railway and mining autonomy grew into a widespread movement. The Chinese public even donated funds to redeem railway rights and construct railways without foreign investment.<sup>175</sup> The movement strengthened Chinese nationalist sentiments that have been denounced by foreign caricaturists.

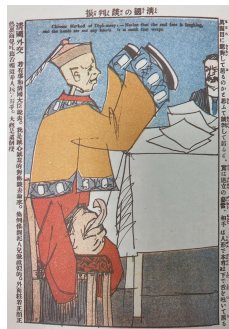


Figure 5.14 Chinese Method of Diplomacy (*Tokyo Puck*, 10 March 1908).



Figure 5.15 Untitled (*BJBHTRB*, 29 October 1908).

<sup>174</sup> For the comparison in usage of the terms of “economic rights/interests” 利權 and “rights and interests” 權利 in Chinese governmental documents before 1900, see Jin and Liu (1999, 222-228).

<sup>175</sup> For thorough studies on Chinese mining-rights and railway-rights recovery movements, see Lee (1978).

## CHAPTER FIVE

Figure 5.14 is a caricature from *Tokyo Puck's* "Anti-China Number", focusing on international relations, criticized China for being "insincere." Marked as cited from a Japanese huabao (錄日本畫報), Figure 5.14 faithfully duplicates Figure 5.15's iconography and its captions. Figure 5.15 features a Japanese official and a Qing official sitting face-to-face at a negotiation table but the Qing official has a second face under-the-table top. It portrays the Qing official as two-faced. His "public" face smiles politely while his true hidden face looks like that of a monster, sticking his tongue out at the Japanese official. Tatetsukane Jiron, the caricature-translator, translated the caption without meanings twisted, which enables Chinese readers to understand the mindset of the Japanese to China: "Whenever negotiating with the Qing officials, I (the negotiator) am genuine and sincere. However, he (the Chinese) acts like a clay figurine performing on the stage. The Chinese, ostensibly, looks serious and sincere but, secretly, sticks his tongue out to deceive people" 若和清國大老說話，我是誠心誠意對他談，他倒像個泥人兒作戲似的。外面正顏正色，裡面吐出舌頭來冤人。

When encountering foreign illustrations that were highly critical of China, not every caricaturist would simply reduplicate the originals, as Figure 5.15 does. Many caricaturists responded to foreign animosity by ignoring some "unfriendly" textual messages or criticizing foreign prejudice.

Figure 5.16, for instance, demonstrate how a translated caricature neglects the original's sarcasm and reverses the image's denotation for his usage. As a translated caricature from the *Tokyo Puck's* Anti-Chinese Number, Figure 5.16 compared, China's endeavor to retake its economic rights and interests to a man's obsession with grabbing things, such as mines and railways. With a large and fierce-looking slobbering mouth and eight hands, the pop-eyed caricature figure has the appearance of a grotesque monster whose facial expression seemingly sneers at the Chinese people who ridiculously overrate themselves in attempts to take back their rights and interests.

Compared with its original (Figure 5.17),

Figure 5.16 imitated the iconographic arrangements except for some textual details. The original caricature shows words on the bags, the train, and a pile of minerals carried by train to reveal what diplomatic disputes Japan and China deal with (railways 鐵道, mineral mountains 礦山, Tarif 關稅, Kantdo 間島 かんとう, etc.), while Chinese version does not show these textual indicators. The original's Japanese caption is "the man stretching hand out" 八方へ手を出伸す人, while the Chinese version kept the image of the busy man and laid bare his

## CHAPTER FIVE

intention: “stretching hands out to retake the rights and interests in China” 八方出手以謀收回權利. Noticeably, the Chinese caricaturist seemed to deliberately ignore the Chinese sarcastic caption in the original: the man who like to meddle with things that do not concern them. (多管事情的人). Instead, he describes the action as “the fever of retaking the rights and interests in China” 中國人之收回權利熱. The original caricature is to scorn Chinese people for thier insanity of retaking everything, but the Chinese version justify “the fever” by repeating the term “the rights and interests 權利” and suggests the “fever” should carry on.



Figure 5.16 The Fever of Retaking the Rights and Interests in China (*SB*, 26 March 1908).

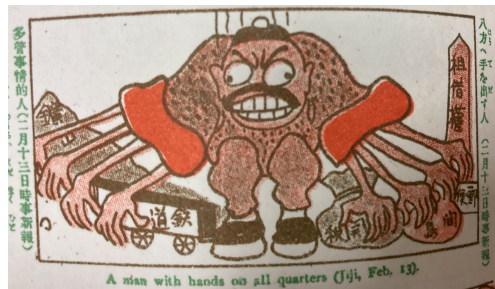


Figure 5.17 A Man with Hands on All Quarters (*Tokyo Puck*, 10 March 1908).

Besides altering captions, some caricatures commented on the caricatures they imitated, as traditional Chinese painters/intellectuals make their comments on paintings’ margins and blank parts. Namely, Chinese caricaturists commented on caricatures they translated as newspaper editors. In 1908, China and Japan collided over the issue of Kanto Island 間島 かんとう, arousing heated debate in China’s government and society.<sup>176</sup> Chinese caricaturists became involved, lashing out at Japan for its illegitimate claim of the island. As shown above, Figure 5.5 also a translated caricature from the *Anti-Chinese Numbers*, depicting an old Chinese man who sticks out his tongue. On this tongue, a Chinese soldier stands, threatening others with a cannon. The original (Figure 5.18) acknowledges the Japanese attitude of looking down upon China as made clear by the Japanese caption that states China would brag and start a war only in his mouth (a war of words). It is worth noting that in the Chinese version (Figure

<sup>176</sup> As for the Kanto Conflicts, see Cai (2014, 258-261).



## CHAPTER FIVE

5.5), the caricature translator writes the caption on the blank by using the tone of news reporting, starting with: “The Japanese newspaper says, we....” 日本報上說我們. The words “they” and “we” (Japan and China) are highlighted to help Chinese audiences distinguish between the two countries. The caption concludes by making fun of the Japanese government: “It makes us laugh ourselves to death” 實在讓我們笑死啊. This particular illustration is an especially good example of how a Chinese caricaturist adopted a Japanese caricature for the purpose of mocking Japan, thereby visually reversing the power relationship of the two countries and, at the same time, suggesting that We, the Chinese, indeed possess the power to make war.



Figure 5.5 The Conflict of Jiandao (*BJBHTRB*, 11 November 1908).

Another example for Chinese commenting on translated caricatures is the two-panel Japanese caricature “No Hands But beyond All Expectations” (手なしご思いの外), adopted later as a Chinese translated caricature for the obvious purpose of criticizing Japan as well (Figure 5.20). In the Japanese version (Figure 5.19), we see in the upper panel, two Chinese thieves confront a man in a western-style suit, assuming he is armless, they put “their hands into the man’s pocket.” In the lower panel, the two Chinese men take a train and a steamer but because “the man, having the hands, could chastise the rascals,” he instantly grabs the Chinese men’s pigtails. The explanatory note written by the Chinese caricaturist sarcastically points out that the man’s face “resembles that of Count Hayashi.” “But if the man is Count Hayashi, he definitely dares not to stretch his hands out.” (這個人看著很像林外部大臣。可若是林君了怕決不敢伸手罷). The Japanese caricature accuses the Chinese government of seizing Japanese properties on the one hand, and on the other hand, satirizes Count Hayashi Tadasu 林權助 (1860-1939), Japan’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, for his cowardice in handling diplomatic conflicts with China, because he was by no means the man who “dare stretch hands out.”

CHAPTER FIVE



Figure 5.18 Re Kanto Question (*Tokyo Puck*, 10 March 1908).

On 25 March 1908, *SB* reproduced the caricature with some alterations (Figure 5.20). First, the Japanese version does not specify the event, while the Chinese one clearly points to the incident of Tatsumaru (二辰丸事件), which, as mentioned above, gave rise to the publication of the *Tokyo Puck's* Anti-Chinese Issue. Secondly, the Chinese version deleted the part regarding Count Hayashi in the caption. The man in the middle does not represent particular political figure. Without the intention to satirize the Japanese diplomat, the Chinese version concentrates on the collision between China and Japan. Thirdly, the caricaturist adds extra words: “The picture is adopted from *Tokyo Puck* and we fellows should look closely at it” (此圖錄日本東京拍克畫報我國人當審視之). The words reveal the caricature’s origin and most importantly, demand the audience for taking the image seriously for the reason that Chinese people are seen as nothing but a thief in the foreign depiction when fighting for their own rights and interest. The incident of the incident of Tatsumaru, due to the Chinese Minister Foreign Affairs’ craven attitude, ended up with a ceremony of apology and indemnity. The result caused the Chinese public’s national sentiments and incited the first boycott of Japanese Products in 1908 (Hsu 2009, 147-154).



Figure 5.19 No Hands but Beyond All Expectations (*Tokyo Puck*, 10 March 1908).

## CHAPTER FIVE



Figure 5.20 A Pictorial Criticism on the Incident of Tatsumaru (*SB*, 25 March 1908).

The adopted caricatures evince that China was vilified and demonized in the foreign caricatures. The images stereotype China as a swindler and disseminate anti-Chinese sentiment. In the age of cultural exchange in a global scale, such hostile images, through Chinese caricaturists' adoption, travel back to the place that they assault. The attempt to collect the reports about the reactions of the audience in China has not succeeded so far, but fortunately, a piece of foreign news might shed light on this topic.

On 31 July 1911, *SZRB* reported an incident that took place in North America. An English comic caricature (諧畫), “China lays claim for compensation to Mexico” (中國向墨索賠) features a mule with a long pigtail, wearing a hat, brandishing its claws, and holding a sign stating “Make a compensation of six million dollars for the loss in Chinese lives and properties” (要賠生命財產六百萬) and “Make an apology for insulting our national flag” (侮我國國旗要賠禮).<sup>177</sup> The caricature refers to the news that the turbulence during the Mexican revolution had harmed many Chinese immigrants, resulting in loss of lives and property but the Mexican government did not solve the problem. While Chinese immigrants demanded for the compensation, the caricature should ridicule the Chinese request for indemnification by likening the Chinese to a mule. Such insulting picture soon led to Chinese’s public indignation (公憤). Chinese overseas students in Canada (Victoria, British Columbia) immediately sent a protest letter to the Chinese consulate. Meanwhile, the students cut the caricature out of the newspaper in an attempt to heckle the *Times* and demanded an account.

The rage expressed by the overseas Chinese students may have reflected similar negative reactions among Chinese readers when they saw China depicted as a pig or demon-like human, a way in which China was frequently portrayed by foreign caricatures. Yet, the *SZRB* news article did not criticize the *Times* caricaturist for the negative depiction of China but did not

<sup>177</sup> According to the editorial, the caricature was originally published on 16 July 1911 in *the Times* (太唔士報 *Taiwushi Bao*).

criticize the Times caricaturist for the negative depiction of China but ended with a tone of idiophobia. As Mittler (2004, 399, 405-407) points out that Chinese newspapers have an intense tendency toward ideophobia by self-criticizing. Hence, there is a vast gap between street nationalism and newspaper nationalism. It is misunderstood that Chinese newspapers always provoked fierce Chinese nationalism, however, instead, most articles would more likely upbraid the Chinese themselves. Even so-called revolutionary newspapers were not always as radical as expected. The *SZRB* report, in the face of such an event that easily incites the flame of Chinese nationalism, instead concludes with a self-critical question: “Who should be blamed for the fact that Chinese people are always treated by others in such an unfair way?” The implied answer seems to be the Chinese government and the Chinese people themselves.<sup>178</sup>

## 5.2 Contextualizing Foreign Caricatures

As aforementioned, it was usual for Chinese illustrators to appropriate foreign images for kinds of illustrations. When drawing caricatures, they not only used but also, most importantly, contextualize foreign images to the Chinese socio-political environment. The transplantation and contextualization of exotic images demonstrate Chinese caricaturists’ wit and ingenuity. For instance, a caricature published by *Tokyo Puck* on February 15, 1907 (Figure 5.21) shows one head with opposite expressions. The head shown right-side-up portrays a face ostensibly crying, whereas the head shown upside-down portrays a smiling face.<sup>179</sup> Because it was published on the advertising page, readers may have considered it simply a comical picture without political connotations. Soon afterwards, *SZRB* appropriated the image to jibe at the Chinese politician, Duan Zhigui 段芝貴 (1896-1925), infamous for his dishonorable tricks of contributing beauties to his superiors as a way to advance his status in the political arena.

In 1906, Zai Zhen 載振, the son of the Prince Qing, Yikuang 奕劻, who is an influential high official taking charge of military affairs, came to Tianjin and was soon was obsessed with Yang Cuixi 楊翠喜, a well-known Chinese opera star. Duan, after realizing Zai Zhen’s affection to Yang, immediately bought Yang’s freedom and then contributed her to Zai Zhen. Afterwards, Duan was promoted as a provincial governor Province Helongjiang 黑龍江. This scandal stirred the public rage and in 1907, was uncovered by *Jingbao* 京報. Accordingly, an

<sup>178</sup> The tradition of ideophobia can also be seen in many literary works such as Lu Xun’s *Kuangren ziji* 狂人日記 (A Madman’s Diary) (1918) and Bo Yang 柏楊 (1920-2008)’s *Zhoulou de Zhongguoren* 醜陋的中國人 (The Ugly Chinaman)(1985).

<sup>179</sup> More analysis on this pictorial pattern, see Chapter Six.

## CHAPTER FIVE

emperor envoy (Yushi 御史), Zhao Qilin 趙啟麟 presented a memorial in this regard to Empress Dowager Cixi, who was so infuriated as to disestablish Duan's position by order and send other high officials to investigate this scandal (Cheng 1989, 21-23; W. Guo 1989, 81).



Figure 5.21 Untitled (*Tokyo Puck*, 15 February 1907).



Figure 5.22 Half Crying, Half Smiling (*SZRB*, 28 June 1907).

The caricature “Half Crying, Half Smiling” 半哭半笑 epitomizes Duan's latest condition. He was impeached due to his bribery charge against Zai Zhen, which makes his crying face comprehensible to the audience. Furthermore, the caricature sarcastically shows that the event would end up with Duan's smile. As the caption says, Duan Zhigui will swagger around in the future 段芝貴之將來(得意) as he is a confidant of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱, a powerful official in the Qing court. Indeed, despite being removed from office in northeastern China, Duan was not jailed for bribery. Thanks to Yuan's harborage, the related evidence about the bribery was cleared out before the crime investigation. The emperor envoy, Zhao Qilin 趙啟麟, instead, was dismissed by Cixi for a false accusation charge (W. Guo 1989, 82). Duan's acquittal renders the reversed smile in the caricature more chilling, highlighting the iniquity in the Qing officialdom.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>180</sup> The Case of Yang Cuixi was part of the political turmoil in 1907 丁未政潮, a series of conflicts between two major political cliques, the Beiyang Clique 北洋派 led by Yuan Shikai and the Qinglian Clique 清廉派 (honest and upright) led by Qu Hongji's 瞿鴻機 (1853-1918). The turmoil eventually remolded the late Qing political landscape as the Qinglian Clique lost its political influence for several significant members were discharged or

CHAPTER FIVE



Figure 5.23 The Earthquakes in the World and in the Financial Circle (*Tokyo Puck*, January 10 1909).

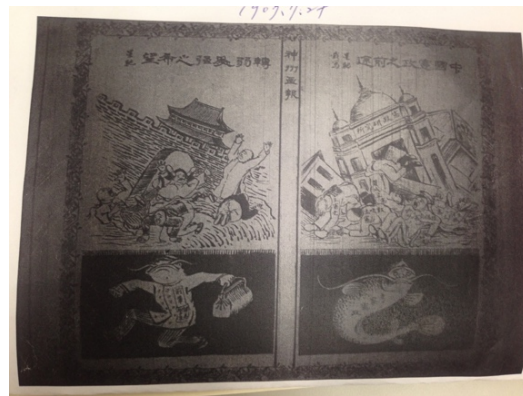


Figure 5.24 The Future of Chinese Constitutionalism (*SZHB*, 27 July 1909).<sup>181</sup>

In the aspect of contextualizing the foreign pictures, Chinese caricaturists very often draw on political caricatures. Modifying pictorial details of the originals, Chinese caricaturists impart to Chinese readers – in a visual format – the political wrongdoings happening in society. Take another caricature in the *Tokyo Puck* for instance: “The Earthquake in the World” and “The Earthquake in the Financial Circle” (Figure 5.23). Here, we can see again the invocation of the Japanese mythology that catfishes represent earthquakes. “The Earthquake in the World” (the right of Figure 5.23) draws a catfish in a military uniform shaking the earth under a group of men that signifies the countries of the world. The earthquake disables the people from standing firm, collapsing the palace behind that represents the world peace (平和閣). The captions refer to the recent violent earthquake in Italy, which had caused heavy casualties,

transferred from their original positions. However, the political change made Empress Dowager Cixi less trust the Beiyang Clique than before, to the degree that she assigned other Qing aristocrats and old officials to counteract its power. Cixi’s appointment of more Manchurians to crucial administrative positions in the Qing court broke the long-standing convention that kept Manchurian and Han officials in the same number 滿漢平衡. For more details about the political turmoil in 1907, see T. Guo (1989).

<sup>181</sup> To condense the caption for Figure 5.24, I display the left-side illustration’s title. The other is titled as “Expectation: Turning Strength from Weakness.”

## CHAPTER FIVE

sinuating “the future earthquake of the world” at hand.<sup>182</sup> “Such subterranean monster” will cause the tumult in the world soon. As suggested by the words on the catfish’s chest, the “subterranean monster” is the German emperor Caesar (カイセル), the epicenter of the world peace.

“The Earthquake in the Financial Circle” (the left of Figure 5.23) points to a Japanese financial scandal, “Nitto Jiken” 日糖事件 (Corruption Scandal of Dai-Nippon Sugar Co., Ltd.). The scandal took place after Russia-Japan war. Several Japanese financial groups invested in the sugar industry in Taiwan. Among the groups, the most conspicuous is Japanese Sugar Company (大日本製糖會社), an incorporation of two big sugar companies in Tokyo and Osaka. Nonetheless, owing to the wrong investment strategies and misjudgment on the financial situation, the company suffered from great deficits. Facing such predicament, the directors, Isomura odosuke 磯村音介 and Akiyama katsuhiro 秋山一裕, and the committee bribed the members of parliament to extend the sugar law in favor of the company and on top of that, persuade the government to acquire the company. In this way, the company would reduce losses and, most importantly, the truth of its bankruptcy would be artfully covered. In April 1908, the scandal was exposed. The conflicts between bribers led Akiyama voluntarily to make a confession to a prosecutor. After the judicial investigation, it was surprisingly found out that as many as twenty MPs were involved, which astonished the Japanese society in that it concerned much with the national economic policy. Eventually, the MPs involved as well as the company directors were imposed a forfeit and put in ward (Yang 2001, 40-42; Liu 2007, 326-343; Huang 2019, 272-282).<sup>183</sup>

Based on the event, the caricature draws a group of falling men, who are funnily compared to Daikons explain, and several collapsing buildings. The characters on the roof reveal that some of the buildings belong to the Japanese Sugar Company. The caption explains that the sugar company has recently resulted in an earthquake in the financial circle (財界) and its director, Isomura 磯村, was the epicenter. As a consequence, the caricature denounces him as a terrible director 惡重役, the three Chinese characters branded on his belly, in such a humorous way that depicts Isomura to be the catfish staring the people on the ground. In the

---

<sup>182</sup> A massive earthquake took place in a city in southern Italy on 28 December 1908. The earthquake and ensuing tsunami almost entirely destroyed the city Messina, Reggio di Calabria and many neighboring coastal towns. It is said that more than 80,000 people died in this catastrophe. For more information about the 1908 Messina earthquake, see Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia. “Messina earthquake and tsunami of 1908.” Encyclopedia Britannica, 29 January 2020. <https://reurl.cc/M4E8ek> (accessed 21 December 2022).

<sup>183</sup> For a thorough analysis on how the scandal deeply affected the development of the Taiwan sugar industrial from the tax and administrative law, see Huang (2019, 272-289).

## CHAPTER FIVE

caricature, the underground catfish is depicted as the culprit that causes buildings to collapse and foundations of the government to be rocked. The leading figure in the Japanese scandal is depicted as the highly aggressive catfish.

About six months later, Ma Xingchi employed a similar double-frame theme that also featured an underground catfish in his “The Future of Chinese Constitutionalism” and “The Expectation of Turning the Strong from the Weak” (Figure 5.24). On the right side, Ma replaces the “Palace of World Peace” with the “Constitutional Institute” 憲政研究所. About six months later, Ma Xingchi employed a similar double-frame theme that also featured an underground catfish in his “The Future of Chinese Constitutionalism” and “The Expectation of Turning the Strong from the Weak” (Figure 5.24). On the right side, Ma replaces the “Palace of World Peace” with the “Constitutional Institute” 憲政研究所. “Constitutional Institute” refers to 政治考察館 (The Institution of Examination of Political System), established in 1905. The institution was founded when the Qing court sent high officials overseas to investigate constitutionalism in Japan, America, and European countries. Led by the Administration of State Affairs 政務處, the institution was to offer the Qing court analytical information regarding institutionalism in different countries. (Hou 2009, 47).

In 1907, the Institution of Examination of Political System was upgraded as “the Institution for Compiling and Examining the Information about Constitutionalism” 憲政編查館, charged by the Grand Council 軍機處 (Office for the Handling of Confidential Military Affairs). The enlarged institution deals with all constitutional memorials, investigates foreign constitutions, drafts the Chinese constitution, and evaluates the related legislation by the offices of different levels. The birth and ensuing reorganization of this institution, which was mainly set for constitutional implementation, testified to the resolution of the Qing court in political reform, at least on the surface. With this institution's help, the Minister of the Grand Council, Junji dachen 軍機大臣, can more smoothly put Constitutionalism into practice in China. Pitily, the conflicts within this institution undermined its influence (Hou 2009, 77-78).

In Figure 5.24, the men who fall over are constitutional supporters of various social strata, including those who belong to the Constitutional Party (立憲黨), uphold constitutionalism (贊成立憲), promote constitutionalism (提倡立憲), and advocate constitutionalism (主張立憲). Ironically, they topple to the ground due to the underground catfish that represents the Qing official, judging from his official hat, who had gone overseas to examine the foreign



## CHAPTER FIVE

constitutional system (考察憲政). The caricature reflects the huge gap between the constitutionalists and those responsible for implementing the new political polity.<sup>184</sup>

On the left, the caricature touches on another crucial internal affair – the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program.<sup>185</sup> In the caricature, Ma substitutes the Chinese domain for the Japanese economical circle. The Chinese ordinaries tumble painfully down and so do the city wall and the gate. The tragedy is attributed to the catfish carrying a briefcase, an accessory of the overseas student, signifying the Chinese students who returned from America. From the perspective of the student's predecessors (前輩) – two characters hanging onto the returning student's chest – the overseas Chinese student does not seem to make significant contributions to China's development, revealing Ma's doubts about the effectiveness of the program.

Ma's caricature demonstrates the efficacy of adopting foreign icons to communicate similar connotations even though the specific icons are oftentimes unfamiliar to domestic audiences. His utilization of the icon of an underground catfish that associates with catastrophic earthquakes in the Japanese mythology not only reveals his comments on the Chinese current affairs but also highlights the crises about which he was warning readers. Unignorably, the Chinese mythological 鰲, as mentioned above, possibly helps Chinese readers understand the allusion to Japanese earthquake catfishes and discover the hidden political meaning. The similar mythology and repeated appearance in Chinese caricatures might gradually incorporate this foreign icon of earthquake catfishes into the Chinese visual language. Nevertheless, compared with the Japanese original, Ma exchanged the positions of the two catfish in his adaptation. The reason why Ma made the modifications remains unknown, an open question for further research based on more information about Ma's paintings.

Beside *Tokyo Puck*, some examples can be found in the American *Puck*. Figure 5.25, a caricature in a 1916 American *Puck*, depicts Russia and Germany as two children, each holding

---

<sup>184</sup> In 1907, Yang Du 楊度 (1875-1931) launched a petition to convene the parliament, which encouraged more and more people to stand out for a schedule of constitutionalism on the national scale. Initially disappointed by the Qing court's delay in constitutionalism, the constitutionalists joined the trend and asked for a solid date to convene parliament. The Qing court finally responded to the unceasing petitions by setting up a plan that was put into practice constitutionalism in nine years. These nationwide petitions can be seen as a huge gap between the government and the public in executing constitutionalism in China. For more details about the petition, see Hou (2009, 138-167).

<sup>185</sup> In 1907 and 1908, thanks to the mediation of Chinese diplomats Liang Chen 梁誠 (1863-1917), the American government agreed to return parts of the Boxer indemnity to China whereby it was determined the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program would fund Chinese students to study in America. The program, of course, sparked heated controversies in the Qing court over issues such as the criteria for student selection and the subjects to be studied. The provincial governments were also urged to select their own students to study abroad. At the end of 1909, the terms of the program were finalized and soon one hundred Chinese students were dispatched to America. For more information about the program, see Su (1996, 1-15) and Meng (2007).

## CHAPTER FIVE

a stick: the Russian child (left) and the German child (right) dressed in a military uniform. They stand on top of a giant man dressed as a traditional Turk. The caricature obviously mocks World War One as an exaggerated children's game. Furthermore, it derides Turkey's situation as the country that promised to join the war by accepting financial support from Germany. Having done so, the image insinuates, Turkey currently has no means to keep the fighting children away from its own territory.<sup>186</sup>

In 1918, Shen Bochen adapted the caricature to satirize the political chaos caused by many factions of warlords in China. The first issue of *Shanghai Poke* published a caricature (Figure 5.26) that inter-visually connected to the earlier *Puck* caricature: small figures fighting on top of a large figure in almost the same position as the Turkish man in the American *Puck* caricature. The Russian and German children, transformed into two warlord figures of China's northern and southern governments, can be identified by their facial features: the one on the left marked "South" is Tang Jiyao 唐繼堯 (1883-1927), and the one on the right marked "North" is Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 (1865-1936). After Yuan Shikai died in 1916, China entered the "Warlord Period" 軍閥時期 (Lin 1990, 32), in which two governments ruled the country: the Northern government led by Beiyang Clique 北洋派 and the Southern government led by Sun Yat-sen and later other warlords. In 1917, Sun Yat-sen launched Constitutional Protection Movement 護法運動 by uniting the southern warlords to fight against the northern warlords. Tang, a crucial member of the Yunnan Clique, represented the Southern Government and served as a chief general of the National Protection Army 護國軍 in the military mobilization, while Duan, the founder of the Anhui Clique, was the President of the Northern Government (the Beijing Government) at the time. This movement eventually failed, but the political turmoil continued till the success of the northern expedition 北伐 led by Chiang Kai-shek in 1928.<sup>187</sup>

---

<sup>186</sup> The discussion about Figures 5.25 and 5.26 is revised from my paper "Participating in Global Affairs: The First Chinese Cartoon Monthly: *Shanghai Puck*" (2013: 375-376).

<sup>187</sup> Zhang (2001, 101-184) in his *The History of the Republic of China* gives a comprehensive depiction of the Warlord Period about how the country went from in separation to in union. For details of the formation of the Northern and Southern Government, see Lin (1990, 7-86), and the cause and effects of the first Constitutional Protection War 護法戰爭, see Mo (1991, 1-96).

## CHAPTER FIVE



Figure 5.25. Untitled (*American Puck*, 17 June 1916).

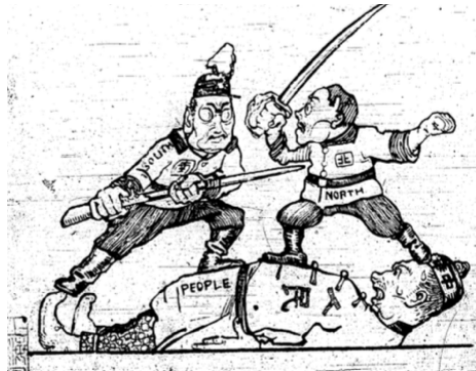


Figure 5.26. Untitled (*Shanghai Poke*, 1 September 1918).

In Figure 5.25, Shen Bochen , by wittily changing visual elements in the foreign caricature, compares constant battles between the warlords to childish and also annoying behavior. Rather than kids brandishing sticks as in the original image, the warlords fight with swords. Other modifications to the original caricature include the Turkish man who was by no means considered an innocent bystander and had only himself to blame for where he lay; however, the Chinese man labelled “People,” who replaces Turkey in Shen's depiction, represents Chinese commoners who are too innocent and helpless to alter their predicament. Based on the original, Shen wittily transformed an international war into a national war, but the latter seems crueller and bloodier, as implied by their sharp swords. The size of the body is a common caricatural visual language to indicate the degree of power. In this light, although the Turkish's weak condition disenables him from escaping his plight, his gigantic body still visually hints at his hidden strength. By imitating and contextualizing the *American Puck* caricature, Shen might invoke such visual expression to suggest the power of the people as huge and strong, like the lying Turkish. The current situation would probably be reversed if the people (人民) stood up.

Chinese caricaturists sometimes adopted only a certain icon from foreign caricatures such as eye-catching human positions. For instance, the *American Puck* caricature, “The President Shows His Hands” (Figure 5.27) portrays U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes as a man raising

## CHAPTER FIVE

his right hand. His fingers, palm and cuff have taken on the shape of many former American presidents, thus appearing to legitimize his presidential status. With his right hand oversized and moderately thin, Rutherford seems able to assume a position of authority over his opposition, seen under a big hat. Thirty-five years later, another president, reaching out his relatively thin, oversized hand, appears in a Chinese caricature, Qian Binghe 錢病鶴, “Do Whatever He Wants” 暢所欲為 (Figure 5.28), Yuan Shikai (袁世凱), China’s first president in the early Republican Era, postures like the image of U.S. President Hayes. Yuan’s right hand is ridiculously elongated to cover an eye in the sky that implies the public’s supervision of democracy and justice, while his left hand holds a pair of pliers clamping down on a piece of paper that reads “Freedom of Speech” (yanlun ziyou 言論自由), symbolizing Yuan’s suppression of public opinion.



Figure 5.27. The President Shows His Hand (American *Puck*, March 1877).



Figure 5.28. Do Whatever He Wants (*MQHB*, 1912).

To sum up, examining Chinese caricatures’ inter-visuality reveals Chinese caricaturists’ wit and playfulness in making the best of foreign caricatural languages. Moreover, their contextualization of foreign caricatures to Chinese socio-political settings demonstrates a visual flow on a global scale. There is still a phenomenon deserving of exploration that Chinese

caricaturists' original images circulate within a national border. In the next part, I will demonstrate the domestic network of Chinese caricatures in which the caricaturists in different cities duplicated, altered, and spread their peers' works, shaping a mobilizing visual public sphere.

### 5.3 The Domestic Network of Caricatures

Speaking of the domestic network of caricatures, it cannot be overstated that Shanghai was the hub of Chinese domestic network of caricatures at the time. Within the area of Shanghai city, the caricatures travelled among different newspapers. It can be observed that similar images circulated among *SB*, *Minhu Ribao* 民呼日報 (People's Call Daily, hereafter *MHRB*), *MHRB*, and *MQHB*.<sup>188</sup> Across the boundary of cities, many caricatures in Shanghai's newspapers, such as *SB*, *SZRB* and *THRB*, spread to the other cities such as Beijing, Tianjin and Guangzhou, reproduced by the local caricaturists in the regional newspapers. For example, in Beijing, the newspapers, such as *BJBHTRB*, *Beijing Qianshuo huaba* 北京淺說畫報 (Beijing Pictorial Primer), and *XSHB*, *Xingshi huabao* 醒世畫報 (World-Awakening Pictorial, 1909-1910, hereafter *XSHB*), cited many caricatures from Shanghai newspapers. In Guangzhou, the influential newspaper in Guangzhou, *Shishi huabao* 時事畫報 (Current Affairs Pictorial) also carried caricatures from Shanghai. These adopted caricatures were hardly marked out, but in some cases, the caricaturists would leave notes to clarify their original source.<sup>189</sup>

Thus far, no evidence points to business affiliations between these newspapers; so, the exchanges of caricatures cannot be simply posited as a commercial cooperation based on financial incentives. The Chinese caricaturists likely knew each other and were aware of each other's illustrations. For instance, after Shen Bochen died in 1919, the Shanghai-based caricaturist Ding Song 丁悚 (1891-1969) (1928, 3) describes his friendship and working experiences with Shen in an article of condolence. Limited information about the individual caricaturists, however, restricts our ability to understand the caricaturists' social contacts beyond a region scale. There is another explanation to this phenomenon. Chinese newspaper editors would also read other newspapers and illustrated newspapers. It is possible that the editors selected some images for caricaturists to imitate.

<sup>188</sup> The examples will analyze the last section of this chapter, Chapter Six and Seven, see Figures 5.37-5.42, Figures 6.3-6.4 and Figure 7.2.

<sup>189</sup> Beijing-based newspaper, *BJBHTRB* and *XSHB*, would add a sentence that "the picture collected from Shanghai's newspaper" (錄自上海報). See Figure 5.32, and Figure 5.34.

## CHAPTER FIVE

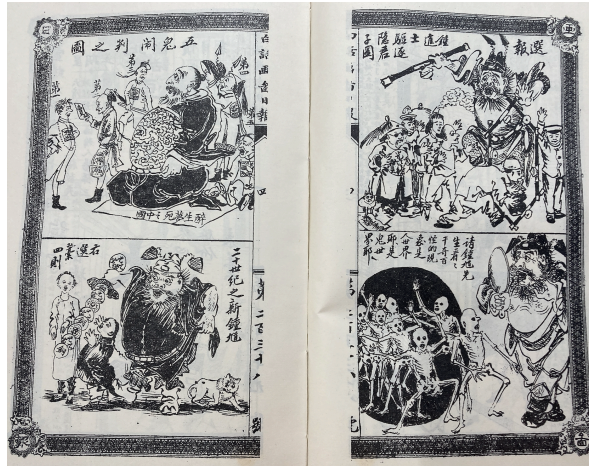


Figure 5.29 Four Caricatures Selected from Other Newspapers (*BJBHTRB*, 1 July, 1909).

Why did these newspapers imitate Shanghai caricatures? Arguably, imitating Shanghai caricatures might add value to the newspapers in other cities. By citing/translating foreign images and articles, Shanghai newspapers could characterize themselves as advanced and progressive. By the same token, because Shanghai was a hub of Chinese journalism at the time, imitations of Shanghai caricatures may have helped strengthen readers' perceived value of newspapers located in other cities, either commercial or political value, as the content of most of the cited caricatures attacked the government. As Yang (2003, 347) points out in his observation on *XSHB*, the atmosphere of politics in Beijing was much more conservative than that of Shanghai and Guangzhou where illustrated newspapers in those two cities commented frequently on politics and advanced proposals for a political revolution in Beijing. By comparison, Beijing's illustrated newspapers tended to center on topics that enlightened audiences and disseminated knowledge, attending less to political events. As its title suggests, "waking up the world" 醒世, *XSHB* urgently alarmed the people and government and fearlessly criticizing society through citing or allegedly citing (假託) caricatures from the south. In Yang's view (2003, 347), *XSHB*'s activity at that time was exceptional and precious in such a high-handed political atmosphere.

As the domestic network of caricatural circulation characters has been outlined above, the following paragraphs will show some pictorial examples. The high degree of resemblance between imitating and original caricatures attests to the drawing competence of Chinese caricaturists. Emphasized in Chapter One and depicted in Figure 1.19, Zhong Kui stands as a crucial figure in Chinese caricatures, symbolizing a formidable force against evil. In the following instance, we observe how Zhong Kui's imagery flowing domestically, fostering connections in visual experiences among readerships across diverse regions of China.

## CHAPTER FIVE

On July 1, 1909, *BJBHTRB* published four caricatures (Figure 5.29), originally published in Shanghai's *MHRB* (Figure 5.30) that feature Zhong Kui 鍾馗, a mythological character who conquers ghosts and commands an army of demons. In the caricatures, Zhong Kui identifies ghosts in the secular world by holding up a lens through which he could discern ghosts from human beings. Wielding his powers, Zhong disperses the ghosts, including opium addicts and greedy officers, implicitly saving China from the misgovernment of foolish Qing officers who, the caricaturist implied, were leading the nation to a drunken and befuddled state. As the caricaturist noted, the four caricatures were “selections from the other newspaper” 選報; the originals having been published in Shanghai's *MHRB* (Figure 5.30).



Figure 5.30. Untitled (*MHRB*, 22 June 1909).

As might be expected, some of the domestically-adopted caricatures were altered during the adoptive process.<sup>190</sup> Take two *XSHB*'s caricatures for instance. The illustrator, Li Juchai 李菊儕 depicts (描) many caricatures created by Shanghai caricaturists in *XSHB*.<sup>191</sup> “Prevent the Weeds from Overgrowing” 毋使孳蔓 was originally published in Shanghai's *THR*B as a visual criticism of the Qing court's press law. The original *THR*B caricature (Figure 5.31) depicts two officials crouching down to pull weeds, identified by two characters, symbolizing “newspaper offices” 報館. In other words, from the perspective of Qing officials, newspapers were no more than repugnant weeds that needed to be eradicated. In the imitated *XSHB* version (Figure 5.32), Li made slight modifications such as reducing the two officials to one while keeping the overall iconographic arrangement and political implications.

<sup>190</sup> However, those changes did not correspond to ways that foreign caricatures were re-contextualized to fit the Chinese situation because most of the domestic caricatures cited were originals created by Chinese caricaturists. Therefore, no need to alter the images. In most cases, pictorial details of the original iconographic composition and political connotations were retained.

<sup>191</sup> Li Juzhai was an important illustrator and also newspaper editors in Beijing for his drawing for and editing for several illustrated newspapers in Beijing, such as *XSHB*, *Kaitong hubao* 開通畫報, *Juchai huabao* 菊儕畫報 and etc. For Li's biography and his newspaper career, see Wang (2012).

## CHAPTER FIVE



Figure 5.31. Prevent the Weeds from Overgrowing (*THR*B, 14 October 1909).

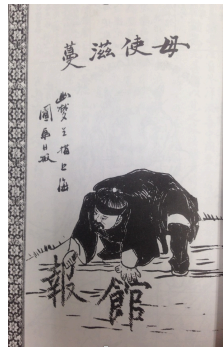


Figure 5.32. Prevent the Weeds from Overgrowing (*XSH*B, 31 December 1909).

Two days later, on 2 January 1910, Li's adopted another caricature from *THR*B: "Can you not see the hegemony in the world? 諸君不見此強全世界乎. The original version (Figure 5.33), published on 1 November 1909, illustrates a Chinese commoner, forced to lie down on the ground, with a Qing official standing on the commoner's chest and bending over submissively. A foreigner stands tall on the Qing official's back while staring at a reflection of himself in a huge mirror held by a giant hand. The scene is described as: "The Chinese are so blind to such a hegemonic world that only the foreigner can see the reflection in the mirror." The caricature highlights foreign supremacy overall and China's inferiority. Although whether Figure 5.33 is taken from a foreign paper originally remains uncertain, it is very likely a Chinese painter's work. According to the sentence close to the huge mirror, Muqin laigao 慕綦來稿, Figure 5.33 should be a contributed caricature by a Chinese illustrator, Muqin 慕綦. Muqin was exactly the style name (字) of Chinese caricaturist Ding Song, who received popularity in the 1920s and 30s. Figure 5.33 might be his very early caricature. As mentioned in the introduction, the contribution system of caricatures was usual and popular in the



## CHAPTER FIVE

newspapers and magazines of the time, which invited as many people as possible to create a visual public sphere and pictorially discuss public affairs.

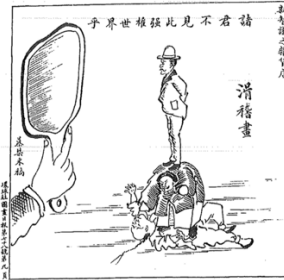


Figure 5.33 Can You Not See the Hegemony in the World (*THRB*, 1 November 1909).



Figure 5.34 Can You Not See the Hegemony in the World (*XSHB*, January 1910).

Retaining elements of the original composition - a foreigner, an official, a Chinese commoner, and a huge mirror held by a hand - Li re-creates Muqin's caricature (Figure 5.33) in *XSHB* on 2 January 1910 by changing several pictorial details. In Li's version, Figure 5.34, the Chinese commoner, instead of lying on the ground, kneels down and lies prone. Stooping down the commoner, the official allows the foreigner to stand upright on his back. The most conspicuous modification is that the face reflected in the mirror is that of the Qing official rather than of the foreigner. In the original drawing, the three characters all face to left while only the foreigner can look at himself in the mirror. In Li's caricature, the three characters turn to different directions. The commoner faces the left, the official the right, and the foreigner faces the audience with a smirk. As the mirror is positioned on the right, the official alone looks into the mirror. It is impossible to know why Li altered the later caricature as he left no description related to the caricature published in *XSHB*. However, it can be inferred that Li, by contradicting the original caricature, censured Chinese government for exacerbating the hegemonic world. Since the official is the only one who "witnesses" the hegemony that stands

triumphantly on his back, the government cannot excuse itself from aggravating China's inferior political situation.

This section demonstrates the domestic network of circulation of Chinese caricatures, which points out: 1) Chinese caricaturists imitated their peers' works, and 2) their imitation crossed the provincial limitations. The visual sources of Chinese caricaturists include foreign and domestic caricatures. In this light, Chinese caricatures should be seen as individual knots connecting to form a visual web rather than as independent and single visual products. Returning to the topic of adapting foreign caricatures, the domestic exchange of images reveals that the journey of images in China was complicated. The following section will discuss a possible condition in which foreign caricatures circulated inter/nationally in China. Some caricatures are imitated more than once for different socio-political realities, which I call a process of re-contextualization.

## 5.4 Re-Contextualizing Foreign Caricatures

The above demonstrates that Chinese caricaturists imitated foreign caricatures and other Chinese caricaturists' works. As the two routes of imitation were not parallel but intertwined, a likely complete process of imitation might run as follows. Foreign caricatures initially traveled beyond national borders and subsequently circulated within China's national borders. Once cited by a Chinese caricaturist, an exotic image became a domestic visual resource available to other Chinese caricaturists. Imperceptibly, the flow of images served to acquaint Chinese audiences in diverse locations with visual expressions from many parts of the world.

Take Figure 5.35, for example. This *SB* caricature, marked as a selection from a Western newspaper (錄西報), juxtaposes a Chinese and Turkish man. Their identical faces allude to the similar political crises that these two ancient civilizations experienced due to the invasion of foreign powers. In less than two weeks, *BJBHTRB* published the same caricature (Figure 5.36) with textual indicators that reveal the identities of the two men. The right one with a tall hat and loose clothes is Turkish, as pointed out by the caption "the Turkish garment and hat" 土耳其衣冠. The left one with a pigtail is Chinese, as insinuated by the caption "one of Chinese quintessence" 中國國粹之一. Ironically, the Chinese quintessence seemingly refers to his competency in catching a mouse.

## CHAPTER FIVE



Figure 5.35. Picture of the Age (*SB*, 14 September 1909).



Figure 5.36. Untitled (*BJBHTRB*, 25 September 1909).

If Coming across these two caricatures separately, we might regard each of them as a translated caricature because of its indicative information: “selection from a Western newspaper” 錄(泰)西報. When putting these two caricatures together, nevertheless, we will find that there is more than one possible circulatory route. The caricaturists of Figure 5.35 and Figure 5.36 might have seen the same foreign caricature and respectively imitated it without noticing each other. Alternatively, Figure 5.36 is a duplication of Figure 5.35, as *BJBHTRB* often imitated caricatures from other newspapers. If so, Figure 5.35, despite a foreign caricature, is not different from those by Chinese caricaturists in the process of caricatural imitations.

Hence, we may say that the domestic itinerary of caricatures suggests that Chinese caricaturists much likely adopt foreign caricatures by mistaking them as Chinese indigenous pictures, without knowing they are spreading the alien images. In this light, we cannot presume that foreign publications are Chinese caricaturists’ only avenue to foreign caricatures because Chinese ones unexpectedly served the same purpose. From the angle of the global and domestic itineraries, Chinese caricatures represent a transculturally intricate route of dissemination. The route, I would contend, contributes to foreign pictures’ (re-) contextualization to Chinese changing socio-political milieu. To elaborate on the assertion, I will analyze two visual examples in the next section, unfolding the process in which foreign pictures were (re-)adapted into different contexts.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>192</sup> Chapter Six will show one more example of recontextualization of caricatures in discussing national symbols used by Chinese caricatures.

## CHAPTER FIVE

Bearing in mind that a complex network of image exchanges existed in China, it is not surprising to find that foreign caricatures appeared more than once. Chinese caricaturists demonstrate their wit and shrewdness by repeatedly adapting some foreign caricature into the world's fast-changing reality. On 1 January 1909, for instance, *Tokyo Puck* published a congratulatory caricature to welcome the coming of the new year (Figure 5.37). The caricature shows a cock standing high on a low wall against the rising sun as a backdrop. Under its claws, a group of men are hiding in the shadows below the rooster. Fearing the cock's crow and rising of the sun, the shabby and depressed men symbolize various kinds of sins and misfortunes. The English caption states, the men are "Last year's Excessive Import, Depression ghost, Thief, and Votaries of Naturalism," who should "take to flight" while the "New Year dawns with the voice of a cock."

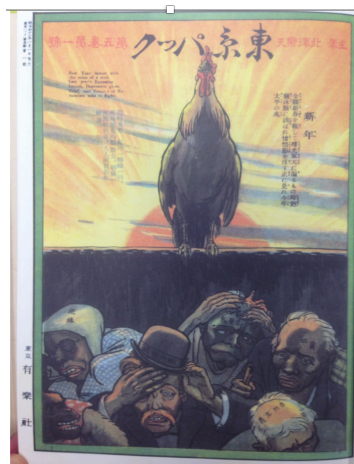


Figure 5.37 New Year Dawns with the Voice of a Cock (*Tokyo Puck*, 1 January 1909).

Chinese caricaturists quickly adapted the Japanese caricature to reflect on China's then-current opium ban. On 31 January 1909, a month after the original caricature was published, *SZRB* carried a caricature entitled "The View of This Year" (今年即景) (Figure 5.38) in which, the cock, reconfigured in a lateral position, crows out: "The International Assembly for the Ban on Opium" (萬國禁煙大會). The rising sun represents the "Giving-Up-Opium Bureau" (戒煙局), a place where opium smokers could see help to quit smoking, suggesting that in 1909, the Chinese opium-prohibition movement would be offering an alluring prospect. In sharp contrast to the cock's optimism, the figures huddled in the shadows below the cock representing various malicious deeds, are themselves smokers identified by the smoking apparatuses they hold. With dread, they fear the cock will terminate their smoking habits; thus, they flee to the darkness, hiding from both the cock and the rising sun.

## CHAPTER FIVE

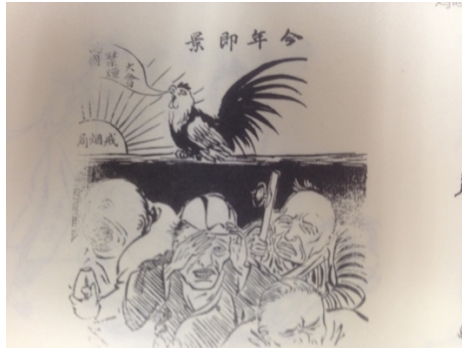


Figure 5.38 The View of This Year (*SB*, 31 January 1909).

At the end of the same year, 1909, a shocking event happened with regard to Shanghai journalism. Owing to its radical criticisms of the Chinese government, the newspaper *Minhu Ribao* 民呼日報 (People's Call Daily, hereafter *MHRB*), founded by a highly respected intellectual, Yu Youren 于右任 (1879-1964), had been suspended in September. On 3 October 1909, after the turbulence surrounding the shut-down had settled down, Yu, without fear of retaliation from the Qing court, founded a new newspaper *MXRB*. The new publication was basically a continuation of *MHRB* in that both newspapers, sharing many similarities such as their titles, the layout, and anti-government content. In *MXRB*'s first issue, there appeared an editorial plus a lengthy article both highly critical of the Chinese government. The two essays, on one hand, harshly condemned the government for suppressing freedom of speech and for closing the former newspaper, and on the other hand, strongly encouraged other Chinese newspapers, despite severe actions by the government, to stand strong in carrying out the duty of journalists: supervising the government and to serving the public interest. Following the articles, a series of congratulatory essays appeared to eulogize the *MXRB* as a role model for all Chinese newspapers, courageously willing to expose the government ills and reveal the truth.

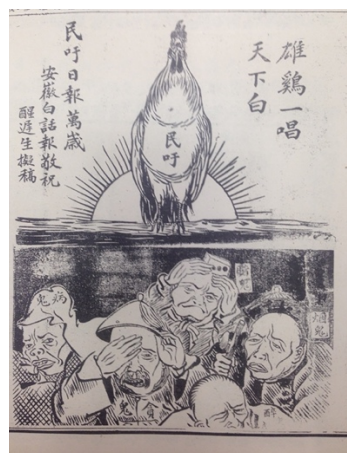


Figure 5.39 When the Cock Crows, the Day Becomes Bright (*MXRB*, 9 October 1909).

## CHAPTER FIVE

Along with essays, the *MXRB* intermittently published congratulatory caricatures from 3 to 21 March 1909. The caricatures suggest the birth of *MXRB* is energizing Chinese journalism and affirming the power of speech. On 9 October 1909, *MXRB* saluted its arrival as a “new blood” in Chinese journalism by adopting the *Tokyo Puck*’s caricature. Ma Xingchi 馬星馳 wittily and humorously associated the cock with *MXRB* (Figure 5.39); the caption claims: “When the cock crows, the day becomes bright “(雄雞一唱天下白), suggesting that the advent of *MXRB* is as if the rising sun illuminates the world. Compared to the *SB* version, the *MXRB* version is more like the Japanese original in iconographic arrangement and pictorial details. Moreover, Ma must have been inspired by the caption of the original Japanese caricature that also emphasized the cock and the sunlight could dispel all the evil spirits. Ma likens the men in the shadows to five ghosts, each of which are marked with Chinese characters to be identified. The ghost of opium with a smoke pipe in hand ( yamgui 煙鬼), the ghost of drunkenness showing only half of his face (jiugui 酒鬼), the ghost of gambling with a vast dice above his head (dugui 賭鬼), the ghost of sickness with a drooling mouth (binggui 病鬼), and the ghost of avarice (tangui 貪鬼) that alludes to the Qing official for his wearing an official’s gown. The five ghosts wittily epitomize the problems of Chinese society. For regular Chinese readers, the figure who expels ghosts often alludes to the traditional deity of ghosts, Zhong Kui, as demonstrated in Figure 1.19, Figure 5.29, and Figure 5.30. However, the introduction of foreign caricatures enriches the visual possibilities of this caricatural motif. Figure 5.39 suggests that the emergence of *MXRB* will expose all vices and resolve all problems, as indicated by the grotesque ghosts hurriedly fleeing to escape the rooster’s crowing and the rays of sunshine.

Taken from *Tokyo Puck*, Figure 5.40 funnily depicts the “busy” daily routines of Japanese people. Entitled the “Five Senses Quite Busy,” Figure 5.40 shows a man’s face surrounded by shapes of facial features representing the five senses. Each feature has a drawing within it, illustrating what each sense is used for. The eye on the left sees a beautiful woman while the eye on the right sees a car accident; the ear on the left hears fighting while the ear on the right hears ballads. Meanwhile, the nose enjoys pleasant aromas from the kitchen and the mouth speaks in a courtroom. Four sleeping men represent the figure’s eyebrows and moustache. The caption: “Only eyebrows and beards are apt to snooze without any work and worries.”

## CHAPTER FIVE

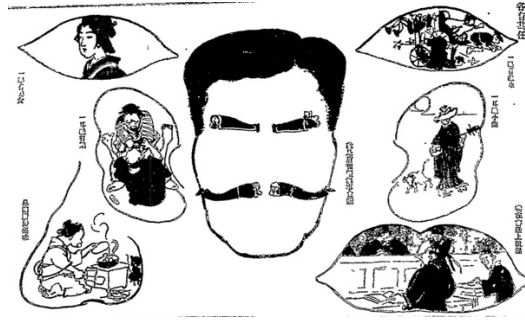


Figure 5.40 Five Senses Quite Busy (*Tokyo Puck*, 1 May 1909).

Soon, the Japanese caricature was adapted by Chinese caricaturists. The bilingualism used by *Tokyo Puck* enables Chinese caricaturists to understand and modify Japanese caricatures to fit different contexts. On 23 November 1909, *SZRB* published a caricature with the caption, “The Responsibilities of the Five Senses” 五官之責任 (Figure 5.41). Judging from the caption and the iconographic arrangement, the drawing is apparently inspired by the original caption that emphasized the responsibility of each of the five senses (各有責任).



Figure 5.41 The Responsibilities of the Five Senses (*SZHB*, 23 November 1909).

While Figure 5.40 displays what Japanese daily life in 1909 would have been like, Figure 5.41 unveils what a late-Qing Chinese would do in his own ordinary routine. In Figure 5.41, the Chinese caricaturist transforms the appearance of the Japanese man with a full head of hair into a Chinese man who looks bald due to his shaved-head hairstyle. The hairstyle seems to mark the Qing subject as a relic of the past, contrasting starkly with the Western-style man depicted in Figure 5.40. A few subtle adjustments exhibit the dis/similarities between the Japan’s and China’s lifestyles. Similar to the Japanese man, the eyebrows and beard of the Chinese man fall asleep, also his left eye sees beauties, and his nose smells the fragrance of delicious food. Yet, the right eye of the Chinese man observes people fighting, which the ear

## CHAPTER FIVE

of the Japanese man is listen to. By comparison, the left ear of the Chinese man listens to storytelling (說書) while his right ear listens to Chinese opera-singing instead of a ballad 小曲 that Japanese people liked to hear.

The responsibility of the Chinese mouth in the drawing is worth noting. Instead of debating loud in the courtroom as the Japanese mouth does, the Chinese mouth delivers a public speech 嘴能演說. The mouth of the Chinese man reflects the newly rising expressive form of speechmaking in China that had permeated daily life. At the time, public speeches in China had been regarded as a powerful method for spreading new knowledge to the public, especially to the illiterate. As early as the end of the nineteenth century, Liang Qichao promoted the advantages of public speech in China's 1898 political reform and recorded several public speeches that he and his colleagues presented. In the following years, intellectuals and newspapers advocated public speech so enthusiastically that a consensus was formed to replace schooling with public speeches to enlighten the public. Many associations were established in society and different levels of schools were established for members to discuss various topics, receive training, and give speeches. The public speeches produced such a tremendous political force that even the government was threatened, resulting in a ban on criticizing the government and organizing the masses around speech making events (P. Chen 2007, 6-14).

Speech-making also influenced the Chinese literary style. The popularity of speeches not only facilitated the development and shaping of the vernacular literature but also advanced the maturation of "the modern national language" 現代國語. Writers applied the logic and specialties of speech-making to their writings, which in turn led to innovations in the style of modern Chinese literature. As a result, written language became easier to compress but also more extreme and agitative. In that way, the verbal expression of speech-making was melded into Chinese literary creations (P. Chen 2007, 14-16). In short, speech-making was one of the primary influences for the so-called oral enlightenment in the late Qing. For the lower classes, the effect might not have occurred as rapidly as expected. However, doubtlessly, new cultural values were successfully introduced among modern Chinese people such as healthy bodies, patriotism, and national sentiment/consciousness (Li 1992, 146-147).

In Figure 5.41, the image of the Chinese man's ears and mouth enjoy different performance on stage. Storytelling and Chinese dramas were traditional types of recreational entertainment so that audiences felt comfortable and relaxed as they gained from the performances new knowledge and learned new moral lessons that were later incorporated into their daily lives. Stories that were told and performed would have instilled in audiences a given



## CHAPTER FIVE

ideology and morality (Chen 2007, 7). The late Qing Chinese literati and theater reformists often referred to the profound influence of stage performances for the purpose of highlighting the crucial role that the theater would play in improving society and the nation. According to Li Xiaoti's research (1992, 97-102), theaters were one of prominent locations for the ordinaries to make speeches. Additionally, it was common for theater owners, actors, and intellectuals to propagate new ideas or announce upcoming charitable events before, in the middle of, or after stage performances. Characters in theatrical presentations would sometimes act outside the context of plots to deliver speeches to audiences. Even without performances, theaters also functioned as ready-made lecture halls where the masses gathered to listen to speeches. As argued by Chen Pingyuan (2007, 7), it is reasonable to expect that public speeches, as a newly rising expressive form that attracted public attention, had previously been incorporated for educational purposes into traditional performances of storytelling as well as into Chinese operas. A speech could elevate the moral level of a drama, while the drama could fabricate a story context for a sentimental or inspiring speech. As a result, not merely "auditorial and oral" senses but also all the other senses could be mobilized to receive instructions delivered by combinations of these various recreational forms of entertainment.

In Figure 5.41, within the mouth of the caricature, a Chinese man is seen wearing in a western suit as he delivers a public speech in a lecture hall, an interaction made possible by the participation of speakers (represented by the mouth) plus an audience (represented by the mouth and the ears). The fact that the caricature stresses only the mouth insinuates that everyone is responsible for expressing his opinion and enlightening others. Along with the prevalence of public speech-making, the Chinese people called for setting up as many speech locations as possible (Li 1992, 88-91). It seems that almost anywhere could be considered suitable for speech-making: for example, on the street, in an auditorium (mostly for political purposes), and in schools, as well as in other than public locations (P. Chen 2007, 6-8; Li 1992, 97, 102-103). The content of speeches covered a variety of topics ranging from political events to general knowledge (Li 1992, 103-136). Hence, the training of speechmakers became a concern of Chinese intellectuals who suggested following examples from the West and Japan where public speech-making was part of people's daily lives so that ordinary people were familiar with putting forth their points of view on how to be a good speaker (Li 1992, 91-97; Chen 2007, 8-10). New-style modern Chinese schools not only adopted public speaking as their primary teaching method but also provided lessons to others on how to cultivate qualified speakers (P. Chen 2007, 10-11). Altogether, these historical facts suggest that public speaking was not only for a few professions to participate but could be learned and practiced by the

## CHAPTER FIVE

common people. Due to the fever of speechmaking, it became the task of Chinese caricaturists to inspire ordinary Chinese people to fulfill “their responsibility of the mouth.”

Two years later, Shanghai’s *MQHB* reproduced a modified version of the same (Figure 5.42). Three points about the modifications deserve our attention. First, compared with earlier versions in *SZRB* (Figure 5.41), the later *MQHB* version (Figure 5.42) more closely resembles the Japanese original. Based on accompanying texts, the title of Figure 5.42 refers not to responsibilities but instead emphasizes the place and a specific group of people: “Shanghai Xianren Wuguan Mang” 上海閒人五官忙 (Five Senses of Leisurely Shanghainese Quite Busy). The title of Figure 5.42 comes close to the caption of the original caricature: “seems so leisurely, but occupied so busily”. The idea of leisure 閒 is mentioned in the original caption and the *MQHB* version but not in the *SB* version.

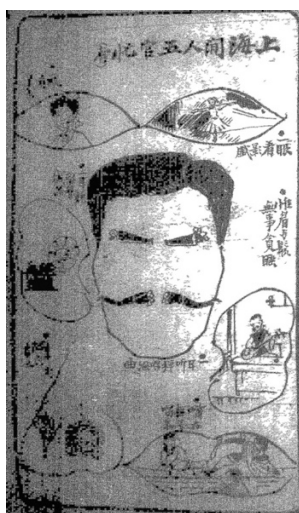


Figure 5.42 Five Senses of leisurely Shanghainese Quite Busy (*MQHB*, 18 June 1912).

Importantly, the *MQHB* caricaturist copied word-for-word the sentences regarding the eyebrows and beard as they appear in the Japanese version. Furthermore, a close examination of the images reveals that the original and *MQHB* versions include shapes that are the same as the facial features representing the five senses, while the *SZRB* version adds more pictorial details to the facial expressions. In particular, instead of a bald Chinese man, the *MQHB* version depicts a western style man whose appearance is similar to that of the figure in the original Japanese version. Based on this textual and pictorial evidence, it is for sure that *MQHB* caricaturist must have seen the original Japanese version, rather than simply duplicating the *SZRB* version.

By comparing these three caricatures, the trajectory of imitating Figure 5.40 becomes clear. Based on the examples of Figure 5.35 and Figure 5.36, despite the lack of a foreign

## CHAPTER FIVE

original, we need to consider that Figure 5.36's "duplicating from a western paper" 錄泰西報 was, in fact, an example of a Chinese caricaturist copying Figure 5.35, a process that I regard as internalizing the flows of external images. In the cases of Figure 5.37 and Figure 5.40, we find the foreign caricatures were contextualized twice. The second versions of Figure 5.39 and Figure 5.42 even resemble the original one more than the earlier versions (Figure 5.37 and Figure 5.41). This fact suggests that the caricaturists of both first and second versions must have consulted and imitated the originals directly. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the second versions have nothing to do with the first ones because it is likely that foreign caricatures were circulating among Chinese caricaturists. No doubt, the existence of many possible circulating routes also contributed globally to complicated networks of visual flows of caricatures. Thus, transcultural exchanges could happen at any time and anywhere.

The change in the image of the man in the middle of the drawings is noteworthy. Different from images of men in the original or the *SZRB* versions (Figure 5.41) that represent given nations (Japanese or Chinese), the man in the *MQHB* version (Figure 5.42) symbolizes a newly emerging social role: that is, of (leisurely) Shanghairen 上海(閒)人. Regarding the image of a Shanghairen 上海人 in Shanghai newspapers, Barbara Mittler (2004) who conducted an insightful analysis, argues that the term Shanghairen refers to "multiple personalities (354)." In advertisements, bamboo rhymes 竹枝詞 and editorials, Shanghai newspapers depict Shanghai's contradictions, reveal its confusion between good and evil, and prescribe how to be an ideal Shanghairen (316-343). The Shanghairens' cultural closeness to the West as well as their distance from the original Chinese culture make them both exceptional and guilty in their daily practices (359). Shanghairens, who live in Shanghai were culturally part Western and part Chinese, who experienced split and even fragmented identities, which led them to "create a cultural design and redefine what is meant to be a Chinese (355)." By taking together all descriptions of Shanghairen, Mittler contends that "Shanghairen in newspapers and the reminiscences and historical narratives are not a specific inhabitant but a pattern of a specific city and a stock image of Chinese modernization narrative (355)." "Shanghairen are tropes for the collective psyche of a modernizing China confronting the foreign presence (359)", which is the reason why Shanghai newspapers attracted a nationwide public readership that either admired or despised Shanghai as an emblem of Chinese westernization.

The *MQHB* version ostensibly resembles the *Tokyo Puck's* original caricature by resorting to the man's western hairstyle. However, Mittler's study reminds us that this

## CHAPTER FIVE

faithfulness to visual imitation might have been intended to reinforce the impression of the Shanghairens' westernization. This reinforcement can be seen also in changes in the appearance of the male figure in images published in different contexts. The original caricature was carried in *Tokyo Puck* in 1909, after the Meiji Restoration 明治維新 (Meiji Ishin, ca. 1853-1879). That movement toward westernization led Japan to become a modern country as a result of the adoption of various western systems by the Japanese administration. The triumph of Japan in the 1895 Sino-Japan War proved the success of political reform in Japan. Scrutinizing pages of *Tokyo Puck*, one finds that many Japanese, especially government officials and intellectuals, were illustrated wearing western suits, alluding to their nation's progress and civilization.

The visual implications might have worked also for Chinese readers, especially after the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905, which confirmed Japan's status as a representation of the West in East Asia. The *SZRB* version, Figure 5.41, shows us that the original powerful westernized man cannot fit to reveal the reality of feeble China. The caricaturist changed the man's western face to resemble the traditional appearance of a Chinese man, whose bald-headedness is funny but, most importantly, connotes cultural backwardness.

Figure 5.42 depicts yet another factor. As aforementioned, it cannot be ignored that the caricaturist of the *MQHB* version of Figure 5.42 likely saw the version of *SZHB* (Figure 5.41) before starting his own re-creation. If so, features selected from the original version and the *SZHB* version deserve discussion. The result manifests that the caricaturist did not apply the backward and funny face to his image of Shanghairen; instead, the original civilized Japanese meets his imagination about westernized Shanghairen. If we consider the temporal dimension, the image of the man in the Figure 5.42 illustration should be described precisely as a Shanghairen in the REPUBLICAN era rather than in the Late Qing. China's establishment of a new government in 1912 announced both the elimination of old symbols (for example, a bald man), on one hand, and China's leaning toward westernization, on the other hand. Regarding the national symbols in Chinese caricatures, the western images allude to Shanghairen and the new polity of China. The national symbols involve visual languages representing different nations, such as the Bear for Russia, which will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Importantly, as Mittler (2004, 354) points out, "in order to survive, the Shanghairen needed alters" (a term that generally refers to alternate multiple personalities) for residents of Shanghai to employ as distractions to the busy lifestyle of a rapidly changing, complex culture in which long-held traditional values of China collided with were being influenced by newly

## CHAPTER FIVE

introduced western values. The series of caricatures “Five Senses Busy” illustrate a variety of distractions that Chinese caricaturists suggest Shanghairens could focus on during the cultural transition. In the original drawing (Figure 5.40), the contrast between the new and the traditional is clear-out. The man with the western hairstyle is surrounded by his five senses in which Japanese people dress themselves in the garments of traditional Japanese society. The dichotomous iconography might have aimed at satirizing the so-called modern Japanese people for their hypocrisy that resulted from conflicts between the internal and the external. The *SZHB* version (Figure 5.41) softens the sharp contrast of the new and the traditions by locating a bald-headed Chinese male around the five senses that contain the western novelty (the new-style-clothing beauties and a new-style-clothing man giving a public speech) and the traditions (story-telling by a man in the traditional clothes, a Chinese operas actor in an old dress). Figure 5.41 takes a different approach. Rather than highlighting distinctions between the new and the old, Figure 5.41 suggests that the Chinese people living in the late Qing needed to become more accustomed to different types of recreational distractions as if deploying different “alters.”

The *MQHB* version (Figure 5.42) seemingly synthesizes the previous two versions. As more modern entertainment was being imported to the Settlement, the Shanghairens selected other new types as leisurely distractions. Based on pictorial modifications of Figure 5.40 and of Figure 5.40 and Figure 5.42, Figure 5.42 presents an overview of how Shanghai’s changing entertainment industry incorporated a mix of modern and old-world traditions. The eyes of the Shanghairens preferred to watch movies 影戲 more than car accidents (Figure 5.41) and instead of street fights (Figure 5.41), scenes of beauties wearing new-style clothing always caught the men’s attention. Shanghairens’ ears liked to listen to gramophones and drama-singing instead of watching fights or listening to ballads (Figure 5.40), and storytelling (Figure 5.41). Shanghairens also enjoyed smelling the fragrance of bouquets freshly cut flowers rather than cooked food dishes ((Figure 5.40 and 5.42). The Shanghairen’s mouth, retiring from its duties in a courtroom (Figure 5.40) and public speech (Figure 5.41), now applauds loudly for brilliant performances.

Figure 5.42 also contrasts the new and the traditional but not as obviously as in Figure 5.40. For example, the Shanghairen man with the western-hairstyle is encircled by other Chinese men wearing Chinese garments or a western suit, thus stressing the reality of how the old and the new were blending. Figure 5.42 reveals a transition in which western entertainment, such as movies and phonographic music, gradually occupied more of the Chinese people’s leisure time than traditional storytelling or opera performances. Although movies were

## CHAPTER FIVE

introduced in Shanghai in 1896, that form of entertainment developed slowly mainly because places of traditional Chinese entertainment, such as tea houses and public gardens, were not suitable for projecting movies, let alone for operating movie businesses (Hu 2010, 9). The situation improved in 1908 when the first movie theater was established in Shanghai. Hereafter, movies became another example of Shanghairens' ordinary leisure-time activities (17-18). In 1905, a Beijing photo studio connected a series of photos of Chinese opera performances and was recognized as the first Chinese movie (40). Two years later in 1907, an Englishman by the name of Benjamin Brodsky (1877-1960), founded in Shanghai the first movie company in China – known as the Asia Movie Company. Soon afterwards China started making its own movies (34-36). In 1909, two years after the Asia Movie company was founded, the *SZRB* version, Figure 5.41, was published, a time when movies were just beginning to become popular but were not yet regarded as primary sources of sensory input. In other words, as these caricatures suggest that it took three years before watching movies became an important event for the visual senses to engage in.

As for gramophones, also known as phonographs, this form of entertainment was first mentioned in China in 1877 by Guo Songtao 郭嵩濤 (1819-1891) in his writings about his diplomatic journey to France, where he saw newly invented phonographs and met the inventor, Thomas Edison (1847-1931). In 1889, phonographs were first introduced into China as *Feiyingge huabao* 飛影閣畫報 (1890) in related information where phonographs were illustrated. In the beginning, phonographs and musical record collections were owned only by wealthy members of the Chinese society and by high government officials. However, in 1905, phonographs started to be sold in Shanghai by an English company and from 1909 on, many foreign companies entered the business. The competitive market accounted for the popularity of phonographs (Xu 2016, 14-15). As shown in Figure 5.42, it seems ordinary that the Shanghairens' ears listened to musical recordings. Taken together, Figure 5.41 and Figure 5.42 illustrate both the traditional and the new cultural experiences that, in turn, further indicate higher levels of prosperity in places like Shanghai where residents were able to enjoy more leisure time higher and had higher amounts of disposable income for the purchase of new, sophisticated sensory cultural input.

These sensory caricature drawings that feature the five senses symbolize a rapidly changing and complex mixture of cultural exchanges between the traditional Chinese and Western cultures that members of the Shanghairen society were being exposed to daily and incorporating into their lives in the early twentieth century. The term “leisurely” does not seem

leisurely at all, especially as every small caricature drawing alludes to alternative aspects of sensory perceptions that both comprised and influenced every individual Shanghairen who was reading in newspapers about the new cultural input, its benefits and uses, as well as its technology and manufactured products.

### **5.5 Conclusion**

The flow of images, as mentioned above, was a global phenomenon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thanks to the progress of printing techniques and the worldwide circulation of newspapers and magazines. Not only in China, but also in other countries, such as India and Australia, local publications imitated caricatures from foreign publications. The fervent imitative activities, namely, the massive translation of foreign caricatures, testify to an inevitable impetus to reverse the asymmetry in the caricatural visual presentations following cultural encounters and exchanges. Chapter Five explored this global trend by identifying four modes whereby Chinese caricaturists imitated caricatural images in foreign newspapers and magazines, using various strategies:

1. Newspapers directly imitated foreign caricatures with slight alterations but retained the original meanings.
2. Some foreign caricatures were contextualized to the Chinese socio-political settings by adapting textual and pictorial details into a given situation in China.
3. A flow of images existed within China's national boundary, as some newspapers in Beijing and Guangzhou imitated caricatures published in Shanghai's newspapers. This phenomenon suggests Shanghai was the stronghold for Chinese caricatures at that time.
4. Some foreign caricatures were utilized twice for different events. Due to the national circulation of caricatures, the possibility cannot be ignored that Chinese caricaturists ostensibly imitated foreign caricatures but actually duplicated the work of another Chinese publication. Foreign images, once they arrived in China, may have become part of Chinese stock illustrations.

Chapter One showed linkages of Chinese caricaturists to the profession of historiographers, a symbol of righteousness and genuineness in the Chinese tradition, while Chapter Five demonstrated linkages of caricaturists to another profession, that of translators, or to borrow Wagner's term, cultural brokers. These imitating caricatures often included in captions "translating from" 譯自, which defined their actions of duplicating, adopting, and

## CHAPTER FIVE

adapting images as translations. In the late Qing and the early Republican era, Western translations regarding concepts, knowledge, and techniques prevailed in China. Translators were expected to have a good command of foreign cultures and knowledge. By allying themselves with translators, Chinese caricaturists distinguished themselves from the old-style painters by highlighting their modernity and advancement.

In addition to translating new visual languages, Chinese caricaturists also translated various foreign prejudices against China because many of the foreign caricatures they imitated were meant to satirize China. Chinese caricaturists who imitated opposition to China as expressed in foreign caricatures criticized and commented on the foreign images, they imitated by using tactics that literary translators often applied to criticize and comment on foreign texts they translated. Thus, Chinese caricaturists were able not only to introduce new visual languages and foreign cultural symbolism to Chinese readers but they were also able to introduce information about how China was being satirized in foreign caricatures, thus enhancing the visual knowledge of Chinese readers.

By exhibiting various modes of imitation, Part Two delves into the “massive translation” of the transcultural translations of Western-style humorous magazines and caricatures in China. Chapters Three and Four discuss the domestication of Punch-like magazines in China, both by the foreign diaspora and by a Chinese painter, Shen Bochen. Their “massive translation” of Western-style humorous magazines identifies their status as cultural brokers in transcultural interactions. Driven by the magazines' function to “rectify and help society and people” (Shen 1918a, 1), they obviously attempted to overcome the asymmetry between China and the West (Japan) in the publication of humorous magazines. Chapter Five unearths a complicated network of visual circulation of caricatures both globally and nationally, suggesting a general picture of the flow of images at that time, which resulted from an abundance of caricatures translated from foreign countries.

Behind the massive translation of periodicals and caricatures, it is worth noticing that caricaturists adopted foreign concepts and visual symbolisms. Part Three (Chapter Six and Seven) explores Chinese caricaturists as a “Contact Zone” where transculturation took place. These images demonstrated the encounter and mixture of eastern and western concepts such as different systems of national symbols and adoption of western concept such as evolutionism. These concepts turned out to be a pivotal visual language employed by Chinese caricaturists, for example, western national symbols (America as Uncle Sam and Britain as Mr. John Bull). Meanwhile, Chinese caricaturists also had created a set of customary Chinese national emblems, images that were familiar to Chinese readers. Notably, during the transitory time,



## CHAPTER FIVE

from autocracy to republicanism, Chinese caricaturists also adopted the then-current popular Western concept, evolutionism, to show the uncertainty of the nation's future. To better understand the Chinese national symbols and the foreign concepts used, Chapter Six examines caricatural national symbolism in the late Qing, while Chapter Seven deals with those in the early Republican Era. The manners in which Chinese caricaturists illustrated China as a grotesque nation by using these changing national symbols are also the concern of the Section III.

### **III. Concepts**

## Chapter 6

# Caricatural National Symbols I: The Qing Official and Deformed Grotesques

Chapter Six explores the caricatural national symbols prevalent during the late Qing dynasty. The analysis delves into the asymmetry between Chinese and Western caricatures, considering that foreign representations had already established a set of stock national emblems. To bridge this gap, Chinese caricaturists, borrowing Wagner's term (2019, 24), “translate” Western visual symbolism in their works while preserving their distinct metaphorical system for representing nations.

This chapter highlights the disparity by juxtaposing two distinct systems of caricatural national symbolism co-existing in late Qing caricatures. It demonstrates how Chinese artists skillfully and, notably, grotesquely incorporated these symbols to satirize the Qing court. My analysis will mainly focus on a given visual pattern known as “half-half,” a Western visual game resembling mirror reflection. I will apply theories of the grotesque to interpret these “half-half” monstrous forms as vehicles for political discourse. The combined utilization of caricatures, national symbols, visual games, and mirror reflections sheds light on the nation's dysfunction, revealing how these elements convey political messages.

## 6.1 National Symbolisms in the late Qing Caricatures

### 6.1.1 Foreign Symbolism imported

Chapter Five has demonstrated that Chinese caricaturists undertook “massive translation” of foreign caricatures, adapting these visuals to suit the Chinese context. It is noteworthy that during the translation process, caricaturists incorporated enduring Western caricatural national symbolism into the Chinese visual system of national emblems. From the late Qing onward, Chinese caricaturists began to import western national symbolism. The first was animal imagery. In “The Situation in the Far East” 時局圖, recognized as the first Chinese political caricature to use animal imagery, western powers are depicted as encircling and threatening China. The bear to the north represents Russia. The bulldog occupying central China symbolizes England. The toad crawling on Vietnam and Guangxi refers to France, while the eagle staring at China from the Philippines signifies America. Exceptions to animal representations are Japan and Germany. The former is symbolized by the sun, the only icon on

## CHAPTER SIX

Japan's national flag, while Germany is signified by a sausage, Germany's characteristic food.

193

The symbolism of animals as nations is commonly used in the western-style caricatures. It is natural and right for Xie Zantai, the creator of “The Situation in the Far East”, who is educated in Austria and had worked in Hong Kong, to employ such visual language to unmask Chinese pressing crisis. Yet, for the Chinese audience who knows little about the symbolism, an instruction in interpreting the caricature is required. Explanatory texts often accompany the images that elaborate upon the caricaturist's intention and the symbolism of animals. In the original version, Xie indicated which animals symbolize which countries in a chart above the image. A couplet claims that China had been falling into asleep for a long time so that could not compete with the powers. It was urgent for China to wake up in this crucial era for fear of being divided by the foreign countries. In the version allegedly completed around 1900 to 1902, the animals were marked with the national flags while a short text written in Cantonese explains the caricature in details. In 1903, when “The Situation in the Far East” appeared in the first issue of *JZRB*, the chief editor, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, stated himself clearly the aim of reprinting the caricature through an accompanying essay of Tushuo 圖說 (an explanation of the picture). His remark on the caricature is no less than a lecture to the readers on how to understand the animal symbolism and the connotation of the picture (Wagner 2011, 11-32; Yi 2021, 188-208).

The other type of imported symbolism is national personification. In western-style caricatures, particular human characters, such as the American Uncle Sam, the British John Bull, the German Caesar, etc., often represent nations. As early as 1903, Chinese caricatures have started using the symbolism. Claiming to be a duplication of a Japanese caricature, “The Current Situation” 現勢 (Figure 6.1) depicts a Russian man sitting down to roast chestnuts with three other men – an American, a British, and a Japanese – watch him. According to the explanatory text, the caricature is meant to reveal America's and Britain's conspiracy to provoke collusion between Japan and Russia with regard to China's territories. They encourage the Japanese to take some of the chestnuts before the Russian eats them all, a reference to China's northwestern territory. The illustration emphasizes a high degree of suspicion and deception among the powers, while simultaneously highlighting the powers' disregard for

---

<sup>193</sup> “The Situation in the Far East” has aroused interests of many scholars. Their research includes the pictures' foreign origin, publishing history and the visual symbols. Among these academic achievement, Wagner (2011)'s “China “Asleep” and “Awakening.” A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It” provides a historical account for the creation of the caricature in the global context as well as a detailed examination on its visual symbolism, which is by far the most thorough exploration in this regard.

## CHAPTER SIX

China's sovereignty. At the conclusion of the explanatory text, the caricaturist calls upon the Chinese audience to pay greater attention to the foreign powers' objectives to carve up China for their own purposes.

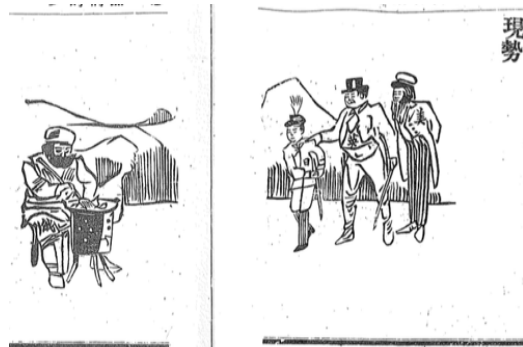


Figure 6.1 The Current Situation (*ESJW*, 20 December 1903).

Much scholarship has proven that Japan played a pivotal role in early years of the twentieth century in terms of facilitating China's acquisition of western knowledge and technical skills<sup>194</sup> That trend held true also with regard to Chinese caricatures as well. Previous chapters have described how Chinese caricaturists imitated numerous caricatures published in Japanese magazines and newspapers. What they learned by imitating those "Japanese" drawings is how to draw western-style caricatures. This *ESJW* caricature, despite its Japanese origin, obviously adopted the western convention of national personification in which America is depicted as a longhaired man wearing tailcoat and trousers with vertical stripes, a figure that looks like Uncle Sam, a universal visual image for America. Britain is illustrated as a gentleman with a western suit, like John Bull, a conventional icon for Britain while Japan and Russia are identified by their characteristic outfits: Japan as a young military soldier with a samurai sword, a distinct symbol of Japan, and Russia is depicted as a man with a thick beard and wearing an ushanka and a cotton-padded jacket, a typical emblem of Russia. The illustration attests to the fact that by the early phase of Chinese caricatures, the convention of universal national personifications was already being incorporated into the Chinese iconography utilized by caricaturists.

In contrast to animal imagery that had fairly limited appeal among Chinese caricaturists, the system of national personification was so widely adopted that nations symbolized by human

---

<sup>194</sup> For example, Xiong Yuezhi (1994) "An overview of the dissemination of western learning in late-Qing China"; Harrel Paula (1992) *Sowing the seeds of change: Chinese students, Japanese teachers, 1895-1905*; Pan Guang-Zhe (2006) *Wanqing shiren de xixue yuedushi* (1833-1898) 晚清士人的西學閱讀史 (一八三三-一八九八), Zheng Kuangmin (2008) *Xixue de Zhongjie: Qingmo minchu Zhongri wenhua jiaoliu* 西學的中介: 清末民初的中日文化交流, just to name some.

## CHAPTER SIX

figures rapidly became stock images. The caricature of “The International Lantern Festival” 各國聯合龍燈大會 (Figure 6.2), one of Qian Binghe’s 錢病鶴 famous caricatures, satirized the Chinese government for its vulnerability to foreign powers’ interference with the Chinese railways enterprise. In the drawing, the foreign powers perform a “locomotive dance,” a parody on the popular dragon dance. Holding up separate train cars, the figures chase a child who wears a dragon robe, apparently a reference to Puyi 溥儀 (1906-1967), the young emperor of China at that time. Ironically, although the dance and lantern celebration are long-standing Chinese traditions, those celebrating were not Chinese figures but instead personifications of foreign powers encroaching on China’s railway business. Qian identified America’s Uncle Sam, Germany’s Caesar, Britain’s John Bull and other characters by their attire. Presumably, by 1909, the caricaturist expected most of the Chinese audience to be capable of interpreting the meaning of the national icons and reasons for the celebration without the need for textual indicators.



Figure 6.2 The International Lantern Festival (*MHRB*, ca.1909).

A caricature by Ma Xingchi, entitled “This is So-Called Chinese Independence,” 此之謂中國獨立, demonstrates how China’s national visual personifications traveled. The caricature is an imitation of a Japanese caricature published in *Tokyo Puck*. The original illustration (Figure 6.3), “Of Late the Kaiser Has Been Feeling Solitary,” features children representing various countries, identified by their culturally stereotypical garments. For example, the Japanese kimono and clogs reveal the nationality of the child in the center. On the left, the American Uncle Sam wears, as usual, his top hat rimmed with stars. The Russian, French and British figures (counterclockwise) dance merrily in the circle, hand-in-hand with the Japanese child and Uncle Sam. The joy and playfulness of children dancing only sharpens feelings of sadness on the face of the German child, standing outside the group, wearing a military uniform, indicating his bellicosity, as he stands outside the group, isolated and ostracized.

## CHAPTER SIX



Figure 6.3 Of Late the Kaiser Has Been Feeling Solitary (*Tokyo Puck*, 10 January 1909).

The Japanese caricature depicts the international situation before World War I. In 1882, Germany had allied with Austria-Hungary and Italy under the alias Triple Alliance while the Triple Entente, the other alliance, came into being much later in 1907 through the cooperation of France, Russia and Great Britain. The two groups hence became the main international rivals. Triple Entente, established in response to the Triple Alliance, received support from other nations, including, but not limited to, Japan and America, as illustrated in the *Tokyo Puck* caricature. While the “other children” join hands with their playmates, Germany, the leader of Triple Alliance, is portrayed as the solitary boy with whom no one wants to play.

Less than a year later, Ma Xingchi depicted a similar interaction in the caricature, “This is so-called Chinese independence.” 此之謂中國獨立.” (Figure 6.4). The basic composition of the latter image remains the same – an isolated child standing alone in contrast to the circle of other happy children dancing; however, some details are altered. First, the German Kaiser, no longer isolated, has joined the circle of dancing children, suggesting a new alliance of international powers. Second, the figure representing China, shown in the upper left segment, rejected outside of the circle of great world powers. The caption magnifies the insult of the situation with a pun: “This is so-called Chinese Independence.” The word – “Independence,” (duli 獨立) translated literally, refers to people standing alone without the fellowship of others.



Figure 6.4 This is So-Called Chinese Independence (*SZHB*, 7 November 1909).

### 6.1.2 Chinese National Symbolism

While familiarizing the Chinese audience with the national symbolism of foreign caricatures, Chinese caricaturists also invented their own visual symbols that represent various countries. Chinese caricaturists employed 1) many animals to represent China instead of the particular one and 2) the Qing official as the national symbol rather than an imagery character.

Although western animal imagery had been introduced to China at an earlier stage, the symbolism did not prevail for long. Rather, Chinese caricaturists created their own semiotic system that relied mostly on Chinese puns and words. For instance, a goose often symbolizes Russia in that “Russia” (er) sounds like “goose” (er) in Chinese. An eagle represents England rather than America because “England” (yingguo) sounds like “eagle” (ying). On February 21, 1911, a *SZRB* caricature revealed that the foreign powers were shattering *Zhongghuo* 中國 (China) (Figure 6.5). The character of Zhong 中 (middle) appears as a wooden stick, while Guo 國 (nation) is broken into pieces floating on the water. The eagle perching on Zhong 中 signifies England’s control over China while the goose swimming across Guo 國 represents Russian’s invasion of China.



Figure 6.5 Untitled (*SZRB*, 21 February 1911).



## CHAPTER SIX

Although rare, some animal imagery was also used to signify China's national characteristics. Take the dragon for example. Considered a national symbol in China from ancient times, the Chinese people, according to myths, regard themselves as descendants of dragons so that Chinese emperors and royal family members were obliged to associate themselves with dragons in order to reinforce their political orthodoxy and legitimacy. With such divine and monarchical tributes, the fantastical dragon signifies the sovereignty and glory of Chinese civilization (Shi 2014). In the "The International Lantern Festival" (Figure 6.2), China is likened to a long dragon lantern procession. Published by *SB* in 1907, prior to World War I, the caricature, "The Treaty" 協約 (Figure 6.6), depicts China's diplomatic situation subsequent to formation of the Tripe Entente, composed of England, Russia, and France, allies in the fight against German interests in Europe as well as on other continents. In China, the European allies decided to collaborate in support of their China policies. Japan, though not a member of the alliance, asked the Chinese government for additional rights to secure its interest and sought to affiliate with England. Various agreements, secretly reached without considering China's sovereign authority, had significantly negative effects on Chinese politics. The image portrays China as a dragon being squeezed by an enormous hand representing the foreign powers' clandestine dealings. Apparently suffocating and motionless, the dragon vividly symbolizes China's condition at the time relative to foreign powers.

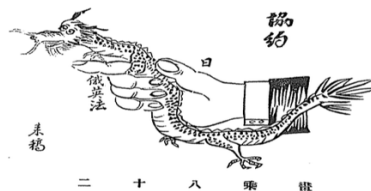


Figure 6.6 The Treaty (*SZHB*, 3 October 1907).

During that same time period, a lion was newly recruited as a Chinese national symbol, its appearance and wide acceptance strongly influenced by the Chinese people's enthusiasm for national salvation. Chinese intellectuals, Zeng Jize 曾紀澤 (1839-1890) and Liang Qichao 梁啟超, had previously advocated the idea of nationalism in their essays, employing the metaphor of China as a powerful lion, currently sleeping, that when it awakens will be strong and mighty. In sharp contrast, a *SZRB* caricature depicts China as a sleeping lion, lying on the ground, too weak to resist an invasion of flies and other insects (Figure 6.7).<sup>195</sup> At

<sup>195</sup> Likewise, a dragon was a Chinese national emblem for foreign countries. Many foreign caricatures, nevertheless, illustrated China as a dragon that appears either evil or defenseless, which is far from the vigorous and robust image it took on in its homeland, see Shi (2014, 103-134). About the metaphor of China's sleeping and

## CHAPTER SIX

the upper right of the drawing a huge hand holding a copy of the *SZRB* newspaper, is prepared to shoo the insects away, suggesting that as a voice for public opinion, *SZRB* can arouse the lion from its weakened state to save the country from foreign subjugation.



Figure 6.7 Untitled (*SZRB*, 12 April 1910).

Compared to animal imagery, Chinese caricaturists far more frequently preferred to personify the image of China. Especially favored is the popular Qing official, clearly a conventional visual symbol for the Qing administration. “The Situation in the Far East,” for example, depicts Qing officials as humans surrounded by animals that represent foreign nations. Although whether the Qing could represent China at the time sparked intense debate, most Chinese caricaturists still designated the Qing official in a traditional gown as China’s national emblem, like foreign caricaturists does. Therefore, it is very common for Chinese caricaturists associate the Qing officer with the nation and in doing so, they actively encouraged the Qing government to assume responsibility for protecting the nation. The caricature “Very Close to One’s Eyebrows and Eyelashes” 迫在眉睫 (Figure 6.8) demands the Qing court give serious consideration to threats of national subjugation as if those threats were close to his face. The caricaturist’s wit is noteworthy for its visualization of a Chinese idiom that connects the Qing official to a map of China. The eyebrow functions as a string that holds the eye and the map together. To a certain extent, by using the Qing official as a national symbol, the image seemingly approves the legitimacy of the Qing regime for governing China.

---

awakening, see Wagner (2011) “China “Asleep” and “Awakening.” A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It.”

## CHAPTER SIX



Figure 6.8 Very Close to One's Eyebrows and Eyelashes (*SZRB*, ca.1908).

The Qing official as Chinese national symbol manifests more perspicuous in the caricatures that compare China with the foreign powers. The caricature “A Comparison of the Competition Between China and the Foreign” 中外競爭之比較 (Figure 6.9) likens “the people’s spirit in foreign countries” 外國之民氣 to a swift horse that carries a rider while “the people’s spirit relationship with the Chinese government” 中國之民 is likened to a Qing official who carries a black donkey around his shoulders. Obviously, the Chinese official carrying the donkey cannot run as fast as the swift horse that carries the foreign rider. The illustration emphasizes not only differences in levels of competition but further underscores that people in foreign countries cooperate with their governments while China’s government lacks the spirit of public support, thereby impeding the Chinese government’s ability to move forward. The official’s ridiculous posture in carrying the donkey may imply that the Chinese government does not know how to deal with the people’s spirit so that public support that might otherwise be viewed as a source of national power, unexpectedly, turns out to be a burden. In short, the caricature reveals the disconnect between China’s populace and the Chinese government, a basic tension between upper and lower levels of society, that negatively impacts China’s inability to compete effectively with foreign nations.

中外競爭之比較



Figure 6.9 A Comparison of the Competition Between China and the Foreign (*SZRB*, 28 June 1909).

“The Comparison of the Arm in the East and the West” 中西軍備之比較 (Figure 6.10) lampoons China’s under-developed military weapons. The panel on the right depicts “The Western and European Arms” 歐西之軍備 with three airships flying past. In the foreground, two westerners talk to each other in front of the word “War,” suggesting their advanced

weapons are ready for conflict. The panel on the left shows “in China’s arsenal as indicated by Chinese soldiers in the background armed with the primitive weapon of halberds. The middle panel, entitled “The Eastern Ocean’s Army” 東洋之軍備, illustrates Japan’s astonishing military capability depicted by rockets those soldiers carry on their backs for immediate take-off. Dongyang 東洋 (The Eastern Ocean) is an alternative name for Japan.



Figure 6.10 The Comparison of Military Power (*SZRB*, 11 November 1909).

## 6.2 Bianxing 變相 (Deformity): A Nation of Grotesque

### 6.2.1 A Head of Half-Smiling-Half-Crying

On 5 April 1907, soon after *SB* started publishing caricatures, the newspaper featured “the leader of civilization” (文明領袖) (Figure 6.11), the caricature of a man wearing a pair of glasses and a hat with a comical hairstyle, eyebrows, beard, and mustache, whose dull eyes were staring off into the distance. Yet, when the picture was turned upside-down, a very different scene became obvious in which the leader turns out to be not a man, but rather a potted plant. The man’s hair, eyebrows, beard, and mustache become leaves on the branches and his glasses and eyes become flowers. Under the potted plant is the title of the scene: “Play Picture” (遊戲畫), accentuating the essence of the image: playfulness, an art form intended to amuse the audience.

Ten days later, the second “play picture” was published in which the caricaturist plays with the head of an ostensibly western woman with a thick scarf around her neck. But, when the picture is turned upside-down, the woman is transformed into a Russian woman wearing a heavy fur hat (Figure 6.12). The caricature, entitled “inverting the wife” (顛倒老婆), was probably designed as a sexually provocative visual since at that time the majority of newspaper readers were men and viewing women’s portraits was associated with erotic fantasy. Importantly, the caption calls attention to the playful technique of caricature inversions (顛

## CHAPTER SIX

倒).<sup>196</sup> The caption instructs the audience different connotations of a caricature can be seen when viewed from different angles.



Figure 6.11 The Leader of Civilization (*SB*, 5 April 1907).



Figure 6.12 Inversion of the Wife (*SB*, 15 April 1907).

These two “play picture” demonstrates another pictorial pattern of mirror caricatures. As Tang (2018, 120,129) observes, Chinese mirror caricatures have different pictorial patterns, such as contrasting two figures but mostly a given kind of character with different features, or embodying these figures or these opposite elements in one individual figure. The latter often contains multiple images, if one sees it from different perspectives, and appears in the form of rotating heads (顛倒畫) that resembling mirror reflections.

It cannot be ignored that this graphic pattern has a long history and western scientific background. As early as ancient Greek and Roman time, this icon had been used to decorate bills, grounds, and stone columns. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it became a global sensation because of the advancements in human visions, recognition, and psychology.<sup>197</sup> The discovery of visual illusions 視錯覺, a sensitive incongruity between visual perception and reality, gave birth to diverse reversible and ambiguous images. Although visual illusion creates various iconographic structures, only rotating-head prevailed in China at the time. The reason might lie in the fact that the pattern of rotating heads especially fits the current

<sup>196</sup> Similar caricatures are listed below: Returning from the old to the young (反老為少), 2 August 1907, *SB*. Picture Criticism (畫評), 30 March 1908.

<sup>197</sup> More foreign pictorial examples, see Tang (2018,132-134).

## CHAPTER SIX

Chinese national and social situation of confusion. The multiple faces, bewildering the false and the true, produce the air of the uncanny, suggesting the “half-half” as the world’s most complete and actual appearance (Tang 2018, 131-136).



Figure 6.13 Half Crying and Half Laughing (*SB*, 9 April 1907).

The playfulness of inverted artwork not only gratified the audience but also offered caricaturists a new technique for satirizing the government. As chapter two demonstrates, the old devices and new appliances seem to have empowered the caricaturists with clairvoyance to see through everything. All objects were composed of conflicts and incongruities as if synthesizing images of the reflected and the reflection. Thus, in their eyes existed evil and good, deception and honesty, falsity and the truth.

On 9 April 1907, *SB* carried a caricature mocking the government for its equivocal attitude toward reform of the Chinese bureaucracy (改革官制) (Figure 6.13). The caricature shows a ludicrous illustration of a human head that smiles happily but when inverted, sobs with exhaustion. The caption describes the head as a symbol of the government, “half crying and half laughing” (半哭半笑), that raises questions about the government’s commitment to reform because the figure is not smiling wholeheartedly.

Surprisingly, one caricature in 1908 *Wushen quannian huabao* 戊申全年畫報 (The 1908 Pictorial) demonstrates as many as six faces in one head (Figure 6.14). The illustrator, according to his statement, originally planned to draw a two-faced caricature to expose a bribery scandal in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (外部) but unexpectedly drew six faces: three smiling faces for accepting the money and three crying faces for losing it. The caricature sent a warning to viewers: Watch out for the government that is not as gentle and agreeable as it appears to be. Behind smiling facades are vicious schemers! The caricature, which has a very similar visual reference (Figure 6.15), advised the people to keep a close eye on the government

from as many angles as possible.



Figure 6.14 Untitled (*Wushen qiannian huabao*, 1908).



Figure 6.15 J. Richard Block, *Sweethearts and wives* (1890).<sup>198</sup>

### 6.2.2 Doubles: Duinei (對內) and Duiwai (對外) Relationships

In Freud's theory, the uncanny derives from doubleness, which contributes to visual confusion and also playfulness in these caricatures. Besides the contrast between laughter and weep, the true and the false, Chinese caricaturists led this doubleness to a specific issue, i.e., the clash caused by Chinese asymmetry in coping with internal and external issues. Such doubleness then highlights China's subject identity crisis (Tang 2018, 131). An *SB* satirical illustration, published 14 December 1907, adapted a new visual motif to contrast the "duinei" and "duiwai" relationships (Figure 6.16). From one direction, a human head appears to be that of a compliant woman while from the other, a solemn man. The caption explains that the woman approaches the foreigners (對外), while the man confronts the people (對內), indicating the caricaturist's use of gender stereotypes to denote inferiority and superiority. In a similar caricature, published in 1909 in *SSB*, the caricaturist employs the smiling-face vs. angry-face mode to denote also contradictions in domestic versus foreign relationships. (Figure 6.17). Not surprisingly, the smiling face corresponds with "duiwai" (foreign) diplomats while the angry face relates to "duinei" (domestic) groups, further emphasizing that China's image of itself is that of a divided entity, a duality represented by oppositions of gender and emotions.

<sup>198</sup> The image is adopted from Tang (2018, 316).

CHAPTER SIX



Figure 6.16 Confronting the People, Confronting Foreigners (*SB*, 14 December 1907).

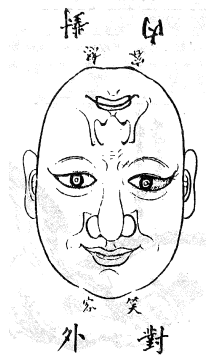


Figure 6.17 Confronting the People, Confronting Foreigners (*SSB*, 1909).

China's self-contradiction, as expressed by two asymmetrical power relationships – *duinei* and *duiwai* – addresses China's national perils: an aggressive governmental power over the Chinese people versus an inferior international status relative to other countries. Within that metaphor of duality, the Chinese government is viewed as using its domestic power to abuse its own people in ways similar to power-plays that western nations employed to abuse China.

The power asymmetry in *duinei* 內 (domestic) relationships foregrounds the government's brutalities through caricature images that spotlight abuse of authority and mistreatment of the people for the government's own benefit. One scene that appears frequently is that of Qing officials heartlessly and excessively squeezing the people dry in order to fill their private coffers. For instance, a comical picture "Chopping Away One's Vitality Day by Day" 旦旦而伐之, plays on a visual pun by changing two Chinese characters *zheng* and *fu* 政府 (meaning the government) into two other Chinese characters that share the same pronunciation: *zheng* and *fu* 政斧 (a political hatchet) (Figure 6.18). Holding a hatchet, a man chops down a tree that symbolizes the people, while collecting the sap that signals the people's lifeblood. The movements of pressing and grinding allude to the government's relentless exploitation. Another illustration of that same year, entitled "The Officials of Its Time" 今之



CHAPTER SIX

為官吏者 (*SB*, 26 April 1909), illustrates an official using a western press mechanism to force the people to “throw up” 吐出 their wealth.



Figure 6.18 Chopping Away One’s Vitality Day by Day (*SB*, 14 May 1907).

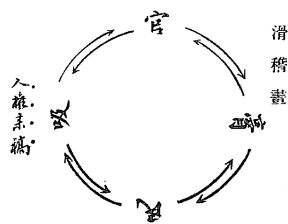


Figure 6.19 Untitled (*SB*, 9 September 1907).

(星) 任 擔 之 民 小



Figure 6.20 The People’s Burden (*SZRB*, 19 July 1909).

An *SB*’s reader responds to the publication’s criticism by contributing (來稿) a caricature that contains a palindrome consisting of four Chinese characters: guan 官 (government officials), xi 吸 (suck up), min 民 (the people), gao 膏 (oil). Regardless of the direction the sentence is read, the meaning is the same: the official sucks up the people’s flesh and blood (Figure 6.19). The Chinese people, who are referred to in the caricature as “the People’s Burden” 小民之擔任, lead a grievous life as they are obliged to carry the heavy cost of the government including payment of taxes, foreign debt, and financial losses due to government policies detrimental to China (Figure 6.20).<sup>199</sup>

This domestic power asymmetry can also be visualized in the body sizes of both official

<sup>199</sup> An *SB* caricature, appearing on 6 January 1901, depicts a similar scene in which a man trudges forward with a stick, carrying an official on his back.

## CHAPTER SIX

figures and ordinary people. A 1909 *MXRB* caricature illustrates a corpulent official confronting many Chinese people who appear to be “as-thin-as-a-lathe,” suffering from natural and man-made disasters that during that time were being frequently reported in newspapers (Figure 6.21). Here, the recurring image of a corpulent official is notable in the caricature.<sup>200</sup> The depiction of his substantial size is hinted at by other images, implying an accumulation of significant wealth. However, in this specific caricature, his corpulent form is metaphorically filled with power, employed to suppress the people. Wearing an evil smirk, the official exhibits no compassion for the suffering Chinese populace. His oversized physique serves as a symbolic representation of his ruthless indifference towards the needs of the people, as he turns a blind eye, seemingly pushing them out of his field of vision.



Figure 6.21 The Fat Official and the Boney People (*MXRB*, ca.1909).

The overbearing government turns a contradictory image as if adding the characters of foreign powers. The caricaturists devoted themselves to describing the tense atmosphere surrounding relationships among foreign powers, Chinese officials, and the Chinese people, which illuminated the government’s self-conflicting stance caused by the power asymmetries of “duinei” and “duiwai.” As early as 1904, *JZRB* published a series of caricatures that portrayed Qing officials as pleasing foreigners at the expense of the Chinese people. (Figure 6.22).<sup>201</sup> Hereafter, similar images appeared. In 1907, the *RJHB*’s caricature, “The Refined Sesame Oil” 小磨香油 (Figure 6.23), compares the people to a large number of sesame seeds being pulverized into oil by a grinder that symbolizes the government. The oil is not being processed to benefit China’s national interests but instead falls into a bucket inscribed with the words: “The Foreign” (國外). In “China Unmasked” 中國現形記 (Figure 6.24), the illustrator

<sup>200</sup> Other two caricatures of obese officials were discussed in Chapters One (Figure 1.11) and Two (Figure 2.34).

<sup>201</sup> The series of caricatures are often thought to be the first caricatures with the title of manhua 漫畫.

## CHAPTER SIX

cleverly juxtaposes a process that involves use of an urn, a ladle, a funnel, and a tea pot as a comparison to a process that involves the people, an official, a government, and foreign countries, respectively. Even without a caption the readers can recognize the processes through which the people's life-blood flows to the foreigners.

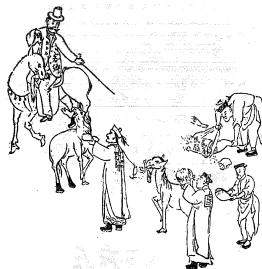


Figure 6.22 Untitled (*JZRB*, March 1904).



Figure 6.23 The Refined Sesame Oil (*RJHB*, 22 September 1907.)

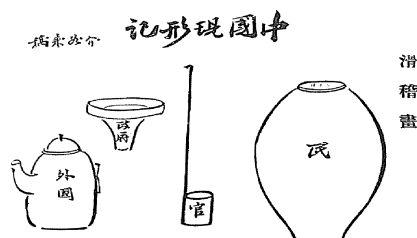


Figure 6.24 China Unmasked (*SZRB*, 19 July 1909).

In addressing the dilemma of domestic versus foreign needs, the Qing court tended to favor the foreign interests. In many different ways, the caricature images ridicule the Qing government for harming its own people on behalf of foreign powers. As “The Way of Dealing with the Domestic Affairs” shows, the official, as a symbol of China, even uses foreign debt 外債 as a knife to threaten the people (Figure 6.25). At the same time, the images also criticize oppression of foreign powers that threaten the Chinese people by acting under the guise of the Chinese government. Two examples include a 1907 *SZRB* caricature and a 1907 satirical illustration published in *RJHB*. In the former, a westerner covers the people with an enormous bell that symbolizes the Chinese government. In the latter, the Chinese people argue with foreigners about a trade dispute 商標, shouting that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

## CHAPTER SIX

Commerce will protect Chinese businesses. A foreigner, however, laughs and tells them sarcastically: “You had better make sure who on earth your ministries will protect: You or us?” (Figure 6.26)<sup>202</sup>

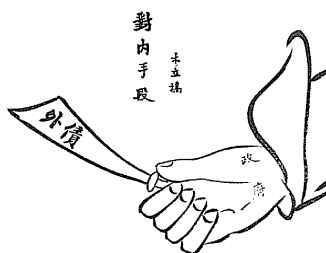


Figure 6.25 The Way of Dealing with Domestic Affairs (SZRB, 23 October 1907).

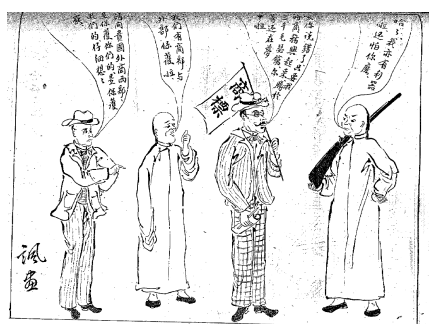


Figure 6.26 Untitled (RJHB, 19 August 1907).

Again, I point out that some caricatures spotlight the popular force as if it is the only hope of the nation. From December 8 to 12 in 1908, *SB* published a series of caricatures in which a Chinese man carries two huge stones on a yoke, one on each end. The first two caricatures (Figure 6.27 and Figure 6.28) suggest that the Chinese people were leading a miserable life because, as the drawing of the man shows, he carries stones that signify the emperor, officials, and the military. Yet, when the man finishes his journey from his house to a meadow, the readers can see that the stones he carried actually symbolized the people’s determination and persistence. Safely passing through all kinds of “foreign crises” 外患 along a dangerous path (Figure 6.29 and Figure 6.30), the man carefully places the stones in two short columns that together read “xianfa” 憲法 (Constitutionalism)(Figure 6.31). These caricatures affirm that even in hard times when a government is malfunctioning, it is ultimately up to the people to carry out political reform.

<sup>202</sup> There are several similar caricatures, such as “The Recent New Puppet” 近日之新傀儡 (SZRB, 10 May 1910).

CHAPTER SIX



Figure 6.27 Picture Criticism (*SB*, 8 December 1908).



Figure 6.28 Picture Criticism (*SB*, 9 December 1908).

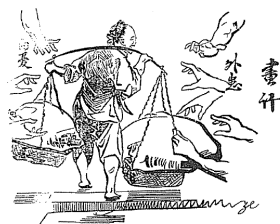


Figure 6.29 Picture Criticism (*SB*, 10 December 1908).

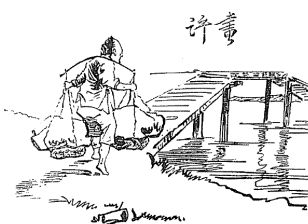


Figure 6.30 Picture Criticism (*SB*, 11 December 1908).



Figure 6.31 Untitled (*SB*, 12 December 1908).

### 6.2.3 Multiple Visions, Appearances and Bodies: A Deformed China

Caricatures that relied on a half-smiling vs. half-crying motif underscore the reality that individuals have various faces/identities. The caricaturists' task is to unmask those incongruities. The kind of caricatures seem to have served as a visual guide to train the audience to see people and the world through a caricatural lens. Human faces, therefore, are a recurring visual motif in the caricatures of the time. Chinese caricaturists drew on disparate social situations (e.g., encountering people with different social status) and adopted various elements as their visual languages (e.g., scientific elements and Chinese characters), creating their unique caricatural physiognomy. (Tang 2018, 137-138).



Figure 6.32 The Category of Faces (*SB*, 4 April 1908.)

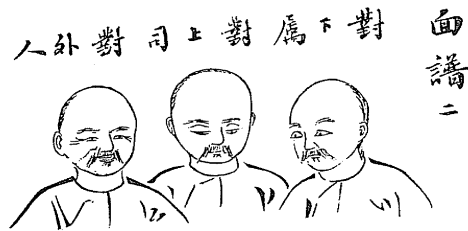


Figure 6.33 The Category of Faces II (*SB*, 7 April 1908).

Two visual examples. On 5 and 7 April 1908, an *SB* caricature illustrated a composite of two “mianpu” 面譜 masks of Qing officials. The term of “mianpu” has a twofold meaning. One meaning of “mianpu” refers to Chinese performing masks and the make-up of Chinese opera singers to represent specific roles. The other meaning of “mianpu” refers to a manual of “the category of faces” for *pu* 譜 that denotes an instructional guide. The first caricature illustrates faces of three individuals representing different classes in the officialdom (Figure 6.32). The high official (上司) wears a sleeping face while the subordinate (下屬) puts on a listless face. Only the petty official (當差) smiles mischievously as if he is conjuring up malicious tricks. The second caricature features three different facial expressions for each class of the government hierarchy. The petty official looks down furiously upon the subordinate while giving his superior, whose eyes are half-open, the cold shoulder (Figure 6.33). In stark contrast to his fellow officials, the high official faces the foreigner (外人), eyes open and alert

## CHAPTER SIX

with obvious interest, whereas the subordinate casts his eyes downward in submission. By drawing an analogy between the officialdom and theater performers, each wearing different faces in interactions with others, similar to the way that actors apply make-up to play different roles, the caricatures function as an instructional guide for officials on how to view the faces of other officials. In other words, to survive in the officialdom, officials must learn how to read the faces of other officials.

In a similar way, masks are employed also as a metaphor, suggesting that a man who wears many masks has multiple identities, symbolizing a deeply divided self. Take “The Face Used in Chinese Officialdom” 中國官場之面相 for example (Figure 6.34). Playing with the gender stereotype, the caricature depicts a cold-faced male official who holds up the mask of a woman with an alluring smile. According to the caption, the male face is turned toward the people while the woman’s mask is used in diplomatic negotiations with foreigners. From the caricaturist’s perspective, an individual’s true character is always hidden under masks/faces and, by extension, the character of the Chinese nation also is split, concealing an essence of brutality.



Figure 6.34 The Face Used in Chinese Officialdom (SZRB, 22 October 1907).

Another 1907 SZRB caricature, “Children Games Picture” 兒戲畫, compares foreign and domestic affairs to children’s games (Figure 6.35). Two Chinese children represent two types of interactions: One Chinese child, who symbolizes diplomacy, holds the mask of a female directed toward three threatening foreign children: English, Russian, and Japanese. Actually, however, the Chinese child’s real face is depicted as sad and hopeless. The other Chinese child signifies domestic affairs by grasping a mask entitled “Constitutionalism” 立憲, but, ironically, on his real face is written the word despotism 專制. The caricature thus makes clear the gap between truth and falsehood, another reference to China’s contradictions between its domestic and international relationships and policies.

## CHAPTER SIX



Figure 6.35 Children Games Picture (*SZRB*, ca.190).

Between 1908 and 1911, a more direct depiction of China's divided self emerged through caricatures, reflecting the rapid changes in the political landscape. This shift can be attributed to several key events. Firstly, the simultaneous deaths of Dowager Cixi and Emperor Guangxu in 1908 created political uncertainty. Secondly, the progression of constitutionalism did not align with public expectations. The Qing court introduced the Outline of Imperial Constitution (欽定憲法大綱), announcing a ten-year preparation period for the implementation of constitutionalism in China. The prolonged preparation time tested the public's patience and triggered a series of petition movements across the country (Hou 2009). Thirdly, China was actively reclaiming its national interests from foreign powers, particularly such as the rights of railway construction and mining, the rights of postal service, telegram and shipping. However, the Qing court, driven by concerns not to antagonize foreign powers, frequently opted for collaboration. This included actions like taking loans from the foreign powers and suppressing the domestic rights recovery movement (Lee 1972, 1978; Zhu 2013).<sup>203</sup> These political dynamics fueled the substantial production of caricatures of this satirical pattern, unveiling the widespread disappointment felt by the public towards the Qing court.

In a caricature published in 1909 by *SZRB*, the official exposes an inner asymmetrical state of the nation by extending his arms, one eye open and the other eye closed. The open eye stares at the westerner who donates money while the closed eye faces the people who kneel down, begging for help (Figure 6.36). The Qing official is a grotesque figure as he is inappropriately huge compared to two ordinary people. Besides, his body maintains a condition of disharmony,” to borrow Thomson’ theoretical term, with one eye open and the other closed, which makes his face appear fully twisted. The transformation and exaggeration in body size and facial expression renders the official simultaneously funny and fearsome.

---

<sup>203</sup> For the caricatures about China’s reclaiming national interests, see Chapter Four, 4.3.1.



## CHAPTER SIX



Figure 6.36 Untitled, (*SZRB*, ca.1909).

A similar caricature, Figure 6.37, also published in 1909 by *Shengjing Ribao* 盛京日報 (Capital Times, 1906-1944), interestingly reverses the official's attitude depicted in Figure 6.37. Nevertheless, the grotesque visual elements remain the same. There the official, depicted as a huge figure compared to a western man and a Chinese man, opens one eye to look at the Chinese man that he squeezes in his right hand. At the same time, the official closes his other eye and holds in his left hand the western man, as if he were standing on a pedestal, as the westerner turns his back on the official and looks in another direction. In terms of iconography, the officials can be viewed as split figures when a line is drawn through the middle of the caricatures. The left and right halves of the official appear to contradict each other, insinuating the official's state of inner confusion. Humorously, the two images parody the Chinese idiom: "Open one eye and close the other," (睜一隻眼閉一隻眼), the original meaning being "to pretend not to see something" or to deliberately ignore something. Simultaneously, the caricatures illustrate the literal meaning of the idiom in terms of how officials at that time were treating the Chinese people and the foreign powers differently.



Figure 6.37 Untitled (*Shengjing Ribao*, ca. 1909).

The grotesque Qing official has many variations in Chinese caricatures. A 1911 *SZRB* caricature illustrates China's identity split by using a "dynamic" image device (Figure 6.38). The official appears to be reclining when a foreigner angrily approaches him. However, from

## CHAPTER SIX

another viewpoint, the official's submissive reclining position turns out to be a cruel intimidation of the Chinese people. In domestic affairs, the official appears to replace the foreigner in terms of wielding irrational power over the masses. The image depicts the Qing official as a grotesque figure with faces on both sides of his body, used for different functions. It humorously reveals the trajectories of the movements of three actors to show that the Qing official embodies the point at which the two asymmetrical power relationships converge.



Figure 6.38 Untitled, *SZRB* (ca. 1911).



Figure 6.39 The Deformity of the Officialdom (*MHRB*, 17 May 1909).

Among the images of split Qing officials, “The Deformity of the Officialdom” 官場變相 is the most striking (Figure 6.39). The term of “Bianxiang” 變相, which literally translated means “changing the appearance,” has a two-fold meaning. On one hand, it refers to pictorial narratives based on stories contained in the Buddhist classics, where a monk teaches Buddhist doctrines to the ordinary people, a way of preaching Buddhism that was popular during Six Dynasties (200-589 AD), the Sui Dynasty (581-617 AD), and the Tang Dynasty (618-907 AD). At the same time, “Bianxiang” also designates something that has changed in form and appearance but not in essence. In his novel, *Lao Can Youji* 老殘遊記 (The Travels of Lao Can), Liu E 劉鶚 (1857-1909) uses the term to indicate various types of modes displayed by things in the world (X. Yu 2009)<sup>204</sup>. The latter meaning suggests an aptness of things to be changed

<sup>204</sup> See *Jiaoyubu chongbian guoyuzidian xiudingben* 教育部國語辭典修訂本 (online dictionary): <https://reurl.cc/E4l8za> (accessed 11 March 2024). About Bianxiang used in the religious context, cf: Wu (1992) “What is Bianxiang? On the Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature” and Yu (2009) *Dunhuang bianxiang yu bianwen yanjiu*.

## CHAPTER SIX

and then to become deformed.

Bodily deformity (變相) is the primary motif of grotesque abnormality, which can be categorized as physical and mental abnormalities. The former often relates to bodily deformation, while the latter pertains to psychiatric madness. Both deviate from social regularities and, therefore, easily evoke emotions in the audience. The physical abnormalities are presented in the following ways: an increasing number of human body limbs, enlarging or shrinking human extremities, a half-beast man, and humans turning from or into beasts. In short, physical abnormalities showcase a lopsided creature with a scary but also comical effect. (Liu 2003,15-17).

Among the four kinds of grotesque expressive images, the portrayal of a half-beast man appears most frequently in literary and artistic works (Liu 2003, 17). Figure 6.39 also illustrates a half-beast official. To reveal one's original shape is to expose his deformities. In this image, the caricaturist acrimoniously satirizes the late Qing officialdom by revealing the official's deformed body, thereby hinting that his essence is tainted. As depicted in the caricature, the official has transformed himself into an incongruous therianthrope, part human and part animal. The caricature ingeniously combines the pictorial composition of “duinei” and “duiwei” in which a foreigner stands to the official's left and the Chinese people to the official's right, with the Qing official portrayed as a frightening monstrous half-human and half-animal figure standing in the middle.

Farnham (1971, 7, as cited in Liu 2003, 18) notes that the grotesque portrayal of a half-beast man typically implies the fusion of high-grade (usually referring to humans) and low-grade creatures (animals and plants). The image emphasizes the barbarity and irrationality inherent in human beings, usually suppressed but now unleashed (Liu 2003, 19). In Figure 6.39, the grotesque figure embodies barbarity, representing the Qing official, a social class meant to serve the people and preserve the country. To one's dismay, the human half of the figure raises his hands to beg for mercy from the foreigner while the animal half, depicted as a fierce tiger, raises its forelegs, threatening the people. The government engages with the foreigners on a human-to-human level but treats the Chinese people as prey being pursued by a predator.

The people in the image are not able to do anything except run away from their bestial government. The pictorial composition of the illustration connects two sets of images of object-mirror-reflection, namely, two asymmetrical power relationships that coexisted in China. This pictorial pattern points out that these power relationships resulted in a deformed and discrepant nation embodied in the beast-human figure that reveals the absurdity of the official's cowardice

## CHAPTER SIX

and brutality. No doubt, the deformation of the officialdom suggests national decay. As Liang Qichao ([1911] 1983, 60) states in his essay “Duiwai and Duinei” 對外與對內 (external and internal affairs), problems caused by external affairs were considered to be “concrete and new damages” 具體的新害 and the solution was referred to as “indirect movements” 間接的運動, while problems caused by internal affairs were considered to be “abstract and old damages” 抽象的舊害 and the solution was referred to as “direct movements” 直接的運動. In Liang’s view, the nation’s decline often resulted from the internal, which was easily covered up by urgent appeals to fight the external powers. Accordingly, a citizen who knew only about “concrete and new damages” but ignored “abstract and old damages” was unwise and made “indirect movements,” that allowed him to escape “direct movements” that proved his lack of willingness to take action. This pictorial pattern reinforces Liang’s assertion. The grotesqueness of the figure rings a bell to the people, making it possible for them to see the light of hope by overthrowing the half-human, half-animal figure either through support of constitutional reform or a revolution that, in fact, took place two years later in 1911.

### 6.3 Conclusion

Chapter Six explored how Chinese caricaturists used two symbol systems to identify China and other nations in the late Qing. At this time, Chinese caricaturists imported western-style caricatures that employed national symbolism, created by Western caricaturists, to identify other nations, such as the animal allegory (for example, Russia as a bear; France as a frog) and personification (America as Uncle Sam; Britain as John Bull). In some illustrations, Chinese caricaturists included indicators intended to teach Chinese readers how to recognize what the foreign symbols represented. However, Chinese caricaturists did not always use western-style national symbolisms. Instead, they created their own Chinese visual expressions derived from monophonic puns, animal allegories, and specific pictures to represent given countries. For example, a goose 鵝 (er) symbolizes Russia 俄 (er), while the sun represents Japan because there is an icon of the sun on its national flag.

Every symbol system has both a developing and an accepted process, but Chinese audiences often lacked sufficient knowledge about the process to identify foreign national symbolism in Chinese caricatures. That lack of knowledge may explain why Chinese caricaturists often employed a mixture of visual symbolism that was specially designed for Chinese audiences. Coincidentally, in presenting the symbol for China, both foreign

## CHAPTER SIX

publications and Chinese caricaturists adopted dragons and the Qing official as China's national symbols. However, dragons in the Chinese context are extremely different from those in the western context. The former means power and loyalty while the latter means evil and brutality.

This chapter also demonstrates a visual example of how Chinese caricaturists ingeniously incorporate Chinese national symbols to transform a popular Western visual game (reversed heads) into a satirical pictorial pattern. By adopting Qing officials as Chinese national symbols, these caricaturists depict contemporary China as an asymmetrically grotesque nation. The use of the half-half visual pattern aims to expose the hypocrisy of the people by revealing their dual faces. This hypocrisy becomes particularly evident when examining the Chinese government's approach to internal and external policies. Through the collective presentation of caricatures, the true depiction of China as a half-human-half-animal monster is unveiled. Chinese caricaturists effectively expose a grotesque world in their visual representations, providing an outlet for their political anxieties.

Nevertheless, caricaturists' political anxieties did not dissipate with the establishment of the Republican government in 1912. They require a new national symbolism in response to rapid political change. The next chapter will continue to examine Chinese caricatural national symbols with a focus on the early Republican era. I will illustrate the evolution of national symbols in Chinese caricatures and explore how the Western concept of evolutionism was adopted to portray the newly founded regime similarly, in a grotesque way.

## Chapter 7 Caricatural National Symbols II: The “Westerner” and Devolved Grotesques

In 1911, when the Xinhai Revolution blew its horn of victory celebrating establishment of the new polity, *MLB* carried Figure 7.1 in which the dragon, featured on the national flag of the Qing court, known as the Yellow Dragon Flag, is forced to fly away, expelled by a pearl encircled with stars, a symbol of the revolution, known as the Blue Sky with a White Sun 青天白日旗. This rearrangement redefined China’s new national iconographic symbols. Applauded by bystanders, a Chinese man (far right) dressed in a western style suit waves his hat enthusiastically bidding the dragon farewell while others, wearing traditional Chinese attire, rejoice in the dragon’s departure. Together, these symbols visually portray the transition of China’s new government.

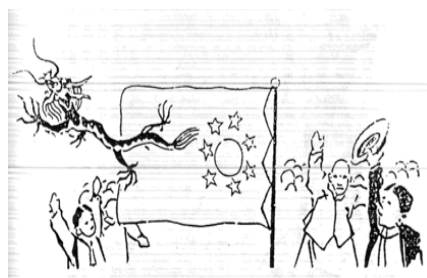


Figure 7.1 Untitled (*MLB*, 1911).

Construction of a new national identity, it has been observed, entails replacing old national symbols with new ones, materially and metaphorically. As Henrietta Harrison pointed out, during the first years of the Republican era, China’s national emblems underwent a rapid alteration, ranging from the national flag to the widespread adoption of individual attitudes and preferences. Cutting off of a man’s queue in favor of short hair, one of the new Republican symbols, announced the man’s new political identity, a hairstyle that many revolutionaries and reformists had already adopted or advocated. Even the abstract time should be reconfigured to conform to the new era (1999, 20-24, 98-111).<sup>205</sup>

This chapter continues the theme of the national symbols in Chinese caricatures by switching the time frame to the early Republican era. My concern is how Chinese caricaturists modified caricatural visual symbols in response to the rapid political change. Much research has shown the significance of understanding national symbols in political caricatures as a way

<sup>205</sup> In 1912, Sun Yatsen adopted the solar calendar to date the new regime. See Harrison (1999, 22-23).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

to interpret a nation's politics and diplomatic relationships. It is notable that China's caricaturists at the turn of the twentieth century had experienced a "representative crisis" in their quest to find a substitute emblem for Chinese caricatures. As a solution to the crisis, Chinese caricaturists adopted "men in the western suit" as the new national symbol, namely, an image of foreigner, as Figure 7.1 shows.

The change of national icon revealed the long-standing controversy over Chinese Westernization by portraying it as both a national elixir and merely a facade for evil. While the symbolic alterations seemed to level the playing field between China and the West, they ultimately unveiled an inherent asymmetry within China itself. Embracing the Western/Other identity led to visual confusion regarding China's self-identity. The contradiction accounts for caricaturists' efforts to overcome the asymmetry in representing nations, resulting in what I call, "the double visual inefficacy of self-symbols."

Chapter Seven is divided into three sections. The first section highlights how the image of Western-suited men substituted the Qing official as the Chinese national symbol in early Republican caricatures. As the visual alteration is related to China's long-standing desire to overcome the asymmetrical power relationship between itself and the Western powers, the second and third sections attempt to explain this substitution and, more importantly, uncover conflicts hidden within these changes, contributing to another visual form of national grotesque. The overarching aim of the chapter is to unveil China's controversies regarding identity and national progress, which serve as reactions to the enduring asymmetries in power that have long influenced the nation. Even as caricaturists endeavor to visually overcome these disparities, the political situation negates the optimism that the "Westerner" showcases as a Chinese symbol.

### 7.1 Becoming the Other, Discarding Old Emblems

In 1912, the old regime was overturned, and a new one was established. Chinese caricaturists swiftly responded to this rapid political change by modifying their pictorial symbols representing China. This visual modification projected not only the prospect of China but also the confusion in the face of the seemingly "brand new" political atmosphere.

The new era welcomed a new version of Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4. In a 1912 *MQHB*, Qian Binghe, 錢病鶴, revised the "Independence" caricature and published a modified version that was renamed "China Besieged from All Sides," 四面楚歌 (Figure 7.2). The composition was obviously changed, but the clothes symbolizing the nations remained almost the same. The

## CHAPTER SEVEN

caricature suggests that China is in peril as illustrated by the powers that happily hold hands and dance, signifying their cooperative efforts to share the spoils of China.

There are two visual modifications noteworthy. First, to help readers understand the implications of these drawings, the caricaturists devised a strategy to make the symbols comprehensible. In the previous version of “This is so-called Chinese independence,” Ma cleverly added national flags such as the Union Flag on the British figure’s hat. Thus, within short time, audiences in a glance could link the new semiotic visual system with international events. In “China Besieged from All Sides,” Qian was even more explicit, writing national abbreviations on the characters similar to the *ESJW* drawing. For example, American (*mei* 美) on the figure’s coat, German (*de* 德) on his uniform, British (*ying* 英) on his suit, French (*fa* 法) on his socks, Russian (*e* 俄) on his trousers, and Japanese (*ri* 日) on his feet. Based on these indicators, Chinese audiences could associate stock images with the nations referred to and expand their visual vocabulary.<sup>206</sup>



Figure 7.2 China Besieged from All Sides (*MQHB*, 8 July 1912).

Secondly, at the center of the circle, an ellipse replaces the isolated child of the earlier version, an inanimate image that symbolizes China. The sense of inferiority emitted from the dehumanization of China is no doubt the highlight of the caricature. Nevertheless, the ellipse deserves our much attention here. The simple shape testifies to the absence of the Chinese national emblem in the rapid political transition, which brings about the caricatural “representative crisis.” The caricatural representative crisis was proposed by the English historian Tamera Hunt. In his *Defining John Bull: political caricature and national identity in late Georgian England*, Hunt (2003, 121-125) points out that the British government frequently

<sup>206</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Rudolf Wagner for reminding me of noticing these indications.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

conflicted with its would-be-independent colony in America during the eighteenth century. The controversy transformed the British imagery from freedom and democracy to suppression and autocracy. It invalidated the British's lasting national symbol, Britannia, an emblem for justice and the courage that has become American's national values. The inconsistency in the governmental actions and the connotations of the national symbol caused the representative crisis in the British caricatures, which eventually prompts a new national symbol, John Bull, an ordinary English man utterly different from the Goddess Britannia.

It has been argued that the national symbols in political caricatures can reveal nation's changes in politics and its diplomatic relationships (Hunt 2003; Duus 2001; Schneider 2007; Scully 2011). In the Chinese case, it is more complicated for Chinese caricaturists in this time to deal not only with the relationships with the others, namely, the foreign powers but also with the self, namely, the change of the ruling regimes. The establishment of the Republican government was such a rapid political change that the caricaturists had little time to respond. The old national symbols immediately forfeited the visual legitimacy, and Chinese caricaturists must seek the new ones to fit into the brand-new era. The visual discontinuity (or innovation) engenders a representative crisis for Chinese caricaturists, whose task is to make the void ellipse into a connotative symbol.

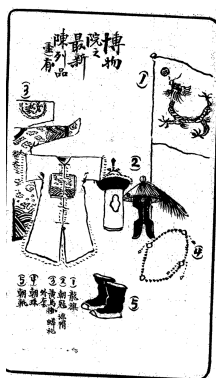


Figure 7.3 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 1 (*MQHB*, 6 June 1912).

Judging from their drawings at the time, the caricaturists employed two manners to defuse the crisis. The first is to discarded old symbols of the Qing and the second is to find a new emblem. As shown in Figure 7.1 displays, the caricaturist directly illustrates a dragon escaping from a national flag, the despotic self., which denotes the Qing's moving off this political stage. In June 1912, Qian Binghe 錢病鶴 drew a series of caricature, entitled "the Latest Exhibits in the Museum" 博物院之最新陳列品, to farewell the old symbols by exhibiting them with irony. The five caricatures of the series appear as five showcases in a museum, displaying new exhibits that used to be owned by the Qing court and officials. The

## CHAPTER SEVEN

first exhibition (Figure 7.3) manifests the official garments, the second the objects in the Yamen 衙門 (Figure 7.4), the third the old and cruel instruments of torture (Figure 7.5), the fourth various documents written by emperors and ministers in the bibliotheca 藏書樓 (Figure 7.6), the fifth the Qing official's playthings for entertainment (Figure 7.7).

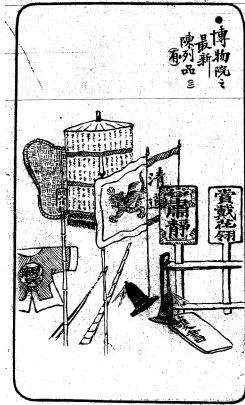


Figure 7.4 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 2 (*MQHB*, 25 June 1912).

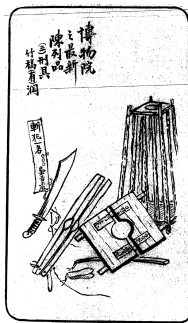


Figure 7.5 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 3 (*MQHB*, 26 June 1912).

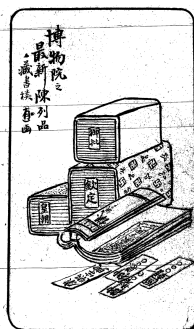


Figure 7.6 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 4 (*MQHB*, 27 June 1912).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

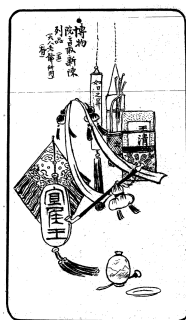


Figure 7.7 The Latest Exhibits in the Museum 5 (*MQHB*, 28 June 1912).

As aforementioned, different from Figure 7.1 that dispels the old symbols, the series of caricatures otherwise collective and showcase them. Considering where Qian intentionally locates them, a museum, the satirical connotation is obvious. Since the late Qing, the establishment of museums had always been part of national salvation campaigns. The late Qing intellectuals, based on their traveling experiences abroad, acknowledged the pedagogical function of the museum, which can strengthen the power of the nation. For them, the museum plays a role in spreading western learning and promoting school education and instruction of science and technology. In the Republican Era, museums are furthermore to perform the duty of social education (Denton 2013, 16-18; Li 2014; Su 2008, 120-121). In this light, “the exhibition” held in Qian’s Museum seemingly echoes its pedagogical usage with vivid and limpid illustrations. The first caricature lists several of the Qing’s symbols with clear numbering indications. The number one is the Dragon Flag 龍旗, the Qing’s national flag. The number two points to two styles of official hats. The number three demonstrates a set of the official garment. The number four and five are court beads and shoes. Furthermore, the third caricature debunks the cruel side of the old system by displaying the instrument of punishment such as a decapitator, a standing cage 立籠, shackles made with two heavy slices of wood, and zanxing 拶刑 (squeezing fingers with sticks). The last caricature, then, specifies the exhibits that all belong to the officials (大人老爺所用). These playthings, such as opium, kites, and music instruments, sap one’s determination and even health, testifying to the Qing official’s debauchery life.

The exhibition of the old objects seems to contradict the intellectuals’ expectation that the museum should demonstrate practical and advanced knowledge. The Qing dynasty’s relics have little value for the showcase. However, it is the contradiction that underlies the necessity of the past in the construction of nations. As the historian Kirk A. Denton (2013) indicates, the promotion of modern museums, from the onset, was intertwined with nationalism and

## CHAPTER SEVEN

nation-building in China. The long historiographic tradition creates a heritage in which the historians of the new dynasty will have the right to determine the historical narrative of the previous dynasty, which usually “justified the new dynasty’s claims to power and to reinforce its legitimacy and authority.” (16)

Museums, as a “performance field” of the past, “taxonomize the past, schematize it, periodize it, and shape it into narratives to educate the visitor.” Museums’ massive storage of the past is to cope with the “memory crisis,” an inability of representing the past owing to “a disruption of traditional forms of memory,” which relates to “modern’s severance from history (Denton 2013, 11).” As mentioned in Chapter One, Chinese caricaturists might view themselves as historiographers. What Qian did is just like a historian describing the preceding dynasty’s history. Nevertheless, Qian intends not so much to keep connected with the past as highlight the severance from the past. Of the five caricatures, three are of the imperial settings, revealing the caricaturist’s determination to break from despotism. The old punishment system and the indulgent life should altogether be abandoned, as suggested by the instruments of torture and the playthings. These exhibits display the demise of the Qing, creating a clear-cut between the republican present and the despotic past.

In addition to ditching the old symbols, Chinese caricaturists need to find a replacement instantly. Following the older designation of clothing used to identify government officials during the late Qing, the Chinese caricaturists adopted the western suit as the designation of the Republican official image. In short, the caricatures turned China visually into “the West.” From 1912 forward, the image of the Qing official was no longer featured on the Chinese stage, neither physically in history nor metaphorically in caricatures. It shows as if almost overnight, men wearing western suits were accepted as stock images of Republican officials in numerous publications.



Figure 7.8 Untitled (*Shibao huabao*, ca. 1912).

## CHAPTER SEVEN



Figure 7.9 Untitled (ca. 1912)<sup>207</sup>

The change can especially be found in the cartoons celebrating the foundation of the Republican regime. In the wake of the revolutionary triumph, many celebratory cartoons followed a similar iconographic pattern: commemorating important revolutionary milestones with figures dressed in western attire. A caricature in *Shibao huabao* 時報畫報 (Eastern Times Illustrated Newspaper) (Figure 7.8), for example, spotlighted a major shift in national symbols. The illustration portrays a man in a western military uniform. He stands on top of the globe, signifying the Republic of China 中華民國 and holding high the Five-Color Flag, the first national flag for the Republican government while a Qing official flies head-first from the side of the globe. The positions of the two men exemplify the change of government and the adoption of new national symbols. This dramatic shift suggests further that the man in the western suit represents the new nation. An untitled caricature (Figure 7.9) features Sun Yatsen, with his colleagues, all dressed in western suits, proudly holding up flags with the characters of *Zhonghua minguo* 中華民國 (the Republic of China), which enhanced the connection of the western suit and the new regime

In the visual satire, Chinese officials usually look like no other than western gentlemen. “The View of Personages in Political Circle” 政界人物觀 (Figure 7.10) satirizes a Chinese politician dressed in a western suit. As the arrows indicate, his mouth points to the west while his heart to the east, unmasking the hypocrisy of his words that conflict with his heart. A similar caricature depicts an oversized official sitting on a chair, legs crossed, wearing a western suit, top hat, and polished shoes, reading a newspaper. The western attire plus the newspaper identifies him as a model progressive. However, the caption conveys a contrary message based on the idiom: “Let them laugh who will, I am a good official.” 笑罵由他笑罵，好官我自為之 (Figure 7.11). The official clings to his post with no regard for his bad reputation. Even the newspaper, the power of the press, hardly change the nature of his corruption.

<sup>207</sup> The image is cited from Huo (2004: 274).

## CHAPTER SEVEN



Figure 7.10 The View of Personages in the Political Circle (*MQHB*, 1 October 1912).



Figure 7.11 Let Them Laugh Who Will, I Am a Good Official (*MQHB*, 5 July 1912).

It is noteworthy that the caricatures create visual confusion due to the co-existence of “two kinds” of Western images. In the late Qing caricatures, Chinese figures are easily distinguished from representatives of foreign powers based on clothing that signifies national identity. However, the demarcation between Chinese and Western figures starts to fade when all the figures wear western-style clothing, especially when figures representing both the West and China appear in the same drawing. “The Toy for Americans and European” 歐美人之玩具 (Figure 7.12), for example, shows a western child holding a doll in the shape of an older western man. To the viewer, the image seems to depict two westerners unless, based on the asymmetrical power relationship, the more petite Chinese figure is distinguished from that of the westerner. The visual confusion suggests the absence of the Chinese in the presence of the westerner. The visual confusion also reflects the Chinese identity crisis regarding whether Chinese people actually become “westerners,” a topic that is explored later in this chapter. Before that, I would like to move on by asking: What prompted China’s transformation to become the Other in these visual presentations? To address that question, my analysis in the following section focuses on the metaphor of the western suit.



Figure 7.12 A Toy for Americans and Europeans (*MQHB*, 6 June 1912).

## 7.2 Why became the Other? China Evolved

Why does Chinese become the western other in the visual presentation? A 1912 *MQHB* comic strip might provide a satirical answer. On 20 June 1912, Qian Binghe published a comic strip in *MQHB* entitled “A Palace Graduate Changes His Attire,” 進士改裝 (Figure 7.13). In the upper-right panel, the Chinese Ghost God Zhong Kui 鍾馗, who is drunk, falls asleep. New ghosts wearing western suits catch him dressed in “alien attire” (異服) and try to shoot him. In the lower-right panel, Zhong Kui luckily escapes a missed bullet and immediately flees into the underworld. The third and fourth panels (left) illustrate how Zhong Kui transforms his appearance by instructing a barber to cut off his braid; then, he puts on a western suit. In the final drawing, Zhong Kui returns to the mundane world wearing his new attire and successfully sneaks into the group of new ghosts surprised by his changed appearance. As the caption notes, Zhongkui now looks exactly like a westerner and, in so doing, fulfills the requirements to become a Republican citizen.



Figure 7.13 A Palace Graduate Changes His Attire (*MQHB*, 20 June 1912).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

The caricature suggests the key for being accepted in the new era is for Chinese men to don western suits. Here, the legendary God of Ghost, Zhong Kui was once again employed as a pictorial protagonist. As shown in Figure 1.19, Figure 5.29, and Figure 5.30, the late Qing caricatures habitually applied Zhong Kui to symbolize justice for his power to lead a group of small ghosts to prey on evil and to make monsters resume their original forms. In this particular drawing (Figure 7.13), the caricaturist challenged Chinese readers' visual perception of Zhong Kui as an emblem of fairness. The old garment criminalizes Zhong Kui for appearing to be an alien, while the western suit empowers the ghosts to assassinate him with guns, weapons of western nations. Thus, the message conveyed to readers is: this: only by “becoming a westerner” can someone in China survive the new Republican regime.

The caricature highlights the reverse of the status of ghosts and the king of ghosts, Zhong Kui. The western dress is the key to such a change in visibility. Thanks to westernization, the ghosts inversed the discrepancy of power that had long existed in the traditional settings. It suggests a necessity for the Chinese to be viewed as a Westerner in the Republican regime and insinuates that the magic of westernization can overturn the existing power relations. By looking into the turn-of-the-twentieth caricatures, I argue that the fact that the Chinese turn out to be the Western Other can be regarded as caricaturists' pictorial declaration to have overcome the asymmetry in the power relationship between China and the West. China was no longer depicted as an inferior figure akin to Qing officials but instead as a man in a Western suit. At least visually, the Chinese appeared no different from the Westerners, insinuating that the long-term aspiration to Westernization had been achieved. The westerner as a national symbol responds to the anxiety of the progress that had permeated in these images since the late Qing. Namely, instead of “changing,” China had “evolved” into a nation of the West, a goal for many of the Qing's reformists and revolutionaries. Thus, *Appear-be-the-Other* displays an iconographical transformation as well as an ultimate acknowledgment of a long-term effort to emulate the West. In the following, I will examine the caricatures concerning westernization and progress that contribute to such visual alteration in Chinese national symbolism. In doing so, we can observe the trajectory of how the Chinese national symbol evolved into “a man in the western suit” in a time of rapid political transition.

### **7.2.1 The Dress Code: New Garments Legitimated**

It may be argued that pictorial changes in national symbolism merely reflect the practical alteration in people's clothing from the Late Qing to the Republican Era. Indeed, it is not



## CHAPTER SEVEN

unusual for a new polity to abolish the attire of the former regime and issue a new dress code. On 3 October 1912, the Republican government issued the first of several laws with regard to clothing, referred to as *Fuzhi* 服制. The laws describe the western tailcoat and top hat as the standard full dress for Chinese men. The morning dresses, likewise, imitated the western garment in a large proportion. Twenty days later, two other dress codes were successively promulgated to westernize Chinese military uniforms, or more precisely, to be patterned after the westernized Japanese military uniform. Subsequently, other types of dress regulations were announced. By 1919, more than ten laws governing dress codes were legislated for professionals, such as naval officers, diplomats, the attorney general, lawyers, the police, and so on. For women, the regulations included a number of western-style dresses as appropriate for that period (Yuan and Ou 1994, 105-106; Harrison 1999, 58-60).

The news illustration was also used to propagate the new dressing codes. “An Illustration of the New Dress Code” 新服制圖說 (Figure 7.14), for instance, presents a variety of fashions to be worn by Chinese men and women. The illustration introduces eleven types of men’s and women’s attire accompanied by articles that describe particular details. As the caption notes, these clothing styles contribute to an eye-catching array of fashions, thanks to the mixture of long and short, high and low, and new and old. In particular, the caricature highlights the western-style top coat and top hat for men, suggesting the dominance of western clothing in the new regime.



Figure 7.14 An Illustration of the New Dress Code (*MQHB*, 1 July 1912).

No doubt, government officials were required to abide by dress codes regulations. Memoirs as well as news articles recorded details of western-style clothing worn by civilian and military officials at various ceremonies. A report in *Xinshenbao* 新申報 on the presidential inauguration of Xu Shichang 徐世昌 noted the new president “wears the tailcoat” 服燕尾服 (Yuan and Ou 1994, 106). A 1912 *Shenbao* essay satirizes a republican official for imitating westerners not only with regard to clothing but also food, housing, and transportation. The

## CHAPTER SEVEN

Republican official resembled westerners by wearing a foreign hat, a pair of gold-rimmed eyeglasses, a western serge suit, and a pair of loafers. The essay aimed to unmask the officials' worship of and blind faith in foreign fashions, yet at the same time, commented on how "becoming" the western style was for China's officialdom (Changli Li 2015, 385). Based on historical facts, the argument that Chinese caricatures reflect reality with regard to dress code holds true; however, overlooked is the connotation of dress as a national symbol, which will be elaborated in the following sections.

### 7.2.2 Chinese in the Western Suit: Oversea Students

In the late Qing, Western-style dress had already become popular among many Chinese people. Significantly, the Chinese literati found that Western clothing served as a potent symbol of strength and progress in contrast to the traditional Chinese style of clothing that alluded to weakness and regress. The pivotal intellectual, Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), criticized conventional Chinese garments for not fitting into a contemporary, highly competitive world. He noted that Chinese clothes tangibly restrict the people's actions and intangibly limit the people's thoughts. In 1909, the Minister of the Foreign Affairs, Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳 (1842-1922), petitioned the Qing court to issue an order to change the style of clothing. In 1910, the Qing government for the first time allowed Chinese men to cut their braids. Altogether, the call to officially change the style of clothing and abolish the shaved-head hairstyle reveals an urgency to remove an old symbol that fettered the nation, thus making the alternative of wearing Western suits a necessity. (Yuan and Ou 1994, 107-108).

Outside the imperial court, changes in clothing styles alluded to revolution. Chinese revolutionists took the French revolution and the American War for Independence from England as models of western republican polity (Yuan and Ou 1994, 108). Chinese revolutionaries justified western-style dress based on their beliefs in republicanism that was strengthened during their residence in western countries and their experience in studying abroad (Harrison 1999, 8). As a whole, the wearing of a western suit explicitly identified a Chinese individual as a "new" person (Harrison 1999, 51). Indeed, in the late Qing caricatures, Chinese overseas students were often depicted as reformers, based on their western-style suits. Considering the higher status of overseas students and their pursuit of western knowledge, they represented "becoming the other." Chinese students, first sent to America from 1872 to 1875, were becoming westernized after studying abroad for several years. They dressed themselves in western-style suits. Not surprisingly, their intense academic focus on western science and

## CHAPTER SEVEN

humanity led to diminished interest in Chinese traditional knowledge (Li 2006, 1-58; Qu 1973, 68-94; Shu 1927, 7-13; La Fargue 1942).

The influence that Chinese students who studied abroad were able to exert when they returned encouraged even more students to pursue overseas degrees, thus, leading what was referred to as a fervent fashion in China.<sup>208</sup> The Qing court, favoring the trend, offered preferential treatment to Chinese overseas students. In 1901, for instance, the Qing court issued an order that bestowed on returning students the degree of jinshi 進士 and juren 舉人. In 1905, the constitution established guidelines for a special examination for returning overseas students. Those who passed the court test 廷試 were eligible to hold government posts with high honor (Yang 2004, 269). Governmental measures expected that upon return students would contribute what they had learned to the nation (Xisuo Li 2006, 64-131; Qu 1973, 153-160; Shu 1927, 193-215). The first groups of overseas students in America devoted themselves to learning how to modernize their homeland in many ways (Xisuo Li 2006, 27-30). Some even sacrificed their lives in wars against the French army (La Fargue 1942, 65, 73-74).

Caricatures suggest that studying abroad offered Chinese students a way to extend their outlook, like a frog climbing out of a well to see the ocean.<sup>209</sup> Returning students with deep western knowledge challenged the government and were depicted in caricatures as supportive of reform. In 1907, as shown in Chapter Two, a *RJHB* caricature, “An illustration of Wrestling” 較力圖, illustrated the tension between the old-style and new-style intellectuals (jiu juren 舊舉人 and xin juren 新舉人) (Figure 2.10). A fight scene in the political realm features a clash between the old and the new as manifest in the Qing court’s proposed constitutionalism. According to Chinese historian Zhang Xueji (1992, 29-36), Chinese overseas students studying in Japan played an important role not only by vigorously debating with the Qing court the best model for China but also by participating in the design of various constitutionalist institutions, such as the consultative Bureaus 諮議局 and the Advisory Councils 資政院.

In that way, China’s overseas students served as a rigid prop for constitutionalism in a moment when the Chinese public mistrusted Qing government for its endless delay in propelling political reform. “China’s Current Situation” 中國之現象 (Figure 7.15) compares

---

<sup>208</sup> Take Japan for example. It can be inferred from two aspects: the number of overseas students and the governmental encouragement. There were less than 200 Chinese overseas students in Japan before 1900. After the Qing court launched the New Policy 新政, the number of students increased and reached its peak of 12000 in 1906. Though decreasing hereafter, it was still more than 3000 before 1911. It is estimated that there were totally over twenty thousand Chinese students who studied in Japan from 1896 to 1911. See Li (2006, 142-143).

<sup>209</sup> “Studying Abroad” 出洋, *SB*, 24 April 1907.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

contemporary China to a collapsing house. As several Qing officials pull the house to the ground, destroying even the foundation, an overseas student, in a futile effort to prop up the collapsing structure, brings to the scene an enormous pillar on which is written “Execution of Constitutionalism 實行立憲. With vivid imagery, the caricature emphasizes the ideological confrontation between overseas students and Chinese government officials. Ironically, it is the overseas student who tries to save the country with constitutionalism instead of the official, suggesting the Chinese public can depend only on someone who wears western clothes.

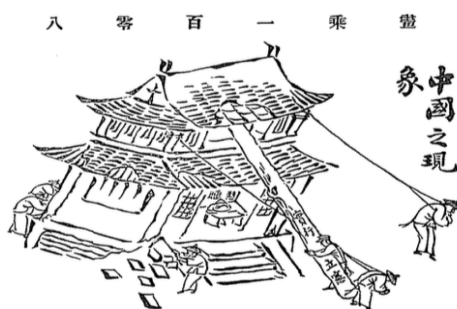


Figure 7.15 China's Current Situation (*SZRB*, 28 October 1907).

Although the overseas students symbolize the nation's strength, it cannot be neglected that numerous caricatures criticize some of them as opportunistic. Figure 7.16 adopts as its theme the Chinese proverb “The Dragon Gate” 龍門 to signify entry into the Chinese officialdom, made possible by passing the highly competitive examination and thereby rising to an official position of great importance. Featured in the drawing are groups of fish waiting to leap through the dragon gate leading to officialdom. Smaller fish, swimming toward the gate represent traditional Chinese students who study in China while groups of black fish swimming toward them represent overseas Chinese students. Another similar caricature shows that many students went abroad just for fame and wealth (Figure 7.17). These caricatures acknowledge that the true ambitions of some of the overseas students were not that different from those of traditional students, yet it is worth pointing out the illustrations do not object to those who study abroad. These caricatures' primary message is that “becoming the other” offers a short cut for obtaining power and wealth in China's official institutions. Thus, an overtone of double meaning is efficiently emphasized, even in a negative way.

## CHAPTER SEVEN



Figure 7.16 The Dragon Gate (*SZRB*, ca.1910).

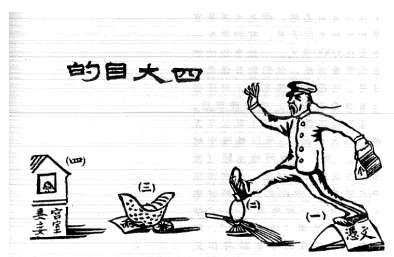


Figure 7.17 The Four Main Objectives (*SZRB*, ca.1911).

### 7.2.3 A Response to the Anxiety of “Chinese Progress”

The metaphor of the western suit is developed in the caricatures not only through Chinese figures wearing western suits but also through images of western figures. In the caricatures, westerners often insinuate “jinbu,” 進步 (progress). During the late Qing, an anxiety about progress permeated the drawings. Literally, the term of “jinbu” 進步 refers the movement of going forward, while its antonym “tuibu” 退步 (regress) means “going backward.” Chinese caricaturists contrast these oppositional movements in order to expose contradictions relative to perceptions of China’s progress. For instance, two *SZRB* caricatures in July 1907 present paradoxical scenes to demonstrate the ambiguous nature of China’s progress. The caption of the first scene asks: “Chinese Current Situation: Progressing? Regressing?” 進步歟退步歟 (Figure 7.18). A man looks forward but steps backward, in attempting to pump water using the “longuche” 龍骨車 (dragon bones wheel), that functioned as the traditional Chinese water wheel. Despite great effort, the man’s crops were not being irrigated because the water was not being channeled into the field.

## CHAPTER SEVEN



Figure 7.18 Chinese Current Situation: Progressing? Regressing? (*SZRB*, 1 July 1910).

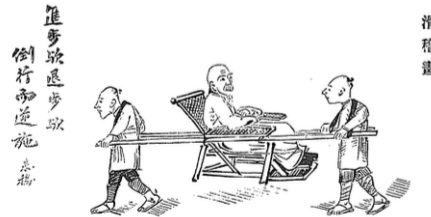


Figure 7.19 Walk and Behave Inversely: Progressing? Regressing? (*SZRB*, 4 July 1910).

Another scene entitled “Walk and Behave Inversely: Progressing? Regressing?” 倒行而逆施: 進步歟退步歟 (Figure 7.19) features an old man being carried by two servants on a sedan chair. The servants stride forward while the old man sits looking backward, so intent on looking to the past that he is oblivious to the forward movement. The caption is a Chinese proverb “daoxing er nishi” 倒行而逆施 (walk and behave inversely), a saying that is used to criticize those who do things in the wrong ways. Obviously, the illustration also spotlights the old man, symbol of the Qing official, who ignores the public’s call for reform. The people, as servants, want to go forward, but the government continues to look backward. In brief, the first caricature implies that China is ostensibly progressing but essentially regressing. The second caricature, unmasks the huge difference between the people and the government in terms of their views about the direction the nation should moving: as a result of that conflict the nation is stuck, going nowhere.



Figure 7.20 The Current Situation of China’s Progress 1 (*SZRB*, 26 December 1908).

## CHAPTER SEVEN



Figure 7.21 The Current Situation of China's Progress 2 (*SZRB*, 27 December 1908).

Two other caricatures, entitled “The Current Situation of China’s Progress” 中國進步之現象, depict China incapacitated and unable to present themselves as a functioning nation. The caricaturist compares China’s progress to a man riding a bicycle upside down, as if the bicycle is riding the man (Figure 7.20). Not surprisingly, the man lies on the ground, going nowhere in spite of pedaling diligently. In the second drawing, the caricaturist depicts Chinese men as children, playing with toys and games (Figure 7.21). The scene of the old Chinese man riding the wooden rocking horse is noteworthy as an adaptation of an illustration with the same title published a year earlier in 1907 *SZRB*. The original drawing features an official riding a wooden rocking horse inside a house (屋內騎木馬)(Figure 7.22). Ironically, the wooden horse is marked with two characters “Qianli” 千里 (a thousand li), a reference to Qilima 千里馬, a legendary swift horse that covered a thousand li a day. The truth is, indeed, a contradiction. As the rocking horse is stationary, not going anywhere, only back and forth, even as the rider whips it to speed up. The *SB* image extends the rocking horse metaphor but modifies the Qing official to be an old Chinese man, emphasizing implications of regression. The two illustrations together, expressed by old men playing with toys and games and an elderly man riding a rocking horse that goes nowhere, strongly convey the contradictory nature of China’s progress, underscoring the view that China’s progress is not progressive at all.



Figure 7.22 The Current Situation of China's Progress (*SZRB*, 24 November 1907).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

Chapter Two has regarded Chinese caricatures as a “Contact Zone”. Within this environment of asymmetrical power relationships, the inferior learned and utilized the superior’s culture and knowledge to reverse the unbalanced situation, resulting in a series of transcultural phenomena. Chapter Two exemplifies various “Western mirrors” as vehicles to reflect the truth. In contrast, this chapter indicates the caricatures depicting China’s progress that imply another important Western concept prevalent at the turn of the twentieth century: the theory of evolution. The anxiety about progress reflects the popularity of evolutionism at the time, insinuating that this Western theory functioned as a general criterion for understanding how the world, nations, and societies operate.

The theory of evolution gained prevalence largely due to the introduction of the Western concept of the linear time. In the late Qing, Chinese started to appropriate the concept of western time, otherwise known as “clock time.”<sup>210</sup> As symbols of “clock time,” watches and clocks permeated the lives of ordinary people, newspaper illustrations featured men wearing vest watches, public clocks were displayed on the streets, with family clocks hanging on living room walls (Chang 2008, 77-110). The adoption of “clock time” profoundly influenced people’s lives. For example, the Shanghai Municipal Council issued laws and rules according to western time. From 1874 on, streets in the English Settlement needed to be cleaned two times a day except for Sunday. Stalls were not allowed on Fujian Road at any time except from seven p.m. to ten p.m. (Chang 2008, 77-78). Newly-established schools scheduled students’ classes by the clock and factories regulated laborers’ work hours based on “clock time (Chang 2008, 108).”<sup>211</sup>

In addition to impacting people’s daily lives, the western temporal perception also modified the Chinese worldview as influenced by the introduction of evolutionism. In the

---

<sup>210</sup> The clock time specifies the temporal system of seven days a week; twenty hours a day, sixty minutes an hour, sixty seconds a minute. Western-owned factories located in Shanghai and other port cities introduced “clock time” for use by Chinese workers. The western Gregorian calendar of months was also introduced at that time and continues to be in use alongside China’s traditional Lunar calendar and twelve-year cycles. Western days of the week with the seventh day off were also adopted, replacing Chinese traditional use of today, yesterday, and tomorrow.

<sup>211</sup> Much ink has spilled about how clock time changed human life and the world. The American economic historian David S. Landes (1983) reveals intricacies between the invention of clocks and the birth of the modern world. The pursuit of a unified and precise time rebuilt the order of the world. In the Chinese case, Chinese historian Li Changli (2007) indicates that widespread application of clock time and week system at the turn of the twentieth century created “a public time” and fostered city’s public leisure in China. Such changes promoted the development of China’s public sphere because many political events, such as public assembly, speeches and stage performances, gradually merged into Chinese daily life, laying a foundation on ensuing political and social reforms. The Taiwanese historian Hwang Jinling (2000, 175-229) asserted that the introduction of “clock time” made Chinese’ bodies regulated for the new temporal rule. Although the lunar time system was not abolished, the western time system had already dominated Chinese daily life such as Chinese workers’ and students’ daily schedule.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

pursuit of national reform, the Chinese literati asserted that China was essentially inferior to the West but that by re-sequencing the historical phases, China, could reach the next stage of evolution and catch up with the West. Chinese intellectuals, such as Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838-1894), Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (1843-1922) and Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897), had become aware of the historical development of western countries when studying *kezhi zhi xue* 格致之學 that described western technologies and science.<sup>212</sup> In order for China to transition quickly to the next historical phase, China had to acquire western knowledge and science as soon as possible. In Wang Tao's opinion, that was the path required for China to position the West and East in the same historical phase (Wang 2011, 55-56; Kwong 2001, 157-190).

In 1895, Tianjing's *Zhibao* 直報 published an essay entitled "Lun shibianzhiji" 論世變之亟 (On the Rapidity of Change in the World). One of several notable essays by Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854-1921), it describes evolutionary thinking by explaining, for example, differences in concepts of history between East and West. That is, he wrote, the Chinese prefer the past and ignore the present, while the West thinks the present is always better than the past. The Chinese find it normal that the world moves in cycles of flourishing and decaying while the westerners view it progressing on a daily basis so that nothing decays (1986, 28-30). After that, he published several articles in this regard.<sup>213</sup> Two years later, Yan Fu introduced Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* to China. He translated the book in the title of *Tiyanlun* 天演論 and also made many comments relative to China's current political situation. While explaining the concept of evolutionism, Yan Fu made a similar statement, noting that cultural differences between the West and East signaled different phases in human history. With reference to Western societies, the Chinese people were expected to understand how human history evolves and realize where China currently stood. Based on that understanding, the Chinese people could better prepare themselves for the next phase (Yan 1998).

The development of evolutionism in China has drawn much attention in contemporary

---

<sup>212</sup> Zheng stressed that the crucial factor that causes such difference was that the West had developed *kezhi zhi xue*, which was, by his terms, the scholarship of "the theories of the sky, the ground and the nature" 天地自然之理 and of "the change in the trend of the time" 世運之變遷. Because of making very good use of *shiyun* 世運 (the trend of the time), the West could take the lead in the world. In the light, China, unavoidably, fell behind the West. See Wang (2011, 55).

<sup>213</sup> These essays include "Yuanqiang" 原強, "Pihan" 闢韓, "Jiuwangjuelun" 救亡決論 and others. As Taiwanese historian Huang, Ko-wu 黃克武 (2014, 131) points out, "Lun shibianzhiji" and these essays should read together with *Tiyanlun* 天演論 (On Evolution) because, in these writings, Yan Fu elaborated the changes caused by Darwin's evolution, Herbert Spencer's sociology, and a series of relevant western theories. These essays, in Huang's view, reveal Yan's deliberation on China's then-current situation, provoked by his work of translating *Evolution and Ethics*.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

academia. The research ranges from the principle by which Yan interpreted the western concept to the way in which Chinese people absorbed, reacted to, and even utilized it.<sup>214</sup> It has been contended that one of the crucial influences is the change in how history is viewed. The linear view, on one hand, proclaims that history proceeds in a linear manner and that things evolve into an advanced condition while the cyclical view, on the other hand, perceives that history proceeds in a circular manner and hints that what cannot fit into the rule will be eliminated from human history. In discarding the traditional eastern idea that history always returns to the past, Chinese intellectuals, with tense anxieties about the nation's future, adopted western concepts as a way to re-examine Chinese history. Objecting to a mixture of present and past, Chinese scholars insisted that Chinese historiography needed a new periodization, a new process of classifying China's past as discrete named blocks of time based on the evolutionary temporal formula of the west (Kwong 2001; Wang 2011).

The most critical figure in this regard is Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), who launched a reform in Chinese historiography based on the belief that the concept of historical progress of western nations as “the general rule for every country at any given time” 此歷代萬國之公例(10). For him, history is a temporal line stretching from the primitive to western civilization. The line in China, he contended, which in the past was conceptualized as flexuous or curved, should be stretched linearly starting immediately. Insisting that “everything in the world, no matter in present or in the past, cannot preclude the general rule of evolution.” (凡天地古今之事物，未有能逃進化之公例者也) (1983c, 59), Liang appealed to Chinese historians to rewrite Chinese history based on principles of evolutionism and to discover the hidden general rule that can guide China's national spirit. In support of that appeal, Chinese literati applied all sorts of general rules to interpret Chinese history and re-arrange the sequencing of historical events into phases the writers considered appropriate to support of “the general rule. (1983a, 7-11)”

Evolutionism radically changed Chinese intellectuals' imagination about ancient time and the future. No longer did history refer only to past events but included also the future. Histories of western nations, in the opinion of Chinese intellectuals, offered a formula of

---

<sup>214</sup> For example, Liu Kuan-yen (2020a and 2020b), indicates Yan Fu's reliance on Chinese traditional philosophies, Daoist and Xunzian thoughts, in translating and interpreting Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*. Huang Ko-wu (2014) and Wu Chan-liang (2002) scrutinize the contents of *Tianyan Lun* and compare it with the original to see its “transformation” in the Chinese context. Der-wei Wang (1997), then, points out that the late Qing writers had incorporated the evolutionist concept into their novels, which demonstrates Chinese literary modernity. Wang Zhongjiang (2002), tracing evolutionism's western origin and its travel to China, manifests a profound influence of evolutionism on Chinese politics in the early twentieth century.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

development applicable to all civilizations. Hence, various categories of periodization were proposed, sparking scholarly disputes. Whatever the outcome, process of periodization had the effect of transforming China's future from unknown to known. In the arena of literature, the future, unclear as it might be, became a popular, recurring theme. As Wang (1997, 301-312) points out, *Weilai* (future), "as a narrative format and fictional theme, is one of the most fascinating topics in late Qing science fiction." In fact, science novels reflected China's anxiety over its national fate. Regardless of whether visions of the future were promising or depressing, authors drew successive national blueprints one after another. For the novelists, plots might not be simply predictions but possible realities that would arrive soon.

In light of China at the turn of the century as a Contact Zone, the theory of evolution has successfully permeated the changing society. By the same token, in the artistically specific Contact Zone such as caricatures, evolution served as an important visual motif. Figure 7.23 entitled "Survival of the Fittest" 天演淘汰, visualizes the evolution of lights, banks, and traffic vehicles. Take the lights, for example. Chinese lights evolved from candles and kerosene lamps to electric lights. The humor is reflected in the faces on the illuminators, declaring the victory of western technology. The caricature reveals the process whereby China moved directly from the traditional to the modern life in terms of materialism and institutionalization.



Figure 7.23 Survival of the Fittest (*THJB*, ca. 1912-1913).

China's rapid adoption of the concept of western time seemingly announced a retreat of the Chinese traditional concept that marked time according to lunar cycles. The competition of a new way to perceive time only deepened China's identity crisis between the new and old values. Catherine Yeh's research (2015, 267-276) demonstrates how Chinese novelists reflected the intangible battle of time through characters in their novels. In a study on Chinese political novels at the turn of the twentieth century, Yeh argues that Chinese novelists were forced to look for new heroes for their fiction as well as for the country. In such an emergent moment, new heroes served a strong political purpose for assuring national salvation. Yeh also

## CHAPTER SEVEN

points out that Chinese fictionists had a proclivity to cull from western history and literature characters and figures who represented new/western political values that were strongly promoted in the process of national reform. Yeh's analysis indicates that the prevalence of the western models at that time demonstrated the widespread acceptance of evolutionism. The heroes embody a temporal controversy; the selection between the western and Chinese heroes suggesting the incompatibility between the new and old concepts of history. That western heroes outweighed their Chinese counterparts symbolized the victory of the western concept of history, implying that China should follow the western evolutionary pattern instead of the traditional pattern of circularity.

The concept of evolution implies that nations around the globe were in different stages of development. Western countries were considered to be at an advanced level of advancement, while others were still far behind in progress. Chinese caricaturists produced many versions of caricatures about the evolution of the world to remind the audience of China's inferiority at the globe. Figure 7.24, "The Current Situation of Progress in the World" 世界進步之現象, exposes China's laggard situation in the world of evolution, comparing with Western powers symbolized by men wearing western suits. It divided the world into upper and lower registers, featuring in the sky three airships in flight. The first airship represents Japan, followed by two others that symbolize the U.S. and Europe. In the lower register, is line of men who appear to be dejected and despondent, devoid of energy. In contrast to the airships on which the westerners ride, the figures in the bottom register are perched on small creatures that do not move quickly or not for long distances, including a snail, a lizard, a frog, and so on. Their clothes reveal the riders' nationalities: the one with the snail is from Turkey, the one with the lizard from Egypt, and the one with the frog from India. China is the one riding the cicada, an insect that hardly moves during its entire lifetime.

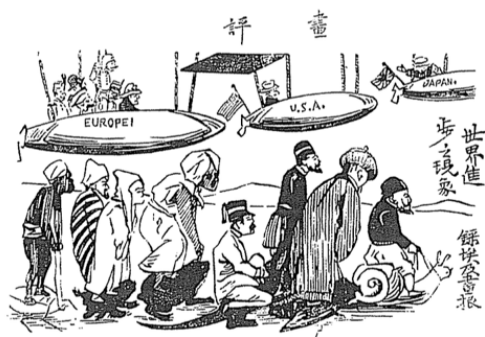


Figure 7.24 The Current Situation of Progress in the World, (*SB*, 4 September 1908).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

The caricature was marked as a modification of an illustration in Egypt.<sup>215</sup> The selection of Egyptian caricatures, on one hand, proves Chinese caricaturists' extensive absorption of the worldwide visuals and on the other hand, reflects a then-current boom in translating history of Egyptian subjugation. According to Yu (1984, 29-30), the translations of Egyptian subjugation outnumber those of other countries. These books took scholars and publishers by storm, spreading widely in society. The sensation derived from Chinese deep empathy with Egypt, an old great country in a peril of ruin, just like China. The prefaces of or the reflections on these books reiterate heavily the point that Egypt is by all means a warning mirror to China.

In Chinese's eyes, the Egyptian caricature hence reveals shared sentiments in the early twentieth century, one that Chinese people could easily relate to. As ancient civilized empires, Egypt and China could view their nations as moving backwards. It is worth noting the illustration emphasizes progress as the prevailing dominant worldview. The groupings in two registers categorize nations as modernized or non-modernized. Modernized countries like Japan, the U.S., and several European nations occupy the upper echelon and fly around in the sky, suggesting their superiority. Their airships represent industrial advancements and new technologies, evidence of strong national power. Only one Asian country, Japan, is categorized as modern based on its defeat of Russia in 1905, a victory attributed to the success of its political reform that supported its national modernization. Not only does the caricature rank Japan among the great powers but, as the image suggests, Japan is viewed as a possible leader of other countries portrayed in the upper register. By contrast, the lower register includes eight countries, China, Turkey, India, Egypt, and others. Many represent civilizations developed centuries ago. However, in the modern world, their earlier achievements seem worthless, excluded from higher rankings and degraded as under-developed. Preposterously, those nations are depicted in the drawing as riding on small creatures, further highlighting the power differential.

Figure 7.25 illustrates a horse race insinuating the transition of polity among nations from Despotism to Republicanism. The reference to Portugal's recently jumping the fence points to the success of the Portuguese revolution when, on 15 October 1910, the Portuguese Republican Party deposed the constitutional monarchy, established a republican polity and inaugurated a new historical phase. By contrast, the dying Korean rider and his injured horse tell the

---

<sup>215</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify the Egyptian magazine from which this caricature was imitated. It's essential to consider that the notification claiming it was imitated from an Egyptian magazine is inaccurate. However, Chapter Five provides evidence that Chinese caricaturists adopted and adapted numerous foreign caricatures. Therefore, I believe this image could be an imitation of a foreign caricature. Further research is needed to confirm the origin of the visual source.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

depressing story of what happened in August 1910 when Japan and Korea signed the Annexation Treaty that declared Japan's subjugation of Korea. In the treaty, the Korean government gave up its sovereignty and simultaneously became a Japanese colony. As the image suggests, the Korean effort to become a Republic died before it had a chance to leap over the stonewall that symbolized Despotism (專制). In other words, in the horse race of the world, the Chinese official voluntarily brings up the rear.<sup>216</sup> The juxtaposition of advanced and less-advanced countries makes obvious the caricaturist's perception that China lags behind, by choice.



Figure 7.25 The Horse Race in the World (*SZRB*, 2 November, 1910).

After 1908, numerous caricatures entitled “A Comparison between China and the West” (中西之比較) were published with themes ranging from Chinese political scenes to social issues. The caricaturists' intention in juxtaposing different aspects of China and western nations was obviously to expose the reality that China was lagging behind compared with other nations. For example, “A Comparison of the Constitutions in the West and in China” 中西憲法之比較 (Figure 7.26) humorously contrasts the constitution of China with those of European nations as illustrated by two globes floating on the sea. Countless hands reach out of the water, keeping the European globe afloat while the Chinese globe is lifted by only a single thread clutched by the hand of a government official. The caricature praises the western-style constitution as a collective effort (共同的組織) while the Chinese constitution is denounced as a governmental trick (朝廷的把戲), unlikely to receive public support.

<sup>216</sup> The visual motif recurred among the caricatures at a time. For instance, a 1908 *SZHB* caricature, “the State of Constitutionalism around the world” 世界憲政之現況 (28 September) likens the development of different nations' political system to a silkworm's life phases: a worm, a cocoon, a pupae and a moth.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

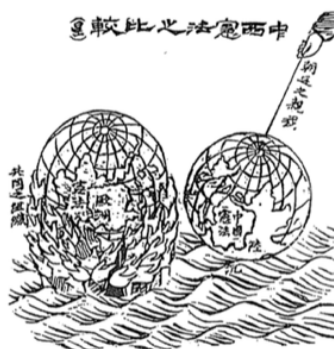


Figure 7.26 A Comparison of the Constitutions in the West and in China (SZRB, 30 July 1908).

Yet another illustration, entitled “A Comparison of Chinese and Foreign Businessmen” 中外實業家之比較 (Figure 7.27), addresses differences in commercial development in China and foreign countries. In the caricature, two businessmen representing America and Europe together carry a big, heavy bag of money with so much cash that the bag cannot be closed. A Japanese businessman, dressed like a western businessman, carries a satchel full of money while the Chinese businessman’s moneybag is so lightweight that a gust of wind blows it away, suggesting the bag was empty.



Figure 7.27 A Comparison of Chinese and Foreign Businessmen (SZRB, ca.1908).

Although many positive connotations emanated regarding the use of western suits as a symbol, I am not stating that being a “westerner” was always praised and promoted in all caricatures. The new national icon of westerners doubtlessly drew a conclusion to frequent disputes in the late Qing over Chinese westernization. During the last decades of the empire, the question of whether to reform the nation by following the western countries or, in the alternative, to follow westernized Japan sparked heated debates in the Qing court.<sup>217</sup> Many caricaturists questioned the feasibility of China’s attempts to achieve westernization. While calling for political westernization, newspapers simultaneously warned that westernization was undermining China as a nation.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>217</sup> The debates on which nation’s constitutional system that China should model, see Chai (2011, 253).

<sup>218</sup> Although my study often mentions the west versus Chinese or Despot versus Republican, these terms seeming to dichotomize the Chinese political scene at the turn of the century; it should keep in mind that the actual situation

## CHAPTER SEVEN

The caricature entitled “The Growth and The Decline of Ice and Charcoal” 冰炭之消長 (Figure 7.28) clearly conveys the fear that westernization might cause the Chinese culture to vanish. The scene illustrates the melting of a big ice cube that sits on a small stove near several pieces of burning wood. On the surface of the ice is written “The quintessence of Chinese culture” 國粹 while the sticks of wood are arranged in the form of the Chinese term, Ouhua 歐化 (Europeanization), at the time a synonym for Westernization. The caricature implies that the quintessence of Chinese culture 國粹 may gradually disappear in response to the Chinese fervent demand for Westernization, similar to the way that ice is vaporized by heat produced by burning wood. This caricature strongly criticizes those whose faith in the West blinds them to the deterioration of China’s cultural, political, and financial institutions and traditions. Paradoxically, such uneasiness is likewise evidenced in some caricatures related to China’s new national symbol of the western suit. While celebrating China as a modern country, the caricatures simultaneously call into question whether those who wear western suits have actually “evolved” into westerners. What shortcomings do western suits cover up? That question, frequently raised by Chinese caricaturists, is the focus of the next section.

### 長消之炭冰



Figure 7.28 The Growth and the Decline of Ice and Charcoal (*SZRB*, 13 October 1909).

was never so simple. The scholar, Wang Jiping (2003, 123-164), argues that the western effect gave rise to three modes of culturalism in modern China: traditionalism 文化傳統主義, eclecticism 文化折衷主義, and nihilism 文化虛無主義. The traditionalist stick to the conservative values, the eclecticist agreed “Chinese Learning as substance, western learning as application” (中體西用), and the nihilists believed that only by discarding original Chinese value and undergoing a wholesale change following the western political system and culture could the nation survive the subjugation). The Taiwanese scholar, Sun Guangde, holds the same arguments. His monograph (1982), *Wanqing chuangtong yu xihua de zhenglun*, maps out conflicts and compromises among these three groups of intellectuals in the late political reforms. The historian, Zhang Kaiyuan (1895, 291-316), likewise reveals the intricacies behind these divisions. By describing two intellectuals’ friendship, he points out three political groups in the late Qing. The Qing officials, reformists, and revolutionaries. However, these three groups could not be seen as isolated from others. Reformists, particularly, oscillated between the royal and revolutionaries. Most reformists, at first, held a conservative attitude toward the political movement, but the failure of constitutionalism disappointed them to turn to support the radical revolution. These divisions might confirm the lines of the political circle in modern China but incessant configurations of cultural and powerful fluctuation.



### 7.3 Becoming the Other? China Devolved

Chinese caricatures skillfully integrate the concept of evolution into their satirical illustrations. They reveal, on one hand, the hierarchical structure of the world, depicting an asymmetrical power relationship. Simultaneously, these caricatures assert China's new status, suggesting an equivalence to the West in terms of power. However, a profound contradiction exists within these depictions. Alongside congratulatory images, numerous satirical pictures cast doubt on China's political and social evolution.

The caricaturists may have created a visual representation that establishes a powerful symmetry between China and the West. Nevertheless, a genuine asymmetry lies within the nation itself: the disparity between its western/republican facade and its antiquated/monarchical essence. The new regime fails to entirely validate China's success in political reform; instead, it superficially adopts Westernization, masking the unchanged, bygone China beneath its Western facade. Unfortunately, to one's dismay, the new Republican China appears to be regressing to a primitive age.

Chapter Five discussed the image of Shanghairen 上海人, whose level of westernization bestowed them with an image of men in the western suit. Barbara Mittler's research points out the press delineates (or contrasts) a sense of guilty for Shanghairen who enjoy advantages of modernization but meanwhile betrayed their conventional life style. In fact, as pointed out above, the western-suit man was not applied only to Shanghairen but to all Chinese. For the Republican China, the sense of quality might not derive from distancing from the tradition but from being westernized.

For example, if re-examining Figure 7.13, one might also argue that the caricature mocks the superficiality of China's being the other. Zhong Kui becomes a westerner only by changing his hairstyle and clothes. The underworld where to judge someone's wrongdoings turns out to be a fitting room and a barbershop. Transforming one's self into a westerner is such a simple process that Zhong Kui's essence still remains untouched. Apparently, his changes along with those of the little ghosts are skin-deep only.

As David Strand (2011, 147-158) argues in his *An Unfinished Republican*, Chinese modernity was shaped by a mode of so-called "isomorphism." The Republican of China is described as a "Duckweed Republic," which was unable to function in the same way as western republics. In other words, mimicry was the primary method that China employed for implementing a new political system whereby China sought not only to replicate western

## CHAPTER SEVEN

institutions, business practices, and organizations of European republics but also adopted individual behaviors. “Public speaking, study societies, and political meetings” were among the imitated societal behaviors. The western look, such as “bobbed hair and Western clothes,” prevailed all over urban China and beyond. In a word, being seen as a citizen was the primary task of being a citizen.

Figure 7.13 figuratively depicts “the mimetic behavior” by which Chinese people learned to be citizens of the republic. Many newspaper articles reported that government officials were complying with the new dress code but continuing to follow the monarchy’s old ways of doing things. A caricature entitled “The Appearance is Correct, but the Spirit is Far Off” 貌合神離, reveals that the republicans were at loss on how to perform their duties according to the western style, regardless of how western they appeared (Harrison 1999, 52). In the 1920s, *Shenbao* carried a series of caricatures entitled “Imitating Westerners” 摹仿西人. The images satirize Chinese people for their blind obsession with the westerner-look. They dig out their eyes in order to have deep-set eyes like a westerner. They tie their waist extremely tight to fit into the western gown. All the changes are superficial and ridiculous. The superficiality of westernization was being repeated through the news and images (Mittler 2004, 348-350).

So, what is underneath the western suit? The political chaos catalyzed caricaturists urgently to uncover the seemingly splendid suit. What lies beneath the Western suit? The political chaos urged caricaturists to urgently unveil the splendid suit. The unveiling process rendered the caricatures grotesque due to the visual juxtaposition of the two figures, which actually refer to one singular individual or archetype. This reveals the profound contradictions within them—between the new and the old, the present and the past, the external appearance and the internal reality, republicanism, and despotism. This incongruity, depicted through bodily forms, appears comical yet evokes a sense of terror, a characteristic trait of the grotesque.



Figure 7.29 New Personage (*Shenbao huabao*, 1912).

For instance, the Yuan government’s antagonism against the revolutionaries and its scheme to restore centralism discredited the belief that China had turned into a westernized

## CHAPTER SEVEN

country. Figure 7.29 is a caricature depicting Republican politics with a grotesque effect. The image titled 'New Personage' (新人物) portrays a man clad in a Western military uniform, symbolizing 'The Look of the Republican' (共和外貌). Standing next to him is an official attired in the iconic Qing official garb, representing China's preference for despotism, thereby visually indicating the true nature of the official. The incongruity between the apparent and the essence, coupled with the rigid body and strained facial expressions, lends grotesqueness to the caricature. While the satirical target might intentionally represent a specific politician, the visual presentation analogy still associates the new-style figure with the national symbol.



Figure 7.30 The Inside and Outside of a Politician (*MQHB*, 24 May 1912).

*MQHB* published a series of caricatures that censure the insincerity of the Chinese government. Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916), the Republican president who professed to support the new government but later assumed the role of dictator, it goes without saying, was the epitome of a turncoat politician.<sup>219</sup> In the caricature “The Inside and Outside of a Politician,” 政界人物之表裏觀 (Figure 7.30), a man wearing the Qing official outfit stands just inside the door of a room where a western suit and hat are hanging on a clothes tree. Outside the room, a picture of a Qing official, wearing an official hat, is enshrined as a God. The figure, a man of great merit of two regimes 兩朝元勳, alludes to Yuan Shikai. The outside versus the inside space of the room emphasizes the incongruity of his actions with regard to his position as head of the Republican government.

As mentioned in Chapter Six, grotesque abnormalities tend to involve bodily distortion, frequently manifesting as the transformation of a human into an animal. The caricature, titled

<sup>219</sup> For Yuan Shikai's regime in the Republican Era before the time of Empire of China, see *The Cambridge history of China Republican China 1912-1949* (Part 1) 208-241; Guo (1989, 408-32); Hou (1994, 251-382).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

“Walk in Cahoots” 狼狽其行 (Figure 7.31), illustrates Yuan embodying two deceptive animals simultaneously. In Figure 7.31, Yuan is portrayed as a dual-bodied man: one dons a Western tuxedo and top hat, while the other wears the traditional Qing gown. The title of the caricature refers to two animals: the wolf (狼) and a traditional creature, the wolf’s knee species, 狽 (Bei). It's believed that Bei cannot move without riding on the wolf due to its tiny front legs. Hence, a wolf and a Bei often conspire together for predation or other schemes in this peculiar yet comical setup. The grotesqueness of Figure 6.41 lies in the physical connection between the two figures. The depiction of Yuan’s “two figures” sharing a pair of legs reinforces the imagery of Yuan's resemblance to two animals (a wolf and a Bei), as they walk in unison without separating from each other (其行). While Yuan was frequently depicted as an ape, this caricature links him to the cunning nature of a wolf and a Bei by revealing his dual personas, condemning his hypocrisy and disregard for the principles of the Republican polity.”



Figure 7.31 Walk in Cahoots (*MQHB*, 23 April 1912).

Given that Yuan was the president at the time, his position legitimized him as a representation of the newly-established Republican regime. Figure 7.30 and Figure 7.31 portraying Yuan, characterized by iconic clothing, highlight the disturbance within Chinese politics at that time. This implies that China's adoption of Western culture appeared to perpetuate many aspects of its past.

Political instability paved the way for consequent national unrest throwing the future of republicanism into further question. Not surprisingly, the new regime did not run as smoothly as promised but instead led to widespread political confusion. Noticeably, the doubt in political evolution extended to the social evolution as well. For instance, *MQHB*'s a series of caricatures on the past and present suggesting that evolution might be not as positive as the intellectuals had expected. “The Past and the Present of a Young Lady” 小姐之今昔觀 (Figure 7.32) contrasts the feet of a women in the past and present. In the upper picture, a young woman in

## CHAPTER SEVEN

a traditional garment whose feet are very small are barely visible under the front of her skirt. The caricaturist compares the bound feet of Chinese women in the past to the tiny little feet of a frog (in the circle on the left). The analogy between the woman and a frog are intentionally humorous.

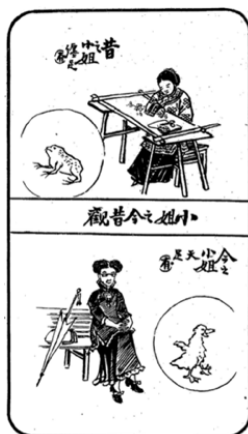


Figure 7.32 The Present and the Past of a Young Lady (*MQHB*, 6 August 1912).

In the lower picture, a young lady, wearing a western woman's suit with a high collar, eyeglasses, and modern hairstyle, sits on a bench and as she lays down her big umbrella and purse, she crosses her legs and relaxes so that her feet are fully visible. In the new era, instead of praising the change, the caricaturist compares her big feet to those of a duck, described as 天足 (nature feet) shown in the circle to the right. The comparison of the young woman in a western suit with the clumsy duck further reveals the caricaturist's doubts about contemporary social changes as reflected in the size of women's feet, whether frog (past) or duck (present).

Another example is a figure that adopts braid-cutting as its theme. Entitled 'The View on the Braids in the Past and in the Present,' it compares men's braids in the past to a pigtail and women's braids in the present to a curling snake (Figure 7.33). In the new era of Republican government, pigtails, symbolizing the imperial past, become a target for caricaturists, serving as a source of ridicule. However, these caricatures simultaneously mock the present as well. Stylish women sporting braided hairdos in public become subjects of ridicule in the caricatures. By depicting the braids not entirely severed but transformed into different comical forms, the caricature suggests that the old symbols persist in alternate forms of funniness, illustrating that the past is not past but still lives on in other ways.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>220</sup> It is worth noting that the series, in particular, highlights the different situations that the politicians were in before and after the 1911 revolution. Some of them were alluded to opportunists and some to the cats' paws of others. Take Li Yuanhong for example. The caricature, "The Present and The Past of Li Yuanhong" (August 31, 1912), reprimands him for the cruelty to the revolutionary compatriots. In order to strengthen his political power, he killed a number of revolutionists and tilted to the administration of Yuan, which is contrary to his original

## CHAPTER SEVEN



Figure 7.33 The View on the Braids in the Past and in the Present (*MQHB*, 20 August 1912).

The paradox demonstrated in Chinese caricatures is the fact that the establishment of the Republican government seems to confirm the western suit's symbolic meanings of advancement, but, at the same time, the ensuing political disturbance disqualifies its symbolic meaning as advancement. Because the western suit is repeatedly juxtaposed to that of the Qing official, the new symbol serves as a reminder of the old symbol. Chinese caricatures of the time experience “the double visual inefficacy of self-symbols.” One is the demise of old symbols, such as the image of Qing officials and a dragon, hence generating the new symbol of a man in the western suit; the other is the new symbol's signifier (western suits) that soon becomes divorced from its signified (progress). As a result, the new symbol becomes “the new symbol of the old symbol,” suggesting that Chinese history proceeds in a circular manner, not linear.

“The double visual inefficacy of self-symbols” reveals the deep national crisis in China. The caricatures' repetition of such visual narrative as the incongruity of the exterior/present and the interior/the past seemingly inversed the meanings of evolution. Evolution, accordingly, does not definitely mean progress but even opposite situations. Above, Figure 7.27 demonstrates the comparison among Western, Japanese, and Chinese businessmen, highlighting the West's advancement and China's backwardness in dealing with business.

Figure 7.34 is a 1916 Ma Xingchi's caricature with the similar theme, entitled “The Evolution of Businessmen 商人的進化.” It illustrates the transition in social status of businessmen during the Qing period to the early Republican era. In the Qing period, a businessman looked depressed as evidenced by his hat which symbolizes government power,

---

standpoint in the late Qing. The caricature illustrates that Li, in the past, is a standing carved statue that leaves a good name for a hundred generations 流芳百世. Now, he kneels down on the statue base, having his name go down in history as a byword for infamy 遺臭萬年. Zhang Zhenwu 張振武, a general in Wuhan 武漢 who was annihilated by Li, is likened to a faithful hund killed for food once the hares are bagged 兔死狗烹 (23 August 23 1912). The caricature ironically points out that it is Li who cuts and bites the dog's thigh. The caricature wittily exploited the Chinese proverb to reveal Li's betrayal and brutality

## CHAPTER SEVEN

官力, and the oppression of private enterprise. After the Republican government is in place, the businessman's attitude improves, judging from his relaxed facial expression. Nevertheless, while his clothes exhibit greater affluence, his villainous grin suggests a rotten character. In other words, the caricature implies the increasing influence of businessmen on society, but that does not mean a benefit to Chinese society at large.



Figure 7.34 The Evolution of Businessmen (*XWB*, 11 May 1916).

As modern China became a split figure of contradictions and an embodiment of evolution without progress, a Chinese person dressed in Western attire, to one's dismay, alluded to a malfunctioning nation. The apprehension surrounding this nullification of the national function was cleverly and vigorously showcased in caricatures that opposed Yuan's attempt to restore the monarchy. In 1914, Yuan paved the way for himself to become emperor by restoring the ceremonies of worshipping Heaven and Confucius. In September and December, at grand ceremonies of worshipping Confucius in the Temple of Confucius and heaven in the Temple of Heaven in Beijing, Yuan dressed up as if he were already the emperor and, during the ceremonies, advocated ideas of God's will 天命 and Confucian codes of ethics, thereby creating public awe because of his association with God (Hou 1994, 386-387).<sup>221</sup>

In January 1915, *XZB* published a caricature called "The Future of the Dress Code 服制的將來" (Figure 7.35) illustrates the devolution of Chinese officials' attire. This caricature evokes a sense of abnormality by depicting a world alien to ordinary people's understanding. The familiar suddenly becomes unfamiliar, with its novelty possibly amusing, yet its strangeness also instilling a sense of fear. The title of the caricature, ironically named 'Future,'

<sup>221</sup> For more information concerning Yuan's establishment of Empire of China, see *The Cambridge History of China: Republican China 1912-1949* (Part 1) 242-55; T. Guo (1989, 432-45); Hou (1994, 383-505); Hu (1981). Most research in Chinese modern history criticized and evaluated Yuan negatively for the chaotic political situation at the early Republican time and his ambition to restore Despotism and become the empire, but recently, some scholars attempted to rehabilitate Yuan by reviewing the historical sources from a different perspective and confirm his contribution in China's modernization. See Patrick Fuliang Shan (2018) *Yuan Shikai: A Reappraisal* and Zhang Yongdong (2006).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

portrays a return to the primitive age. The incongruity between the title and the visual content, wherein a decent Westerner gradually transforms into a barbaric primitive figure, renders China a grotesque world. The figure on the right, dressed in a Western suit, represents an official from the Republican era. To his left, three individuals are depicted wearing robes from the Tang Dynasty, the Han Dynasty, and, ludicrously, attires from a prehistoric era. This juxtaposition of the future equating to the past serves to debunk the absurdity of Yuan's political restoration scheme. The alterations in the official attire in these images serve as a warning that China is regressing toward an ancient time.



Figure 7.35 The Future of the Dress Code (*XWB*, 15 January 1915).

Yuan's acceptance of the Twenty-One Demands in May 1915 accelerated his goals to restore the monarchy with Japan's support. In August, Frank J. Goodnow, the American councilor of the Yuan Government, published an essay in the English-language *Peking Daily News*, arguing that China should restore the monarchy and evolve slowly into constitutionalism since most of the Chinese people were illiterate and uneducated. Soon after the essay was translated into Chinese, it was used to justify Yuan's goal (Shan 2018, 212-213). Subsequently, Yuan's supporters convened a committee to advocate revival of the monarchy and various petition groups appeared in public, fabricating a popular consensus of urging Yuan to take up the title of emperor. In October, delegates to the National Assembly voted for a change of the national state system and Monarchy Constitutionalism was approved to replace the Republic.

Between the assembly in October and Yuan's claim to the throne in December, Ma Xingchi published a series of pictures in *XWB* titled 'Transformation of the Things in the Future' 今後事物之蜕化. Following a visual pattern of Figure 7.35, these fifteen pictures render China as a totally grotesque world where everyone and everything sequentially degenerating into a primitive state. This depiction diverges from the general expectation, presenting China's trajectory as opposite to anticipated progress. In response to 'this directional reversion,' the series title cleverly employs a homophonic pun with 'tuihua.' 'Tuihua' (蜕化 - transformation) shares the same sound as 'tuihua' 退化 (regression), cleverly blending the meanings of these



## CHAPTER SEVEN

two terms. Consequently, these caricatures ostensibly illustrate China's change in the future but, in reality, expose China's awkward regression. Figure 7.36, for instance, portrays a Western-style man whose facial features transition from a mustache to long hair, culminating in a depiction resembling a primitive's beard.



Figure 7.36 The Change of the Things in the Future 10: beard and hair (*SZRB*, 2 November 1915).

This “regressing pictures” series covers various aspects of social and national “evolution.” One caricature regarding the changes in women’s status in this political regression is noteworthy. Since the late Qing, the situation of woman’s education had been largely improved. From the late Qing to the early Republican time, numerous female schools had already been established in many provinces and the educational system for female students was legitimately passed and complemented. Meanwhile, it was not surprising to see female overseas students and female educators strongly advocating their instructional doctrines. Despite much backlash from the conservatives, the public basically had accepted the appearance of female students at the time (Du 1995, 249-409; Lei, Chen, and Xiong 1993, 195-313).<sup>222</sup>

However, the situation was changed when Yuan was in power. In a 1913 verdict, Yuan condemned nationalist revolutionaries for encouraging the idea of freedom and equality that demoralized students to the degree that they did not respect teachers and follow the school rules. The freedom Yuan referred to contains the educational equality of both sexes. In 1914, promoting the ideology of venerating the ancient values, Yuan decreed several educational

---

<sup>222</sup> There is much research on specific aspects of Chinese women's education. For instance, Qin traced the birth and usage of the term “women’s world” (nǚjie 女界) and how “the world” was constructed. It particularly offers a landscape of woman education in Tianjin and demonstrates how the society narrated and evaluated the new group of female students, see Qin “Nǚjie” zhi xingqi; Xia Xiaohong indicates that Chinese intellectuals reinterpreted the ancient monographs and introduced foreign heroines through translations and newspaper essays to meet the need of educating women. The boom in publishing women newspapers helps foster women’s national consciousness, see Xia Wanqing nǚzi; Jin, Jungwon takes a unique approach to the idea of “good wife and virtuous mother” (xianqi liangmu 賢妻良母) in China. Outlining how the idea developed circulated, and affected each other among East Asian countries (China, Japan, and Korea), her study shows that China’s female education was subject to changing international circumstances. In this light, Chinese female education should be considered within a network of East Asia. See Jin (2005).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

principals against the female education. In his view, women should not take in scientific knowledge and compete with men in any other field than domestic economy. Furthermore, he deemed women's participation in the politics as the regression of a nation. Under such circumstance detrimental to the female education, several magazines appeared to advocate that woman should comply to old morals and do nothing but housekeeping. From 1914 to 1916, the number of female schools debated from 136 to 98 and the number of female students from 10432 to 8005. These decreasing number proved how Yuan's conservative thoughts impeded woman education at the time (Lei, Chen, and Xiong 1993, 302-305).



Figure 7.37 The Change of the Things in the Future 16: Female Scholars Circle (*SZRB*, 11 November 1915).

Figure 7.37 debunks Chinese political regress and the then-current situation of female education. In the caricature, women's fashion and scholarly circles returned to those of the imperial time, hinting that Chinese woman would again suffer from oppression and exclusion. The irony is that we cannot even make sure whether the ones in the old and western garment are female because no women was allowed to wear this way in pre- and modern China. Hence, the caricature might miserably prophet the extinguishing of women education. All in all, judging from the series of caricatures, an urgent message illuminates that the revival of the monarchy would jeopardize all the progress made so far.

As stated in the introduction, in Bakhtin's grotesque realism, the carnival represents a cycle of revival wherein the end of an old order is closely followed by the emergence of a new one. Participants in this process may perceive it as a cycle of rebirth. Wang highlights that Chinese grotesque realism diverges from this revivalist mode. Chinese caricaturists have long acknowledged the concept of circular time, yet more importantly, they have not adhered to any fixed temporal paradigm, as their era constantly overturns many previously held values. Chinese grotesque realism establishes its own temporal perspective and approach to cyclical time. Chinese caricatures depicting evolution or anti-evolution reveal an era of anachronism that, ironically, is more authentic to the real world. In fact, these caricatures display a revived

## CHAPTER SEVEN

pattern of Chinese grotesque realism, yet they allude to a vicious circle suggesting that China might never experience a new rebirth.



Figure 7.38 Untitled (*SZRB*, 11 October 1915).

A 1915 comic drawing in *SZRB* exemplifies this impossible rebirth. It depicts the change of political systems as analogous to chickens laying eggs (Figure 7.38). The first picture points to the embryonic Republic when an egg was laid, symbolizing the inception of the Republic. The second picture shows a hen sitting on the nest during a time called “the birth of the Republic.” In the third picture, a rooster stands up with pride, representing the young Republic. Unexpectedly in last frame, another larger adult rooster, of a different species, lays an egg. The preposterous egg-laying rooster appears to represent Yuan Shikai, by then an elderly man, who conspired to give rebirth to the monarchy in order to restore the imperial past. The caricature ostensibly goes in an evolutionary order but, as a matter of fact, reveals the circular reality of China’s contemporary politics.

### 7.4 Conclusion

It is not an exaggeration to point out that the late Qing was a period that produced a rich variety of visual symbols for China including, for instance, as demonstrated in Chapter Four, China as a sick man, a sleeping lion, an old man, a new youth, and more. The increasing number of self-adopted symbols reveals China's national quandary as well as its self-identity crisis. The establishment of China’s Republican government in 1912 discredited the use of old symbols, such as images of the Qing official and dragons. During that time, Chinese newspapers published many caricatures that, on one hand, had discarded old emblems while welcoming new symbols that were not widely accepted. Caricaturists filled the gaps by selecting the figure of a man wearing a western suit as China’s new self-symbol, thus adapting the older pictorial tradition of personification. Similar to *Tokyo Puck* in which a Japanese man in a western suit

## CHAPTER SEVEN

represented modern Japan, Chinese caricatures displayed a world in which Chinese people seem to have evolved overnight into Westerners. The changes in visual presentations reflect the strength of the westernization movement over an extended period of time, concluding with China's 1912 revolution that announced its success. The man in a western suit had been previously used to symbolize the western "*Other*." After the 1912 revolution, the desire to address the asymmetry in power relations between China and Western powers led to China being depicted as a figure in a Western suit. Thus, in an ambiguous manner, China became "*the Other*."

In caricatural presentations, China became the western "*Other*" based on an understanding that the western suit insinuated advancement and progress. Meanwhile, China suffered from political turmoil, which occurred at almost at the same time that the new symbol of the suit (advancement) and its positive meaning, were invalidated. Thus, Chinese caricatures depicted the new regime as a disorderly and chaotic arena haunted by ghosts from the past, far removed from the concept of "peace together" 共和 (republican) as the title of the new government suggested. Hidden under figures of men dressed in new western-style outfits were, in fact, old-fashioned, stodgy, and nefarious Qing officials, who represented an old national symbol that should have disappeared when the new republican government assumed power. Caricatures that opposed Yuan Shikai, who was China's first president of the Republic, highlighted confusion about China's new national symbol by depicting Yuan as a "two-figured" man wearing a western suit stitched from the fabric of a Qing official's gown. Around 1915 when Yuan Shikai attempted to restore the former autocratic polity, Chinese newspapers published many caricatures suggesting that China was moving backward to primitive eras. Perceived as leading China toward regression, not progress, the new national symbol system turned out to be composed of the signifier of western outfits with the signified being the out-of-date, discarded national emblem of the Qing official. The crisis of China's self-identity arose when the *new* symbol (the western suit) was used by Chinese caricaturists to symbolize the *old* symbol (the Qing official's gown). Both images of clothing indirectly referred to opposing systems of Chinese government: republican versus autocratic. The *new* symbols seem to have re-activated every other old, outdated emblem, thus calling attention to China's past and impeding her progress going forward, which led to, what I call, "the double visual inefficacy of self-symbols."

While on the topic of introducing and creating visual languages of caricatures, a point that deserves consideration is the proficiency with which caricaturists incorporated new foreign

## CHAPTER SEVEN

concepts and grotesque expressive forms into their pictorial languages. The case of caricatural national symbolism demonstrates how Chinese caricaturists wittily deployed “evolutionism,” an influential western concept that had been introduced to modern China. The theory of evolution spotlights contrasts between the new and the old, progress and regression, backward and forward, which Chinese caricaturists transformed in their illustrations to depict the hierarchical relationship between China and foreign powers. The evolutionary process became a frequent pictorial and grotesque pattern in Chinese caricatures. The pattern reveals a worldview in which all nations are arrayed hierarchically according to stages of evolution: the western powers were portrayed as always ahead while China was depicted as behind. Besides its use in international power constellations, Chinese caricaturists also employed this pattern to celebrate the foundation of the Republican government as an evolution and to pessimistically prophesize China under Yuan’s rule as degradation. The caricaturists’ high degree of familiarity with new concepts as well as their fluency in the use of visual languages continues to be viewed as a remarkable achievement of Chinese caricaturists in the early twentieth century, although most of the illustrators were unknown.

Section Three (Chapters Six and Seven) regards Chinese caricaturists as a “Contact Zone” where different visual languages and concepts met and blended. These images demonstrated the co-existence of eastern and western concepts such as different systems of national symbols and usage of various Western concepts in Chinese caricatures such as national symbols and evolutionism. By employing these concepts Chinese caricatures described the Chinese socio-political situation and revealed a contradictory mentality in representing China. During the late Qing period, China was represented by a Qing official with grotesque features, while in the Republican era, China was depicted as a nation experiencing degradation. Even so, it still can be observed that Chinese caricaturists’ intention to reverse asymmetry in caricatural visual expressions with regard to relationships between China and foreign countries.

Thus far, my study has addressed four types of asymmetries in a painting genre, in publications, in images, and in adopted concepts. The efforts of Chinese caricaturists to reverse the asymmetries between China and other countries have been thoroughly explored in the previous chapters. A forthcoming conclusion will summarize the findings and arguments presented in these chapters. Finally, I will introduce a Western case in which a German scholar published a paper introducing Chinese caricatures and caricatural visual languages to European readers. This European example is testimony that the occurrence of asymmetry did not necessarily accompany power dominance but rather emerged as a result of individual actors’ perceptions, which could happen without any warning or expectati

## Conclusion

On 18 December 1915, the English clergyman, author, and photographer the Rev. Charles Ewart Darwent gave a lecture on “Wit and Humor of Punch” before the Union Church Literary and Social Guild in Shanghai (“Wit and Humor of ‘Punch’”1915). Since starting his position as a minister at the Union Church in 1899, Darwent had lived in Shanghai until his move to Tianjin in 1919. He published a photo-oriented guidebook in 1904 and established the Shanghai Amateur Photographic Society (S.A.P.S.) in 1906. Actively involved in cultural events, Darwent was recognized as a celebrity in Shanghai during his stay of ten years.<sup>223</sup>

His lecture in Tianjin attracted a large audience. He introduced the magazine *the Punch* by pointing out that its writers had always been scholars, witty, and gentlemen. For the benefit of the audience, he demonstrated features of the content by showing as many as sixty-five slides of caricatures. As “an English institution”, “*Punch* mirrored the whole of life”. Therefore, based on the magazine pictures, Darwent was able identify “all mistakes, contradictions of circumstances and kindly pointed them out”. The pen and ink work of *the Punch*, he noted, was considered the highest type of publication in every way (“Wit and Humor of ‘Punch’” 1915).

The most brilliant part of Darwent’s lecture was his illumination on *the Punch*’s humor. Despite a comic journal, *the Punch* was “not comic in its silly buffoonery”, “its pictures did not depend on ridiculous exaggerations of physical features”. “The drawings were correct and true to life. The humor was in the situation depicted”. “The enjoyment of the joke” relied on “hitting of some foible of human nature” instead of “making sweep coal black or the making of his nose long.” Darwent emphasized that *the Punch*’s humor was real humor, namely, kindly humor. “It takes off the little weakness of human nature, its little vanities and follies, but in a kindly spirit, in a spirit of fun, but not of vitriolic bitterness”. Consequently, “the victim generally enjoys the jokes as much as the maker of it” (“The Native and Foreign Authorities in Shanghai” 1882).

Darwent’s 1915 lecture suggests the popularity of humorous magazines in China at that time. It furthermore points out the visual literacy of caricatures that Chinese audiences as well as members of the foreign community living in Shanghai at the time, needed in order to comprehend the underlying meanings portrayed in humorous caricatures. Based on my research findings, I consider that Chinese caricatures represent transcultural products that

---

<sup>223</sup> For more information about Darwent, see <https://shorturl.at/ezFS1> (accessed 20 March 2024).

## CONCLUSION

tended to re-balance the asymmetry of East/West caricatures as reflected in aspects of the Chinese painting genre, visual language, and the power relationships that existed between two very different cultural systems – China and the West. In the conclusion, I will summarize these points and raise “a symmetry” of Chinese caricatures in the West, which is, in my view, a migration of Chinese caricatures to “their homeplace.”

### **8.1 Chinese Caricatures in China: A World of Asymmetry**

#### **8.1.1 The Visual Literacy: Overcoming the Asymmetry of the Painting Genre**

My research first deals with asymmetry of cultural conflicts reflected in the prevalence of caricatures in turn-of-the-century China. Despite debates on whether caricatures existed in China in premodern times, it is beyond controversy that it was not until the late nineteenth century that caricatures became a painting genre in China. Contemporary research on those images focuses mainly on domestic political issues. Over time, when increasing numbers of Chinese caricatures started to appear in society, it became necessary for Chinese caricaturists to explain the essence of this painting genre in order to convey to audiences how to interpret the caricaturists' political messages. By investigating para-texts concerning caricatures, I propose that attempts by Chinese caricaturists to define their caricatures in so many ways served to reduce the asymmetry between the production and the reception of humorous illustrations. Simultaneously the knowledge discrepancy about caricatures produced by between illustrators in China and the West was also reduced.

My research includes examples of attempts made by caricaturists, as well as newspaper editors, to define caricatures as a way to make the illustrations comprehensible to Chinese audiences. According to my findings, three types of approaches were employed: newspaper articles, textual references, and visual adaptations. For example, newspapers that invited voluntary caricature contributions outlined multiple facets of caricatures that were being solicited by suggesting titles and describing particular features. By juxtaposing with illustrations of scientific information, caricatures were associated with “advancements.” In textual references, caricatures were initially presented in the form of news illustrations, the most common layout style used for pictorials. Excessively long reports that expounded on the content of the drawings often caused the images to be not as funny and satirical as intended. Another approach used for explaining the caricatures relied on visualized idioms to convey the meanings. By using well-known literal expressions, readers were able to easily understand the

## CONCLUSION

caricaturists' wit and intentions. As for visual adaptations, the illustrators often modified traditional paintings, famous icons, and Chinese dramas for similar purposes. The acclimation of long-standing visuals to the then-current socio-political environment preserved the continuity and innovation of certain traditional images.

Chinese caricaturists and editors also appealed to long-standing, familiar metaphors to accentuate the essence of caricatures. The 1907 illustrated newspaper, *RJHB*, exemplifies that approach. Accompanied by an elaboration on the necessity to adopt the mirror metaphor, the pictorial newspaper published on the cover of each issue a caricature that featured humans, a colossal bronze mirror, and grotesque reflections. The purpose of those images was to emphasize the asymmetry between the external and the internal in everyday life. In other words, what is shown seems often contradicts what is. Against that backdrop at a time when China was importing numerous kinds of western objects, the caricaturists wittily extended the mirror metaphor to other types of western optical apparatus, such as telescopes, microscopes, and even x-ray machines, all of which were placed in the category of mirrors, a category that generally embraced all sorts of new technological inventions. The mirror images communicated to audiences the core of caricatures: to reveal the truth in a distorted way. Altogether, the caricatures display a wide diversity of pictorial forms. Because some of those forms do not fit the contemporary definition of caricatures, many have been overlooked by academic researchers. Therefore, another of the major contributions of this dissertation is to bring to light all possible "caricatures," many of which were previously overlooked because many early Chinese caricatures were the products of transcultural exchanges in which Chinese caricaturists adopted and modified techniques employed by foreign caricaturists.

### **8.1.2 The Visual Language: Overcoming the Asymmetry of the Publishing and Images' Circulation**

Based on the concept of cultural asymmetry that occurs when certain aspects of different cultures interact, this study views the development of the Chinese caricature genre as a multi-step sequence of events that occurred as the result of intercultural exchange of visual languages and humorous illustrations. In China at the turn of the twentieth century, most artists were originally trained in classical painting of historical events, but eventually worked for newspapers by painting news illustrations and caricatures. The asymmetry of visual languages arose along with an interchange of cultural factors between the Chinese and Western cultures. Chinese artists became interested in caricatures that were created by Western caricaturists and



## CONCLUSION

published by foreign humor magazines, such as the British *Punch*. Chinese artists were attracted to and inspired to emulate certain aspects of Western caricatures. As a result of that cultural interaction, Chinese artists modified aspects of Western illustrations and then developed their own caricatural visual language, relying on well-known Chinese symbols and metaphors. The Chinese-produced caricatures were published in various Chinese newspapers and magazines that shared caricatures with other publications. Soon, Chinese-made images became widely distributed and increasingly popular among Chinese audiences.

Scholars have pointed out that foreign images such as news illustrations and advertisements circulated among the Chinese media due to the advancement of printing techniques. Findings of those studies are important for demonstrating how and to what extent such images “flowed” among the press between China and other countries. The “flow” of images resulted partially from people’s ability to travel internationally, thanks to the expansion of colonialism and imperialism, and from the ensuing commercial benefits of international trade. However, it is important to point out that the “flow” of *caricatures* differed significantly from the “flow” of other types of illustrations described above due to the fact that Chinese caricaturists did not reproduce foreign illustrations. Rather, Chinese caricaturists *modified* certain aspects of foreign illustrations yet used Chinese symbols and metaphors in their newly minted visual language to inform Chinese audiences of contemporary political and social situations taking place at that time in China. Remarkably, by doing so, Chinese caricaturists, serving in the role of agents, rebalanced what had been an asymmetrical inter-cultural relationship between caricatures created by interaction between foreign illustrators and local Chinese caricaturists. When we consider caricaturists as a group, regardless of the types of illustrations they created or the nationality/residency of the caricaturists, it is possible to view development of the new Chinese genre as a holistic historical phenomenon that also built the foundation for a new Chinese visual language. Importantly, the Chinese caricature genre was born - a product of cultural interchange between China and the West.

The earliest distribution of foreign humorous magazines to China began at the end of the nineteenth century. The most famous was the British *Punch*. Many articles about the *Punch* magazine and its caricatures were published in English newspapers in Shanghai. In China, there were two waves of indigenization of foreign publications. The first, initiated by foreign publishers and caricaturists in Hong Kong and Shanghai, including representative publications, such as *the China Punch* (Hong Kong) and *the Puck: or Shanghai Charivari* and *the Rattle* (Shanghai). These English-language publications focused on news of the colonists and their mother country, appealing mainly to the foreign readers residing in China. The second wave

## CONCLUSION

started in 1918 with the release of *Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克 (Shanghai Puck). Its creator, Shen Bochen 沈泊塵, founded the first Chinese comic monthly magazine by imitating similar publications, especially *Tokyo Puck*. The caricatures, hence, were of the western style that differed from most Chinese caricatures being published in the late Qing. In addition to *Shanghai Poke*, Shen also started the supplement *Shishi Xinbao* at the end of 1918, a year before his death in 1919. In the supplement, Shen published numerous western-style caricatures and used the term “Poke” (Puck) with reference to caricatures in the Chinese context that attacked the helplessness and corruption of the Yuan government, while from a conservative standpoint, lampooned so-called new literary and lettermen.

By scrutinizing Chinese caricatures, one can find that Chinese caricaturists created a caricatural network. First, Chinese caricaturists introduced foreign caricatures by imitating them and adding explanatory texts, which are viewed as translations of images. Second, Chinese caricaturists adapted foreign caricatures to the Chinese context to illustrate then-current domestic social-political situations. It is noteworthy that Chinese caricaturists in different cities often copied each other’s work. As this dissertation shows, Beijing’s illustrated newspapers produced caricatures about caricatures published in Shanghai’s newspapers. Due to this routine of sharing, some foreign image designs were modified twice by different caricaturists. Juxtaposed to the original image, the adapted and re-adapted caricature designs often used to depict transcultural political contexts.

### **8.1.3 The Visual Representation: Overcoming the Asymmetry of Power Relationships**

Caricatures, due to their essence of revelation, are particularly sensitive to power relationships. My study shows that Chinese caricatures reflect three types of power relationships in China: the Chinese government (the Qing court and later Republican China) versus the foreign powers, the Chinese government versus the Chinese people, and the foreign powers and the Chinese people. The asymmetries created by these power relationships contribute to multiple forms of incongruity and grotesque distortion in representing the then-current Chinese and global power landscapes. In the matrix of the power relationships, one can observe that the Chinese government, whether the Qing court or the Republican government, was always portrayed in the caricatures as acting awkwardly. It was the spirit of Chinese caricatures during this period to ironize the superior as not being more superior than the inferior. Chinese caricaturists often displayed their own political viewpoints as well as the popular

## CONCLUSION

opinion of the people regarding concerns that emerged gradually and then evolved into public issues.

In addition to the explicit conflicts, this study argues that the change of China's national symbols demonstrates the implicit powerful struggle of the national identity of the time. In the late Qing, there were several national symbols for China, such as animals and Qing officials. The arrival of the Republican Era claims the impropriation of the out-of-date signs with the intense tint of despotism. Therefore, the caricaturists substituted the images of westerners for the old symbols, that resulted in visual confusion regarding China's national identity. After entering a modern and progressive world, which is insinuated by the success of the 1912 revolution, China seemed to relinquish her unique identity in visual representations. It is noteworthy that even under the cover of a progressive vision, Chinese caricatures constantly disclosed anxieties about the possibility of regression. This dissertation, accordingly, regards visual contradictions as an internalized form of power conflict.

My study also points out that in terms of visual expression, one can observe that Chinese caricaturists employed many western pictorial techniques. The caricatural diversity proves the latecomers' proficiency in executing the skills of this painting genre after decades of groping and imitating. It can also be seen as a reversal of power relations in caricatural visual presentations. As mentioned in the introduction, although there were caricature-like pictures in pre-modern China, it is undeniable that caricatures did not develop as a particular painting genre until the late Qing. Based on caricatures published in newspapers and those in *Shanghai Poke*, it is apparent that Chinese painters "evolved" into caricaturists and utilized the new visual languages for political criticism, especially later in attacking the international society that treated China unfairly at the Paris Peace Conference (1918-1919). The intense criticism of caricatures following that event testify to the ability of Chinese caricaturists to convey opinions that directly addressed the asymmetry between China and the West. Back to Wang Dunqing's article (1935) discussed earlier, my study demonstrates the achievements of Chinese early caricaturists in contrast to Wang's assertion that the Chinese did not learn how to "fight poison with poison". Rather, China's pioneering caricaturists blazed a path for the upcoming prosperity of Chinese caricatures in the nineteen thirties (Bi and Huang 1986, 91-97).

### **8.2 Chinese Caricatures in the West: A Symmetry to the World**

In this closing part, I would like to revisit the point raised by Wagner (2019, 18) that asymmetry can take place at any moment for anything. When the actor perceives an asymmetry

## CONCLUSION

arising in which he or she is in a low position, a dynamic to balance or reverse that lower position will rise from him or her. My study has demonstrated how Chinese caricatures appear to have reversed the asymmetry in caricatural visual representations. However, I would like to question whether there was a moment, during the development of Chinese caricatures, when Far East caricatural images caused another asymmetry of caricatural visual presentations to occur that inspired the West to rebalance or reverse the conflict. An article written by a German scholar might offer an answer.

In 1920, a Berlin-based journal, the eighth issue of *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (The East Asian Journal) (Figure 8.1), published an article “Die politische Karikatur in China” (The political caricature in China). Written by a well-known German sinologist and diplomat, Emil Krebs (1867-1930), the article included 18 examples. *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* was established by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst (German Association of East Asian Art) in 1912 in Berlin. The journal ran from 1912 to 1943 and covered research themes from India to Japan. *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, as its cover states, aimed to make “contributions to the knowledge of the culture and art of the Far East” (Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kultur und Kunst des Fernen Ostens). Under the journal’s title was printed “The Far East” in English and French. The three languages on the cover reveal its multi-language and international ambitions. Besides art history, the journal also published articles and reviews about history, literature, regional studies, and the like. The fruitful research achievement rendered it the most significant German East Asia journal that from 1923 to 1935 also included Asia Major. Many of its articles are still recognized by contemporary scholars as insightful in areas of related research (H. Walravens, - 2000, V- VIII).

### OSTASIATISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT

THE FAR EAST      L'EXTRÊME ORIENT  
BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNNTNIS DER KULTUR UND  
KUNST DES FERNEN OSTENS

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

OTTO KÜMMEL / WILLIAM COHN  
ERICH HÄNISCH

1919/1920

ACHTER JAHRGANG

OESTERHELD & CO. - VERLAG · BERLIN W. 15

Figure 8.1 The Cover of *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8 1910/1920

## CONCLUSION

As mentioned previously, the author Emil Krebs was a well-respected sinologist and diplomat. In 1893, he was assigned to China where he worked as a translator, later promoted as chief interpreter, and built up a good relationship with Empress Dowager Cixi. His service lasted until the establishment of China's Republican government but ended in 1917 when the diplomatic relationship between Germany and China was closed due to the outbreak of World War One. Emil Krebs was held in high esteem for his proficiency in at least 69 languages. He studied more than 100 languages and after his death left thousands of volumes and writings in about 120 languages.<sup>224</sup>

The publication of Krebs' article in the academic journal suggests the seriousness of his research on Chinese caricatures that appeared alongside other articles with serious academic themes by noted scholars or artists. According to Table 8.1 that displays the table of contents of this issue of the journal, these essays covered nearly all of Asia, including central Asia, south-east Asia and East Asia. The disciplines represented by the articles included linguistics, literature, astrology, culture studies, politics, art, history, philosophy, library science, archaeology, geography, and ethnology.<sup>225</sup> Authors of the journal articles resided in different German cities, with several from cities in other countries, indicating the journal's internationality. As pivotal figures of the time, the authors were recognized as sinologists, orientalist, linguists, and painters. Several served as consular interpreters or German diplomats in China, but most worked as university professors who taught in Asian studies programs in German academic institutions.<sup>226</sup> The fact that Krebs' article was published along with other research-oriented articles by noted scholars and experts of various fields, indicates that his knowledge about Chinese caricatures was no doubt treated as a rigorous study.

---

<sup>224</sup> More information about Emil Krebs' biography, see Hoffmann (2017).

<sup>225</sup> These articles might relate to more than one disciplinary. This is just a rough categorization to highlight their main tenors.

<sup>226</sup> For example, Franz Babinger (no. 2) taught courses on the Near East at Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Berlin and the University of Munich. Carl Bezold (no. 5) was teaching Semitic language and literature at the University of Heidelberg as a full professor from 1894; Alfred Forke (no. 9) was a professor in the Seminar for Oriental Languages (SOS), founded in 1887 at the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin. Later in 1923, he transferred to Hamburg University; Otto Franke (no. 10), after his 13-year life as a diplomat in China, served as the first chair of sinology at the University of Hamburg University and then at the University of Berlin. His distinguished performance in Chinese study earned him the title of "the Nestor of German Sinology"; Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (no. 11) had worked at the Leiden University in the Netherlands and later at the University of Berlin; Sten Konow (no. 16) was teaching Indian history and culture at the universities in Norway and Germany from 1910 to 1937; Friedrich Ernst August Krause (no. 17) was the inaugural sinology professor in the Institute of Chinese studies at the University of Heidelberg founded in 1919. Later in 1926, he moved to the University of Göttingen but still kept a status as an associate professor in Heidelberg. Teaching at universities, Krause offered courses on history, culture, philosophy, politics, and religion, as well as scripts and languages of East and Central Asia. (All information was collected from the related biographic literature and websites such as "Verfolgung und Auswanderung deutschsprachiger Sprachforscher 1933-1945", "Die Deutsche Biographie", "The Encyclopædia Iranica" and etc.)

## CONCLUSION

Table 8.1 Contents of *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8 1919/1920

Number <sup>227</sup>	Author 【Abbr.】	city	Titles (the original German title)	Occupations
1			Index of the writings of Friedrich Hirth (Verzeichnis der Schriften Friedrich Hirths)	
2	Franz Babinger (1891-1967)	Würzburg	Isaak Jakob Schmidt	semiticist orientalist
3	Willy Bang Kaup (1869-1934) 【W. Bang】	Frankfurt a. M	From the life of the Turkic languages (Aus dem Leben der Türkssprachen)	turkologist, linguist, orientalist
4	Anna Bernhardt (1868-1944)	Berlin	A poem by Po Küi (Eine Dichtung Po Küi)	painter sinologist
5	Carl Bezold (1859-1922) C. Bezold	Heidelberg	Szema Ts'ei and the Babylonian Astrology (Szema Ts'ei und die Babylonische Astrologie)	semiticist orientalist
6	C. Brockelmann (1868-1956) 【C. Brockelmann】	Halle	Old Turkestan folk wisdom (Altturkestanische Volksweisheit)	semiticist orientalist
7	Samuel Sigmund Feist (1865-1943) 【S. Feist】	Berlin	The current status of the Tocharian problem (Der gegenwärtige Stand des Tocharerproblems)	linguist orientalist
8	Otto Fischer (1882-1962)	München	Eighteen Styles of Chinese Figure Painting (Achtzehn Stilarten der chinesischen Figurenmalerei)	painter
9	Alfred Forke (1867-1944) 【A. Forke】	Berlin	Fortress Warfare in Ancient China (Der Festungskrieg im alten China)	sinologist interpreter
10	Otto Franke (1863-1946)	Hamburg	The ancient Ta-hia of the Chinese (Das alte Ta-hia der Chinesen)	sinologist historian diplomat
11	Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (1854-1921) 【J. J. M. de Groot】	Berlin (Dutch)	Chinese purism regarding some foreign names (Chinesischer Purismus bezüglich einiger Fremdnamen)	sinologist historian of religion

<sup>227</sup> There are no numbers in the original TOC. I did this numbering for easily recognize and mentioning these articles.

## CONCLUSION

12	H. Hackmann (1864-1935)	Amsterdam	The monastic rules of monastic Taoism	sinologist
13	Erich Hänisch (1880-1966)	Berlin	Contributions to old Manchurian gender studies (Beiträge zur altmandschurischen Geschlechterkunde)	sinologist
14	Albert Herrmann (1886-1945)	Berlin	The oldest Chinese maps of central and western Asia (Die ältesten chinesischen Karten von Zentral- und Westasien)	archaeologist geographer
15	Hermann E. Hülle (????-????) 【H. Hülle】	Berlin	The development of the Chinese book treasures of the German libraries (Die Erschließung der chinesischen Bücherschätze der deutschen Bibliotheken)	librarian
16	Sten Konow (1867-1948)	Christiania (Norwegian )	Contribution to the Knowledge of the Indo- Scythians (Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Indoskythen)	Indologist
17	Friedrich Ernst August Krause (1878-1942) 【F. E. A. Krause】	Heidelberg	Contribution to the Knowledge of the Indo- Scythians (Das Mongolenreich nach der Darstellung des Armeniers Haithon)	sinologist
18	Emil Krebs (1867-1930) 【E. Krebs】	Berlin	The political cartoon in China (Die politische Karikatur in China)	sinologist linguist diplomat
19	Otto Kümmel (1874-1952)	Berlin.	Sesshu in China (Sesshü in China)	art historian
20	A. Von Le Coq (1860-1930) 【A. von Le Coq】	Berlin	A Chinese-Turkish decree from the double patch of Qara-Khoja Astana near Turfan (Ein chinesisch-türkischer Erlaß aus dem Doppelflecken Qara- Chödscha Astana bei Turfan)	orientalist archaeologist
21	Josef Marquart (1864-1930) 【J. Marquart】	Berlin	Sketches on the historical ethnology of Central Asia and Siberia (Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Völkerkunde von	historian orientalist

## CONCLUSION

			Mittelasien und Sibirien)	
22	Herbert Mueller (1885-1966)	Hamburg	The Devaraja of the Wie- ch'ich I-seng (Der Devaraja des Wie- ch'ich I-seng)	sinologist archaeologist
23	Friedrich W. K. Müller (1863-1930) 【F. W. K. Müller】	Berlin	Uyghur glosses (Uigurische Glossen)	orientalist linguist

Considering Krebs' extensive learning background, it may make sense why he wrote this article that explains Chinese caricatures. As a talented linguist, who had lived in China for about twenty-four years, he must have cultivated a profound knowledge of the Chinese language. For Krebs, a polyglot, Chinese caricatures probably presented an interesting new language. By writing this article, as if his daily interpreting assignment, Krebs translated China's new visual language to his fellow westerners.

This article took a historical approach by illustrating how Chinese political development accounted for the rise of Chinese political caricatures. Krebs, as a Chinese expert, offered astute observations about the Chinese political system and, most noteworthy, yielded illuminating insights into the appearance of Chinese newspapers and ensuing political caricatures. In the first paragraph, Krebs pointed out that Chinese people were less politically educated than any other great folks (*weniger als irgend ein anderes grosses Volk politisch erzogen worden sind*) because, in the past, Chinese people considered themselves to be the only people gifted with culture and civilization in contrast to the barbarian people of the four cardinal points living outside the Middle Kingdom, who were viewed as infinitely inferior. Yet, till the late nineteenth century, China still practiced such diplomatic protocol when engaging with America, England, Japan, and other powerful nations.

In Krebs' view, the Chinese political mindset prevented this ancient empire from having discussions on political issues. Political unrest took place only when the dynasties changed, but soon the society would regain peace because of a belief that the vicissitude of dynasties resulted from the will of heaven and time. Political reforms rarely had a long effect and most importantly, “the government has almost always been able to adapt to the wishes and interests of the governed in a way that serious conflicts could be avoided.” (*doch hat es die Regierung fast immer verstanden, sich den Wuenschen und Interessen der Regierten in einer Weise anzupassen, dass ernste Konflikte vermieden werden konnten.*)



## CONCLUSION

Krebs claimed that it was due to such political circumstances that China, despite its reputation for printing techniques and for a high degree of readership, had no need for newspapers. Although the quasi-newspaper, *Ching bao* 京報, came into existence in pre-modern China, but it was at most a government gazette carrying imperial decrees that informed local authorities. From Krebs' perspective, therefore, it was not until the late nineteenth century that “real newspapers” appeared in China, and Shanghai, where they flourished due largely to the influence of foreign trade was their cradle. The year 1900, Krebs stressed, was a turning point for the development of Chinese newspapers. The feeble national strength and much political turbulence led to a series of political reforms and later in the Xinhai Revolution in 1911. During the time, a growing number of newspapers, with the help of the construction of railway and postal service, were founded and started playing its crucial role in supervising the government. This trend threatened those in power who accordingly issued press laws that restricted the people's freedom of opinion. However, contrary to the ruling party's expectations, the repression of news instead encouraged the publication of even more newspapers.<sup>228</sup>

After Chinese political history and the rise of newspapers, Krebs describing the flourish of Chinese caricatures published in local newspapers of the time. It is Chinese newspapers' innovation of carrying illustrations to attract Chinese readers who used to think newspapers contain only texts. The newly featured caricatures, Krebs noted, were criticized for their rough artistic style but were extremely popular among readers especially for their efficacy in condemning the Chinese government.

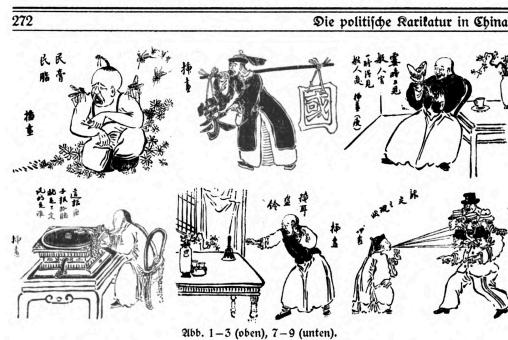


Figure 8.2 Partial Examples of Chinese Caricatures in Krebs' Article (ca. 1910-1911).<sup>229</sup>

Based on his observations, Krebs categorized Chinese political caricatures into four groups as exemplified by 18 caricatures (Figure 8.2). The four categories are as follows: First, the incompetence and low-level, selfish interests of the officialdom (ex.1-8); Second, the

<sup>228</sup> A Comprehensive Review of the Western Scholarship on the Early East Asian Press, see Walravens (2006).

<sup>229</sup> *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8: 272.

## CONCLUSION

resulting weakness of China relative to foreign countries plus illustrations of foreign exploitation with a special focus on Japan (ex.9-12); Third, the need for China to establish a parliament (ex.13-16); Fourth, the power of the press itself (ex16-18). (die Unfaehigkeit und die niederen selbstsuechtigen Interessen des Beamtentums, die daraus sich ergebende Schwaeche Chinas dem Auslande gegenueber und die Ausbeutungspolitik des letzteren unter besonderer Hervorhebung Japans, die Notwendigkeit einer Volksvertretung und schliesslich die Macht der Presse selbst.)

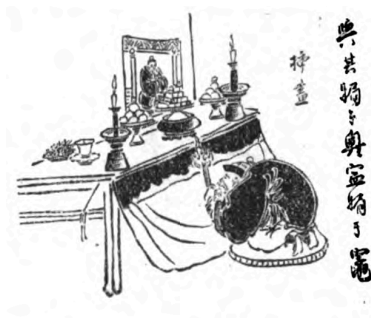


Figure 8.3 Making the Gods of the House Friendly (ca.1910-1911).<sup>230</sup>

Explanatory texts about the illustrations demonstrate Krebs' intimate knowledge of China's culture as proved by his command of Chinese history, traditions, folk legends, and idioms. For instance, Example 4 (Figure 8.3) wittily adapts a Chinese myth about the God of Zao 灶神 (The Kitchen God), who returns each year to heaven before the Lunar New Year to report to the Jade Emperor 玉皇大帝 (the supreme God in heaven) people's right and wrong behaviors. To gain the Jade Emperor's approval, people worshipped him and demonstrated their faith and trust by leaving for the God of Zao an assortment of sweet foods with the expectation that the God of Zao would report to the Jade Emperor only good things about their behavior. In the text, Krebs elaborated on this folk belief, explaining how caricaturists applied this allusion to mock the Qing officials' inclination toward flattery in order to maintain the people's support. Example 5 (Figure 8.4) relies on another Chinese idiom to explain one of China's contemporary political situations: Shui zhong lao yue 水中撈月 "Pulling the moon out of the water" (den Mond aus dem Wasser ziehen). The parliament is depicted as the moon that many Chinese people attempt to pull out of the water. However, their efforts are useless because the moon, after all, is only a reflection. These Chinese idioms, as Chapter One argues, were employed by Chinese caricaturists to help readers understand the essence of their caricatures, that were based on funniness and satire. In this study, I point out how the use of

<sup>230</sup> *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8: 273. The complete translation of this title is "Instead of making the Gods of the House friendly, it is more advantageous to make the Gods of the Kitchen sympathetic."

## CONCLUSION

idioms by caricaturists in various contexts served as a tactic to help Chinese readers understand what was going on politically in China. In this Krebs' essay, it is observed that how these Chinese idioms create new visual languages of caricatures in the foreign context so that all pictorial symbols need expounding.



Figure 8.4 Untitled (ca.1910-1911).<sup>231</sup>

It is worth noting that Krebs' insights about Chinese caricatures provide further evidence about the domestic circulation of Chinese caricatures, as mentioned in Chapter Five. In his essay, Krebs noted that he collected thousands of Chinese caricatures from major *Beijing Daily* newspapers (den grossen Pekingener Tageszeitungen) in the years leading up to the 1911 revolution. According to Krebs, the 18 caricatures, were taken from newspapers circulating in Beijing. However, some of those same images can be found also in Shanghai newspapers, such as Example 12 (Figure 8.5). The image of the reversable upside-down-downsize-up head also appeared in the Shanghai-based *SB* (Figure 6.16), as described in Chapter Six. Without accurate information about the publishing dates, it is not possible to know in which city the caricature appeared first. What is known is that Chinese caricatures were being published by newspapers in different cities.



Figure 8.5 Toward Inner and Toward Ouster (*Beijing Daily*, ca.1910-1911)<sup>232</sup>

Krebs' 1920 German article may mark the beginning of a newly perceived asymmetry of the West's understanding of Chinese political caricatures. By focusing on that asymmetry, Krebs' study functions as the agency that sought to establish symmetry between China and the

<sup>231</sup> *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8: 274.

<sup>232</sup> *Die Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8: 273.

## CONCLUSION

West. From the perspective of transcultural interactions, Chinese caricatures in the early twentieth century reveal two layers of the world of asymmetry caused by the discrepancy in the power relationship between China and the West. They are themselves the product of this world of asymmetry and depicting it by means of multiple visual languages. Krebs' article unveils caricatural asymmetry from the other side of the story and further verifies that flows caused by asymmetries go in two directions rather than in one-way only.

As Barrow, J.D. and Silk, J (1993, xxiii-xxiv) put it, "A perfectly symmetric and regular world would also be a world without history, a world timeless". "With asymmetry comes history: the imperfections tell, as it were, the frozen story of how the crystal came about." My story of Chinese caricatures envisages a world of transculturality with constant two-way flows that emerge as the result of conflicting asymmetries and can arise at any place and at any time. The interchange of a/symmetries stretches the line of history forward to endless circles. There are, I believe, still many stories about Chinese caricatures yet to be discovered and many questions waiting to be answered. Other possibilities for interpreting these caricatures are left to future inquiries.

## Works Cited

### I. Primary Source Materials

#### 1. Newspapers and Periodicals

##### 1) Chinese

- Beijing baihua tuhua ribao* 北京白話圖畫日報 (Beijing Vernacular Picture Daily) 1909-1911  
*Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (Dianshizhai Illustrated Newspaper) 1884-1898  
*Duli manhua* 獨立漫畫 (The Oriental Puck) 1935-1936  
*E'shi jingwen* 俄事警聞 (Alarming News About Russian Actions) 1903-1904  
*Guangdong baihuabao* 廣東白話報 (Guangdong Vernacular Daily) 1907  
*Jingzhong ribao* 警鐘日報 (Alarming Bell Daily) 1904-1905  
*Minhu ribao* 民呼日報 (People's Call Daily) 1909  
*Minlibao* 民立報 (People's Rise Daily) 1910-1913  
*Minquan huabao* 民權畫報 (People's Right Pictorial) 1912  
*Minxu ribao* 民吁日報 (People's Sigh Daily) 1909  
*Renjing huabao* 人鏡畫報 (Human Mirror Pictorial) 1907  
*Shanghai manhua* 上海漫畫 (The Shanghai Sketch) 1928-1930  
*Shanghai Poke* 上海潑克 (Shanghai Puck) 1918  
*Shenbao* 申報 (The Shanghai News) 1872-1949  
*Shenzhou huabao* 神州畫報 (Shenzhou Pictorial) 1910-1911  
*Shenzhou ribao* 神州日報 (The National Herald) 1907-1927  
*Shenbao* 申報 (The Shanghai Daily) 1872-1949  
*Shibao* 時報 (Eastern Times) 1904-1939  
*Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 (The China Times) 1911-1949  
*Shishibao* 時事報 (Current News Daily) 1907-1909  
*Tuhua jubao* 圖畫劇報 (Theater Pictorial) 1912-1917  
*Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報 (Picture Daily) 1909-1911  
*Xingshi huabao* 醒世畫報 (World-Awakening Pictorial) 1909  
*Xinwenbao* 新聞報 (News Daily) 1893-1949  
*Zhenxiang huabao* 真相畫報 (The True Record) 1912-1913

##### 2) Other languages

- Puck: or Shanghai Charivari* 1871-1872  
*Punch: or London Charivari* 1841-2002  
*The American Puck* 1871-1918  
*The British Puck* 1889-1890  
*The China Punch* 1867-1868, 1872-1876  
*The National Review* 1912  
*The North China Herald* 1850-1941  
*The Rattle* 1896-1897, 1900-1903  
*Tōkyō paku* 東京パック (Tokyo Puck) 1905-1912, 1919-1923  
*Der Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (The Far East) 1912-1922, 1924-1942, 2001-

#### 2. Articles and Monographs

## WORKS CITED

- “A Lay of the Wall.” 1867. *China Punch*, 8 November 1867, 95.
- “A New Magazine.” 1868. *The North China Herald*, 14 May 1868, 112.
- “Anti-China Issue.” 1908. *Tokyo Puck*, 10 March.
- “Consular Reforms.” 1872. *The North China Herald*, 20 July 1872.
- “Feng-Shuey.” 1868. *The North China Herald*, 5 September 1868.
- “H. H.s’ Caricatures.” 1902. *The North China Herald*, 2 April 1902.
- “Introduction.” 1871. *Puck: or Shanghai Charivari*, No. 1, 1 April 1871.
- “Kelly and Walsh.” 1969. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9.
- “Legation Criminal Court.” 1872. *Puck, or the Shanghai Charivari*, May 1872, 64.
- “Legislative Council.” 1873. *The China Punch* 2, no.6: March 1873, 3.
- “Lun tielu guoyouzhuyi yu minyouzhuyi zhi deshi” 論鐵路國有主義與民有主義之得失 (On the Pros and Cons of Railway Nationalism and People's Ownership). 1907. *Dongfang zazhi* 4, no. 7:133-142. *Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua* 中國哲學書電子化計劃.
- “Public Meeting: Annual Meeting of Ratepayers.” 1874. *The North China Herald*, 23 May 1874.
- “Puckyal Proclamation.” 1871. *Puck, or the Shanghai Charivari*, 27.
- “Review.” 1872. *The North China Herald*, 5 April 1872.
- “Shiju tu 時局圖” and Anon, “Shiju tu tici” 時局圖題詞 (The situation in the Far East with explanatory notes). 1954. *Jindai shi ziliao* 1: 6-12.
- “Spring the Rattle.” 1986. *The Rattle* 1, No. 1, 2-3.
- “Summary of News.” 1872a. *The North China Herald*, 4 January 1872.
- “Summary of News.” 1872b. *The North China Herald*, 21 November 1872.
- “Summary of News.” 1881a. *The North China Herald*, 1 November 1881.
- “Summary of News.” 1881b. *The North China Herald*, 13 December 1881.
- “Summary of News.” 1884. *The North China Herald*, 18 July, 1884.
- “Summary of the Week.” 1865. *The North China Herald*, 23 December 1865.
- “Summer Heat and Sedition.” 1872. *The North China Herald*, 10 August 1872.
- “Telegrams.” 1872. *The North China Herald*, 13 July 1872.
- “The “Chinese Recorder” on Connection Between Garlic and Chinese.” 1872. *The North China Herald*, 12 May 1872.
- “The Native and Foreign Authorities in Shanghai.” 1882. *The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, 15 November 1882.
- “The Native and Foreign Authorities in Shanghai.” 1882. *The North China Herald*, 15 November, 1882, Editorial Selections.
- “The Weather.” 1863. *The North China Herald* 21 February 1863.
- “To Our Readers.” 1896. *The Rattle* 1, No. 1, 4-5.
- “WHY RATTLE?”. 1986. *The Rattle* 1, No. 1, 4.
- “Wit and Humor of *Punch*.” 1915. *The North China Herald*, 18 December, 1915, Lecture by the Rev. C. E. Darwent.
- “Xianshi.” 1903. *ESJW*. 15 December 1903.
- Chen, Duxiu 陳獨秀. [1904] 1984. “Shuo guojia” 說國家 (On the Nation). In *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* 陳獨秀著作選 (Selected works of Chen Duxiu), edited by Ren Jianshu 任建樹, Zhang Tongmo 張統模 and Wu Xinzong 吳信忠, 55-57. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin.
- Chiang, Kai-shek 蔣介石. 1912. “Zheng Meng zuozhan chuyi” 征蒙作戰芻議 (Primary proposal for conquering Mongolia). *Junsheng zazhi*, no. 2: 37-45.
- Dai, Hongci 戴鴻慈. 1906. “Chushi geguo kaocha zhengzhi dachen Daihongci deng zou kaocha geguo xuewu zeyao shangchenzhe” 出使各國考察政治大臣戴鴻慈等奏考察

## WORKS CITED

- 各國學務擇要上陳摺 (A memorial to the throne of a concise report on diverse countries' educational affairs by a high official, Dai Hongci, and others sent abroad for investigating foreign governments). In *Qingmo choubeli xian dang'an shiliao* 清末籌備立憲檔案史料 (Archival material concerning constitutional preparation in the late Qing), edited by Gugong bowuyuan Ming Qing dang'anbu huibian. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Ding, Song 丁悚. 1928. "Wangyou Bochen" 亡友泊塵 (My deceased friend Bochen). *Shanghai manhua*, no. 18:3.
- Hanju 漢駒. [1903] 2005. "Xinzhengfu zhi jianshe sheshi" 新政府之建設 (The new government's construction). In *Zhongguo sixiang shi cankao ciliao ji: wan Qing zhi Minguo juan* 中國思想史參考資料集:晚清至民國卷 (Reference materials on the history of Chinese thoughts: volume of the late Qing and the Republican Era), edited by Zhang Yong 張勇. Beijing: Tsinghua daxue.
- Feng, Zikai 豐子愷. 1992. "Tan zijidehua" 談自己的畫 (On my own paintings). In *Fengzikai wenji* 豐子愷文集, edited by Feng, Chenbao 豐陳寶 and Yiyin Feng 豐一吟, 461-471. Hangzhou: Zheyang wenyi.
- Kong, Anguo 孔安國. 1974. *Shangshu* 尚書 (The Book of Documents). Tainan: Lida.
- Li, Zhouhua 李灼華. 1906. "Jishizhong lizhouhua zou xuetang nansi niqing jianxing keju zhe" 給事中李灼華奏學堂自難恃擬請兼行科舉摺 (The geishizhong officer, Li Zhouhua, sent a memorial to the throne that urged to resume imperial examination because school education was not enough for supporting the Chinese bureaucratic system). In *Qing mo choubeli xian dang'an shiliao* 清末籌備立憲檔案史料 (Archival material concerning constitutional preparation in the late Qing), edited by Gugong bowuyuan Ming Qing dang'anbu. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Liang, Qichao 梁啟超. [1896] 1983. "Bianfatongyi: lunyouxue" 變法通譯: 論幼學 (General discussion on Reform: on children's education) In *Yinbingshi wenji* 飲冰室文集 (Collected essays from the Ice-drinker's studio – hereafter YBSWJ ), 1: 44-60. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju.
- . [1902] 1983. "Lun xiaoshuo yu Qunzhi zhi quanxi" 論小說與羣治之關係 (On the relation between fiction and ruling the public). In YBSWJ 10: 6- 9.
- . [1911] 1983. "Duiwai yu Duinei" "對外與對內 (External and internal affairs). In YBSWJ, 26: 43- 50.
- . 1904. "Chaoxian wangguo shilue" 朝鮮亡國史略 (A history of the ruin of Korea), *Xinmin congbao*, 24 September and 9 October.
- . 1983a. "Shixue zhi jieshuo" 史學之界說 (the boundaries of historiography). In YBSWJ 1, 7-11. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju.
- . 1983b. "Zhongguo shixu lun" 中國史緒論 (An introduction to Chinese history). In YBSWJ 1, 1-12. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju.
- . 1983c. "Zhongguo zhuanzhi zhengzhi jinhua shilun" 中國專制政治進化史論 (Historical treatise on the political evolution of Chinese autocracy). In YBSWJ 1, 59-90. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju.
- . 2004. *Li Hung-chang zhuan* 李鴻章傳 (Biography of Li Hung-chang). Taipei: Lixuwenhua.
- Lu, Xun 魯迅. [1924] 1972. *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* 中國小說史略 (A brief history of Chinese fiction). Hong Kong: Sanlian shuju.
- . 1982 (1925). *Refeng* 熱風. 16 vols. Vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin wenxue.

## WORKS CITED

- Qufei 去非 (Hu Hanmin 胡漢民). “Kaocha zhengzhi wuqingchen zhi guaizhuang” 考察政治五清臣之怪狀 (The absurd activities of the five Qing constitutional commissioners). *Minbao* 民報 (People’s Daily), 5 September 1906.
- Shen, Bochen 沈泊塵. 1918a. “Poke” 潑克 (Puck). *Shanghai Poke*, no.1 (1 September 1918): 1.
- . 1918b. “Benbao de zeren” 本報的責任 (The newspaper’s responsibility). *Shanghai Poke*, no.1 (1 September 1918): 6.
- Sun, Yuanqiu 孫雲球, ed. 1681. *Jingshi* 鏡史 (A history of mirror). No publishing information.
- Wang, Dunqing 王敦慶. 1935. “Jieshao shanghai ziulao de yiben manhua zazhi” 介紹上海最老的一本漫畫雜誌 (An Introduction of the Oldest Comic Magazine in Shanghai). *Duli manhua*, 10 October, 50-51.
- Yan, Fu 嚴復. 1986. “Lun shibian zhi ji” 論世變之亟 (On the speed of world change). In *Yan Fu wenji bian nian (1) guangxu qi nian — guangxu eshijiu nian 1881~1903* 嚴復文集編年一 光緒七年---光緒二十九年 1881~1903 (Chronicle of the anthology of Yan Fu’s writings 1 guangxu qi nian—guangxu eshijiu nian 1881~1903, edited by Zaijue Lin. Taipei: Caituanfaren Gu Gongliang wenjiao jijinhui.
- . 1998. *Tiyanlun huikan sanzong* 天演論匯刊三種 (The three versions of On evolution), edited by Qingcheng Wang. Taipei: Caituanfaren Gu Gongliang wenjiao jijinhui.
- . 1998. “Yuan qiang” 原強 (The Origins of Power). In *Yan Fu heji* 嚴復合集 (The Collected Works of Yan Fu – hereafter YFHJ), edited by Ye Wenxin 葉文心, Wang Qingcheng 王慶城 and Lin Zaijue 林載爵 Taipei: Caituanfaren Gu Gongliang wenjiao jijinhui, vol. 1: 34-47.
- Zhang, Guangyu 張光宇. 1928. “Heibai huajia” 黑白畫家 (A Black-White Painter). *Shanghai manhua*, 18 August, 3.
- Zhang, Zhitong 張之洞. [1898] 1967. *Quanxuepian* 勸學篇 (Exhortation to study). In *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, 近代中國史料叢刊 (Collectanea of materials on modern Chinese history), edited by Yuanlong Shen 沈雲龍, vol. 9: 84-85. Taipei: Wenhai.
- Zuo, Qiuming 左丘明. [ca. 400BC] 1980. *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the states). Taipei: Liren shuju.

## II. Secondary literature

### 1. Monographs, Articles and Book Chapters

- A Ying 阿英 (Qian Xingcun 錢杏邨). [1937] 1966. *Wan Qing xiaoshuo shi* 晚清小說史 (History of late Qing fiction). Hong Kong: Taipingshujū.
- . 1985. *Xiaoshuo xiantan sizhong* 小說閒談四種 (Essays on fiction, four collections). Shanghai: Guji.
- Adams, James Luther, and Wilson Yates, ed. 1997. *The Grotesque in Art and Literature: Theological Reflections*. Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans, 1997.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London; New York: Verso.
- Anh, Nguyễn Thê. 1985. “The Vietnamese Monarchy under French Colonial Rule 1884-1945”. *Modern Asian Studies* 19, no. 1: 147-162.
- Arhire, Sorin, and Tudor Roşu, eds. 2019. *The Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920) and Its Aftermath: Settlements, Problems, and Perceptions*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.



## WORKS CITED

- Bahadur B, Krishnamurthy KV, Ghose Met al.. 2019. *Asymmetry in Plants: Biology of Handedness*. Boca Raton, Florida, USA: CRC Press.
- Barrow, John D., and Joseph Silk. 1993. *The Left Hand of Creation: The Origin and Evolution of the Expanding Universe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baynton-Williams, Ashley. 2017. *The Curious Map Book*. Translated by Siting Zhang. Taipei: Makebeluo wenhua.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1968. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helene Iswolsky. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press.
- Bergère, Marie-Claire. 2009. *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity*. Stanford (California): Stanford University Press.
- Bi, Keguan 畢克官. 1982. *Zhongguo manhua shihua* 中國漫畫史話 (The historical anecdotes of Chinese cartoons). Jinan: Shandong renmin.
- Bi, Keguan 畢克官, and Yuanlin Huang 黃遠林. 1986. *Zhongguo manhua shi* 中國漫畫史 (The history of Chinese cartoons), Beijing: Wenhua yishu.
- Boulding, Kenneth E. 1961. *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bredon, Juliet. 1910. *Sir Robert Hart, the Romance of a Great Career*. London, Hutchinson.
- Butt, Yiu Yu. 2016. "The History of Hong Kong Stamp Duty and Its Influence on the Modern Law." PhD diss., University of Exeter.
- Cai, Zhenfeng 蔡振豐. 2014. *Wan Qing waiwubu zhi yanjiu* 晚清外務部之研究 (A study on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the late Qing). Taipei: Zhizhi xueshu.
- Cai, Zhiguo 蔡之國. 2012. *Wan Qing qianze xiaoshuo chuanbo yanjiu* 晚清譴責小說傳播研究 (Study on communication of the late Qing's denunciative novels). Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian.
- Callahan, William A. 2004. "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 29, no. 2: 199–218.
- Cao, Yin. 2016. "Red Turbans on the Bund: Sikh Migrants, Policemen, and Revolutionaries in Shanghai, 1885-1945." PhD dis., National University of Singapore.
- Carbonell i Cortés, Ovidi, and Esther Monzó. 2021. *Translating Asymmetry - Rewriting Power*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Caschera, Martina. 2018. "Chinese Modern Cartoon. A Transcultural Approach to *Modern Sketch*." *Altre Modernità*, febbraio, 85-103.
- Chai, Songxia 柴松霞. 2011. *Chuyangkaocha yu qingmolixian* 出洋考察與清末立憲 (The constitutional mission and late Qing constitutionalism). Beijing: Falü.
- Chang, Chi-hsiung 張啟雄. 1991. "'Duli waimeng' de guojia rentong yu zhuquan guishu jiaoshe." "獨立外蒙"的國家認同與主權歸屬交涉 (National identity and negotiation on national sovereignty of "Independent Outer Mongolia"). *Jindaoshi yanjiuqikan*, , no. 20: 259-291.
- Chang, Chi-shen 張其賢. 2015. "Zhengtongxing, Zhongguoxing yu Zhongguo rentong" 正統性、中國性與中國認同 (Orthodoxy, Chineseness and Chinese Identity), *Zhengzhi kexue luncong*, no. 64: 1-44.
- Chang, Peng-yuan 張朋園. 1998. "Anfu guohui xuanju – lun fuhua wei minzhu zhengzhi de banjiaoshi" 安福國會選舉 – 論腐化為民主政治的絆腳石 (The Anfu national assembly election: on corruption as one big stumbling-block to democracy). *Jidaishiyanjusuo jikan*, no. 30: 149-224.
- Chang, Shu-hua 張書華. 2008. "Xiandaixing de zhuiqiu: wanqing shijian yishi zhi zhuanbian jiqi yihan" 現代性的追求：晚清時間意識之轉變及其意涵 (The pursuit of modernity:

## WORKS CITED

- the transformation of time consciousness in the late Qing dynasty and its implications). Master's Thesis, Tunghai University.
- Chen, Li-ru 陳麗如. 2012. "Lun gudianxiaoshuo 'jingxiang shuxie' de liangdu liebian — *Gujingji yu Honglouloumeng*" 論古典小說「鏡像書寫」的兩度裂變 — 《古鏡記》與《紅樓夢》 (Fission and the mirror motif in the *Gujingji* and the *Honglouloumeng*). *Xingda renwue xuebao*, no. 49: 77-108.
- Chen, Lin 陳林. 2015. "Zhu Xi wannian xiuding 'daxue zhangju' 'chengyi' zhang de xinlulicheng ji yilitanxi "朱熹晚年修訂《大學章句》〈誠意〉章的心路歷程及義理探析 (Analysis on Zhu Xi's experience and ethical theory when revising the "Cheng-I" (Sincerity) Chapter of "Interpretation of the Great Learning"). *Guoli Zhengzhi Daxue zhaxue xuebao*, no. 34: 113-164.
- Chen, Lisheng 陳立勝. 2009. "Song Ming ruxue zhong de 'jingyu'" 宋明儒學中的「鏡喻」 (The mirror metaphor used in Confucianism in the Song and Ming dynasties). *Kongzi yanjiu*, no. 1: 60-72.
- Chen, Pingyuan 陳平原. 2007. "Yousheng de zhongguo — 'yanshuo' yu jinxiandai zhongguo wenzhang biange" 有聲的中國 — 「演說」與近現代中國文章變革 (China with voices — "speech" and the literary reform in modern China). *Wenxue pinglun*, no. 3: 5-21.
- . 2008. *Zuotu youshi yu xixue dongjian: wanqing huabao yanjiu* 左圖右史與西學東漸: 晚清畫報研究 (Having maps on the left and history books on the right and western learning spreading to the East: research on pictorials in the late Qing Dynasty). Xianggang: Sanlian shudian.
- . 2010. *Zhongguo xiaoshuo xushi moshi de zhuanbian* 中國小說敘事模式的轉變 (The change of narrative mode in Chinese novels). Beijing: Beijing daxue.
- Chen, San-ching 陳三井. 2009. *Zhongguo yuexiang shijie wutai: cong canjia Ouzhan dao chuxi Balihehui* 中國躍向世界舞台: 從參加歐戰到出席巴黎和會 (China's leap onto the world stage: from participation in the European War to attending the Paris Peace Conference). Taipei: Xiuwei.
- Chen, Wei-Fen 陳瑋芬. 2001. "Ziwo de ketihua yu pupianhua — jindai Riben de 'dongyang' lun ji yinni qizhong de 'xiyang' yu 'zhina'" 自我的客體化與普遍化— 近代日本的「東洋」論及隱匿其中的「西洋」與「支那」 (The objectivization and universalization of the self — a critical look at the Japanese touyou discourse and the ideas of seiyou and shina implied therein). *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan*, no. 18: 367-420.
- . 2004. "You 'dongyang' dao 'dongya', cong 'rujiao' dao 'ruxue': yi jindai Riben wei jingjian tan "tongyaruxue"" 由「東洋」到「東亞」, 從「儒教」到「儒學」: 以近代日本為鏡鑑談「東亞儒學」 (The changing face of Confucian studies in East Asia: an investigation of Japanese sinological terminology). *Taiwan dongya wenming yanjiu xuekan* 1, no. 1: 201-232.
- Chen, Yang 陳陽. 2017. *Zhenxiang de zheng, fan, he: minchu shijue wenhua yanjiu* 真相的正、反、合: 民初視覺文化研究 (Thesis, antithesis, and synthesis of *the True Record*: Visual culture in early Republican China). Shanghai: Fudan daxue.
- Chen, Yaoqian 陳瑤蓓. 2007. *Taiwan de diyu sifa shen: Qing zhongye yilai shiwan xinyang yu yulibaochao* 臺灣的地獄司法神: 清中葉以來十王信仰與玉歷寶鈔 (Taiwan's God of the judiciary in Hell: the belief in Ten Kings and the *Jade Record* since the Mid Qing). Taipei: Lantai.

## WORKS CITED

- Cheng, Xianghui 程祥徽 and Xiaolin Tian 田小琳. 1992. *Xiandai hanyu* 現代漢語 (modern mandarin). Taipei: Shulin.
- Cheng, Linsun. 2003. *Banking in Modern China: Entrepreneurs, Professional Managers and the Development of Chinese Banks, 1897-1937*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cheng, Wen-Huei. 鄭文惠. 2013. “Houyimin shijian/ dili zhengzhi xue: Fu Xinyi taiwan fengwu zhi wenhua xushi” 後遺民時間／地理政治學：溥心畬臺灣風物之文化敘事 (A post-loyalist's temporal-/geo- politics: Pu Xinyu's culture narrative of Taiwanese landscape and objects). *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu jikan*, no 13: 1-60.
- Cheng, Weikun 程為坤. 1989. “Yang Cuixi an yu dingwei zhengchao” 楊翠喜案與丁未政潮 (The case of Yang Cuixi and Dingwei political turmoil). *Zijicheng*, no. 4: 21-23.
- Cheng, Ying-wan. 1970. *Postal Communication in China and Its Modernization, 1860-1896*. Cambridge (Mass.): East Asian Research Center.
- Chiu, Wei-Yun 邱偉雲. 2015. *Zhongguo jindai pingdeng guannian dexingcheng (1895-1915)*. 中國近代平等觀念的形成(1895-1915) (The forming of the concept of equality in modern China). Taipei: Xinwenfeng.
- Chou, Fang-mei. 2019. “The Pen Is Mightier Than the Sword: H.W.G. Hayter’s Life and Political Cartoons in the Shanghai International Settlement.” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 59: 148-174.
- Chu, Chi-Shuan 邱稚亘. 2004. “Liudong de jiangjie: yi manhua weili kan Minchu Shanghai gaojie yu tongsu meishu de fenlie yu jiexian wenti” 流動的疆界：以漫畫為例看民初上海高階與通俗美術的分類與界線問題 (Flowing boundary: on categorisation and barriers of high and popular art in early Republic era of China Shanghai). Master’s Thesis, National Central University.
- Chung, Joscha 鍾欣志. 2022. “Soong Tsung-Faung de duoyu shuxie yu minguo chunian jiaohui qu de zhishi huhuan” 宋春舫的多語書寫與民國初年交會區的知識互換 (Soong Tsung-Faung’s multilingual writings and the intellectual exchanges in the early Republican Contact Zone). *Xiju yanjiu*, no. 29: 37-70.
- Cline, Erin M. 2008. “Mirrors, Minds and Metaphors.” *Philosophy East and West*, no. 3: 337-357.
- Cook, Adrian. 2019. *The Alabama Claims*. Cornell University Press.
- Cordier, Henri. 1895. “Thomas Francis Wade.” *Toung Pao* 6, no. 4: 407-12.
- Crespi, John A. 2020. *Manhua Modernity: Chinese Culture and the Pictorial*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Curtiss, Deborah. 1987. *Introduction to Visual Literacy: A Guide to the Visual Arts and Communication*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Dai, Qing 戴晴. 2009. *Zai rulai fozhang zhong: Zhang Dongsun he tade shidai* 在如來佛掌中：張東蓀和他的時代 (In the Buddha's palm: Zhang Dongsun and his era). Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue.
- Daniels, Gordon. 1996. *Sir Harry Parkes, British Representative in Japan, 1865-83*. Richmond Surrey: Japan Library.
- Davis, Clarence B., and Robert J. Gowen. 2000. “The British at Weihaiwei: A Case Study in the Irrationality of Empire.” *The Historian* 63, no. 1: 87-104.
- Deng, Shuying 鄧淑英. 2009. “Wanqing tongxuxing baokan yu xiandai zhishi qimong: yi ‘Tuhua ribao’ wei zhongxin” 晚清通俗性報刊與現代知識啟蒙：以“圖畫日報”為中心 (The late Qing’s general newspapers and the enlightenment of the modern knowledge: on the case of *Pictorial Daily*). Master’s Thesis. National Normal University, Taipei.
- Denton, Kirk A. 2013. *Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postsocialist China*. University of Hawaii Press.

## WORKS CITED

- Douglas, Robert Kennaway. 1910. "Parkes, Sir Harry Smith." In *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, 11th ed, Vol. 20, 830-831. New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- Drew, Edward B. 1913. "Sir Robert Hart and His Life Work in China." *The Journal of Race Development* 4, no. 1: 1-33.
- Du, Xueyuan 杜學元. 1995. *Zhongguo Nizi Jiaoyu Tongshi* 中國女子教育通史 (A general history of Chinese women's education). Guizhou jiaoyu chubanshe.
- Duus, Peter. 2001. "Presidential Address: Weapons of the Weak, Weapons of the Strong — The Development of the Japanese Political Cartoon." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 4: 965-997.
- Eckert, Carter J., and Ki-baek Yi. 1990. *Korea, Old and New: a History*. Seoul, Korea: Published for the Korea Institute, Harvard University by Ilchokak.
- Edwards, Justin D., and Graulund Rune. 2013. *Grotesque*. Abingdon, Oxon ; Routledge, 2013.
- Eitel, Ernest John. 1895. *Europe in China: The History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882*. London, Hongkong: Luzac & co. and Kelly & Walsh, Ld.
- Fang, Hanqi 方漢奇. 1981. *Zhongguo jindai baokanshi* 中國近代報刊史 (The history of modern Chinese newspapers and periodicals). Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin.
- , ed. 1992. *Zhongguo xinwen shiye tongshi diyijuan* 中國新聞事業通史第一卷 (A general history of Chinese journalism) Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue.
- Fang, Pin 方平. 2007. *Wangqing Shanghai de gonggong lingyu (1895-1911)* 晚清上海的公共領域 1895-1911 (The Public Sphere in late Qing Shanghai (1895-1911)). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin.
- Fang, Shiduo 方師鐸, ed. 1978. *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (Dianshizhai Illustrated Newspaper). Taipei: Tianyi chuban.
- Fairbank, John King. 1983. *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 12. Part 1 Republican China, 1912-1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Feng, Jinniu 馮金牛. 1999. "Xu" 序 (The foreword). In *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報 (Picture Daily), edited by Huanqiushe bianjibu, 8 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji.
- Fordham, Douglas. 2011. "On Bended Knee: James Gillray's Global View of Courtly Encounter." In *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838*, edited by Todd Porterfield, 61-78. London: Ashgate.
- Frisch, Mathias. 2005. *Inconsistency, Asymmetry, and Non-Locality: a Philosophical Investigation of Classical Electrodynamics*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fu, Feng 芙峯. 1903. "Xu de e' ying fa tiaoyue suo zai 'gaoquan' ji 'guanxiaquan' zhi pinglun ji 'zhoushan tiaoyue' zhi gangai 敘德俄英法條約所載「高權」及「管轄權」之評論及「舟山條約」之感慨 (Comments on "Governance" and "Jurisdiction" in Treaties with Germany, Russia, Britain and France and the sentiments about "Zhoushan Treaty"). *Zhejiangchao*, no. 7: 51-67.
- Fukuzawa, Yukichi, and Eiichi Kiyooka. 2007. *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*. Translated by Eiichi Kiyooka. New York: Columbia University.
- Gan, Xianfeng 甘險峰. 2008. *Zhongguo manhua shi* 中國漫畫史 (A history of Chinese cartoons). Jinan: Shandong huabao.
- Ge, Zhaoguang 葛兆光. 2011. *Zhaizi Zhongguo: chong jian youguan "Zhongguo" de lishi lunshu* 宅茲中國：重建有關「中國」的歷史論述 (Domesticating China: reconstructing the historical narration of "China"). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- . 2014. *Hewei Zhongguo: jiangyu, minzu, wenhua yu lishi* 何謂中國：疆域，民族，文化與歷史 (What is China: territory, ethnicity, culture, and history). Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

## WORKS CITED

- Gillray, James. 1966. *Fashionable Contrasts*. Edited by Draper Hill. London: Phaidon.
- Goto-Jones, Christopher S. 2016. *Conjuring Asia: Magic, Orientalism, And the Making of The Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Guo, Chuanqin 郭傳芹. ed. 2015. *Shijue qimeng: guojia tushuguan cang qingmo min chu baokan manhua jicheng* 視覺啓蒙：國家圖書館藏清末民初報刊漫畫集成 (Visual enlightenment: collections of Illustrations of the late Qing and early Republican Era). 3 vols. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu.
- Guo, Tingyi 郭廷以. 1989. *Jindai zhongguo shigang* 近代中國史綱 (Modern Chinese history). Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue.
- Guo, Weidong 郭衛東. 1989. “Lun dingwei zhengchao” 論丁未政潮 (On the dingwei political turmoil). *Jindaishi yanjiujikan*, no. 5: 77-92.
- Guojia tushuguan fenguan 國家圖書館分館. comp. 2001. *Qingdai baokan tuhua jicheng* 清代報刊圖畫集成 (Collections of illustrated newspapers of the Qing Dynasty). 13 vols. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian weisuo fuzhi zhongxin.
- . 2003a. *Qingmo Minchu baokan tuhua jicheng* 清末民初報刊圖畫集成 (Collections of illustrated newspapers of the late Qing and early Republican era). 20 vols. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian weisuo fuzhi zhongxin.
- . 2003b. *Qingmo Minchu baokan tuhua jicheng xubian* 清末民初報刊圖畫集成續編 (The sequel of collections of news illustrations of the late Qing and early Republican era). 20 vols. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian weisuo fuzhi zhongxin.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
- Han, Congyao 韓叢耀, ed. 2012. *Zhongguo jindai tuxiang xinwen shi 1840-1919* 中國近代圖像新聞史 1840-1919 (Modern history of Chinese image journalism 1840-1919). 4 vols. Nanjing: Nanjing daxue.
- Hao, Wenjie 郝文杰. 2005. “Jing zhong xiang yu hua zhong xiang” 鏡中像與畫中像 (Portraits in mirrors and portraits in paintings). *Nanjing yishu xueyuan xuebao*, no. 2: 62-64.
- Harder, Hans, and Barbara Mittler, eds. 2013. *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*. Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer.
- Harrell, Paula. 1992. *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905*. Stanford (Calif.): Stanford University Press.
- Harrison, Henrietta. 1999. *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911-1929*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- He, Wenping 何文平. 2007. “Qingmo Guangdong de daofei wenti tu Xijiang qibuquan fengpo” 清末廣東的盜匪問題與西江緝捕權風波 (The bandit problem in Guangdong in the late Qing and the disputes on the arrest power in Xijiang). *Xueshu yanjiu*, no. 4: 15-120.
- Henningsmeier, Julia. 1998. “The Foreign Sources of *Dianshizhai Huabao* 點石齋畫報, a Nineteenth Century Shanghai Illustrated Magazine.” *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 7, no.1: 59-91.
- Hevia, James L. 1995. "An Imperial Nomad and the Great Game: Thomas Francis Wade in China." *Late Imperial China* 16, no. 2: 1-22.
- Hickman, T. A. 2021. “‘We Belt the World’: Dr. Leslie E. Keeley's ‘Gold Cure’ and the Medicalization of Addiction in 1890s London.” *Bull Hist Med* 95, no. 2: 198-226.
- Ho, Hon-wai 何漢威. 1993. “Cong yinjian qianhuang dao tongyuan fanlan — Qingmo xinhuobi de faxing ji qi yingxiang” 從銀賤錢荒到銅元氾濫 — 清末新貨幣的發行及其影響 (From the cheap silver and copper famine to the depreciation of the copper coinage — the new currency issue and its consequence in late Qing). *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 62, no. 3: 389-494.

## WORKS CITED

- Hoffmann, Eckhard. 2017. *Emil Krebs: Ein Sprachgenie in Diensten der Diplomatie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Horowitz, Richard S. 2006. "Politics, Power and the Chinese Maritime Customs: The Qing Restoration and the Ascent of Robert Hart." *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no. 3: 549–581.
- Hou, Yijie 侯宜杰. 1994. *Yuan Shikai quan zhuan 袁世凱全傳* (The Biography of Yuan Shikai). Beijing: Dangdai zhongguo.
- . 2009. *Ershishijichu zhongguo zhengzhi gaige fengchao: Qingmo lixian yundong shi* 二十世紀初中國政治改革風潮：清末立憲運動史 (Political reform in the early twentieth century China: a history of constitutionalism in the Late Qing era). Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue.
- Hsu, Feng-Yuan 許峰源. 2009. "1908 nian zhongri erchenwanan jiaoshe shimo" 1908 年中日二辰丸案交涉始末 (Negotiations of the Tatsu Maru Event between China and Japan, 1908). *Dongwu lishi xuebao*, no. 22: 131-167.
- Hsu, Hui-Lin 許暉林. 2015. "Jing yu qianzhi: shilun Zhongguo xushiwenlei zhong xiandai shijue jingyan de qi yuan" 鏡與前知：試論中國敘事文類中現代視覺經驗的起源 (Mirrors and foresight: the origin of Modern visual experiences in Chinese narrative literature). *Taida zhongwen xuebao*, no. 48: 121-160.
- Hu, Boli 胡柏立. 1981. *Yuan Shikai chengdi ji baiwang 袁世凱稱帝及其敗亡* (Yuan Shikai's attempted Monarchy and Its downfall), Henan: Remin.
- Hu, Jirong 胡霽榮. 2010. *Zhongguo zaoqi dianying shi, 1896-1937 中國早期電影史 1896-1937* (the history of the early Chinese cinema 1896-1937). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin.
- Huang, Jin-Zhu 黃錦珠. 2011. "Wanqing nüzuojia xiaoshuo zhong de hunlian guan—yi Nüyuhua, Jiemeihua, Xiayijiaren weili" 晚清女作家小說中的婚戀觀—以《女獄花》、《姐妹花》、《俠義佳人》為例 (Late Qing woman writers' new concept of marriage: using Nüyuhua, Jiemei Hua and Xiayi Jiaren as examples). *Dongya guannian shi jikan*, no. 1: 261-298.
- Huang, Ko-wu 黃克武. 2014. "Hewei tianyan? Yan Fu 'Tianyan zhi xue' de neihan yu yiyi" 何謂天演？嚴復「天演之學」的內涵與意義 (What is Tianyan? The meaning and significance of Yan Fu's Theory of Natural Evolution). *Jindaishi yanjiuqikan*, no. 85: 129-187.
- Huang, Shaw-Herng 黃紹恆. 2019. *Shatang zhi dao: Rizhi chuqi de Taiwan tangye shi 1895-1911 砂糖之島：日治初期的臺灣糖業史 1895-1911* (The island of sugar: history of Taiwan Sugar industry in the early Japanese colonized period 1895-1911). Hsinchu: Guoli jiaotong daxue.
- Huang, Xuelei. 2014. *Shanghai Filmmaking: Crossing Borders, Connecting to the Globe, 1922-1938*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Hung, Wu. 1992. "What is Bianxiang? On The Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52, no. 1: 111-192.
- Hunt, Tamara L. 2003. *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England*. Burlington.: Ashgate.
- Huo, Xiuyong 霍修勇, ed. 2004. *Neizheng chunqiu 內政春秋* (Annals of Domestic Affairs). Changsha: Yuelushushe.
- Hwang, Jinlin 黃金麟. 2000. *Lishi, shenti, guojia: jindai Zhongguo de shenti xingcheng 1895-1937 歷史，身體，國家：近代中國的身體形成 1895-1937* (History, the body, and nation: the formation of the body in modern China 1895-1937). Taipei: Lianjing.
- Hwang, Minhyuk. 2020. *Fukuzawa Yukichi's Bourgeois Liberalism: The Betrayal of the East Asian Enlightenment*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

## WORKS CITED

- Ishiko, Jun 石子順. 1995. *Nihon no shinryaku Chūgoku no teikō: manga ni miru Nitichū Sensō jidai* 日本的侵略 中国的抵抗 漫画に見るに日中戦争時代 (Japanese invasion, Chinese resistance: the period of Japan-China War presented in comic books). Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten.
- Jackson, Isabella. 2018. *Shaping Modern Shanghai: Colonialism in China's Global City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jiang, Shou-Cheng 姜守誠. 2009. “‘Yeijing’ xiaokao” 「業鏡」小考 (Research on “Yeijing”). *Chengda lishi xuebao*, no. 37: 21-60.
- Jin, Guantao 金觀濤, and Qingfeng Liu 劉青峰. 1999. “Jindai Zhongguo ‘Qianli’ guannian de yi yi yanbian – cong wangqing dao Xinqingnian” 近代中國「權利」觀念的意義演變—從晚清到《新青年》 (Evolution of the concept of “Quanli” (Rights) in modern China – from late Qing to *La Jeunesse*). *Jindaishi yanjiujikan*, no. 32: 209-260.
- Jin, Jungwon 陳延媛. 2005. *Cong dongya kan jindai zhongguo funü jiaoyu: zhishifenzi dui “xianqi liangmu” de gaizhao* 從東亞看近代中國婦女教育: 知識分子對「賢妻良母」的改造 (Modern Chinese women's education viewed from East Asia: intellectuals' transformation of “good wives and loving mothers”). Taipei: Daoxiang.
- Johnson, Linda Cooke. 1995. *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858*. Stanford (Calif): Stanford University Press.
- Kayser, Wolfgang. 1981. *The Grotesque in Art and Literature*. Translated by Ulrich Weisstein. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kim, Ki-Jung. 2004. “The Road to Colonization: Korea Under Imperialism.” In *Korean History: Discovery of Its Characteristics and Developments*, edited by Korea National Commission for UNESCO, 525-500. NJ: Hollym.
- Kim, Nanny. 2007. “New Wine in Old Bottles? Making and Reading an Illustrated Magazine from Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai.” In *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image and City in Early Chinese Newspapers 1870-1910*, edited by Rudolf G. Wagner. 175-200. New York: State University of New York Press.
- King, Frank H. H., and Prescott Clarke. 1965. *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822-1911*. Cambridge: East Asian Research Center.
- Klein, Maury. 1986. *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Knüsel, Ariane. 2017. “Facing the Dragon: Teaching the Boxer Uprising Through Cartoons.” *The History Teacher* 50, no. 2: 201-226.
- Kong, Hiu-Fai 江曉輝. 2020. “‘Xixue dongjian’ yu wanqing shi zhi xinbian” 「西學東漸」與晚清詩之新變 (“The eastward dissemination of Western learning” and the innovations of late Qing poetry). PhD diss., National Tsing Hua University.
- Kuo, Chien-li 郭芊欏. 2012. “Wangqing xiaoshuo zhong ‘ziyou jiehun’ guan yanjiu — yi *Ziyoujiehun*, *Nuyuhua*, *Huangxiuqiu*, *Nüziqian*, *Xiayi jiaren wei zhongxin*” 晚清小說中「自由結婚」觀研究 — 以《自由結婚》、《女獄花》、《黃繡球》、《女子權》、《俠義佳人》為中心 (A Study of “Free marriage” concept in late Qing dynasty novel — Focus on “Free marriage”, “Female Prison Flower”, “Yellow Hydrangea”, “Women’s rights” and “Chivalry Girl”). Master’s Thesis. National Chung Cheng University.
- Kwong, Luke S. K. 2001. “The Rise of the Linear Perspective on History and Time in Late Qing China c.1860-1911.” *Past & present* 173, no. 1: 157.
- La Fargue, Thomas Edward. 1942. *China’s First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872-1881*. Pullman State college of Washington.

## WORKS CITED

- Lai, Yu-chih. 2005. "Surreptitious Appropriation: Ren Bonian (1840-1895) and Japanese Culture in Shanghai, 1842-1895." PhD diss., Yale University.
- Landes, David S. 1983. *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World*. Cambridge (Mass.): Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Le Pichon, Alain. 2009. "In the Heart of Victoria: The Emergence of Hong Kong's Statue Square as a Symbol of Victorian Achievement." *LISA*, vol. VII – n°3: 605-625.
- Lee, En-Han 李恩涵. 1972. "The Chekiang Gentry-Merchants vs. the Peking Court Officials: China's Struggle for Recovery of the British Soochow-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway Concession, 1905-1911." *Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan*, no. 7: 223-268.
- . 1978. *Wanqing de shouhui kuangquan yundong* 晚清的收回礦權運動 (The movement to recover mining rights in the late Qing period). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo.
- Lee, I-Yun 李衣雲. 2012. *Bianxing, xiangzheng yu fuhaoihua de xipu: manhua de wenhua yanjiu* 變形，象徵與符號化的系譜：漫畫的文化研究 (The genealogy of metamorphosis, symbols, and emblemization: a cultural study of comics). Taipei: Daoxiang.
- Lei, Liangpo 雷良波, Yangfeng Chen 陳陽鳳, and Xianjun Xiong 熊賢君. 1993. *Zhongguo nüzi jiaoyushi* 中國女子教育史 (A history of Chinese woman's education). Wuhan: Wuhan.
- Li, Chan 李闡. 1978. *Zhongguo manhua shi* 中國漫畫史 (The history of Chinese cartoons). Taipei: Shixi.
- Li, Chang 李暢. 1987. "Zhongguo jindai huaju wutai meishu piantan — cong chunliu dao wuchongqing de wutai meishu" 中國近代話劇舞台美術片談 — 從春柳到霧重慶的舞台美術 (Discussions on the Chinese modern stage art — the stage art from Chunliu to Wuchongqing.). *Zhongguo huaju shiliaoji* 1, 11-16.
- Li, Changli 李長莉. 2002. *Wanqing Shanghai shehui de bianqian: shenghuo yu lunli de jindaihua* 晚清上海社會的變遷：生活與倫理的近代化 (Social change in late Qing Shanghai: the modernization of life and ethics). Tianjin: Tianjin renmin.
- . 2007. "Qingmo minchu chengshi de 'gonggong xiuxian' yu 'gonggong shi jian'" 清末民初城市的「公共休閒」與「公共時間」 (City public leisure and public time in Late Qing and the early years of the Republic of China). *Shixue yuekan*, no. 11: 82-89.
- . et.al. 2015. *Zhongguo jindai shehui shenghuo shi (1840-1949)* 中國近代社會生活史 (1840-1949) (The history of social life in modern China (1840-1949)). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue.
- Li, Wei 李偉. 2005. *Zhongguo jindai fanyishi* 中國近代翻譯史 (The history of translation in modern China). Jin'an: Qilu shushe.
- Li, Xiaoti 李孝悌. 1992. *Qingmo de xiaceng shehui qimeng yundong, 1901-1911* 清末的下層社會啓蒙運動, 1901-1911 (The enlightenment movement of the lower classes in the Late Qing Dynasty, 1901-1911). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo.
- Li, Xisuo 李喜所. 2006. *Jindai liuxuesheng yu zhongwai wenhua* 近代留學生與中外文化 (Modern Chinese overseas students and Chinese- foreign cultures). Tianjin: Tianjin jiaoyu.
- Li, Yajuan 李亞娟. 2013. *Wanqing xiaoshuo yu zhengzhi zhi guanxi yanjiu (1902-1911)* 晚清小說與政治之關係研究 (1902-1911) (A study on the relationship between novels and politics in the late Qing period (1902-1911)). Beijing: Zhongguo fazhi.
- Li, Yashu 李亞舒, and Nanqiu Li 黎難秋, eds. 2000. *Zhongguo kexue fanyishi* 中國科學翻譯史 (The history of Chinese sci-tech translation). Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu.



## WORKS CITED

- Li, Yiling 李怡伶. 2004. "Tuxiang zhishi chuanbo: yi xinzhishi zahuodian wei kaocha 圖像智識傳播: 以新智識雜貨店為考察" (The dissemination of knowledge by images: a study of the New Knowledge Grocery Store), *Zhongji xuekan*, no. 4: 171-189.
- Li, Yuanguan 李云泉. 2010. "Zhongfa zhanzheng qian de zhongfayuenan wenti jiaoshe yu zhongyue guanxi bianhua" 中法戰爭前的中法越南問題交涉與中越關係的變化 (The diplomatic negotiations on Sino-French Vietnam issues before the Sino-French War and changes in Sino-Vietnamese relations). *Shehui kexue jikan*, no. 5: 150-155.
- Liao, Zonglin 廖宗霖. 2002. *Zhongfa zhanzheng shi* 中法戰爭史 (The history of the Sino-French War). Tianjin: Tianjin guji.
- Lin, Jui-Ming 林瑞明. 1980. *Wanqing qianze xiaoshuo de lishi yiyi* 晚清譴責小說的歷史意義 (The historical significance of late Qing exposé fiction). Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue.
- Lin, Tongfa 林桶法. 1990. *Mingguo banian zhi nanbei yihe* 民國八年之南北議和 (The 1919 Negotiation of the Northern and Southern Governments in China). Taipei: Nantian shuju.
- Liu, Limin 劉利民. 2010. *Bupingdengtiaoyue yu Zhongguo jindai lingshui zhuquan wenti yanjiu* 不平等條約與中國近代領水主權問題研究 (On the unequal treaties and territorial waters sovereignty in modern China). Changsha: Hunan renmin.
- Liu, Aiguang 劉愛廣. 2019. "Zhishi lüxing: Aiji wangguoshi zai wanqing Zhonggong" 知識旅行: 埃及亡國史在晚清中國 (Knowledge travel: the history of the exodus of Egypt in late Qing China). Master's Thesis, East China Normal University.
- Liu, Kuan-yan. 2020a. "Yan Fu's Daoist Reinterpretation of Evolutionism." Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- . 2020b. "Yan Fu's Xunzian-Confucian Translation of Thomas Huxley's Evolution and Ethics." Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Liu, Wanlai 劉萬來, trans. 2007. *Jindai Riben tangyeshi* 近代日本糖業史 (The history of the modern Japanese sugar industry). Kaohsiung: Zhonghuaminguo zhetang jishu xuehui. Translated from *Kindai Nihon Tōgyōshi* 近代日本糖業史 (The history of the modern Japanese sugar industry), edited by Tōgyō Kyōkai 糖業協會. Tōkyō: Keisō Shobō, 1962.
- Liu, Yanping 劉燕萍. 2003. *Guaidan yu fengci: mingqing tongsu xiaoshuo quanshi* 怪誕與諷刺: 明清通俗小說詮釋 (Grotesque and Satire: the interpretation of popular fictions in the Ming and Qing Dynasties). Shanghai: Xuelin.
- Liu, Yi 劉藝. 2005. "Cong zhaoyaojing dao xuanli zhi jing — Xiyoubu yizhi qianxi" 從照妖鏡到玄理之境《西遊補》意旨淺析 (From the mirror of demons to the area for mystery — a brief analysis of the meaning and purpose of "Xiyoubu", a Supplement to the Journey to the West). *Xinjiang daxue xuebao* 33, no. 3: 129-133.
- Liu, Yiding 劉一丁. 2004. *Zhongguo xinwen manhua* 中國新聞漫畫 (News cartoons in China). Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian.
- Long, Zhang 龍章. 1996. *Yuenan yu Zhongfa zhanzheng* 越南與中法戰爭 (Vietnam and the Sino-French War). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan.
- Lucie-Smith, Edward. 1981. *The Art of Caricature*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Ludvik, Jan. 2016. *Nuclear Asymmetry and Deterrence: Theory, Policy And History*. London: Routledge.
- Ma, Linghe 馬陵合. 2005. *Wanqing waizhaishi yanjiu* 晚清外債史研究 (A study on the history of foreign debts in late Qing Dynasty). Shanghai: Fudan daxue.
- Maidment, Brian. 2013. "The Presence of Punch in the Nineteenth Century." in *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*, edited by Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler. 15-44. Heidelberg: Springer.

## WORKS CITED

- Marques, Antonio Henrique R. de Oliveira. 1972. *History of Portugal*. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mei, Chia-ling 梅家玲. 2013. “Faxian shaonian, xiangxiang Zhongguo — Liang Qichao ‘Shaonian Zhongguo shuo’ de xiandaixing, qimeng lunshu yu guozu xiangxiang 發現少年，想像中國 — 梁啟超〈少年中國說〉的現代性、啟蒙論述與國族想像 (“Discovering Youth” and “Imagining China”: modernity, enlightenment discourse and national imagination in Liang Qichao's “The Youth of China). In *Cong shaonina Zhongguo dao shaoniang Taiwan: ershi shiji zhongwen xiaoshuo de Qingchun xiangxiang yu guozu lunshu* 從少年中國到少年台灣: 二十世紀中文小說的青春想像與國族論述 (From Youth China to Youth Taiwan: the youth imagination and national discourse in twentieth century Chinese fictions). 33-74. Taipei: Maitian.
- Mittler, Barbara. 2004. *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872-1912*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Asia Center.
- . 2013. “Epilogue: Ten Thousand Pucks and Punches: Satirical Themes and Variations Seen Transculturally” in *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affairs*, edited by Harder, Hans, and Barbara Mittler. 423-444. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Mo, Shixiang 莫世祥. 1991. *Fufa yundongsh* 護法運動史 (The history of the Constitution Protection Movement). Taipei: Daohe.
- Monike 莫尼克. 1993. “Jingzi: Jia yu zhen” 鏡子: 假與真 (The mirror: falsity and reality). *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu*, no. 2: 125-130.
- Muller, Scott J. 2007. *Asymmetry: The Foundation of Information*. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Navasky, Victor S. 2013. *The Art of Controversy: Political Cartoons and Their Enduring Power*. New York: Knopf Doubleday.
- Niu, Haikun 牛海坤. 2012. “*Dewen xinbao*” yanjiu (1866-1917) 《德文新報》研究 (1886-1917) (Research on *der Ostasiatische Lloyd* (1886-1917)). Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue.
- Nowell, Charles E. 1952. *A History of Portugal*. New York: Van Nostrand.
- Qi, Yukun 齊裕焜, and Huiqin Chen 陳惠琴. 1995. *Jing yu qian — zhongguo fengci xiaoshuo Shilue* 鏡與劍 — 中國諷刺小說史略 (Mirrors and swords: a brief history of Chinese satirical novels). Taipei: Wenjin.
- Ou, Muzhang 區慕彰, and Wenhua Luo 羅文華. 2011. *Zhongguo yinhangye fazhan shi: you wanqing zhi dangxia* 中國銀行業發展史: 由晚清至當下 (The development history of modern China's banking industry). Hong Kong: Xianggang chengshi daxue.
- Ouyang, jian 歐陽健. 1994. “Li Boyuan de wenxue zhilu” 李伯元的文學之路 (Li Boyuan's literary road). *Xuehai*, no. 4: 86-89.
- Pajin, Dusan. 1996. “The mirror and the source — Hua-yen philosophy and Chinese landscape Design.” *International Review of Chinese Religion & Philosophy*, no. 1: 1-28.
- Pan, Guang-Zhe 潘光哲. 2006. “Kaichuang ‘shijiezhishi’ de gonggong kongjian: Shiwubao de yigao yanjiu” 開創「世界知識」的公共空間: 《時務報》譯稿研究 (Establishing the Public Space of World Knowledge: researching into the translated articles in *Shi Wu Magazine*). *Shilin*, no. 5: 1-18.
- . 2014. *Wanqing shiren de xixue yuedushi (1833-1898)* 晚清士人的西學閱讀史 (1833-1898) (In search of Western learning: a history of reading in later Qing China (1833-1898)). Taipei: Zhongyangyanjiuyuan jindaishiyuanjiesuo.
- Pan, Shaw-Yu 潘少瑜. 2011. “Xiangxiang xifang: lun Zhou Shoujuan de ‘wei fanyi’ xiaoshuo” 想像西方: 論周瘦鵑的「偽翻譯」小說 (Imagining the West: Zhou Shoujuan's Pseudotranslations). *Bianyi luncong* 4, no. 2: 1-24.

## WORKS CITED

- Pang, Laikwan. 2007. *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Papacharissi, Zizi. 2002. "The Virtual Sphere: The Internet as a Public Sphere." *New Media & Society* 4, no. 1: 9-27.
- Parkinson, Russell J. 1960. "AERONAUTICS at the HAGUE CONFERENCE of 1899." *The Air Power Historian* 7, no. 2: 106-111.
- Peterson, Robert L. 1955. "Jay Gould and the Railroad Commission of Texas." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 3: 422-432.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1991. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession*: 33-40.
- Qin, Fang 秦芳. 2019. "'Nüjie' zhi xingqi: wanqing Tianjin nüzi jiaoyu yu nüxing xingxiang jiangou" "女界"之興起: 晚清天津女子教育與女性形象建構 (The rise of "nüjie": the female education in Tianjin and the construction of women's image in the late Qing). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Qu, Lihe 瞿立鶴. 1973. *Qingmo liuxue jiaoyu* 清末留學教育 (Studying abroad in the late Qing period). Taipei: Sanmin shuju.
- Rankin, Mary Backus. 1990. "The Origins of a Chinese Public Sphere: Local Elites and Community Affairs in the Late Imperial Period." *Etudes Chinoises* 9, no. 2: 13-60.
- . 1993. "Some Observations on a Chinese Public Sphere." *Modern China* 19, no. 2: 158-182.
- Rausser, Amelia F. 2008. *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.
- Rea, Christopher G. 2009. "Alleyway Etymology: Illustrated Dictionaries of Shanghai Slang, 1900s-1940s" (paper presented at Early Modern Print Culture in China: The Eighth International Junior Scholars Conference on Sinology, National Chengchi University, Taipei).
- . 2013. "He'll Roast All Subjects That May Need the Roasting: Puck and Mr Punch in Nineteenth Century China." In *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affairs*, edited by Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler. 389-422. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Reisz, Emma 2018. "An Issue of Authority Robert Hart, Gustav Detring and the Large Dragon Stamp." In *The Large Dragon Stamp and the Customs Post of the Qing dynasty*, edited by Chengzhang Xie and Haiyong Li, 150-170. Beijing: China National Post and Postage Stamp Museum.
- Requejo Coll, Ferran., and Klaus-Jürgen. Nagel. 2011. *Federalism beyond Federations Asymmetry and Processes of Resymmetrization in Europe*. Farnham, Surrey, England ; Ashgate.
- Riu, Kungai 芮坤改. 1995. "Lun wanqing de tielu jianshe yu zijin choucuo" 論晚清的鐵路建設與資金籌措 (On the Late Qing's railway construction and fund raising) *Lishi yanjiu*, no. 4: 162-174.
- Robson, Maureen M. 1961. "The Alabama Claims and the Anglo-American Reconciliation, 1865-71." *Canadian Historical Review* 42, no. 1: 1-22.
- Rowe, William T. 1990. "The Public Sphere in Modern China." *Modern China* 16, no. 3: 309-329.
- Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1959. *Course in General Linguistics*. Translated by Wade Baskin. edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehayé. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Schneider, Stefanie 2007. "'Stop Them Damned Pictures' — Political Cartoons, Visual Culture and the Construction of Anglo-American Relations." In *Visual Culture Revisited: German and American Perspectives on Visual Culture(s)*, edited by Ralf Adelman et al., 81-99. Cologne: Herbert von Halem Verlag.

## WORKS CITED

- Scully, Richard. 2011. "The Other Kaiser: Wilhelm I and British Cartoonists, 1861–1914." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44, no. 1: 69-98.
- . 2013. "A Comic Empire: The Global Expansion of *Punch* as a Model Publication 1841-1936." *International Journal of Comic Art* 15, no. 2: 6-35.
- Seth, Michael J. 2010. *A Concise History of Modern Korea: From the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Sexton, J. A. Y. 2003. "The Funded Loan and the "Alabama" Claims." *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 4: 449-478.
- Shakespeare, William 1999. *Henry IV Part 2*. Translated by Shih-chiu Liang. Taipei: Yuandong.
- Shan, Patrick Fuliang. 2018. *Yuan Shikai: a Reappraisal*. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press.
- Shen, Sung-chiao 沈松喬. 1997. "Wo yi woxie jian xuanyuan — Hwangti shenhua yu wanqing de guozu jiangou" 我以我血薦軒轅 — 黃帝神話與晚清的國族建構 (The myth of Huang-ti (the Yellow Emperor) and the construction of Chinese nationhood in late Qing). *Taiwan shehui yanjiu*, no. 28: 1-77.
- . 2000. "Zhen dahan zhi tiansheng — minzu yingxiong xipu yu wanqing de guozuxiangxiang" 振大漢之天聲 — 民族英雄系譜與晚清的國族想像 (Imagine China: construction of the genealogies of Chinese 'National Heroes' in Late Qing). *jindaishi yanjiujikan* (33): 77-158.
- Shi, Aidong 施愛東. 2014. *Zhongguo long de faming: 16-20 shiji de longzhengzhi yu zhongguo xingxiang* 中國龍的發明: 16-20 世紀的龍政治與中國形象 (The invention of the Chinese dragon: dragon politics during the 16-20th centuries and the image of China). Beijing: Sanlian shudian.
- Shu, Xincheng 舒新城. 1927. *Jindai Zhongguo liuxue shi* 近代中國留學史 (The history of overseas studies in modern China). Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju.
- Sinn, Elizabeth. 2002. "Emerging Media: Hong Kong and the Early Evolution of the Chinese Press." *Modern Asian Studies* 36, no. 2: 421-465.
- Smith, Christen A. 2016. "Facing the Dragon: Black Mothering, Sequelae, and Gendered Necropolitics in the Americas." *Transforming Anthropology* 24, no. 1: 31-48.
- Smits, Gregory. 2012. "Conduits of Power: What the Origins of Japan's Earthquake Catfish Reveal about Religious Geography." *Japan Review*, no. 10: 41-65.
- Stein, Richard L. 2001. "Dickens and illustration." In *The Cambridge Companion to Charles Dickens*, edited by John O. Jordan. 167-188. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stoehr, Taylor. 1965. *Dickens: the Dreamer's Stance*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Strand, David. 2011. *An Unfinished Republic: Leading by Word and Deed in Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Su, Donghai. 2008. "Chinese Museums' Tradition and Changes." *Museologia e Patrimonio* 1, no. 1: 120-122.
- Su, Yunfeng 蘇雲峰. 1996. *Jindai Zhongguo gaodeng jiaoyu yanjiu: cong Qinghua xuetao dao Qinghua daxue 1911-1929* 近代中國高等教育研究: 從清華學堂到清華大學 1911-1929 (A study of modern Chinese advanced education: from Tsing Hua Imperial College to Tsing Hua University, 1911-1929). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo.
- Sun, Chengsheng 孫承晟. 2007. "Mingqing zhiji xifang guangxue zhishi zai Zhongguo de chuanbo jiqi yingxiang: Sun Yunqiu Jinghsi yanjiu" 明清之際西方光學知識在中國的傳播及其影響—孫雲球《鏡史》研究 (The spread and influence of Western optical knowledge in China during the Ming and Qing Dynasties—study on Sun Yunqiu's *Mirror History*). *Ziranhexue shi yanjiu* 26, no. 3: 363-376.

## WORKS CITED

- Sun, Guangde 孫廣德. 1982. *Wanqing chuantong yu xihua de zhenglun* 晚清傳統與西化的爭論 (The late Qing's disputes over traditions and Westernization). Taipei: Shangwu.
- Sun, Liying. 2015. "Body Un/Dis-Covered: Luoti, Editorial Agency and Transcultural Production in Chinese Pictorials (1925-1933)." PhD diss., University of Heidelberg.
- Tan, Guilian 譚桂戀. 2016. *Zhongdong tielu de xiuzhu yu jingying (1896-1917): E'guo zaihua shili de fazhan* 中東鐵路的修築與經營 (1896-1917): 俄國在華勢力的發展 (Construction and operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway (1896-1917): the development of Russian Power in China). Taipei: Lianjing.
- Tan, Shouwei 覃壽偉. 2006. "Cong Xijiang qibuquan de zhengduo kan Qingmo Zhongwai ge shehui liliang de hudong" 從西江緝捕權的爭奪看清末中外各社會力量的互動 (The interaction of Chinese and foreign social forces in the late Qing in the competition for the right to arrest in Xijiang). *Jiangxi shehui kexue*, no. 11: 102-105.
- Tang, Zhesheng 湯哲聲. 1992. *Zhongguo xiandai huajiwenxue shilun* 中國現代滑稽文學史略 (A brief history of Chinese modern comic literature). Taipei: Wenjin.
- Tang, Hongfeng 唐宏峰. 2018. "Uncanny, huozhe "gugui chonglai": — jindai Zhongguo de jingxiang tuxiang yu shicuojué" Uncanny, 或者「故鬼重來」: — 近代中國的鏡像圖像與視錯覺 (Uncanny, or "old ghosts coming again": —mirror images and visual illusions)." *Modern China Studies* 25, no. 2: 113-140.
- . "Kan de zijue yu shuangchong "shijie — tuxiang" — jindai zhongguo de shijue xiandaixing" 看的自覺與雙重 "世界 — 圖像" — 近代中國的視覺現代性 (Consciousness of looking and the double "World — Image" — visual modernity in late Qing China). *Kuawenhua yanjiu*, no. 1: 1-30.
- Thomson, Philip J. 1972. *The Grotesque*. London: Methuen.
- Townsend, James. 1996. "Chinese Nationalism." In *Chinese Nationalism*, edited by Jonathan Unger and Geremie Barmé. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Tsai, Weipin. 2015. "The Qing Empire's Last Flowering: The expansion of China's Post Office at the turn of the twentieth century." *Modern Asian Studies* 49, no. 3: 895-930.
- Tu, Ching-I 涂經詒. 2007. "Luexun 'Zhongguoxing' wenti yanjiu de lishi yu xianzhuang" 略論「中國性」問題研究的歷史與現狀 (A brief discussion of the past and present study of the issue of Chineseness). *Taiwan dongya wenming yanjiu xuekan* 4, no. 1: 153-164.
- Van De Ven, Hans. 2006. "Robert Hart and Gustav Destrung during the Boxer Rebellion." *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no. 3: 631-662.
- . 2014. *Breaking with The Past: The Maritime Customs Service and The Global Origins of Modernity in China*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wagner, Rudolf G. 1995. "The Role of the Foreign Community in the Chinese Public Sphere." *The China Quarterly* 142: 423-443.
- . 2002. "The Early Chinese Newspapers and the Chinese Public Sphere." *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 1, no.1: 1-33.
- . 2007. "Joining the Global Imaginaries: the Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai Huabao*." In *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910*, edited by Rudolf Wagner, 105-174. Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press.
- . 2011. "China 'Asleep' and 'Awakening': A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It." *The Journal of Transcultural Studies* 2, no. 1: 4-139.
- . 2017. "Dividing up the [Chinese] Melon, guafen 瓜分": The Fate of a Transcultural Metaphor in the Formation of National Myth." *The Journal of Transcultural Studies* 8, no. 1: 9-122.

## WORKS CITED

- . 2019. “Asymmetry in Transcultural Interaction.” In *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, edited by Panagiotopoulos Diamantis, Abu-Er-Rub Laila, Brosius Christiane, Richter Susan and Meurer Sebastian, 15-38. London: Routledge.
- Walravens, Hartmut. 2000. “*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*” (1912-1943), “*Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst*” (1926-1943): *Bibliographie und Register (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . “The early East Asian Press in the Eyes of the West. Some Bibliographical Notes.” In *Newspapers of the World Online: U.S. and International Perspectives*, edited by Walravens Hartmut, 159-172. Berlin, New York: K. G. Saur.
- Wang, Chengren 王承仁, and Teijun Liu 劉鐵君. 1998. *Li Hung-chang sixiang tixi yanjiu* 李鴻章思想體系研究 (Research on Li Hung-chang’s ideological system). Wuchang: Wuhan daxue.
- Wang, David Der-wei. 1997. *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911*. Stanford (Calif.): Stanford University Press.
- Wang, Di 王迪. 2019. “Jindai Zhongguo chengshi de gonggong lingyu” 近代中國城市的公共領域 (The Public Sphere in modern Chinese cities), *Ershiyi shiji*, no. 173: 129-140.
- Wang, Ermin 王爾敏. 2003. “Dianshizhai huabao suo zhanxian zhi jindai lishi mailuo” 點石齋畫報所展現之近代歷史脈絡 (The historical context in modern China illustrated in Dianshizhai Illustrated Newspaper). In *Hua zhong you hua: Jindai Zhongguo de shijue biaooshu yu wenhua goutu* 畫中有話：近代中國的視覺表述與文化構圖 (When images speak: visual representation and cultural mapping in modern China), edited by Ko-wu Huang, 1-25. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo.
- Wang, Hongli 王鴻莉. 2012. “Li Juzhai ji qi huabao shiye kaoshi” 李菊儕及其畫報事業考述 (Research on Li Juzhai and his career in illustrated newspapers). *Hanyuya wenxue yanjiu* 3, no. 2: 27-34.
- Wang, Jiping 王繼平. 2003. *Jindai Zhongguo yu jindai wenhua* 近代中國與近代文化 (Modern China and modern Chinese culture). Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe.
- Wang, Juan. 2007. “Officialdom Unmasked: Shanghai Tabloid Press, 1897–1911.” *Late Imperial China* 28, no. 2: 81-128.
- Wang, Qingning. 2021. *The Chinese Internet: The Online Public Sphere, Power Relations and Political Communication*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Wang, Wei 王巍. 2017. “Jing heyi weidao — cong *Xiyouji* zhaoyaojing qiantan jingdao guanxi” 鏡何以衛道 — 從《西遊記》照妖鏡淺談鏡道關係 (How mirrors protect traditional morality: exploring the Mirror-Dao relationship through demon-revealing mirrors in *Journey to the West*.), *Beifang wenxue: zhong*, no. 9: 57-58.
- Wang, Wen-Jen 王文仁. 2011. *Qimeng yu mimei: jinxiandai shiyexia de Zhongguo wenxue Jinhua shiguan* 啟蒙與迷魅: 近現代視野下的中國文學進化史觀 (Enlightenment and enchantment: historical views of evolutionism on Chinese literature in modern time). Taipei: Boyang wenhua.
- Wang, Ya 王姪. 2009. “Cong jingzi yixiang kan Zhongguo xiaoshuo de fazhan yanbian” 從鏡子意象看中國小說的發展演變 (On the development of Chinese novels: from the perspective of the mirror metaphor). *Hechi yueyuan xuebao*, no.3: 45.
- Wang, Yichuan 王一川. 2009. *Zhongguo xiandai xue yinlun: Xiandai wenxue de wenhua weidu* 中國現代學引論：現代文學的文化維度 (An introduction to Chinese modern studies: the cultural dimension of modern literature). Beijing: Beijing daxue.
- Wang Yunhong 王云虹. 2005. “Youguan shijutu de ji ge wenti” 有關〈時局圖〉的幾個問題 (Several questions regarding “Shijutu”). *Lishi jiaoxue* 9: 74.

## WORKS CITED

- Wang, Yuanyuan 王圓元. 2016. “Mingxuanzong ‘Wuhou Gaowou Tu’ yanjiu” 明宣宗“武侯高臥圖”研究 (A study of “Zhuge Liang Reclining” by Xuande Emperor of the Ming Dynasty). Master’s Thesis. Hubei Institute of Fine Arts.
- Wang, Zengcai 王曾才. 1967. *Yingguo duihua waijiao yu menhukaifang zhengze* 英國對華外交與門戶開放政策 (British diplomacy and Open Door Policy towards China). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan.
- Wang, Zhongjiang 王中江. 2002. *Jinhuazhuyi zai Zhongguo* 進化主義在中國 (Revolutionism in China). Beijing: Shoudu shifan daxue.
- Welsch, Wolfgang. 1999. “Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today.” In *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, edited by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, 194-213. London: Sage.
- Welsh, Frank. 1993. *A History of Hong Kong*. London: Harper Collins.
- West, Richard Samuel. 1988. *Satire on Stone: The Political Cartoons Of Joseph Keppler*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Wong, Wendy Siuyi. 2001. *Hong Kong Comics*. New York, N.Y.: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Woods, Jackson S., and Bruce J. Dickson. 2017. “Victims and Patriots: Disaggregating Nationalism in Urban China.” *The Journal of Contemporary China* 26, no. 104: 167–82.
- Wu, Shellen Xiao. 2015. *Empires of Coal: Fueling China's Entry Into the Modern World Order, 1860-1920*. Stanford (Calif.): Stanford University.
- Wu, Chia-ling 吳嘉陵. 2006. *Qingmo minchu de huihua jiaoyu yu huajia* 清末民初的繪畫教育與畫家 (Art education and painters of China in the early twentieth century). Taipei: Xiuwei.
- Wu, I-Wei. 2013. “Participating in Global Affairs: The Chinese Cartoon Monthly Shanghai Puck.” In *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*, edited by Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler. 365-387. Heidelberg: Springer.
- . 2017. “Illustrating Humor: Political Cartoons on the Late Qing Constitutionalism.” In *Not Just a Laughing Matter: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Political Humor in China*, edited by King-fai Tam and Sharon R. Wesoky, 15-37. Singapore: Springer.
- Wu, Jing 吳靜. 2012. “‘Xuedeng’ yu wusi xinwenhua yundong 《學燈》與五四新文化運動 (‘Xuedeng’ and the May Fourth New Culture Movement). Beijing: Zhongguo shuji.
- Wu, Yu 吳昱. 2010. “Guanmin fenli yu youdi bingzhi: Qingdai ‘youzheng’ zhidu de yanhua” 官民分立與郵遞並制: 清代“郵政”制度的演化 (A postal delivery system that co-run the official and the public delivery routes: the evolution of “postal” system in the Qing Dynasty). *Xueshu yanjiu*, no. 11: 107-116
- . 2014. “Daqing youzheng wangluo de zhankai yu yewu de tuozhan —— jiyu ‘Daqing youzhengs shiwu tongbao zonglung’ de yanjiu” 大清郵政網絡的展開與業務的拓展——基於《大清郵政事務通報總論》的研究 (The expansion of the postal network and the postal business in the Great Qing —— Research based on *The General Discussion of the Postal Affairs Bulletin of the Qing Dynasty*). *Chongqing youdian daxue xuebao* 26, no. 1: 55-63.
- Xia, Xiaohong 夏曉虹. 2016. *Wanqing nüzi guomin changshi de jiangou* 晚清女子國民常識的建構 (Construction of women's general knowledge in late Qing). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.
- Xin, Yinsong 辛金順. 2015. *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo de guozu shuxie: yi shenti yinyu wei guanचा hexin* 中國現代小說的國族書寫: 以身體隱喻為觀察核心 (Writing the nation in modern Chinese novels: taking body metaphor as the observant core). Taipei: Xiuwei.

## WORKS CITED

- Xiong, Yuezhi 熊月之. 1994. *Xixue dongjian yu wanqing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 (The dissemination of Western learning and the late-Qing society). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin.
- . 1996. “An Overview of the Dissemination of Western Learning in Late-Qing China.” *Perspectives* 4, no. 1: 13-27.
- Xu, Chenchao 徐陳超. 2016. “Wanqing shiqi guoren yu liushengji de jiechu yiji liushengji zai Zhongguo de chuanbo he yingxiang” 晚清時期國人與留聲機的接觸以及留聲機在中國的傳播和影響 (Chinese people's contact with phonographs in the late Qing and the spread and influence of phonographs in China). *Kaifeng jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 36, no. 3: 14-15.
- Xu, Dan 徐丹. 2020. “Qingmo minguo shiqi de ‘Chaoxian wangguo shi’ zhush” 清末民國時期的「朝鮮亡國史」著述 (The writings in the late Qing and Republican time regarding the ruin of Korea). *Jindaishi yanjiu*, no. 1: 133-139.
- Xu, Guoqi. 2005. *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Xu, Yi 許毅, Pusen Jin 金普森, Wuhua Long 隆武華, Yongan Kong 孔永松, and Guohua Wang 王國華. 1996. *Qingdai waizhai shilun* 清代外債史論 (On the history of foreign debts in the Qing Dynasty). Beijing: Zhongguo caizheng jingji.
- Yan, Jianfu 顏健富. 2014. *Wanqing xiaoshuo de xingainian ditu: cong “shenti” dao “shijie”* 晚清小說的新概念地圖: 從「身體」到「世界」 (From the body to the world: the new conceptual mapping of late Qing fiction). Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin.
- Yan, Yuezhen 閔月珍. 2007. “‘Jing’ yixiang yu Zhongguo wenren de neixing yishi” ‘鏡’ 意象與中國文人的內省意識 (The mirror metaphor and introspection of Chinese literati). *Shangxi shida xuebao*, no. 1: 57-60.
- Yang, Bingyan 楊炳延. 2003. “Ba” 跋 (Epilogue). In *Jiujing xingshi huabao: wanqing shijing baitai* 舊京醒世畫報——晚清市井百態 (Beijing *Xingshi huabao* — the various aspects of the life of ordinary people in the late Qing), edited by Bingyan Yang, 347. Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian.
- Yang, Jui-sung 楊瑞松. 2010. *Bingfu, huanghuo yu shuishi: “Xifang” shiye de Zhongguo xingxiang yu jindai Zhongguo guozu lunshu xiangxiang* 病夫、黃禍與睡獅: 「西方」視野的中國形象與近代中國國族論述想像 (Sick Man, Yellow Peril and Sleeping Lion: Chinese images from “Western” perspective and the discourses of modern Chinese national identity). Taipei: Zhengda.
- Yang, Ming-che 楊明哲. 1999. “Wang Qing Tianjin Renjing huabao zhi yanjiu “晚清天津《人鏡畫報》之研究” (On the *Human Mirror Pictorial*). *Guoshiguan guankan*, no. 26: 35-56.
- Yang, Xinsheng 陽信生. 2004. *Shehui wanxiang* 社會萬象 (Social phenomenon). Changsha: Yuelu shushe.
- Yang, Yanqi 楊彥麒. 2001. *Taiwan bainian tang ji* 台灣百年糖紀 (History of Centennial Taiwan sugar industry). Taipei: Maotouying.
- Ye, Jia 葉嘉. 2015. “‘Shiyong’ de yanbian: mingchu shanghai zazhi yibao shijian chutan” 「實用」的演變: 民初上海雜誌譯報實踐初探 (Practicality and change: the role of translations from Western periodicals in China's early Republican magazines). *Bianyi luncong* 8, no. 1: 1-40.
- Yeh, Catherine Vance. 2007. “Shanghai Leisure, Print Entertainment, and the Tabloids, Xiaobao.” In *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese*



## WORKS CITED

- Newspapers, 1870-1910*, edited by Rudolf G. Wagner, 201-232. Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press.
- . 2015. *The Chinese Political Novel: Migration of a World Genre*. Cambridge (Mass.): the Harvard University Asia Center.
- Yi, Ruofen 衣若芬, ed. 2021. *Si fang yun ji: Tai, Gang, Zhong, Xin de huiben manhua wentuxue* 四方雲集: 台·港·中·新的繪本漫畫文圖學 (Gathered in all directions: up-to-date scholarship of graphics and texts on picture books and comics in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China). Toayuan: Guoli zhongyang daxue chuban zhongxin.
- Ying, Junhao 應俊豪. 2001. *Gonggong yulun yu beiyang waijiao: yi bali hehui Shandong wenti wei zhongxin de yanjiu* 公眾輿論與北洋外交: 以巴黎和會山東問題為中心的研究 (Public opinion and Beiyang diplomacy: a study centered on Shandong issue at the Paris Peace Conference). Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuexi.
- Yu, Danchu 俞旦初. 1984. “Zhongguo jindai aiguo zhuyi de ‘wangguo shijian’ chukao” 中國近代愛國主義的“亡國史鑑”初考 (Preliminary investigation into modern Chinese patriotic “mirrors on the history of subjugated countries”). *Shijie lishi*, no. 1: 23-31.
- Yu, Ho-Fang 虞和芳. 2014. “Zhongde guanxi fazhan de lishi yanjiu: 1861-1917” 中德關係發展的歷史研究: 1861-1917 (Research on the history of development of Sino-German Relations: 1861-1917).” *Ouzhou guoji pinglun*, no. 10: 147-179.
- Yu, Xiangdong 于向東. 2009. *Dunhuang bianxiang yu bianwen yanjiu* 敦煌變相與變文研究 (A study on Dunhuang art and literature). Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu.
- Yuan, Ze 袁仄, and Weiwen Ou 歐偉文. 1994. “Fushi yu shehui bianqian — du minguo chunian de fuzhi faling” 服飾與社會變遷 — 讀民國初年的服制法令 (Clothing and social changes — reading the clothing regulations in the early years of the Republic of China). *Ershiyishiji shuangyuekan*, no. 25: 105-109.
- Yuan, Nuhua 員怒華. 2011. “Sida fukan yu wusi xinwenxue” 四大副刊與五四新文學 (The four major supplements and May Fourth New Literature), PhD diss., Central China Normal University.
- Yue, Daiyun 樂黛雲. 1991. “Zhongxi shixue zhong de jingzi yinyu” 中西詩學中的鏡子隱喻 (The mirror metaphor used in poetics in the West and China). *Wenyi yanjiu*, no. 5: 42-47.
- Zeng, Kunhua 曾鯤化. 1973. *Zhongguo tielu shi*. 中國鐵路史 (The history of Chinese railways). Taipei: Wenhai.
- Zhang, Huateng 張華騰. 2021a. “Xinchounian qianhou qingting de xishou yu huiluan (shang)” 辛丑年前後清廷的西狩與回鑾 上 (The Qing court’s flee to the west and return around the year of Xinchou (shang))” *Tuanjiebao*.
- . 2021b. “Xinchounian qianhou qingting de xishou yu huiluan (xia)” 辛丑年前後清廷的西狩與回鑾 下 (The Qing court’s flee to the west and return around the year of Xinchou (xia))” *Tuanjiebao*.
- Zhang, Kaiyuan 章開沅. 1985. *Wengzhang jiaoyi yu wanqing zhengju* 翁張交誼與晚清政局 (The relationship between Weng and Zhang and late Qing political affairs). Tianjin: Tianjin renmin.
- Zhang, Siting 張思婷, trans. 2017. *Guaqi ditu: cong xugou xiangxiang dao lishi zhishi* 怪奇地圖: 從虛構想像到歷史知識 (Strange maps: from fictional imagination to historical knowledge). Taipei: Makeboluo. Translated from *The Curious Map book* by Ashley Baynton-Williams. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.

## WORKS CITED

- Zhang, Xueji 張學繼. 1992. "Qingmo liu Ri xuesheng yu lixian yundong" 清末留日學生與立憲運動 (Chinese overseas students in Japan in the late Qing period and the Constitutional Movement). *Ershiyishiji shuangyuekan*, no. 12: 25-36.
- Zhang, Yongdong 張永東. 2006. *Bainian zhi yuan: ti Yuan Shikai fanan* 百年之冤：替袁世凱翻案 (A century of injustice: reversing Yuan Shikai's case). New York: mingjing.
- Zhao, Suisheng . 2004. *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism*. Stanford (Calif.): Stanford University Press.
- . 2013. "Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: The Strident Turn." *The Journal of Contemporary China* 22, no. 82: 535–553.
- Zheng, Kuangmin 鄭匡民. 2008. *Xixue de zhongjie: Qingmo minchu de Zhongri wenhua jiaoliu* 西學的中介：清末民初的中日文化交流 (The intermediary of Western Learning: Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges in the late Qing and early Republican time). Chengdu: Sichuan renmin.
- Zhou, Jian 周荐. 2004. *Cihuixue cidianxue yanjiu* 詞彙學詞典學研究 (A lexicological research). Beijing: Shangwu.
- Zhu Congbing 朱從兵. 2006. *Li Hongzhang yu zhongguo tielu: Zhongguo jindai tielu jianshe shiye de jiannan qibu* 李鴻章與中國鐵路：中國近代鐵路建設事業的艱難起步 (Li Hongzhang and Chinese railways: the difficult start of railway construction in modern China). Beijing: Qunyan.
- Zhu, Ying 朱英. 2013. "Wangqing huishou liquan yundong xinlun" 晚清回收利權運動新論 (On Rights Recovery Movement in late Qing Dynasty). *Shixue jikan*, no. 3: 44-57.
- Zhu, Yujie 朱煜潔. 2015. "Waiguo shixue zai jindai zhongguo de chuanbo — yi wanqing qikan wei yanjiu shijiao" 外國史學在近代中國的傳播 — 以晚清期刊為研究視角 (Foreign history spread in modern China — putting the modern periodicals in the late Qing Dynasty as the research perspective). Master's Thesis, Soochow University.
- Zhuo, Zunhong 卓遵宏. 1986. *Zhongguo jindai bizhi gaigeshi (1887-1937)* 中國近代幣制改革史 (1887-1937) (The history of the monetary system reform in modern China (1887-1937)). Taipei: Guoshiguan.
- Zou, Ting 鄒婷. 2008. "Shi xi Bai Juyi shi zhong de jingzi yixiang" 試析白居易詩中的鏡子意象 (The mirror metaphor used in poets by Bai Juyi)" *Daizong xuekan*, no. 1: 13-15.
- Zou, Zhenhuan 鄒振環. 1996. "Qingmo wangguo shi 'bianyire' yu Liang Qichao de Chaoxian wanguoshi yanjiu" 清末亡國史“編譯熱”與梁啟超的朝鮮亡國史研究 (Research on the late-Qing's Compilation and translation fever of histories of national decline and Liang Qichao's History of the Ruin of Korea). *Hanguo yanjiu luncong*, no. 2: 325-354.
- Zuo, Yuhe 左玉河, and Ruifang Wang 王瑞芳. 1997. *Zhang Dongsun zhuanglue* 張東蓀傳略 (A brief biography of Zhang Dongsun). *Minguo dang'an*, , no. 1: 131-138.

### III. Online Sources

- "Biography of Charles Ewart Darwent." 2024. The Virtual Shanghai Website, 25 February 2024, <https://shorturl.at/ezFS1>. Accessed 20 March 2024.
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. 2008. "Sir Thomas Francis Wade." Encyclopedia Britannica, 5 September 21 2008. <https://shorturl.at/dlzU1> (accessed 21 August 2021).
- . 2009. "Anglo-Russian Entente." Encyclopedia Britannica, 9 February 2009. <https://shorturl.at/NTWX2> (accessed 10 February 2023).
- . 2013. "chinoiserie." Encyclopedia Britannica, 21 October 2013. <https://shorturl.at/hmnyL> (accessed 11 March 2023).

## WORKS CITED

- . 2019a. “George Cruikshank”. Encyclopedia Britannica, 19 November 2019, <https://shorturl.at/ayV49> (accessed 15 July 2022).
- . 2019b. “gold standard.” Encyclopedia Britannica. Accessed 11 September 2019. <https://shorturl.at/fnHR9> (accessed 16 September 2019).
- . 2020a. “James Gillray.” Encyclopedia Britannica, 11 February 2020, <https://shorturl.at/aBHNX> (accessed 15 July 2022).
- . 2020b. “Messina earthquake and tsunami of 1908.” Encyclopedia Britannica, 29 January 2020. <https://reurl.cc/M4E8ek> (accessed 21 December 2022).
- . 2021. “Sir Robert Hart, 1st Baronet.” Encyclopedia Britannica, 14 December 2021. <https://reurl.cc/zlRyOQ> (accessed 16 February 2022).
- “Fonds Le petit parisien (1879-962).” 1997. The Archives Nationales Website (France). <https://shorturl.at/giw17>. Accessed 25 February 2023
- Gandhi, Lakshmi. 2014. “Quick! What Are the Origins Of ‘Chop-Chop’?”. National Public Radio. <https://shorturl.at/eNOQ9> (accessed 4 April 2023).
- Hsu, Chung-mao. 2021. “The Boxer Rebellion: A Wound in China’s Modern History” 25 June 2021. <https://reurl.cc/97NzRv> (accessed 25 February 2023).
- Kosik, Corryn. 2018. “George Cruikshank.” Illustration History. Norman Rockwell Museum. <https://shorturl.at/EGJQ6> (accessed 16 September 2023).
- Meng, Fanmao 孟凡茂. 2007. “Cong shijian xijie kaocha meiguo diyici tuihuan gengkuan de jiaoshe guocheng” 從時間細節考察美國第一次退還庚款的交涉過程 (Examination of the negotiation process of the United States's first returning the Boxer compensation from the temporal details). *Ershiyi shiji*, no. 68. <https://shorturl.at/devCD> (accessed 17 February 2023).