The Reconstruction of Masculinity in China, 1896–1930

Lili ZHOU

A thesis accepted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

December, 2012

University of Technology, Sydney

Certificate of Authorship/Originality

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor

has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully

acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in

my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In

addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the

thesis.

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

December 6, 2012

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to the many people who assisted me throughout my journey to complete the work for this PhD project. First of all, I want to express my heartfelt thanks to my principal supervisor, Prof. Louise Edwards. She is not just a talented researcher and teacher, but a good supervisor who knows how to encourage students to realize their potential. I think good supervising is like good parenting that needs a balance between protecting the confidence and pushing the children to achieve more. While always paying attention to the merits of my thinking and writing, Louise encouraged me to improve my work by carefully reviewing what I wrote. Throughout the process of my research, she did not provide instant or direct answers but pushed me to think and arrive at my own answers. Besides, she provided a very strong support to the healthiness of my personal life especially when I was physically ill. I am also indebted to my two other supervisors: Prof. Elaine Jeffreys and Dr Andrew Hurley. Their constant support and brilliant comments have improved this project successfully. It was a real pleasure to work with them.

This project had been financially supported by Ausstralian government through "Australian Postgraduate Awards" (APA) programe. Also I received institutional support from UTS, especially when I was collecting data in both Australia and China. During my doctoral study, I also published a jurnal paper (as the second author): "Gender and the Virtue of Violence: Creating a New Vision of Political Engagement through the 1911 Revolution", in *Frontiers: History in China*, 6.4 (2011), which gave me valuable experience in academic writing.

I am very appreciative and grateful to Prof. Louise Edwards for her help in language translation. However any mistakes in them are my own. Also I have received valuable editorial help from Prof. Louise Edwards, Prof. Elaine Jeffreys and Dr Andrew Hurley.

As a person who has experienced special difficulties in my personal life, I received important administrative support from staff at UTS, especially Dr Jingqing Yang, Ms Ming Liang and Ms Claire Moore. Their patience and excellent administrative skills smoothed my way towards the completion of this project. I would like to express my gratitude here.

Moreover, I want to express my gratitude to my friends—Yin, Ying, Hai, Shengming, Jing, Dan, Xiyi, Mark, Sharon, Vince, and Sid, who made my life pleasant in Newcastle. You are the Karma that I met in Newcastle and want to share the good and bad stories with you for my whole life.

I also appreciate all the support and understandings I received from my family: Wenxiong, Robin, Hong, Ling and my parents. I can't find words to express my gratitude to you as you have given me so much encouragement and care when I experienced the hardships of life. Especially I want to express my heartfelt thanks to Wenxiong: without your patience, care and tolerance, I cannot imagine the completion of this work.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Table of Contents	iii
Abstract	V
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
A Post-Structuralist View of Masculinity	2
The Gendered Nature of Western Imperialism/Colonialism	6
The shi and the Hegemonic Masculinity in Imperial China	11
The <i>shi</i>	
The wen-wu Model of Confucian Manhood	18
The Textuality (cai 才) and Sentimentality (qing 情) of Wen Men	26
Social Changes and Chinese Male Anxiety at the Turn of the Twentieth	Century
Chapter 2 From the "Beautiful Scholar" to the 'Sick Man of East As	
Resurgence of wu Masculinity	
From the "Beautiful Scholar" to the "Sick man of East Asia"	4 0 11
Wu masculinity and Nationalism	
The 1903-19 Military Citizenship Movement and Pure Martial Association	49
The Fashion for 'A Manly Death'	
Self-control on Sexuality	
Wu Masculinity and Modernity	
Conclusion	
Chapter 3 Seeking Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy: The Modernization	
Masculinity	
Education Reform and the Construction of Mr Science	
The Decline of <i>shi</i>	
The Rise of Mr Science.	
From the "Student of Confucius" to a Mr Science	
Literature Revolution and the Construction of Mr Democracy	
The Import of Mr Democracy from the West	
A Slave Does not Make a Man	
The Construction of Mr Democracy by reformists	
Mr Democracy in the Literary Realm.	
Conclusion	
Chapter 4 From Scholar to Entrepreneur and Technician: The rise of the	
"Strong Hands"	
The Emergence of the Modern Scholar-Businessmen	
The Challenge of the Marketplace Masculinity in Ming-Qing 明	
	_

The Emergence of the New "Scholar-businessmen" after 1895	.132
The Power of the Men of "Strong Hands"	
Society's Recognition of the Men of "Strong Hands"	.142
Technology and "Strong Hands"	
The Worship of Machines	
The Admiration of Technicians	.150
"Do it Yourself" and Democracy	
The Conflict between Big Mind and Strong Hands	
Conclusion	
Chapter 5 Fighting shoulder-by-shoulder for China: Nationalism, Democracy	and
Male Bonding.	
Rallying Under the Flag of Saving China	
No Sissy Stuff	
Bonding for Surviving	
Growing up together and fighting shoulder-to-shoulder	
Fraternity out of Democracy	
Conclusion:	
Chapter 6 The War between Father and Son: Filial Autonomy, Sexuality and Fa	
Reform	
Mr Democracy and Filial Autonomy	.205
The New Ideal of Fatherhood	
The Decline of the Father-son Bond and the Rise of Conjugal Union	.217
The Promotion of Male Chastity	.226
The Sexual Citizen through Romantic Love	.234
Changing Expectations about Wives	
Conclusion:	
Chapter 7 Summary and Discussions	
The Resurgence of wu Masculinity	
The Emergence of Mr Science	
The Rise of Modern "Scholar-businessmen"	.255
The Emergence of Mr Democracy	.258
The Changing Definition of Family Masculinity	.263
Enhancing Masculinity through Male Bonding	.260
Discussions Regarding Connell's theory	
Discussions Regarding the wen/wu Model of Masculinity	
Limitations and Further Suggestions	
Bibliography	276

Abstract

Despite the burgeoning interest in Chinese masculinity, relatively little is known about the social configuration of Chinese manhood in the late Qing and the early Republican era. The overarching purpose of this project is to fill this gap by investigating the impact of nationalism, democratization and globalization on the self-perception of a particular group of men—modern male Chinese scholars. Guided by Connell's gender theory and Louie and Edwards' wen/wu paradigm of Chinese masculinity, this study explores how the meaning of male identities was negotiated at a transitional and crisis time when the traditional masculinity of the elite Chinese men was gazed at, challenged, and measured by the formidable western and Japanese powers. This work contributes to empirical research in the areas of gender, identity and social change.

Findings deriving from this study show that the self-perception of this group of men changed dramatically after the defeat of China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. Both Nationalism and democratization became drivers for seeking better or stronger manhood among the male Chinese scholars during this time of crisis. The need for national salvation and democracy brought about an array of changes to the standards of what constituted a good man: the image of the pale-faced scholar was replaced by the brawny male ideal that plays modern sports and undertakes military drills; the textual Confucian masculinity was supplanted by a modern masculinity that stressed a connection between male cerebral power and the practical world; the exercise of male sexual power over concubines, prostitutes and catamites was substituted by a claim of male chastity through cultivating exclusive conjugal love; the traditional image of a pious son was replaced by the icon of an autonomous son who seeks economic independence and free-choice marriage from the old joint family; and so on. The findings of this study reveal the wen/wu model of Chinese masculinity was subject to social change yet showed flexibility to the impact of these social/historical circumstances.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1904, Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879-1942), destined to become one of the key thinkers of republican China, declared in an article published in *Anhui Suhua Bao* 安徽俗话报 (Anhui vernacular paper) that "Colonialists from both the west and east have deprived China of sovereignty. Today, we can no longer say that our China is an independent nation. Like women and children we are controlled by other people." In the same article, Chen Duxiu lamented "The imperialists are gradually becoming the masters of China. As no Chinese dares to stand up to block their way, China is now like a brothel opened for the freedom and pleasure of those colonialist masters". Here he expresses explicitly the anxiety of Chinese male scholars over the double crises of nation and culture faced by China at the turn of the twentieth century. Central to this anxiety was the threat of feminization of Chinese men and China as a nation at the hands of western and Japanese imperialism.

This project explores the reconfiguration of masculinity by the male Chinese scholars

¹ Chen Duxiu, "Wangguo pian" 亡国篇, in Chen Duxiu, *Chen Duxiu wenzhang xuanbian* 陈独秀著作选编, (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1984), 50.

² Chen Duxiu, "Wangguo pian", *Chen Duxiu wenzhang xuanbian*, 51.

between 1896 and 1930 under the impacts of western expansion,³ Chinese nationalism, democratization and modernization. By examining the nationalist discourses permeating a diverse range of texts including newspapers, magazines, books and school textbooks, I argue that the notion of masculinity circulating among the male Chinese male scholars underwent a dramatic change after the defeat of China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. I show that while the influence of western masculinity was conspicuous and profound, Chinese traditions that emphasized the cerebral power of men showed remarkable persistence and resilience during this historical moment.

A Post-Structuralist View of Masculinity

Masculinity can be discussed from various perspectives such as sex roles, biological differences and gender relations. The sex role theory, which rose in the 1950s, views gender patterns as the product of the power of custom and social conformity. According to sex role theory, boys learn the codes for proper behavior through the expectation of parents and society, especially through role models, such as heroes and good fathers, presented by society and family. The formation of gender roles is also shaped by social sanctions against boys or men who do not confirm to role norms. This theory emphasizes the impact of culture on gender and the complexity of the process of role learning. Yet it has a lot of shortcomings when discussing gender issues. It ignores social inequality and power relationships in gender practices, and it fails to address the complexities within masculinity/femininity by simply reducing the gender patterns in society to two

³ The term "western expansion" refers not only to the onset of western powers but also to the attack of China by Japan after the 1868 Meiji Restoration. The reason for doing so is that Japan rose above other Asian nations at the time as a follower of western civilization and western imperialism. The 1868 Meiji Restoration brought about fast modernization and westernization of Japan which made it a world power that was able to threaten China and even European nations such as Russia. From this point of view, the rise of Japan at the time was a result and also part of the western expansion.

homogeneous groups based on sex: men and women.4

Emphasizing the biological differences between men and women, the second perspective defines masculinity/femininity as genetically given or pre-formed. This theory is expressed vividly through the contemporary maxim "Men are from Mars while women are from Venus", which acknowledges the existence of violence, power relationships and social inequality between men and women. However this theory neglects the interplay of gender with class and race. Like sex role theory, it fails to see the differences in notions of masculinity/femininity held by different groups in a society.⁵

To overcome the defects of the aforementioned theories, the relational approach to gender rose in 1980s and was developed by a number of theorists, such as Robert Connell, Clare Burton, Judith Lorber. This approach, as Robert Connell points out, stresses that "gender issues always concern a structure of social relations". Masculinity, according to Connell, is not simply the effect of the male body or the outcome of sex role expectations; rather, it is social configuration of the body-reflexive gender practice within a giving cultural setting through time. As the product of social construction, the notion of masculinity differs from culture to culture, varies within a society, and shifts over time, because the process of this configuration involves almost all social structures (gender, age, class, race), operates differently in a range of institutions (family, school, workplace) and, is

⁴ See Demetrakis Demetrious, "Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique," *Theory and Society*, 30.3 (Jun., 2001): 337-361; and Robert Connell, 2002, "Studying men and masculinity," *Resources for Feminist Research*, 29.1/2 (Winter 2002): 45.

⁵ See Robert Connell, "Studying men and masculinity," *Resources for Feminist Research*, 29.1/2 (Winter 2002): 45

⁶ Clare Burton, *Subordination: feminism and social theory*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985); Judith Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Robert Connell, *Masculinities*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Connell, "Studying men and masculinity," 45.

responsive to historical situations.⁸ This theory explains not only the dynamic interplays between masculinity and class or race, but also the interactions between gender and social changes such as technological revolution, feminism and globalization. By underscoring the power struggles experienced by different group of people under various historical circumstances, this theory explains well the three major features of masculinity/femininity: power relationship, diversity and change.

This Post-Structuralist methodology is productive in academic research. Over the past two decades amount of scholarship has showed that as a result of the dynamic interactions of gender with other social structures and with external forces. The notion of masculinity has changed throughout the history. Extensive scholarship from around the world has revealed that social, political and economical changes, such as the industrial revolution, globalization and feminist movements, have all had their impacts on the fashion and meaning of masculinity and femininity. The fluidity of the notion of masculinity is evident when we consider the wide variation of expressions of masculinity around the world in response to social change.

For example, masculinity is shaped by the transformation of political systems. In the seventeenth century, England witnessed radical political changes through the establishment of a republic, the restoration of the king and the banishment of James II in the 1688 Glorious Revolution. Kuchta argues that this political trend declared the decline of the hegemony of the aristocracy. Puritans, manufacturers and the republicans created a new image of masculine power that would reach its apex in the advance of the Three-piece Suit and its rejection of the aristocratic fashion of masculinity prevailing in English courts

⁸ Connell, "Studying men and masculinity," 45.

and royal families. The luxury of aristocrats in consumption, which used to be the symbol of social privilege and status, was now disparaged as ungodly and effeminate, and was replaced by the simple style of masculine image underlying man's moral strength, frugality and industry.⁹

Masculinity can be modified by frontier expansion and war, as the example of North American shows. Rotundo shows that influenced by the western expansion, 1861-5 Civil War and 1898 Spanish American War, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the middle-class manhood of the self-made man experienced a change from its emphasis on the mental power of self-control to emphasizing bodily virility and male passions such as competitiveness and ambition.¹⁰

Masculinity can also be modified by the power of technological revolution and industrialization. Martin Summers has show that as a result of rapid industrialization, large numbers of self-made men turned into employees in the big factories and companies. Between 1900 and 1930, the United States experienced a shift from a producer-oriented to a consumer-oriented society which generated a transformation in the understanding of what it was to be a man by the middle class. While bodily virility and male passions remained the central defining features of the contemporary American manhood of the middle class, the value of consumption emphasizing the possession of goods and personality had replaced the producer values, such as frugality and regularity, to be the markers of modern masculinity.¹¹

⁹ See David Kuchta, *The three-piece suit and modern masculinity: England, 1550-1850*, (Berkeley, CA.; London: University of California Press, 2002), chapter 3, 51-76.

¹⁰ See Anthony E. Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern era*, (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 3-6; 222-45.

¹¹ See Martin Summers, *Manliness and its discontents: the Black middle class and the transformation of masculinity, 1900-1930*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), "Introduction".

Summers' work also provides evidence that the social and cultural transformations in the first three decades of the USA also shaped the gender perceptions of black middle-class men. The young generation of the middle-class black men rejected the old definition of masculinity that stressed economic independence, self control and respectability, which were closely linked to the Victorian producer culture revolving around the marketplace. Through participating in the youthful jazz culture and some middle-class black social clubs, these young middle-class black males created an alternative masculine image defined by cultural creativity and racial uniqueness in leisure and entertainment activities, black citizenship through more civic participation, the development of healthier and more sexual bodies, and increasingly excessive consumption. ¹²

The Gendered Nature of Western Imperialism/Colonialism

Among the social changes that shaped these norms of masculinity, the rise of the power of Europe and its global expansion through exploration and imperialism since the beginning of sixteenth century is extraordinary. It had impacts on gender practices of the colonizing and the colonized, the oppressor and the oppressed, causing dramatic changes in local understandings of masculinity and femininity in a wide range of countries around the world.

From the start, colonialism and imperialism were gendered projects. It was predominantly a man's business to adventure and to undertake the "Voyage's Discovery", expanding trades between continents, and establishing settlements overseas. It was also a proof of masculine power for men to build up an empire in the era of global capitalism. The

¹² See Summers, Manliness and its discontents: the Black middle class and the transformation of masculinity, 1900-1930.

6

connection of masculinity with imperialism and colonialism was illustrated in the imperialists' ideology and discourses in nineteenth-century Britain and North America. ¹³

The men of the colonized world were often depicted in the imperialist discourses as the savage, effeminate "others" that were in need of a civilized, manly controlling hand. As Michael Kimmel noted, in the gender ideology of the imperialist men the color were excluded from the category of men: "one common strategy was to link the men of other races to women and children, to make them Darwinian throwbacks, lower down in the evolutionary ladder from white Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic men". ¹⁴ It is not surprising that in the gaze of British imperialists, Indians, Africans and Chinese men all lacked the manly virtue that was required to rule their own countries.

In the eyes of the British colonists, the Indian men were not man enough therefore not appropriately equipped to govern themselves. Indian men were criticized for being indolent, sensual and lacking in sporting prowess and individuality. As Sikata Banerjee points out, the British were quite contemptuous of the savage, effeminate Hindus, because of "their feeble bodies, perceived to be the result of little vigorous exercise, an excessive bookishness, a propensity to mercantile occupation—which in turn supposedly supported practices (deceit and dishonesty) violating the morality of Christian manliness—and behavior marked by a cowardly lack of patriotism"¹⁵

¹³ Kristin Hoganson, Fighting for American manhood: how gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1998); Susan Kingsley Kent, Gender and power in Britain, 1640-1990, (New York: Routledge, 1999); James A. Mangan, The game ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal, (New York: Viking, 1985).

Michael Kimmel, "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity", in Whitehead Stephen and Barrett Frank, eds, *The Masculinities Reader*, (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2001), 64.

¹⁵ Sikata Banerjee, *Make me a man!*: *Masculinity, Hinduism, and nationalism in India*, (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2005), 28.

Although Chinese men were deemed by the imperial missionary British as more intelligent and diligent than other peoples of color, they were still far from the standard of British manhood. In the children's periodicals issued for an English readership between the first two decades of the Twentieth-Century, Chinese men were accused of being barbaric and cruel, because they imposed misery upon women by binding their feet and practiced horrible punishments through their judicial system. Moreover, Chinese men were scorned for their lack of interest in playing sports that was considered by British imperialists as crucial to developing the manly character. ¹⁶

The British imperialists even used gender to explain the reason for the Irish to be considered the "white negroes" of Europe. The quality of Irish men was directly measured against the ideal standards set for English manhood. As Susan Kent has observed, the Irish men were criticized as being womanish because they were "impulsive, inconsistent, contradictory, passionate and prone to exaggeration". ¹⁷

By presenting the effeminate images of colonized or colored men, imperial expansion was justified by imperialist ideology in terms of international patriarchal power. The relationship between the colonizing and the colonized was defined as the relationship between the masculine and the emasculated. Based on the logic of patriarchy, the so-called effeminate others were destined to be ruled by the super masculine power—British Empire or whatever names for the real or imagined empires.

Consequently, the configuration of masculinity in the home country was also subject to the imperial futures. In Britain of the second half of the nineteenth-century, a shift in the

¹⁶ See Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's children: reading colonialism through children's books and magazines*, (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 140-1.

¹⁷ See Kent, Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990, 213.

norms of masculinity took place from valuing reason and education to emphasizing physicality and strength. The liberal and evangelical Christian image of manliness that stresses the virtue of consideration, compassion and gentleness faded out, a muscular enthusiasm embodied in the cult of field-sports arose in most British public schools. Since 1875, the management of public schools, such as Eton and Heileybury, led the vigorous football player to gain primacy over the academic boys. As James Mangan observes, to produce the future soldiers of British Empire, these late nineteenth-century British imperialists "created an ideal of boyhood in schools, which was unashamedly unintellectual, brave and robust". Between 1875 and 1885, Mangan writes, "the foremost image of the public schoolboy in Empire was defined and constant: the warrior-patriot. His purpose, as made explicit in wide society, was noble and sacrificial—to fight and die for England's greatness overseas." 20

While the imperial frontier solder was recruited and trained in the public schools of Britain, a vigorous American manhood was summoned by imperialists in the 1898 debates on the Philippine policy in the United States. The American imperialists claimed that the character of political power must be defined in opposition to old age, womanhood, savagery and childhood, which means the Unite States of America had grown out of its boyhood. It was deemed time for the USA to venture out of the domestic space in order to become a strong, responsible leader of dependent nations such as the Philippines.²¹ Also, these American imperialists accused pacifist men of being old and losing their manly

1

¹⁸ Kent, Gender and power in Britain, 1640-1990, 236-9; Mangan, The game ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal.

Mangan, The game ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal, 46

Mangan, The game ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal, 60.

²¹ See Hoganson, Fighting for American manhood: how gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, 157-9.

virility therefore being incapable of representing their young and vigorous nation.²² Again, the expansion of empire was connected to the manly character of the nation.

From the perspective of gender relations, the western imperialism and colonialism can be defined as a war for international patriarchal power. By differentiating the men of the colored as womanish or even children, the international gender order between white men and the men of color was imagined and justified. Obviously it was a collision of the notions of masculinities between the colonizing and the colonized, between the dominating and the subjugated. While the males of the colonizing powers were inspired and trained to establish internationally their patriarchal power over the effeminate "others", men of the oppressed nations would be forced to prove their male identity by defending of the autonomy of the nation-states and participating in campaigns for nation-building. My interest here is to explore the ways that Chinese men were compelled by the power of western and Japanese imperialism to adjust their own standards of masculinity. Particularly I look at Chinese men's awareness of and response to the differences between Chinese and the men of the "advanced" countries. In order to identify the impact of western and Japanese imperialism on Chinese notions of masculinity, it is necessary to conduct an investigation into and a review of the traditional ideas of the composition of a good man that dominated Chinese society for centuries. Such an investigation and review would make it possible to capture the changes in the notions of masculinity as they occurred in modern China.

As the idea of manliness varies between different social groups within a given culture at a specific time, I take the group of the male Chinese scholars to be the focus of my study of

²² Hoganson, Fighting for American manhood: how gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, 162-3.

the transformations of masculinity in late Qing and early Republican China. The male Chinese scholars used to be an exclusive group who enjoyed enormous privileges of education and state administration through centuries of dynastic imperial rule. As the cultural and political leaders of Chinese society, this group played an important role in the processes of industrialization, democratization and modernization in China. My work examines in particular the responses of this social group to the gendered impact of western and Japanese imperialism and colonialism.

The shi and the Hegemonic Masculinity in Imperial China

Before their traumatic encounter with the force of foreign imperialism and colonialism, the male Chinese scholars enjoyed their hegemonic masculine power over both women and men of other classes within the territory of China. As a special class who had exclusive access to education and political power, they had their own definition of what is to be a man. The class these scholars constituted was called $shi \pm and$ their understanding of masculinity was related closely to their standing in the society as shi. So it is necessary to introduce shi as a group before the discussion of the definition of masculinity held by this social class.

The shi

There are a lot of terms for this class of the imperial China: *shi*, *shidafu* (*scholar-official* ±大夫), *jinshen* (gentry 衿绅), and *wenren* (literati 文人). Also there are different

understandings among scholars working in this field about the nature of shi.²³ As the discussion of the normative definition of shi is beyond the scope of this project, I adopt the most concise expression in which shi was described as a distinctive and exclusive group of men who "were qualified, morally and culturally, to be officers of the state." ²⁴ The existence of shi as a social class can be traced back to the time of Confucius 孔子 (511-479 BC), and it was estimated that in Qing <math>i (1644-1911) era the number of shi-class men was between 1 to 2 million. ²⁵

The development of *shi* as a social class can be divided into three phases. In the time of Confucius (551-479 BC), *shi* were a group of men who served the lords with distinct moral character and manly accomplishments. Confucius himself was a *shi* by descent, and it was made clear in *Analects* (*Lunyu* 论语) that the aim of Confucius's teaching was to provide appropriate training for *shi*. Confucius once described the *shi* as such: "(*shi*) aim at Confucian universal order (*dao* 道), are based on virtue (*de* 德), rely on benevolence (*ren* 仁), and are good at performing Six-arts (*liuyi* 六艺), namely, ritual 礼, music 乐, archery 射, charioteering 御, writing 书, and mathematics 数.²⁶ As Christopher Connery has noted, the Six-arts (*liuyi* 六艺) in Pre-Qin 先蓁 time (1100-221BC) account for nearly the whole of the 'public' life of a gentleman.²⁷ This profession of *shi* indicates that *shi*,

²³ See Chung-li Chang, *The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society*, (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1970); Yu Yingshi 余英时, *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua* 士与中国文化, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003); Christopher Connery, *The Empire of Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), Chapter Two.

Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, "The Chin and Han Empires", in Willard Peterson, ed, *The Cambridge History of China*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978-2009), 631

²⁵ According to Chung-li Chang, the number of Shi class men was 1.1 million before 1850 and was 1.4 million after 1850, see Chung-li Chang, *The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society*, 111.

²⁶ See Confucius, *Lunyu* 论语, chapter 7, "Shuer" 述而, in Xu Zhigang 徐志刚, trans. and anno., *Lunyu Tongyi* 论语通译, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1997), 76.

²⁷ Connery, The Empire of Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China, 46.

from the time of its inception, belonged to the circle of ruling class. They sat at the head of the four classes: *shi*, farmers, artisans, and merchants.

The second phase for the evolution of *shi* is between Han 汉 dynasty (206BC-220AD) and early Tang 唐(618-907). During his reign (141-87BC), Emperor Wu of Han 汉武帝 established state Confucianism in China, which made the Confucian canon, the Five Classics (wujing 五经)²⁸ the basis of governance. Concurrent with this rise of the state Confucianism was the emergence of a system where shi became the source of government recruitment for civil servants. The *shi* were consulted and employed by the government as the people who were specialized in interpreting the Confucian classics and in performing the Confucian way of state administration. Study of Confucian classics was government sponsored and controlled through the Imperial School (taixue 太学) and the Office of the Erudites of the Five Classics (wujing boshi 五经博士), where the official exegesis of the classics was conducted. The men who were famous for practicing Confucian ethics and for talent in Confucian learning would be selected regularly for government service. There were two channels of government recruitment: examination and recommendation. Examinations were held for the students of the Imperial School. In the Han period, the first-class students by examination would be promoted to be officials of the state, while the second-class students were delegated to local governments as bureaucrats.²⁹ Besides the examination system, employees for government service were recruited through a system of recommendations. Since the time of Emperor Wu of the Han 汉武帝 (141-87BC), local officials were required to recommend annually the men with "good"

²⁸ The Five Classics sanctioned by Han state were *Yijing* 易经 (The book of change), *Shijing* 诗经(the book of poetry), *Shangshu* 尚书(the book of history), *Liji* 礼记(the book of rites), and *Chunqiu* 春秋(the spring and autumn annals).

²⁹ See Lin Liyue 林丽月, *Ming dai de guo zi jian sheng* 明代的国子监生, (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue lishi yanjiusuo, 1979), 4.

character, talent and skills. Under the Han recommendatory system, men who were talented in Confucian learning or known for their solid Confucian morality were officially extolled.

The third phase for the development of *shi* was the civil service examination (*keju* 科举) era, which ranged from the early Tang 唐 (618-907) to the late Qing 清 (1644-1911). In this stage, the Han recommendatory system was replaced by the civil service examination as the main channel for government recruitment.³⁰ This change increased the social mobility of ordinary men, for they could break the boundary of the ruling class by succeeding in the government examinations. Government examinations were regularly held at different levels and men who succeeded in examinations were distinguished from the commoners by the power and privileges sanctioned by government. These scholars consisted of two layers: the scholar-officials and government sponsored students. The upper layer of shi included those scholars who were qualified for government service. It consisted of three categories of men: (1) Jinshi 进士, the graduates of the metropolitan examination (huishi 会试), (2) Juren 举人, the graduate of the provincial examination (xiangshi 乡试), (3) Gongsheng 贡生, the men who failed in the provincial examination but became the students of Imperial School (taixue 太学 or guozijian 国子监) through other examinations held by the provincial directors-of-studies. The titles of the upper layer shi were unable to be purchased and the government quota for the upper layer shi was very small, so the competition for membership was extremely fierce. The lower shi were less powerful and less privileged, but they comprised a much larger group. Lower shi were constituted by the government-sponsored students that included three categories: (1)

³⁰ During this millennium civil service examinations and military service examinations were regularly held by different dynasties, with only an exception of Yuan dynasty (1279-1368).

Shengyuan 生员 or xiucai 秀才, men who passed the entrance examination (tongshi 童 试) and were students of district government schools, (2) Gongsheng through irregular channels, which included yin gongsheng 荫贡生, men who became students of the Imperial School (taixue or guozi jian) by inheritance as descendents of high-ranking official, and li gongsheng 例贡生, men who became students of the Imperial School by purchase. According to Chung-li Chang, these six categories of men formed the body of Chinese gentry in late imperial times, enjoying political power and social prestige of various levels.³¹

In this institutionalized examination system, both men of cultural attainments and martial valor were valued and recruited, with a bias to men's cultural accomplishment. When civil service examinations were regularly held for recruiting wen 文 men (men of cultural accomplishment), military service examinations were also set for those men of martial valor. Therefore the shi class included a small proportion of wu 武 (martial or military) men who succeeded in the military service examinations. Much like the civil service examination system, there were degrees for men of martial arts: entrance examinations, provincial examinations and national examinations. And similarly, the men who passed these three levels of examinations would become wu shengyuan 武生员, wu juren 武举人, and wu jinshi 武进士. These three categories of wu men were a part of the shi class. However, the imperial dynasties stressed the civil service examination and there were no government schools for the education of martial arts. It was always the wen (literary or cultural) shi that constituted the major body of the shi class, for even in Qing times, an era when the skill of martial arts was valued highest among all the imperial dynasties, the

³¹ See Chung-li Chang, *The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society*, Chapter One.

ratio of the number of the upper wu shi to the upper wen shi was 1:3.32

The power and prestige possessed by the shi, especially the upper shi, was tremendous. First, the imperial governments can be seen as shi governments. Although the emperor theoretically had absolute power over his empire, in practice it was the bureaucracy that governed the country. The studies of shi reveal that either layer of shi played an important role in the function of imperial state administration. According to Chung-li Chang, there were about 27,000 upper shi in Qing dynasty and "they generally controlled the high court offices and key regional and local offices, and almost exclusively controlled the educational offices". 33 Furthermore, this administrative power was shared between the scholars at office and the local shi. The district magistrates regarded the local shi as social equals and relied heavily on the assistance of local shi in controlling the mass of commoners. As Chang demonstrated in his study, it was a Chinese tradition that the district magistrates should pay respect to the local shi including the lower shi by consulting them on the conduct of local affairs.³⁴ As spokesmen for their areas, the shi could influence the government in a range of matters such as reducing the rate of taxation. building up and managing the local welfare system. Having close contact with district educational officials and district magistrates, even a member of the lower shi "could function effectively within his district". 35 Second, the shi were a privileged group in regard to taxation and labor service conscription. As a social class working with their brains, their cultural accomplishment exempted them from manual labor. So they were free of labor service conscription. In the Ming 明 (1368-1644), this exemption could be also extended to include a further maximum of two family members—a further mark of

³² Chung-li Chang, The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society, 116.

³³ Chung-li Chang, The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society, 116.

³⁴ Chung-li Chang, The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society, 32-33.

³⁵ Chung-li Chang, The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society, 51.

governments' favor towards shi. 36 Meanwhile special arrangements in tax payment were provided for shi indicating they were "able to evade payment or even to direct some of the revenue to their own pockets". Third, the *shi* possessed informal judicial power in their areas and enjoyed privileges before the law. Once a man passed the entrance examination and became a students of a district government school (xianxue 县学 and fuxue 府学) or the Imperial School (taixue or guozijian), he was qualified to be an arbitrator in disputes between the commoners in his village or locality. Since there was only one formal court in each county, most neighborhood disputes or family disputes were settled by the local shi. 38 Meanwhile shi were treated differently from the commoners by the law if they committed crimes. As the social equals of the magistrate, they were entitled to be free from public humiliation such as being lashed in the court chambers, which was the usual practice the district magistrates used on commoner-status offenders. Local directors-of-study reviewed carefully all cases involving shi offenders and only if the crime was really severe would the shi be deprived of his titles before being legally punished. This special procedure reflects a core cultural principle of imperial China in which the shi class could not be publicly humiliated through legal punishment (xing bu shang dafu 刑不上大夫).

In a society in which almost everything was set by hierarchical order, the power and social prestige possessed by the *shi* was expressed in very formal ways. To distinguish *shi* from commoners, the state provided them with a particular style of dress. For example, in the Qing 清 (1644-1911) academic degree-holders were sanctioned to wear black robes with blue borders and had a button of plain gold on their hats. Any commoners, regardless of wealth, found dressing like scholars would be officially punished. As a sign of respect to

³⁶ See Lin Liyue, *Ming dai de guo zi jian sheng*, 88.

Chung-li Chang, *The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society*, 45. Chung-li Chang, *The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society*, 63.

the *shi* class, commoners must address these degree-holders with the title *Laoye* (Excellency 老爷) while officials must be addressed as *Da laoye* (Great Excellency 大老爷). In addition, a series of special ceremonies were designed to highlight the honor of the *shi*. When men passed the entrance examination, they would be honored with a "formal dress" ceremony held in the county hall and accompanied by a banquet hosted by the magistrate. 40

The wen-wu Model of Confucian Manhood

When discussing Chinese masculinity, there are two theories popular among scholars working in this field: the *yin/yang* 阴阳 theory and the *wen/wu* 文武 paradigm. According to the *yin/yang* theory, there is a universal dichotomy between the *yin* 阳(feminine, cold, downward, passive) essence/force and the *yang* 阳 (masculine, hot, upward, aggresive) essence/force. Everything contains both *yin* and *yang* essences/forces in its body and things go awry when the *yin* and *yang* essences/forces within it are unbalanced. Moreover, the identity of *yin/yang* or male/female is in constant change in accordance with their different positions in power relationship. For example, a man assumes the *yin* (feminine) position when he faces a person more powerful than himself, such as his father or his superior. Scholars like Song Geng 宋耕 are in favor of *yin/yang* theory for it is "a power-based definition" and explains well "the fluidity and politicization of gender identity in pre-modern China". According to Song Geng, gender relations in imperial China were mainly power relations that set gender on the basis of power rather than on the

³⁹ Chung-li Chang, The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society, 33-34.

⁴⁰ Wang Daocheng 王道成, Keju Shihua 科举史话, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 36.

⁴¹ Song Gen, *The fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 14.

differences of biological bodies. Under this cultural definition "being male" equals being powerful and dominant.

However, Kam Louie and Louise Edwards, the two pioneering scholars in the field of Chinese masculinity studies, questioned the eligibility of the *yin/yang* binary for epitomizing the complex social meanings of Confucian manhood. 42 They argue that Chinese masculinity/femininity cannot be reduced to the essence of *yang/yin*, for both men or women were perceived to naturally harbor both vin and vang essences in their bodies and more importantly, and the theory of vin/yang binary that emphasizes the balance or harmony of the two opposites fails to explain the imbalance of power between men and women in society. 43 In order to better define the unique features of Confucian manhood in pre-modern China, Louie and Edwards developed the wen-wu paradigm. They maintain that the Confucian masculinity, as a social construction, is an embodiment of the balance between wen and wu attributes, in which wen stands for men's cerebral power including literary and cultural attainments, and wu represents men's bodily power comprising martial prowess and physical strength. 44 They point out that both wen and wu prowess were denied to women, because these were male accomplishments that could only be achieved in the public sphere in individuals with solely male appearance.⁴⁵

Obviously these two theories of Chinese masculinity clash. Central to the conflict between these two theories is whether the definition of gender in imperial China was power-based or sex-based. The vin/yang theory looks at the fluidity of gender identity in old China, denying that gender in imperial times emerged from sex. It stresses that the crucial

⁴² Kam Louie and Louise Edwards, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu," East Asian History, 8. 11(1994): 135-148.

Louie and Edwards, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu," 139. Louie and Edwards, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu," 139. Louie and Edwards, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu," 140.

criterion for "being masculine" is "being powerful or dominant". According to this criterion, a man becomes "feminine" when he encounters his superiors whereas a woman can be "male" or "masculine" when she is in possession of power. The most concrete evidence for this fluid gender identity, as Song Geng demonstrated, is that many scholars in the pre-modern China expressed in their poems and lyrics their awareness of their feminine role when facing the emperor and their social superiors. In contrast to *yin/yang* theory, the *wen/wu* paradigm confirms that there was a fixed gender division in pre-modern China, claiming that the definition of masculinity at that time was based both on power and sex. This theory insists that "being masculine" was first a privilege of those who had a male body, but it also stresses "being masculine" is being powerful in particular way, that is to become a member of the ruling class by a mastering of Confucian classics (*wen*) and martial skills (*wu*). The most convincing evidence supporting the *wen/wu* theory is that there was an enduring system of gender separation in imperial China based on the biological difference of men and women, in which men were defined as having public roles and women were relegated to the domestic sphere.

I am more inclined to the position that gender in imperial China was both power based and sex based. While the *yin/yang* theory did have a significant impact of the fluidity of gender roles, this change of gender identity was psychological and it had to give way to the rigid sex separation system. Due to a clear sex division, no women in imperial China could hold public office or enter the government education system. There were some women who obtained formal political power upon the death of their emperor husbands if their son was too young to govern the country, but they still could not be "male" by entering the office either in women's appearance or in men's clothingt. In fact these widows of powerful men

٠

⁴⁶ Song Geng, The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture, 130-3.

usually had to hide behind a screen when discussing state affairs with their ministers. Here social and moral rules demanding clear sex segregation clashes with the notion of the fluidity of gender roles and obviously the shifting of gender roles by powerful widows was restricted by the system of gender separation. From the angle of the norms demanding divisions based on biological sex, such powerful women were just temporarily borrowing power from their dead husbands and could not act like full men. This fact reveals that the fluidity of gender roles resulting from changing positions in the political realm did not function to promote women's status. Moreover, because no women were allowed to enter public office or state education, the supposed femininity of the men in pre-modern China was usually not a form of subordination to women but rather one in which they were subordinate to more powerful men. This kind of subordination did, as demonstrated in Song's study, cause the psychological effect of the "feminization" of men in the inferior position.⁴⁷ However this feminization effect should not be overestimated, because there were never rituals, customs or acts in imperial China marking the supposed change of gender roles. In fact, this kind of subordination of men to more powerful men is commonplace even in modern western societies. Therefore it is fair to say that the biological gender division in old China was a real and solid system that was tangible and substantial whereas the fluidity of gender roles was more psychological. In his excellent study of Confucian masculinity, Martin Huang has presented that in their writings the loyal ministers emphasized how they enhanced their manhood by enduring the temporary disgrace of being feminized or even physically castrated. According to Huang the hardship these men suffered brought about even more masculine traits to the virtuous shi. 48 Huang's interpretation here casts a new light on the study of the impact of *yin/yang* theory on gender identity, which provides an alternative reading of the fluidity of *yin/yang* roles.

⁴⁷ See Song geng, *The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture*, chapter 5.

⁴⁸ See Martin Huang, *Negotiating Masculinity in Late Imperial China*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 2006), chapter one.

Having confirmed that in imperial China the definition of gender was both power based and sex based, I would like to point out further that the wen/wu model of Chinese masculinity carries a significance in class division and the connotation of ethnic differences, therefore it can not be applied to all social classes and all ethnic groups in imperial China. First of all, the wen/wu model of masculinity is class specific. This model of masculinity manifests the understanding of what is to be a man by Confucius and his class—shi. As I have mentioned previously, Confucius defined the shi as those men who were aspired to bring about Confucian social order (dao 道) by performing state administration correctly. To help the shi achieve their political goal, Six Arts were taught in the early Confucian schools, among them were four wen subjects: ritual, music, writing, mathematics, and two wu subjects: archery and charioteering. These subjects were prescribed to provide the necessary skills for boys who were to enter the political sphere of the society. In the eyes of Confucius, these educated boys were distinguished from ordinary men by their political aspiration and a balanced wen and wu accomplishments. In Analects, Confucius uses a special term xiaoren 小人 (inferior men) to refer to the men of other social classes such as farmers, artisans and merchants. For him, these ordinary men were unqualified to enter the political sphere because they were ignorant of the dao (Confucian ideal of social order) and only cared about personal gain. 49 From the viewpoint of Confucius, masculinity was neither about developing the bodily strength for farming nor skills in trading, but rather the prowess in both wen and wu aspects that were crucial for governing and defending a country. Obviously this wen-wu model of masculinity was a definition of shi class about what is to be powerful and respectful. It was hegemonic in the sense that it reflected the exclusiveness of political power and

_

⁴⁹ See Confucius, Lunyu 论语, chapter 13 "Zilu" 子路, in Xu Zhigang, trans. and anno., *Lunyu Tongyi*, 159.

cultural prestige of the men of the upper classes and denied access for the lower classes.

Furthermore, this *wen-wu* matrix bears the code of the sub-class demarcation between *wen shi* and *wu shi*. This demarcation was rooted in the ideological propensity to *wen* prowess by the sages. As Louie and Edwards have pointed out, although both *wen* and *wu* attributes are indispensable parts of the ideal manhood, the *wen* and *wu* aspects were not equally valued by Confucius and his disciples. For Confucius, the employment of martial prowess must follow the rules of rites therefore be controlled by *wen* power. He explained that the performance of *wu* subjects such as archery was not a display of sheer valor, but an exhibition of physical strength channeled through refined rites signifying the moral sense and cultural attainment of the men. In addition, in the *Book of Rites* 仪礼, it was a principle rule that the seats for *wen* officials must be arranged above those for the *wu* officials in state ceremonies. Seather than the seats for *wen* officials must be arranged above those for the wu officials in state ceremonies.

From this basis, the *wen-wu* model of masculinity experienced remarkable changes in from the Tang dynasty (618-907) due to the operation of the civil service examination system that resulted in a gradual split in the *wen-wu* model of manliness. As I have introduced earlier, the civil service examination (wen ju 文举) ran distinct from the military service examinations (wu ju 武举). This separation of two recruitment systems by the governments provided the basis for a division between the wen shi and wu shi. This division in the examinations then split the holistic wen-wu model of masculinity, because from the Tang dynasty on men were able to achieve high social status by a solely mastery of either wen skills or wu prowess. This split has far reaching implications in the

۶.

⁵⁰ Louie and Edwards, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu," 135-148.

⁵¹ Confucius, Lunyu, chapter 3 "Bayi" 八佾, in Xu Zhigang, trans. and anno., *Lunyu Tongyi*, 23.

⁵² Peng Lin 彭琳, trans. and anno., *Yili* 仪礼, in Xia Jianqin 夏剑钦, and Wu Zeshun 吴泽顺, ed., *Shisan jing jinzhu jinyi* 十三经今注今译, (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1994).

development of the notion of Confucian masculinity. It resulted in the dominance of *wen* masculinity over *wu* masculinity in the late imperial time.

With the exception of the Qing 清 (1644-1911) court, wu masculinity was inhibited by both governments and individuals since the mid Tang 唐. In her study of the promotion mechanisms for military officials in the Tang dynasty, Liu Qinli 刘琴丽 observes that the men balanced with wen and wu prowess were only concentrated in early Tang period, and after An shi Rebellion 安史之乱 (755-763), wu prowess was no longer valued by the Tang rulers as most of the men who passed the military service examination were sent to positions in non-military departments, such as taking positions as principals of government schools. Meanwhile, as a purely literary and philosophical education was deemed sufficient for the promotion of social status, men of ordinary families would choose to avoid the cost of military training. Here are the promotion of social status, men of ordinary families would

This social trend that valued wen attributes over wu prowess reached its peak in Song dynasty 宋朝 (960-1279). The record of government recruits in Song times shows that, between 960 and 1030 there were no military service examinations held, while the civil service examinations ran regularly. Moreover, when the military service examination system recommenced from 1030, the number of wu men recruited by government was about one tenth of that of the wen people recruited. And, even more significantly, the official rank reached by the wen people recruited was much higher than those attained by

⁵³ Liu Qinli 刘琴丽, *Tangdai wuguan xuanren zhidu chutan* 唐代武官选任制度初探, (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006), 153.

⁵⁴ Liu Qinli, *Tangdai wuguan xuanren zhidu chutan*, 149.

⁵⁵ See Deng Hongbo 邓洪波, and Gong Kangyun 龚抗云, ed., *Zhongguo zhuangyuan dianshi juan daquan* 中国状元殿试卷大全, (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), 2161-99.

wu people.56

However, physical strength was not completely eradicated from the definition of the hegemonic masculinity before the Manchu 满族 domination of Han 汉 China in 1644. After the Song 宋 dynasty, as Van Gulik noted, bodily strength was still "one of the recognized attributes of a handsome man. They are depicted as tall and broad shouldered, and the nudes of the erotic albums showed them with heavy chests and muscular arms and legs". It is only after the Manchu 满族 conquest that Han *shi* considered such *wu* attributes as symbols of the barbaric Manchurians and expelled them from the dominant image of Han Chinese masculinity. In Qing literature, the male ideal was deprived of physical power. Van Gulik pointed out that "the ideal lover is described as a delicate, hyper-sensitive youngster with pale face and narrow shoulders, passing the greatest part of his time dreaming among his books and flowers". Sa

This pale-faced scholar with narrow shoulders is a fascinating ideal of masculinity, for it emphasizes the cultural privileges of the Han Chinese males over the Manchu's military strength. It shows how the Han majority scholars were proud of their cultural dominance over the barbaric conqueror because the civil service examination system was recovered soon after the Manchu occupation. The adoption of the Han examination system stood as a declaration of the connection of the Han literati to the political power of the new regime. ⁵⁹ Moreover, in the Qing era *shi* were still regarded as being a class superior to the farmers,

5

⁵⁶ See Deng and Gong, Zhongguo zhuangyuan dianshi juan daquan, 2161-99; Qi Rushan 齐如山,

[&]quot;Zhongguo de ke ming"中国的科名, in Yang Jialuo 杨家骆, *Zhongguo xuan ju shiliao: Qingdai bian* 中国选举史料:清代编, (Taibei: Dingwen shuju, 1977), 1057-59, 1097, 1149.

⁵⁷ Van Gulik, Sexual life in ancient China: a preliminary survey of Chinese sex and society from ca.1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D., (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 294.

⁵⁸ Gulik, Sexual life in ancient China: a preliminary survey of Chinese sex and society from ca.1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D., 296.

⁵⁹ Wang Daocheng, *Keju shihua*, 32.

artisans and merchants.⁶⁰ The Manchu's reinstatement of the civil service examination system signaled the return of Confucianism as the dominant state ideology, and this indicated the domination of the cultural power of the scholars over the *wu* power of the soldiers. Thus after the Manchu occupation of China, the *wu* attributes were deliberately excluded from Han scholars' perception of the dominant form of masculinity as a mark of resistance to the military-led occupation of China by the "barbaric" Manchu.

The Textuality (cai 才) and Sentimentality (qing 情) of Wen Men

Having outlined the process in which the *wen-wu* model of masculinity formed and developed, I now take a close look at *wen* masculinity, the defining feature of the Chinese *shi* class in imperial times. Right here in the connotation and embodiment of *wen* masculinity rests the secret about power in imperial China and the legacy of the old Chinese scholars. And all those embodiments of *wen* masculinity would withstand fierce challenge from the west since the coming of the era of western expansion and racial competition.

The first embodiment of *wen* masculinity was "texuality" (*cai* 才). When we look at the activities the traditional *wen* men engaged in the public sphere, we could find that the cerebral power they sought was not knowledge/skills in every aspect of human life but only knowledge/skills that related to Confucian classic texts. As Christopher Connery has noted, since the establishment of the state Confucianism by Emperor Wu of Han (141-87BC), a textual regime focusing on interpreting the Five Confucian Classic texts

__

⁶⁰ See Qi Rushan, "Zhongguo de ke ming", in *Zhongguo xuan ju shi liao : Qingdai bian*, 1057-59, 1097, 1149

was founded.⁶¹ In this textual regime, education and state administration were displayed through written texts and were subject to the Confucian classic texts. As we already known the population who dwelled on this textual space was called *shi* who were exclusively male.⁶² These men lived on this textual space, learning and teaching the Confucian classics, composing poems and writing articles, and performing state administration based on the authority of the Five Confucian texts. Central to their cultural attainments was "textuality"⁶³ (*cai*), the talent or ability to interpret the Confucian classic texts and to produce new texts.

This "textuality" (cai) made the most part of the traditional wen masculinity because it connected men with power –the ultimate authority of Confucian classic texts. Since the rule of Emperor Wu of Han (141-87BC), the Five Confucian classic texts became the source of the political power and cultural prestige for men. The men who were talented in interpreting these classic texts and producing new Confucian writings would be extolled as heroes who knew the truth of virtue and governance therefore be bestowed with state officialdom. Obviously it was not any kind of cultural skills but the particular skills related Confucian classic texts.

This text-centered *wen* masculinity was enhanced by the civil service examination system functioning in late imperial time. Almost all the examinations stressed candidates' *cai*, the

⁶¹ See Connery, The Empire of Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China, chapter two.

⁶² See Connery, *The Empire of Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China*, chapter two.

⁶³ This "textuality" is more than "literary flair" or "literary talent". Basically it refers to the mysterious authority of Confucian classic texts and the power of the textual world centered by the annotations and translations of the classic texts. Literary texts were only a part of the textual world. The power of textuality was noticed by Song Geng in his study of Chinese scholar. In chapter Three, Song Geng presents an example of textual power through the story of Student Zhang (zhangsheng 张生) rescuing Cui Yingying's (崔莺莺) family from the siege by the bandit-soldiers. The text Student Zhang produced was just a letter, which is composed in exquisite and elegant language and in conformity of Confucian propriety. This letter plays a crucial role in the rescue of Cui family. See Song Geng, The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture, P. 69-85.

ability or talent to interpret Confucian classics and to produce new texts on these topics. For example, the examination for *mingjing* 明经 degree in the Tang 唐 dynasty consisted of three tests. The first test required the candidates to complete ten passages based on their memory of the Confucian classics. The candidates were given several word-clues and would pass the test by reproducing five or more of these ten passages. The second test was an oral interpretation of ten passages chosen from the classic texts. The third test required candidates to write an essay on three assigned problems dealing with current affairs of state administration. This structure of exam reveals that the authority of Confucian texts was the fundamental source of political power and social prestige for these *wen* men.

The definition of *cai* was also modified by the civil service examination system. In the Tang 唐 era, there were two important academic degrees for *shi: mingjing* 明经 and *jinshi* 进士. The *mingjing* degree, as introduced above, involved tests that were focused on candidates' ability in interpreting Confucian classics and in elaborating Confucian philosophy. Yet the *jinshi* degree was focused on the candidates' literary talent. While the ability to interpret Confucian classics was also basic for this degree, it required the candidates to compose a piece of rhymed prose (*fu* 赋) and a poem within a set time. Obtaining the *jinshi* degree was much more difficult than attaining the *mingjing* degree because it needed more creative talent and the quota of the *jinshi* degree places was much smaller than that of *mingjing* degree. This situation made literary scholar-officials rare and highly esteemed in the Tang 唐 period. From the eighth century literary scholar-officials possessed a higher rank of office than the philosophy-based scholar-officials thus ensuring

⁶⁴ He Bingdi, *Ladder of success in Imperial China: aspects of social mobility, 1368-1911*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 15.

that the *jinshi* degree became the symbol of success in the social competition for fame and power. From this point on, the talented literary men were called *caizi* (men of *cai* and were often paired with "beauties 佳人" in social narratives circulating from this time forward as ideal couples.

Between the seventh and the nineteenth century, almost every wen man wrote poems and lyrics (ci 词), making friends by exchanging literary writings and competing for fame by displaying literary talent. This social trend at one hand led to the prosperity of poetry in imperial China. For example, nearly 50 thousand poems were collected in The Full Collection of Poems by Tang People (Quan Tangshi 全唐诗) through which more than two thousand wen men preserved their name and wen masculinity in Chinese history. In addition, this literary textuality (cai) promoted "sentimentality (qing 情)", another identifiable feature of the wen men in the imperial time.

According to Song Geng, *qing* is a poetic sensibility to everything in the environment and an emotional reconceptualization of the world.⁶⁶ This reflective attribute of the body was deemed crucial for producing literary texts. It was believed that the more sensitive the man's body, the more beautiful and productive his writing. Therefore the scholars were supposed to abound in *qing*—"a kind of sensibility to everything in the world, including not only human beings but also natural entities like the mountains, birds, and grasses and so on".⁶⁷ In order to create beautiful literary texts, these *wen* men distanced themselves from the rough and vulgar reality, refining their feelings and thoughts in their dream-like

-

⁶⁵ See Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Tangdai keju yu wenxue* 唐代科举与文学, (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 2003), chapter 5.

⁶⁶ Song Geng, The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinities in Chinese Culture, 105.

⁶⁷ Song Geng, The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinities in Chinese Culture, 105.

world—the textual sphere. The remarkable fact for the *shi* class's sentimentality is that all most every Confucian scholar was a poet and left behind volumes of poems. They had an inclination to poeticize everything in their environment: giving poetic names to their buildings and gardens, composing poems for different scenes of parks, painting pictures on their fans and furniture. Chanting poems, discussion of poetry, painting and playing musical instruments were their everyday preoccupations. The man who was good at leading a poetic life, usually embodied through poems, music and wine, was venerated as a "famous scholar" (*ming shi* 名士).

Social Changes and Chinese Male Anxiety at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Between 1896 and 1930, the Chinese society experienced dramatic social, political and cultural changes. Among these social changes, the most profound were the weakened Qing court's abolition of the civil service examination system in 1905, the transformation of the state from a monarchy to a republic in 1911, the collapse of the universal regime of Confucianism as an ideology between 1895 and 1923 and the rise of Chinese political nationalism after 1895. These shifts culminated in the iconoclastic New Culture 新文化 movement of 1915-23, when fundamental principles of Chinese culture and identity were challenged in a radical rethink of what it meant to be "a better Chinese".

The scholars faced the full impact of this identity crisis. The *shi* no longer existed as a social and political category after the abolition of the civil examination system. Believing that the civil service examination inhibited the vigor and creativity of the Chinese population, the Qing 清 court introduced radical education reforms including techniques

and content derived from Europe, America and Japan. Consequently, the shi were transformed into a modern intellectual class that marked not by the talent of interpreting Confucian classic texts but rather by a mastering of modern science and technology. After 1905, the old academic titles such as xiucai, juren and jinshi were replaced by modern and universal academic titles such as bachelor, master and doctor. The men who received modern educations, especially those coming back from the west and Japan, formed a new elite class and became leaders of almost all the nationalist, political groups including reformists, political revolutionaries and cultural revolutionaries. Yan Fu 严复 (1854-1921), the Godfather of the 1898 One Hundred Days Reform 戊戌变法, was educated in Britain between 1877 and 1879. Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929), the leader of reformist camp, received a modern education between 1891 and 1895 at the Grass Hall of Millions of Trees (Wanmu caotang 万木草堂), a modern private school organized by Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927). Sun Yat-sen 孙逸仙 (1866-1925), the leader of 1911 Anti-Manchu Revolution 辛亥革命, obtained his education in medical science at Hong Kong between 1892 and 1896. Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879-1942), Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936) and Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962), three giants of the 1915-23 New Culture Movement, studied in Japan or in North America. These new scholars replaced the old *shi* to become leaders of society in every aspect of social change and development.

Second, the state was transformed from a monarchy to a republic through the 1911 Anti-Manchu Revolution. This political change had profound impacts on society including the notion of the composition of a legitimate ruling class. Although voting was an elitist activity in the early republican period, the process of democratization was under way and the prospects for democracy seemed promising. After the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution,

the electoral laws expanded the number of eligible voters by minimizing the eligibility requirements. As John Fincher has noted, the number of voters increased from 1.6 million in 1909 election to over 40 million in 1912 election. In the 1912 election, the men of either primary schooling or the ownership of immovable property worth $500 \Upsilon^{68}$ were allowed to vote. This meant that the membership of ruling class was opening to more and more commoner males—some of whom had only basic education or very limited assets.

Third, the power of Confucianism as a cultural regime declined and from its ruins Chinese political nationalism sprouted. Before 1895 Sino-Japanese War, Chinese nationalism was entangled with the notion of Culturalism.⁷⁰ Culturalism is a phrase used by some scholars to describe the features of Chinese self-image before their traumatic encounter with the west and Japan in nineteenth-century. In Culturalism, China was perceived as a culturally advanced community comprising Han majority Chinese and other ethnic peoples who were subject to the secular regime of Confucian culture no matter what kind of religion they upheld, such as Mongols and Manchus.⁷¹ After the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, the notion of Culturalism faded and political nationalism, which perceived China as a political entity defined by its sovereignty over its territory and ethnic peoples, began to dominate Chinese nationalist movements. Chinese intellectuals, both the traditional *shi* and the new elite returned from the west and Japan, were shocked by the defeat of China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War by Japan, because it showed how a former "apprentice" of

-

⁶⁸ At that time, a lecturer at Beijing University such as Li Dazhao 李大钊 earned 180 Y every month while Mao Zedong 毛泽东, an assistant librarian earned 8 Y every month. So a property worth 500 Y was unaffordable for those low wage earners but was achievable for those professionals.

⁶⁹ John H. Fincher, *Chinese democracy: The Self-government Movement in Local, Provincial and National Politics, 1905-1914*, (Canberra: Australia National University Press, 1981), 223

⁷⁰ Culturalism was deemed by James Townsend as a useful but vague phrase to describe the formation of Chinese nationalism out of the clash of Confucianism culture and the European nationalist imperialism. See James Townsend, "Chinese nationalism", *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, 27 (1992): 97-130.

See Suisheng Zhao, *A nation-state by construction: dynamics of modern Chinese nationalism*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004), chapter 2.

Confucianism (Japan) could beat his old master (China) so quickly after adopting western science and democracy. They were impressed by the success of the 1868 Meiji Restoration that had westernized and modernized Japan, and declared in no uncertain terms that the Chinese nation and its culture were in crisis. Numerous patriotic newspapers and periodicals sprouted after 1895 to diffuse the new awareness of the national crisis and impending racial extinction (wanguo miezhong 亡国灭种). The new elites introduced western values and ideologies, such as democracy and science, to China, which indicated that their confidence in Confucianism and the universal Confucian regime was eroding. Confucian culture was doubted and attacked for its uselessness in the "racial competition" with western powers. The social mood—"to save China by changing fundamentally the Chinese" was expressed radically by the 1915-23 New Culture Movement. 72 Chen Duxiu. the leader of this movement, declared in 1919 that rather than Confucianism, western democracy and science were the only ways to save China from extinction.⁷³ Lu Xun, another leader of the 1915-23 New Culture Movement, expressed very clearly the idea of replacing Culturalism with political nationalism in 1918: "The condition for us to preserve the cultural quintessence is that it is able to preserve us (as an independent nation)". 74

Deep in this political nationalist movement and social transformations was a male anxiety experienced by individual scholars and other Chinese men, for Chen Duxiu's 1904-1905 lament was not simply a fear of losing sovereignty, but rather a problem of Chinese men

-

⁷²The 1915-23 New Culture Movement was an intellectual revolution that took place during the first and second decade of the republic, sometimes referred to as May-Forth Movement. It was led by many of the new intellectuals, who held up for critical scrutiny nearly all aspects of Confucianism and called for the creation of a new Chinese culture based on global and western standards, especially democracy and science. See Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: intellectual revolution in modern China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press,1960. And Huang Sung-k'ang., *Lu Hsün and the new culture movement of modern China*, Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1957.

⁷³ See Chen Duxiu, "Xianfa yu kongjiao"宪法与孔教, in *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 陈独秀著作选, edited by Ren Jianshu 任建树, Zhang Tongmo 张统模 and Wu Xinzhong 吴信忠, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1993), 224-9

⁷⁴ Lu Xun, Lu Xun quanji 鲁迅全集, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), vol.1, 306-7.

losing everything: culture, nationhood and racial identity. For Chen Duxiu, the coming of the western imperial power had gender consequences in China; it feminized China and Chinese men in particular. He used the term "brothel" to refer to China's degradation, indicating that China and Chinese men as well were now "prostitutes" who served the pleasure of the western imperialists and Japan. Chen's depiction encapsulated the male anxiety over the powerlessness and helplessness of Chinese men who saw themselves as standing lonely in a social Darwinian world at the turn of the twentieth century.

For these modern scholars, fighting for China's sovereignty equaled fighting for Chinese manhood. The situation in the opening decades of the twentieth century was dire. Even under the Manchu, Confucianism had been upheld and Han Chinese scholars could still claim their masculinity as they had superior cultural and administrative power. But after the defeat in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, Chinese scholars' confidence in Confucian culture was thoroughly shaken. The question natural to these scholars was that when the connection to cultural superiority severed, what would Chinese manhood look like?

This awareness of the feminization of Chinese men by the westerners after the encounter with western powers started much earlier. In his study of the Chinese masculinity and modernity, Martin Huang presents Wang Tao (1828-97) as an example to illustrate Chinese men's frustration over gender identity in late nineteenth century. Huang points out that Wang Tao's humiliating experience in England as a Chinese man in late 1860s "captured the gender implications of what later happened to many of his fellow Chinese men as the citizens of a weak nation." As noted by Huang, there was an equation of manhood and nationhood at a time of racial competition and social Darwinism, as many

⁷⁵ See Martin Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China*, epilogue, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 202.

Chinese men "felt that their manhood was questioned owing to the bruised 'nationhood'". This male anxiety over nationhood and manhood loomed large after 1895 Sino-Japanese War. It was overtly expressed by the leaders of various political groups who sought to awaken Chinese men's patriotism. For example, Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the republican China, emphasized the equation of nationhood and manhood through his story of a Chinese merchant in Java in his speech to the Chinese navy in 1924. According to Sun's account, there was a Chinese millionaire living in Java, a colony of the Netherlands. One day he visited a friend at a school and they talked to each other into the late in the night. When he wanted to go home he realized that he had forgotten to bring his night ID card and without it he could be caught by the police and punished. Desperately, he spotted a Japanese brothel just outside of the school and hired the services of a Japanese prostitute to walk him home. As a customer of the Japanese prostitute at night, he was escorted home, because the Dutch colonizers respected the freedom of a Japanese citizen, including a Japanese prostitute. 77 By recounting this story, Sun warned his followers of the truth of the global gender relationship that without the support of a strong nation-state, a Chinese man, no matter how rich he was, was inferior to a prostitute from an advanced country. "Even more powerless than a prostitute" was what Sun stressed about the degradation and feminization of Chinese men.

While Sun emphasized nation-building as the prerequisite for Chinese men to preserve his male identity in a social Darwinian world, Liang Qichao, the leader of Chinese reformists, commented on the international gender relationship from an opposing perspective. Between 1902 and 1906, Liang published a series of articles *On New People (Xinmin shuo*)

⁷⁶ Huang, Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China, 202.

⁷⁷ Sun Yat-sen, *Zhongshan xiansheng yanshuo quan ji* 孙中山先生演说全集, (Taibei: Yonghe zhen, wenhai chubanshe, 1971), 121-2.

新民说) in which Liang points out that the first step for Chinese nation-building was to construct fully qualified citizens for China. He laments that Chinese people, when compared to white people especially those Anglo-Saxons, are full of "feminine attributes" (*Nü de* 女德) and lack "masculine attributes" (*Nan de* 男德) such as physical strength, the spirit of exploration and adventure. He asks his audiences:

Please look at the biography section of 'The history of the Seventeen Periods of China' (*Shiqi* $shi + \pm \rlap/$), are there figures like Christopher Columbus or David Livingstone? No, there are not. Are there figures like Martin Luther or Abraham Lincoln? No, there are not. Are there figures like Oliver Cromwell or George Washington? No, there are not. ⁷⁹

Here, Liang expresses his admiration for the characteristics of European men but at the same time he displays a new self-perception of manhood. He sees Chinese men from the perspective of international gender relations. He argues that because the progressive end of Confucius was long suppressed by pseudo Confucians, "This country is now full of men whose pulses are faint and dim like those of a ghost; of men who seem sick to the point of breathing their last gasps; of men who are as tenuous as woman; of men who have been senile since birth." By analyzing the characteristics required to build a strong nation and by drawing a contrast between China and the west in conditions of external threat, Liang called attention to the problem of Chinese masculinity.

Focusing on this group as a social category, my project looks particularly at the discourses and fashions surrounding what is to be a respectable man in this transitional time. It puts the *wen-wu* model of manhood under scrutiny by examining the possible changes in the connotation of both *wen* and *wu* masculinities and their relationship within this dichotomy.

⁷⁸ Liang Qichao, "Lun jinqu maoxian"论进取冒险, in Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi quanji* 饮冰室全集, (Taibei: Wenhua tushu gongsi,1981), 28-9.

Liang Qichao, "Lun jinqu maoxian", *Yinbingshi quanji*, 28-9.
 Liang Qichao, "Lun jinqu maoxian", *Yinbingshi quanji*, 28-9.

Comparisons are frequently drawn between the notions of masculinity held by the traditional *shi* and by the new scholars, asking that how masculinity as a social construction is subject to its social/historical context.

My investigation of the notion of masculinity held by the new scholars around the turn of the twentieth century is divided into five chapters. Chapter Two examines the resurgence of wu masculinity in China after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. The main aim of this examination is to reveal how the definition of wu masculinity was shaped by its new social environment such as nationalism, the dissemination of western values and foreign male cultures. It begins with a description of the invasion of a western standard of the preferred male body which caused a decline of the Ming-Qing perceptions of the ideal male form, and goes on to examine the link between the rise of wu masculinity and nationalism. It then explores the gender consequences of the Military Citizenship ovement between 1903 and 1918, revealing how western martial skills were embraced into the scope of Chinese wu masculinity.

The new male image of Mr Science (Sai xiansheng 赛先生) and Mr Democracy (De xiansheng 德先生) is examined in Chapter Three. According the republican key thinkers such as Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi (1891-1962), Mr Science and Mr Democracy were two salient icons of the Chinese Mr Right in the early republican period. As a fashion or fantasy these two icons reflect the wish Chinese male scholars held for transforming themselves from students of Confucius to the most powerful men of modern era. In this chapter I examine that how texuality, as the major feature of the traditional shi, ebbed away under attack from western imperialism. Concurring with this change was the rupture in the male scholar's self-perception about his role in public life. I argue that due to the

exposure to western modern culture and the transformation of the state from monarchy to republic, the new Chinese *wen* men dismissed the privileged *shi* image and adopted the image of "citizen" as the new masculine icon.

I explore further the changed understanding of *wen* masculinity in Chapter Four. In particular, this chapter explores the mechanism through which patriotic Chinese men were transformed from textual scholars to practical entrepreneurs and technicians. By presenting models of new masculinity such as Zhang Jian 张謇 (1853-1926) and Zhou Xuexi 周学熙 (1865-1947), I argue that between 1896 and 1930, Chinese traditional *wen* masculinity shifted from emphasizing the power of "mind and text" to stressing the wisdom of "hands and action".

Chapter Five is an investigation of male bonding—an indispensable part of the social construction of masculinity. The late Qing and early republic period was an important period for Chinese male friendship and the male homosocial relationship, since a large number of all-male clubs and associations emerged in this era. This chapter is a case study of the *wen* men's bonding in a transitional time. It reveals how men's ties at the time were influenced by the new social context of nationalism and democracy.

Mr. Democracy impacted on all aspects of men's family life. In Chapter Six I investigate the gendered consequences of the enduring social movement of family reform that occurred between 1896 and 1930. By examining the *wen* men's self-perception as fathers, sons, husbands and lovers at a time of national crisis and democratization, I demonstrate that both patriotism and men's new public roles as citizens profoundly affected men's roles in the domestic sphere. This chapter shows that elite *wen* men employed family as a

primary site to foster the virtue of citizenship, which in turn brought about the decline of the father-son tie and the rise of the companionate marriage in men's private life.

Chapter Seven sumerizes the mojor findings of my investigation on the impact of nationalism and democratization on the self-perception of the modern, male Chinese scholars. In this chapter I provide a discussion of "masculinity and social change", suggesting that the *wen/wu* model of masculinity was subject to the social changes occurred in late Qing and early republican time. I also highlight that this model showed a remarkable flexibility when absorbing those impacts of the social changes. In the end, I outline the potential avenues for further research on the subject of Chinese masculinity and power relation.

Chapter 2

From the "Beautiful Scholar" to the 'Sick Man of

East Asia': The Resurgence of wu Masculinity

As Louie and Edwards insightfully explain, China has a tradition of seeking to balance masculinity between $wen \ \dot{x}$, the cerebral male ideal, and $wu \ \dot{x}$, the brawny male ideal⁸¹. In the early Confucian schools, an ideal man was expected to possess both cultural accomplishments and martial prowess. However, this balance was dismantled from the Tang \dot{x} dynasty (618-907) onwards because of the separation of the civil service examination and the military service examination. Chinese men seeking official political careers from this point on were divided into wen people, who mastered literary and philosophical skills, and wu people, who possessed martial prowess. Most significantly for this chapter, it is evident that wu masculinity was suppressed by wen masculinity because in peaceful times the dynastic courts needed more wen men than wu fellows.

The split between the *wen* and the *wu* and the suppression of *wu* masculinity nonetheless became a problem for China after its encounter with western imperialism and colonialism.

⁸¹ Louie, Kam and Edwards, Louise, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu", East Asian History, 8.11(1994):135-148.

Under the pressure of new national crisis, wen people desperately sought wu masculinity. Between 1896 and 1930, government reformers and social and political activists called for an increase in men's physical strength and martial valour. Consequently, numerous sports and martial arts clubs sprouted in China. This chapter attempts an examination of the resurgence of wu masculinity after the turn of the twentieth century. It explores in particular the causes to this valorisation of military masculinity, arguing that both the arrival of modern western masculinity and Chinese nationalism contributed to this late Qing and early republican male culture.

From the "Beautiful Scholar" to the "Sick man of East Asia"

men were regularly promoted to the state offices or government schools. This special access to power and prestige prompted a unique male body culture in China that focused on the delicacy and handsomeness of male body. As Wu Cuncun 吳存存 has observed, the Ming-Qing 明清 Scholar-Beauty fictions upheld a social norm in which a talented scholar should be fragile but handsome in physical form. According to Song Geng, this kind of body was the embodiment of men's exceptional talent in *cai* 才(ability to produce literary and philosophical texts) and *qing* 情 (poetic sensibility to one's environment)⁸². He points out that in Chinese culture there was an assumption about the link between the productivity of writing and the handsomeness and delicacy of body. It was assumed that the more fragile the body, the more sophisticated the mind, and the more beautiful the face,

⁸² Song Geng, *The fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 74.

the more sensitive the body.⁸³ And above all, a fragile and delicate body was regarded as a refined product of privileged cultural activities.

Chinese wen men were proud of their "powerful" body and celebrated it in their writings. In Chapter 23 of the classic mid-Qing text *The Story of the Stone* 红楼梦, the protagonist Jia Baoyu 贾宝玉 reads the play *West Wing* 西厢记, and suggests to his lover, Lin Daiyu 林黛玉, "How can I, full of sickness and of woe, withstand that face that could overthrow the kingdoms". ⁸⁴ Here a weak body was claimed proudly as the signifier of a social class that was distanced from heavy manual labour. As an ideal *wen* man of Ming-Qing time, Jia Baoyu possesses not just a fragile body but also a beautiful appearance that represents his literary talent:

A face like the moon of the Mid-Autumn,

A complexion like flowers at dawn,

A hairline straight like a knife-cut,

Eyebrows that might have been painted by the artist's brush,

A shapely nose, and

Eyes clear as limpid pond,

That even in anger seemed to smile,

And, when they glared, beamed with tenderness the while. 85

Noticeably, this admiration for the delicacy of handsomeness of male body was concurrent with a disdain for *wu* prowess such as bodily strength and martial skills. The men with martial prowess were deemed by society as the lower class people or even villainous types.

Q:

⁸³ For further discussion of the link between the productivity of writing and the bodily handsomeness and fragility see Song Geng, *The fragile scholar: power and masculinity in Chinese culture*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), chapter 3 and chapter 4.

⁸⁴ Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹, *The Story of the Stone* 红楼梦, translated by David Hawkes, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973-1986), vol.1, 464.

⁸⁵ Cao Xueqin, The Story of the Stone, vol.1, 100-1.

In 1903 Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929) points out "The title soldier is synonymous with ruffian, and the one who is called warrior is looked down upon as villain"⁸⁶. Although the Qing court had ever, as Joanna Waley-Cohen reveals in her study of Qing war culture, promoted *wu* value during the early years of its rule, this trend diminished by the end of its dynasty. Feng Guifen 冯桂芬 (1809-74), a well-known scholar-official of Qing 清 dynasty, points out in 1861 that because of the long periods of peace enjoyed during the dynasty, few prominent families valued the military service examinations and *wen* officials treated *wu* fellows as servants. ⁸⁸

The tradition that prioritized *wen* above *wu* had a lasting influence. John Ma 马约翰 (1882-1966), a Chinese Christian and one of the earliest Chinese sports experts, recollected the difficulties faced by the sports teachers at the time:

Thus physical exercise was abhorred by the students, because it violated the principle of gentility, therefore it was not welcomed by them. As a student, his obligation was following the rules of the school. Although he was forced to do some military drills and race, he did it with apathy and reluctance. These students always argued with me that they came to school to be gentlemen, not to be rude thieves, because only thieves need to know how to run fast and jump high to escape a manhunt.⁸⁹

Underneath these arguments was the class consciousness of the students, for in China education was key to social mobility and these students held the conventional view of masculinity: a fragile male body showed the privilege and power that men had in the

⁸⁶ Liang Qichao, "Lun shang wu"论尚武, in Liang Qichao, *Liang Qichao quanji* 梁启超全集, (Beijing, Beijing chubanshe, 1999),vol.3, 712.

Waley-Cohen, Joanna, 2006, *The culture of war in China: empire and the military under the Qing Dynasty*, (London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2006).

⁸⁸ Feng Guifen, "Ting wu shi yi"停武试议,in Gao Shiliang 高时良, and Huang Renxian 黄仁贤, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Yangwuyungdong shiqi jiaoyu* 中国近代教育史资料汇编:洋务运动时期教育, (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 676.

⁸⁹ Huang Yanfu 黄亚夫, 1984, *Ma Yuehan tiyu yanlun ji* 马约翰体育言论集,(Beijing: Qinghua University Press, 1984), 13.

society because it embodied their distance from the working classes such as coolies and peasants.

If China had not encountered the devastating foreign encroachment of the nineteenth century, these beautiful scholars could have kept their male body ideal well into the twenty-first century. However, after a series of defeats at the hands of the colonists from the west and the east, the quality of the Chinese gentlemen's body became a serious problem and was under interrogation. Instead of the "beautiful scholar", they called themselves the "Sick man of East Asia 东亚病夫". The phrase "Sick man", according to Xu Guoqi, was first used by the eminent translator and reformist intellectual Yan Fu 严复 (1854-1921) to criticise Chinese men's physique in 1905, and was then employed globally to refer to Chinese men's bodies and as a symbol of the parlous state of the nation as a whole. 90 In his 1905 article "Yuan Qiang" 原强 (On strength), Yan Fu asserts that physical strength, along with morality and intelligence, is the foundation on which a strong nation can build. He reminds his fellow Chinese that in ancient time there had been a balance between wen, the cultural and cerebral, and wu, the unadorned and brawny. In a bid to regain physical strength, Yan asks his fellow Chinese if China now looks like "a sick man" 91.

Behind this label of the "Sick man of East Asia" lies a clash of the standard for the ideal male body between China and the west. As a student returned from Britain, Yan Fu obtained his observation of British middle-class masculinity, which was focused on raw man power at the time. As Susan Kent and Anthony Rotundo have observed, in the second

⁹⁰ See Xu Guoqi, *Olympic Dreams: China and Sports, 1895-2008*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008), 15.

⁹¹ Yan Fu, "Yuan qiang"原强, in Hu Weixi 胡伟希, ed., *Lun shi bian zhi ji: Yan Fu ji* 论世变之亟: 严复集, (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994), 33-6.

half of the nineteenth century bodily strength and primitive instincts had replaced reason and education to become the focus of the Anglo-Saxon middle-class manhood in both Britain and North America. Driven by a variety forces such as social Darwinism, frontier expansion and the scientific knowledge of character formation, a strong body was believed to be the basis on which morality and spirits could grow and thrive. To achieve "Muscular Christianity" and "Man of Character", team sports and gymnastics were fanatically practiced in these countries and became a unique feature of the time. 93

The influence of this modern western masculinity reached China though western expansion and globalization, which brought in not only guns and goods but also the western values and notions to China. The presence of western men in Chinese life was in the meantime an invasion of the western notion of masculinity. As Gael Graham has noted that the American missionaries measured Chinese men's body with western standard of masculinity and tried to expand this western gender ideology to China. From the viewpoint of the American missionaries, Chinese upper class men were "effeminate", because of "their long gowns, queues, fingernails, and gentle manners". And especially they found the body problem of these Chinese boy students: "hollow chests, stooping shoulders, shuffling gaits, and flabby muscles". Aiming at a transformation of the gender conventions in China, these missionary schools introduced modern sports and physical education to Chinese students and after some training, the missionaries claimed

⁹² Susan Kingsley Kent, 1999, *Gender and power in Britain, 1640-1990*, (New York: Routledge, 1999); Anthony E. Rotundo, 1993, "*American manhood: transformations in masculinity from the Revolution to the modern era*," chapter 11, (New York: BasicBooks, 1993) 3-6; 222-45.

⁹³ James A. Mangan, *The game ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal.* (New York: Viking, 1985); Roberta J Park, 1987, "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900", in James A Mangan and James Walvin, ed., *Manliness and morality: middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

Gael Graham, "Exercising Control: Sports and Physical Education in American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930", *Signs*, 20.1 (1994): 23-48.

⁹⁵ Gael Graham, "Exercising Control: Sports and Physical Education in American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930", 31-2.

that the Chinese students were more masculine for they became "strong, manly looking and acting, able to take hold of any game and direct it."96

While the westerners diffused their notion of muscular Christian to China, the progressive Chinese men at the time such Yan Fu, accepted voluntarily the western standards of ideal male body. Yan Fu recognized that physical strength was an indispensable part of male ideal. Much like the westerners, he valorised the physical strength from the perspective of modern science. In "Yuan qiang" Yan writes, "Since the development of physiology, everyone now knows that the body and the mentality support each other, and the will power and the energy trigger each other. The most brilliant mind is based on the strongest body". 97 Here Yan was calling for the incorporation of physical strength by the *wen* men. For Yan, the exertion of men's cerebral power depends on his bodily strength, therefore without bodily strength a man was insufficiently and could only be called "Sick man".

For many Chinese, the challenge of the western notion of male body ideal was straight forward, for it was not only imported by the Chinese students overseas or the missionaries, but also carried by the western men who existed in Chinese everyday life. Zhang Boling 张伯苓 (1876-1951), an educationist of republican China, recollected the deep impression of the bodily contrast between the western and Chinese soldiers:

More than twenty years ago⁹⁸, I was at The North Sea Navy College. I witnessed the occupation of Da Lian 大连 and L $\underline{\ddot{u}}$ Shun 旅順 by the Japanese and the occupation of

Gael Graham, "Exercising Control: Sports and Physical Education in American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930", 30.

Yan Fu, "Yuan qiang", in Lun shi bian zhi ji: Yan Fu ji, 36-7.

⁹⁸ This speech was made by Zhang Bojing in 1925 in Beijing Xiehe Medical Science university 北京协和医 科大学.

Qingdao 青岛 by the Germany. When I arrived in Liugong island 刘公岛⁹⁹, I saw two men standing together, of whom one was a British soldier and one was a Chinese soldier. The British soldier has a mighty build, wearing dignified uniform. His demeanour was arrogant. Yet our Chinese soldier was haggard, with his shoulders hunched. His uniform was shabby, with a Chinese character "soldier" on the chest. There was really a sharp contrast between these two when you saw them standing together. I felt deeply ashamed and anguished by this contrast. The image of this contrast remains clearly etched on my mind until now."

Zhang's description of the bodily features of the Chinese soldier suggests that both the scholars' and the non-elite male's body were perceived as problematic at that time. Obviously the presence of the strong body of the western men in China threatened directly the male identity of all Chinese men. Irritated by the bodily contrast of British soldier and Chinese soldier, Zhang Boling vowed at that time to cultivate both the body and the soul of the Chinese men. Afterwards he became the founder of the famous Nankai High School and the Nankai University in Tianjin 天津. In his school, there was a big mirror erected in the hallway of the teaching building, which reminded the students to cultivate their body within the standards outlined below:

Clean your face; cut your hair; straighten your clothes; fasten your buttons; square up your head; pull back your shoulders; broaden your chest; straighten your spine; show no arrogance; no violence; no idleness; be peaceful; be calm; be honourable. ¹⁰¹

Moreover Zhang introduced western sports to all the schools and universities in which he worked. From Zhang's effort we can see that Chinese men began to measure their body against the western standard of masculinity. A robust body, which had long been seen as a symbol of low social status, was now admirable and deemed a necessity for Chinese

⁹⁹ Liugong Island is a small Island in Weihaiwei 威海卫 bay of Shandong 山东 province, China. It was occupied by Britain after the 1898 China and Britain Treaty of Weihaiwei.

¹⁰⁰ Wang Wenjun 王文俊, ed, *Zhang Boling jiaoyu yanlun xuan ji* 张伯苓教育言论选集, (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1984), 143.

¹⁰¹ See Xiang Hongzhuan 项红专, "Zhang Boling banxue geyan jiedu", 张伯苓办学格言解读, *Zhongxiaoxue guanli* 中小学管理, 12 (2008): 52-4.

manhood.

As the standard for a decent man's body changed, so too did the self-perception of Chinese men. For Chinese men, the fragile body of the scholars was no longer a signifier for privilege, leisure and power but a symbol of weakness and backwardness in the era of racial competition. The attack on Chinese men's body can be found in many writings or speeches of the time. For example, in 1915 Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 criticized the fragility of Chinese wen men: "Their hands are too feeble to capture a chicken;" he describes, "their hearts are too weak to erect a manly will; they are as delicate as girls; they can withstand neither the heat nor the coldness; just like a 'Sick man'." In his 1916 article "Xin Qingnian" 新青年(New youth) he attacks further on the traditional male physical culture in China:

From the perspective of physiology, being a 'pale-faced scholar' was a compliment to a Chinese man. The enervation of our nation resulted right from this. Being handsome in the appearance and fragile in the body, all the Chinese youth are enervated and lack the *wu* masculinity. Their physiques can not withstand the hardness and toughness of life. Our youth thus degenerated from a young age. Isn't this the situation of China?¹⁰³

Believing that the *wen* men's physique was a laughing stock to westerners, Chinese *wen* men wanted to literally increase the muscles in their bodies. They wanted to be the same as western men in physical form, if not stronger. This social change indicated that in a time of colonization and globalization masculinity can be constructed not only in relation to women and men of other social classes, but in relation to men of foreign countries as

¹⁰² See Chen Duxiu, "Jinri zhi jiaoyu fangzhen"今日之教育方针, in *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* 陈独秀著作选, edited by Ren Jianshu 任建树, Zhang Tongmo 张统模 and Wu Xinzhong 吴信忠, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe: 1993), 146.

¹⁰³ Chen Duxiu, "Xin qingnian" 新青年, in Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan, 184.

well. The fear of a differentiation from the men of the advanced countries was expressed especially when sending students to overseas. For example, in the 1910s Qinghua 清华 University sent 100 students to the United States every year and concern about these Chinese young men's body was manifested by both the teachers and Qinghua's president. John Ma, the physical education teacher at Qinghua, recollected that in 1914 he discussed with the president the body issue and insisted that "the students selected should be well presented in body", because "we must not send the 'Sick man of East Asia' to the United States". Prompted by Ma, Qinghua University built a stadium and provided a special training program for those who had been selected to study overseas. "I don't want these students to be called the 'Sick men of East Asia," Ma recalled, "I often told the students: 'you need good physical exercise and you must be brave, daring, and energetic. You should join in when the foreigners are playing baseball or soccer. You must do what they can do. Don't lose face for China". 105

Wu masculinity and Nationalism

Obviously, the challenge of foreign masculinity was not the only cause of the resurgence of wu masculinity in the late Qing and early republican period. The promotion of wu masculinity was also driven by Chinese nationalism at the time. In the nationalist discourses, wu masculinity was identified as national strength and was believed to be the hope for the salvation of China. Meanwhile women were encouraged to embrace wu masculinity and women's physical education was seen as a means by which Chinese men could improve their bodily strength. Between 1896 and 1930, nationalism enacted the role of motivation in the construction of wu masculinity. A lot of prominent scholars such

Ma John, "Tantan wode tiyu shengya"谈谈我的体育生涯, Zhiye zazhi 职业杂志, 5(2001): 45-7.Ma John, "Tantan wode tiyu shengya", 45-7.

as Yan Fu, Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1919), Chen Duxiu and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), advocated martial prowess for both men and women. And everywhere athletes were popularly hailed in China as national heroes who demonstrated the strength and hope of China.

In "Yuan qiang", Yan Fu emphasizes the connection between physical strength and national salvation. He adopts Spencer's idea about improving education in body, mind and spirit. He argues that among these three aspects, people's physical strength is the most important for strengthening a nation. He stresses that modern war relies particularly on the physical strength of men as it did in ancient time:

Some hold that since the prevalence of gun and cannon, a weak man could achieve what a strong man did when shooting. This really is the talk of the ignorant, because they don't know that although the weapons differ between nowadays and ancient times, they all rely on the same spirit of being energetic and fortitudinous. 106

Liang Qichao, too, approached wu valour from the perspective of national salvation. He deems that martial valour is the essence of the citizen, which provides a foundation that the nation and the civilization can rely on. "If there were no citizens who were full of martial valour and if there was no spirit of iron and blood," he wrote, "the nation would not be able to survive in the stage of racial competition, despite that it has civilization, intelligence, large population and vast territory." He points out that it is just because of the promotion of the warlike spirit the nations such as Sparta, German, Russia, and Japan are able to rise above other nations. He then attacks the Chinese tradition that placed wen above wu, calling for physical education to both men and women. Much like Yan Fu,

Yan Fu, "On Strength", in Lun shi bian zhi ji: Yan Fu ji, 36-7.

¹⁰⁷ Liang Qichao, "Lun shang wu"论尚武, in Liang Qichao quanji 梁启超全集, vol.5, 709.

Liang warned the Chinese people that all the European nations were ready to sweep across the East Asia, and "if we Chinese failed to change the old effeminate customs", China would "be like sheep besieged by tigers". 108

Chen Duxiu viewed the problem of men's bodies from the perspective of citizen's responsibility to the nation. He criticises the Chinese wen men for lacking of physical strength and questions whether these feeble citizens could undertake the heavy tasks required to build China:

As a politician, can he persevere in his opinion and policy? As a soldier, can he go through the hundreds of battles? As a missionary, can he endure the harshness of the life to spread his religious belief? As a merchant, can he risk his life thousands of times to sell the goods abroad?

For him, a strong nation was built on the physical strength of its citizens, and it was a citizen's responsibility to build up a strong body. He then advances the notion that Chinese people and Chinese men in particular, should become more 'barbaric' in their physical form. "There is a balance of humanism and animalism in the powerful nations of the world," he comments, "yet in the others they either only had animalism or only developed humanity--which is either degenerated or effete."110

This loud discourse on physical strength and exercise, as Andrew Morris has noted, was "an ironic reproduction of the 'Confucian' system of male domination". 111 While the men were spurred by the shameful label the "Sick man of East Asia" to do physical exercise,

Chen Duxiu, "Jinri zhi jiaoyu fangzhen", in *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 146.
Chen Duxiu, "Jinri zhi jiaoyu fangzhen", in *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 146.

¹⁰⁸ Liang Qichao, "Lun shang wu", in *Liang Qichao quanji*, vol.5 709-13.

Andrew Morris, 2000, "To Make the Four Hundred Million Move": The Late Qing Dynasty Origins of Modern Chinese Sport and Physical Culture, Comparative Studies in Society and History, 42.4(Oct., 2000): 876-906.

the problem of Chinese women's bodies, such as foot-binding, was also zealously debated; however the discussion of women's bodies was in most occasions located within the framework of men's wellbeing and nationhood. Through the link of women's reproductive function, women's bodies became the means of construction of both nationhood and manhood. For many Chinese men at the time, women were only the mothers of Chinese citizens thereby were responsible for Chinese men's physical strength and fitness.

The male-centred view of physical education was clearly embodied in Yan Fu's opinion about women's sports. As a student returned from Britain, Yan Fu reminds his Chinese fellows that men's body in western countries is passionately cultivated through sports and modern hygienics. "This kind of cultivation was not only applied to men," he reports further, "It was also applied to women's body. This is probably because the strong mother would give birth to strong sons therefore an improvement to their races." And it was from the perspective of men's body quality Yan attacked particularly the Chinese custom of foot-binding for enervating China as a species. 112

The idea that women should be responsible for the strength of China in general and men's bodies in particular was shared by many men at the time. For example, Ding Zuyin 丁祖荫 (1871-1930), a social activist in women's education and the founder of the magazine Women's World, (Nüzi shijie 女子世界), attributed the frailty of Chinese men to the weakness of Chinese women. In his 1904 essay "Shuo nü mo"说女魔 (talking about female demons), he points out:

Women represent half of the nation of oriental sick-men. Yet from my point of view the sickness of the nation stems right from the women. When the women are frail, they can not

Yan Fu, "Yuan qiang", Lun shi bian zhi ji: Yan Fu ji, 36-7.

bear and raise strong and great citizens. If we want to reconstruct our citizens, we need to reconstruct the women first; if we want to reconstruct the women, we first need to drive away the monster of illness; if we want to drive away the monster of sickness, we first need to train the body.¹¹³

Although some women argued the fact that women could also be citizens therefore validated women's physical education on the ground of new femininity, 114 the majority of people at the time linked women's physical exercise to national strength and masculinity. As Joan Judge has observed, the reformists promoted an ambiguous notion of womanhood in which women were simultaneously placed "at the margins and at the source of the nationalist project" 115. In 1905, Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 (1859-1916), the Governor-General of Zhili 直隶 province wrote a forceful essay for *Suntian shibao* 顺天时报, advocating women's education and sports for the strength of Chinese men:

Without women, how can we have citizens? If we want to promote citizens, we must first promote women. If we want to uphold and respect the citizen, we must first uphold and respect the woman. Citizens, oh, citizens! And who generate citizens? Women! Once more I stand and sound my call three times: Women are the mothers of citizens! Women are the mothers of citizens! Women are the mothers of citizens!

Inspired by such a male-centred nationalist view, Chinese society and governments welcomed the physical exercise of both men and women. The strong body presented by female athletes was viewed as a manifestation of Chinese wu masculinity. Moreover this

¹¹³ Ding Zuyin, "Shuo nü mo"说女魔, in Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, *Nüzi shijie wenxuan* <女子世界>文选, (Guiyang: Guizhou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), 61.

For instance, Zhang Zhaohan 张昭汉, a student of the Wuben 多本 Girl's School in Shanghai, published an article on *Nvzi shijie* (Women's world), January,1906, arguing women can be the equal to men on the social stage of the twentieth century. See Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, *Nüzi shijie wenxuan* <女子世界>文选, (Guiyang: Guizhou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003),184-5.

Joan Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century", *The American Historical Review*, 106.3 (2001), 765-803.

¹¹⁶ Yuan Shikai, "Nuizi Wei Guomin zhi mu", 女子为国民之母, *Shuntian Shibao*, 17/6/Guangxu Year 31 (19 July 1905), in *Shuntian shibao* 顺天时报, (microform), (Beijing: Shuntian shibao she, 1901-1930).

wu masculinity displayed by both the male and female athletes was appreciated as the symbol of a virile China. In this nationalist craze, the old notion of beautiful scholar was suddenly discarded and the people with physical strength were venerated as heroes or the mothers of future heroes. It is not surprising that when the modern sports were introduced in China from late Qing, the Chinese public soon became enthusiastic spectators and sponsors of the athletic events. They attended various athletic meets and cheered passionately at the achievements by the athletes. In his recollection of the early development of sports in China, John Ma recalled the enthusiasm the public brought to sports field:

In 1905, the first international track and field event was held in a huge open field of Shanghai under the organization of the Shanghai Young Men's Christian Association.

...The passion reached its peak at 'One Mile Race'. There were 63 participants in this race, including four Japanese athletes. I was among these participants...When there were 4 hundreds yards left, every spectator yelled at me: "Go on, John!" I was aware that this was the time for me to sprint. "Follow me!" I cried out to my fellow Chinese athlete and dashed through the middle of the two Japanese players. Immediately, the crowd cheered up with a new chant: 'China!" "China!" These cheers spurred me to run across the finish line about fifty yards ahead of the Japanese athletes. And the cheers "China!" "China!" reached its peak again when my fellow Chinese athlete overtook the Japanese as well...When the race finished I was lifted up by some Chinese merchants. Carrying me on their shoulders, they paraded around the track. This was certainly what the students loved to see. 117

This sportsman was recalling the respect he had received from the Chinese spectators for his sporting success. The Chinese no longer viewed John Ma as a ruffian or villain but as a hero who defeated directly the Japanese men in the sports field. Ma's worthiness as a man was fully justified by the *wu* masculinity he had displayed for his Chinese spectators. At

-

Huang Yanfu, Ma Yuehan tiyu yanlun ji, 25.

this point, wu masculinity had found itself a huge market in various battlefields of racial competition and especially in the sports field.

The enthusiasm these early Chinese spectators showed to this wu masculinity was amazingly high. After attending the Second Far Eastern Championship Games in 1915 in Shanghai, an American spectator commented that he had "never seen such enthusiastic rooting and cheering" in his life "at any athletic event." "When the Chinese soccer team scored a goal to tie with the Philippine's team", he described, "Instantly that whole Chinese crowd rushed from all four sides into the field, thousands of hats sailed into the air, the Chinese player was lifted up". 118

The public expressed their admiration for these modern wu men and wu women in various ways. For example, when the Chinese athletes were about to leave for the First Far Eastern championship Games in Manila in 1913, they received an enthusiastic farewell from various groups of people:

A lot of Chinese merchants associations were keen to hold feast for the athletes...All the newspapers made reports on this event, introducing the features of each player...the photos of the delegation were presented on each paper...The food company sent the delegation with various fruits, tinned food and biscuits...On the day of departure, three or four thousand residents led by a band came to show their good wishes to the athletes. ...a large group of girls came to see their heroes off and sang national anthem to them. 119

For these athletes, the enthusiasm expressed in this farewell was unusual, because "for centuries, Chinese girls were not allowed to appear at sites of public assembly". 120 Their appearance in the farewell parade indicated the changed perception about what is the most

¹¹⁸ Cited in Andrew D. Morris, Marrow of the Nation: a History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 27.

See Huang Yanfu, *Ma Yuehan tiyu yanlun ji*, 29-30. Huang Yanfu, *Ma Yuehan tiyu yanlun ji*, 30.

respectable man for women in republican time. Wu masculinity, which had been marked by the maintenance of distance from women in the past, was now competing with wen masculinity in sexual attraction.

The 1903-19 Military Citizenship Movement and Pure Martial Association

Driven by both nationalism and foreign notions of masculinity, wu masculinity found its best expression in the 1903-19 Military Citizenship Movement 军国民运动 in the first two decades of the twentieth century in China. Between 1903 and 1919, the construction of wu masculinity, physical education and the Military Citizenship Movement interwove together. Noticeably the rise of wu masculinity and physical education in this period was closely connected to military use. Meanwhile citizenly virtue, which was extremely exotic to Confucian China, was absorbed as a prerequisite into the definition of modern wu masculinity.

The Chinese notion of military citizenship emerged in Japan among the Chinese students studying overseas. The phrase "military citizenship" was first used by Cai E 蔡锷 (1882-1916), the republican military hero, in his 1902 article "Jun guomin pian" 军国民篇, which was published in the opening issue of the reformers canon the *New Citizen Series (Xinmin congbao* 新民丛报) in Tokyo. In this article, Cai talks about his observation on foreign military masculinity and called for a militarization of the citizen in China. Cai argues that the imperialism, especially in Japan, is rooted in the policy of militarizing its citizens. He expresses especially his admiration for the military masculinity presented by the foreign citizen. Cai points out that compared to the military citizens of the west and Japan, Chinese soldiers were only subjects of the dynasty courts

and were called "slaves or inferior men". "Confronting the gallant citizens with the decadent slaves," he wrote, "how could China not be defeated?" In this article, Cai also expresses his concern for the gender of China as a country. He expects China to be strong and masculine, lamenting that because of a lack of martial spirit, China was as weak as "an opium addict or a sick old woman who is fighting against more gallant men" from the west and the east. He then analyzes eight causes for China's dearth of martial valour, attacking the bad traditions in which cultural accomplishments were placed above martial prowess. In the end Cai calls for the revival of *wu* spirit. "Without the spread of militarizing the citizens among four billion Chinese," He warns, "China will really disappear as a nation".¹²¹

From its inception, the Military Citizenship movement was imbued with a new concept of wu masculinity. As Cai E insightfully put it, modern military masculinity carried by those western and Japanese citizens is different from the traditional Chinese wu masculinity in terms of citizenly valour. For Cai, the Chinese soldiers lacked wu spirits because they were not upright citizens to the country they were defending but docile "slaves". 122 Implicitly, Cai was calling for a new wu masculinity that was based on democratic values.

Cai's idea that citizenship makes 'real' soldiers and real wu masculinity was echoed by other Chinese students in Japan. Under the penname Flying Student (Fei sheng 飞生), another Chinese student in Japan explored in 1903 the meaning of "real" soldiers and "real" wu masculinity. He examines the history of soldiers and finds there are three

¹²¹ Cai E, "Jun guomin pian"军国民篇, in Cai E, *Cai E ji* 蔡锷集, edited by Mao Zhuqing 毛注青, Li Ao 李 鳌, and Chen Xinxian 陈新宪, (Changsha: Hu Nan Renmin chubanshe, 1983), 21-31.

¹²² Cai E, "Jun guomin pian", 军国民篇, in Cai E ji, 25.

¹²³ Fei Sheng, "Zhen junren", 真军人, *Zhejiang chao* 浙江潮, 5 (1903), in *Zhejiang chao*, (Taibei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi shiliao bianzuan weiyuanhui, 1968), 65-72.

types of armies in human societies: (1) the private army in which the soldiers served as slaves to the individual person; (2) the governmental army in which the soldiers served as slaves to the king or emperor; (3) the citizen's army in which the soldiers were autonomous citizens and fought for the sovereignty of the nation. "China has the private army and the government army; but it has no citizen's army", the author writes, "what are called soldiers in China are actually only slaves or inferior men and they are only contingently employed to police the civilians." Much like Cai E, the author denies that the Chinese soldier harboured true martial valour and patriotic spirit. He then explores the *wu* spirits of the "real" soldier--citizen soldier and lists three attributes: "the aspiration of citizen, the disciplines of public life and the true spirit of patriotism". He argues that these three attributes comprise the spirit of the "real" soldier. 124

The notion that citizenship makes real soldiers and real wu masculinity was developed further in Zou Rong's (1885-1905) 1903 book $Gemin\ jun\$ 革命军(The revolutionary army). As a student returned from Japan, Zou diffused the notion of democracy and the new concept of wu masculinity to the Chinese. In this famous book, Zou Rong 邹容 asserts that the people who have no share in the governance of the country are only slaves and slaves have no country. "The governance of a country must be shared among its people", he writes, "if not, the country can not be called a country (for its people), and its people can not be called citizens". He urges Chinese men to take the responsibility of citizens to build a new democratic and independent China. For this new China, "every Chinese man had the responsibility to be a soldier for the defence of China". He calls for new wu man that harbours the valour and virtue of a citizen and described it as: "(1)

1.0

¹²⁴ Fei Sheng, "Zhen junren", in Zhejiang chao, 65-72.

Zou Rong, "Geming jun"革命军, in Zhi Zhi 郅志, ed., *Meng hui tou: Chen Tianhua, Zou Rong ji* 猛回头: 陈天华邹容集, (Shen yang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994), 186.

¹²⁶ Zou Rong, "Geming jun", in Meng hui tou: Chen Tianhua, Zou Rong ji, 218.

the spirit to stand independently above the earth and under the heaven; (2) the valour to go through fire and boiling water; (3) the virtue to treat his fellow citizens equally and serve his community and his country dutifully; (4) the ability to govern autonomously individuals and the community". In sum, the spirit of independence, autonomy and egalitarianism plus martial valour were what Zou Rong expected from every Chinese citizen soldier.

Here Cai E and his fellow students are expressing their admiration for foreign military masculinity. The gallantry of the foreign men and their victories in wars were attributed to their citizenly status. The difference between a soldier serving only a dynasty court and a soldier dedicating to his own country was drawn clear. These Chinese male students expressed strongly their willingness to acquire martial valour for sake of both national salvation and individual rights. Now these young men realized *wu* masculinity was necessary for a man who wanted to be the citizen of his country.

¹²⁷ Zou Rong, "Geming jun", in Meng hui tou: Chen Tianhua, Zou Rong ji, 205.

a book on Chinese Samurai: "Zhongguo wushi dao" 中国武士道 (*The Spirit of Chinese Samurai*). In this book, Liang presents more than eighty Chinese samurais to his Chinese audiences, proving that before Han dynasty (206BC-220 AD) Chinese men had never lacked martial valour.

Inspired by the idea of military citizenship and the spirit of Chinese samurai, the Chinese students in Japan created a wu craze. In 1901, Cai E left his wen path and entered a military school in Tokyo. 128 Other students who were in favour of wu spirit formed a student army in the spring of 1903, which was planned to march onto the Northeast of China to resist the invasion by the Russian army. Assuming that they were citizens of the new China to be, these students displayed their modern wu masculinity. In its inaugural meeting Tang Erhe 汤尔和 (1878-1940), the leader of the student army, vowed that he would ignite the bomb with his body to evoke the spirit of iron and blood among Chinese. 129 Although this student army was soon dispelled by Japanese police under the request of the Qing court, it transformed into the Military Citizenship Education Society 军国民教育会, which became the headquarters of Chinese student samurais. Every Wednesday, Saturday afternoon and Sunday the members of this organization came to stadiums to practice military Gymnastics and shooting. They also studied secretly the method of making bombs. Besides, this organization delegated 12 men as representatives to overseas Chinese communities and various Chinese localities for propaganda work. 130 By preaching, assassination and rebellion, this organization fostered the ethos of revolution that contributed to the birth of new China—the Republic of China in 1911.

¹²⁸ See Cai E, Cai E Ji, edited by Mao Zhuqing, Li ao and Chen Xinxian, 3.

¹²⁹ See Jiang Meng 姜萌, "Shi xi 1903-1911 nianjian Zhongguo de shangwu sicao", 试析 1903-1911 年间中国的尚武思潮, *Dong Yue Lun Cong* 东岳论丛 25.2 (2004): 122.

¹³⁰ See Mao Zhuqing 毛注青, *Huang Xing Nianpu Chang bian* 黄兴年谱长编, (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1991), 47-8.

This new wu spirit initiated by Chinese students in Japan soon spread to the mainland of China. The news that Chinese students in Japan had formed a student army to resist the invasion of the Russian army triggered patriotic sentiment among Chinese. Hundreds military citizenship associations and patriotic sport schools or clubs sprouted in China between 1903 and 1911. 131 As a student returned from Japan, Chen Duxiu founded the Anhui Patriotism Association in his hometown. The aim of this organization was prescribed as "developing nationalism; promoting martial valour; making every member a soldier of China for its full sovereignty". 132 The most important activity for this organization was doing physical exercise everyday. As a means of training soldiers, all association members practiced western military drills. Association rules stipulated that anyone missing three physical exercise sessions would have their membership terminated. 133

The cult of wu spirit now swept through China. It was driven not only by revolutionary individuals but by the governments as well. Chinese governments advanced this military citizenship movement by implementing western military drills in their education system. In 1904, the Qing Court issued an education decree that prescribed military gymnastics as part of public high school education. It stipulated that each week there should be two hours for the students to practise military drills. This military training included military drills, shooting and fencing, long distance marching and military science. 134 The republican government also promoted military training in public schools. In 1915, the

Andrew Morris, Marrow of the Nation: a History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China, Berkeley, 10-12.

¹³² Zhen Xuejia 郑学稼, Chen Duxiu zhuan 陈独秀传, (Taibei: Shibao wenhua chuban qiye youxian gongsi, 1989) vol.1, 48-57. Zhen Xuejia, *Chen Duxiu zhuan*, 56.

¹³⁴ See Chen Zhenhua 陈镇华, Lu Enchun 陆恩淳, and Li Shiming 李世铭, Zhongguo ticao yundong shi 中国体操运动史. (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1990),100-1.

Ministry of Education issued a military citizenship education plan, which added military training into the physical education. It stipulated that the physical education of primary school children must contain playing war games. It also directed the high school students to practise military gymnastics and to study military science. "When the high school students have practised military drills through to their last year," it states, "they should learn how to shoot". 135

In both the Qing government and Republican government curricula, female students were exempt from the requirement to practice military drills. Instead, they were encouraged to dance or play games for fun while their male counterparts were receiving military training.¹³⁶ This stipulation indicated that even at a time of national crisis, the traditional notion of femininity still functioned. Although Chinese women were expected to be physically strong, they were perceived as not being suitable for military purposes. As Louise Edwards and Lili Zhou have observed, at late Qing time men and women had different views of the virtue of violence: whereas some progressive women participated in this *wu* cult for a negotiation of women's political rights and identity in nation-building, the governments and most men deemed violence was a reserved space for men and women were not suitable for war.¹³⁷

These state interventions in school physical education prompted the process of

¹³⁵ Wu Wenzhong 吴文忠, *Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi* 中国体育发展史, (Taibei: Guoli jiaoyu ziliao guan, 1981) 85-6

¹³⁶ see Tang Zhipeng 唐智鹏, "Qingmo minchu xiangsheng xuetang tiyu yanjiu" 清末民初湘省学堂体育研究, (MA Diss., Hunan University 湖南大学, 2008), 24; Wu Wenhua 吴文华, "Zhongguo jindai putong xuexiao tiyu yanjiu" 中国近代普通学校体育研究(1878-1922)(MA Diss., Esat China Normal University 华东师范大学, 2010), 50-1.

Louise Edwards and Lili Zhou, "Gender and the Virtue of Violence: Creating a New Vision of Political Engagement through the 1911 Revolution", *Frontiers: History in China*, 6.4 (2011): 485-504.

training, the students became soldiers who possessed martial skills and were ready for war. A well-trained student army did indeed play a part in the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution. According to Mao Dun's 茅盾(1896-1981) recollection, he and his classmates practised military gymnastics, shooting and long distance marching when studying at Huzhou High School. And when the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution erupted, the student army of Huzhou High School formed the major body of Huzhou revolutionary force that conquered Huzhou County 湖州. 138

While practicing western military drills to make good soldiers of China, Chinese men had not forgotten their traditional martial arts. The traditional Chinese martial prowess still occupied the space of wu masculinity at the time. For Chinese men, training in traditional martial arts could also make good soldiers or good warriors. The restoration of the traditional Chinese martial arts was warmly welcomed by Chinese men and even by Chinese women. This can be seen from the popularity of the Pure Martial Association (Jingwu hui 精武会) among Chinese between 1910 and 1930.

In 1910, one year before the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution, the Pure Martial Association was founded in Shanghai. Different from its contemporary counterparts, which practiced military drills and modern sports, this sport club aimed at the restoration of the traditional Chinese martial arts. The Pure Martial Association was founded by Huo Yuanjia 霍元甲 (1868-1910), the famous Chinese martial arts expert at the time. Huo came to Shanhai in 1907 and "quickly became renowned for his penchant for flattening Japanese *ronin*,"

¹³⁸ Mao Dun, Wo zou guo de daolu 我走过的道路, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1997), vol.1, 96.

Russian rascals, and foreign rogues in general." After Huo Yuanjia's death, this association continued to develope under the charge of two Chinese merchants: Chen Gongzhe 陈公哲 (1880-1954) and Lu Weichang 陆炜昌 (1883-1943). By dismissing factionalism, it brought together most of the remaining traditional Chinese martial arts and developed them into a nationalistic form. It embraced the martial arts that prevailed in Yellow River 黄河, Yangzi River 长江 and Pearl River 珠江 areas. For example, it gathered 186 sets of traditional martial arts circulating in the Yellow River area, including the following: the Sole Fists (duli quan shu 独力拳术), Rivalrous Fists (duishou quan shu 对手拳术), Sole Weapon (duli bingqi 独力兵器), Rivalrous Weapons (duishou bingqi 对 手兵器) and Snatching Knives with Bare Hands (kongshou ru bairen 空手入白刃). 140 The membership of Pure Martial Association quickly spread in China. By 1919, it had established branches in Shaoxing 绍兴, Guangzhou 广州, Foshan 佛山, Shantou 汕头, Xiamen 厦门, and Hankou 汉口. 141 By 1929, the membership of the Pure Martial Association reached 400,000, and had established more than ten branches in Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and North America. 142

The popularity of the Chinese traditional martial arts among Chinese showed their confidence in wu masculinity that was embodied in the traditional martial arts. The effect of practising the traditional martial arts was monitored and recorded by the leaders of the Pure Martial Association. They took photos of themselves and showed their members and the audiences how the training of the traditional martial arts had made changes to men's physique and spirit. As Lu Weichang, one of the leaders of the Association, explained to

_

¹³⁹ Morris Andrew D., Marrow of the Nation: A history of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China, 187

¹⁴⁰ Yi Jiandong 易剑东, "Jingwu zhuyi he Olympic zhuyi de bijiao yianjiu" 精武主义与奥林匹克主义的 比较研究, *Chendu tiyu xueyuan xuebao* 成都体育学院学报, 23.4 (1997):1-6.

¹⁴¹ Morris, Marrow of the Nation: A history of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China, 189.

¹⁴² Yi Jiandong, "Jingwu zhuyi he Olympic zhuyi de bijiao yianjiu", 1-6.

the photos of his body: "Ten years ago I was among the feeble and fragile. I was determined to change myself when I found the truth of physical exercise. By persistently doing exercise, I achieved what I am today. I took this photo for self encouragement." (See figures 2.2. and 2.3.). These leaders proudly published photos of their bodies. In these photos, they presented the image of Chinese "barbaric" warriors who wore tiger skins and were strong in both body and soul.

When restoring the power of the traditional Chinese martial arts, the Pure Martial Association did not reject the excellence of the western military gymnastics and modern sports. It established a special department for practising the western military drills. It also has a department that taught modern sports to its members. It seemed that at that time Chinese men had employed all the physical exercise methods available to achieve the goal: forging a robust and patriotic soldier. Through practicing both the traditional martial arts and modern sports, Chinese men zealously sought *wu* masculinity, a masculinity that had been neglected by Chinese society for centuries.

The Fashion for 'A Manly Death'

As a body-related social construction, man's valour and spirit are especially embodied in his risking his body in violent encounters and in dedicating one's body for one's political or religious beliefs. To have 'A manly death' was an important part of Chinese wu masculinity. Confucius had prescribed a manly death for his disciples. In the *Analects* 论语, Confucius told his disciples a man's faith and will are more important than his life. He said, "The commander of the forces of a large state may be carried off, but the will of even

¹⁴³ Shi Yongxin 释永信, ed, *Jingwu benji: Wushu* 精武本纪: 武术, in *Minguo guoshu qikan wenxian jicheng*, 民国国术期刊文献集成, (Beijing, Zhonguo shudian, 2008), vol.1, 76.

a commoner man cannot be taken from him". The defend his faith, Confucius dictated that "the determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their faith and virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete." When accompanying the Marquis of Lu 鲁 in a meeting with the Duke of Qi 齐, Confucius showed his martial valour in the conflict with Duke Qi's bodyguards. By showing his courage in performing a manly death, Confucius forced Duke Qi to return the occupied land to Lu kingdom. In his book *Zhongguo wushi dao* 中国武士道, Liang Qichao praises Confucius for his valour in risking body in the conflict with Duke Qi. Liang accrued this valour to Confucius' *wu* masculinity. Liang

The spirit of dedicating one's body to the salvation of China was fostered dramatically after the 1898 Hundred Day reform 戊戌变法, which promoted a social ethos that called for martyrs to the cause. Many young Chinese men joined the anti-Manchu rebellions or revolution and died for their faith, endeavouring to display the most brilliant aspect of their masculinity. By promoting the fashion for a manly death, the social construction of wu masculinity in late Qing and early Republican China reached its peak.

The person who took the initiative to establish a model for a manly death at the end of the nineteenth century was Tan Sitong 谭嗣同 (1865-98), another prominent reformist in the doomed 1898 A Hundred Day Reform movement. When the reform was squashed by the conservative group led by Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908), the leaders of the reformers group such as Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao sought

¹⁴⁴ Confucius, *Lunyu* 论语, chapter 9, in Xu Zhigang 徐志刚, trans. and anno., *Lunyu Tongyi* 论语通译, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1997), 112.

¹⁴⁵ Confucius, *Lunyu*, chapter 9, in *Lunyu Tongyi*, 197.

¹⁴⁶ Liang Qichao, Zhongguo wushi dao 中国武士道, in Liang Qichao quanji, vol.5, 1387-8.

asylum in the Japanese embassy. But Tan chose not to flee. When his Japanese friends persuaded Tan to go to Japan, he told them:

There are no countries in this world that can carry out social reform without shedding blood. But our China still has not yet had someone ready to die for reform. That is why China has not achieved prosperity. If there has to be someone to die for reform, I would like to be the first one. 147

Tan remained in Beijing and coolly awaited his arrest. He was later executed by the Qing court for his advocacy of political reform. On the execution ground, Tan revealed great courage and self-control by facing his execution calmly and courageously.

Tan's death showed how a man could employ his body as the last instrument to provoke valour and virtue among his fellows. His heroic death triggered the fashion for a manly death among Chinese at that time. Myriad discourses on a manly death emerged after Tan's heroic death. In these discussions the immortality of the martyr was elucidated and emphasized, meanwhile his masculinity was also appreciated and eulogized. In 1899 Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao organized a lot of activities in Tokyo to commemorate the six heroes who died for the 1898 Hundred Day Reform. To perpetuate the virtue and the lives of the martyrs, Kang and Liang published articles, poems and biographies about the six heroes. For example, Kang Youwei wrote many poems for Tan Sitong, eulogizing his extraordinary masculine attributes in both wen and wu. In these poems, Kang Youwei praised first the wu masculinity Tan Sitong possessed. Tan was depicted first as a wu hero who wielded a shining sword and harboured military skills. He was admired for leaving his footprint in the vast west of China—the legendary land for wu fellows (xia 快). Kang Youwei then expressed his appreciation for Tan Sitong's wen masculine attributes. He

¹⁴⁷ Liang Qichao, "Wuxu liujunzi zhuan" 戊戌六君子传, in Liang Qichao *Yinbingshi He Ji* 饮冰室合集, (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1943) vol.1, 106-10.

acknowledged that Tan was an excellent scholar because his scholarship ranged across many fields. Being excellent in both the *wen* and *wu* spheres, Tan was adored by Kang Youwei as "a rare man" (*qi nanzi* 奇男子). 148

To promote Tan's spirit among young Chinese men, Liang Qichao wrote specifically about the meaning of a manly death. In his 1904 article "Wo de shengsi guan" 我的生死观 (My opinion about life and death), he asserts that one can die individually but live forever collectively, because "what dies is the individual and what lives is the collective". For Liang, there was a chain of life and death in the world called the blood circle in which everything lives by the death of the others. "When the things in the blood circle died for the life of my body, my body must die for the benefit of my collective," He wrote. Liang hence advocated death for the evolution of one's nation. 149 In the same year, Liang published his book about Chinese Samurai, which further contributed to the fashion for a manly death. In this book, he praises the ancient Chinese samurais who chose death when there was a need for righteousness ($yi \times X$). In the Chinese tradition, righteousness is the masculine virtue to which men should commit themselves. According to Liang's analysis, righteousness includes the reputation and the rights of the nation, one's own reputation, duty, loyalty and promise, and friendship. "In sum, the nation takes precedence over my life; friendship takes precedence over my life; duty takes precedence over my life; promises take precedence over my life; loyalty and revenge take precedence over my life; reputation takes precedence over my life; righteousness takes precedence over my life." Liang points out that "these were the pure ideals upheld by our ancestors such that they

¹⁴⁸ Kang Youwei, "Ku Tan Citong" 哭谭嗣同, cited in Ding Pingyi 丁平一, *Tan Sitong yu weixinpai shiyou* 谭嗣同与维新派师友, Changsha: Hunan daxue chubanshe, 2004), 239.

¹⁴⁹ Liang Qichao, "Wo de shengxi guan"我的死生观, in Liang Qichao quanji, vol.5, 1373.

The people outside the reformist group also joined the discourse on a manly death. For example, Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936) advocated for a manly death through a narration of the Battle of the Thermopylae. In 1903 when he was studying in Japan, Lu Xun published an article titled "Si ba da zhi hun" 斯巴达之魂 (The soul of Sparta) in *Zhejiang Chao* 浙江潮(*The tides of Zhejiang*), a magazine organized by the students from Zhejiang 浙江 province. By depicting the heroic scene of the Battle of Thermopylae, Lu Xun praises the martial valour of the Sparta King and his soldiers. To emphasize the value of a manly death, he recounts in particular the story of how a Spartan woman respected the martyrs and died from the shame that her husband did not dedicate his body to the country. In this article Lu Xun provokes the masculinity of his fellow Chinese men by asking "Are there the (Chinese) men who do not want to be meeker than these Spartan women?" ¹⁵¹

The fashion for a manly death triggered by Tan Sitong's heroic death prepared China with martyrs who dedicated their bodies to a new China. Between 1900 and 1911, many young Chinese men died for the salvation of China. In 1900, Tan Sitong's best friend Tang Caichang 唐才常 (1867-1900) launched a revolt against the conservative forces in the Qing Court. This revolt was suppressed by the Qing government, and in the ensuing roundup twenty eight young men were executed. When in jail, these young men were tortured so brutally by the Qing officers that their flesh was lashed off their bones. Yet these young men presented the true sprit of martyrdom by not providing names of their comrades. Their behaviour manifested their organizational signal: "A rare man who stands

_

¹⁵⁰ Liang Qichao, Zhongguo wushi Dao 中国武士道, in Liang Qichao quanji, vol.5, 1385.

Lu Xun, "Si ba da zhi hun"斯巴达之魂, in Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quan ji* 鲁迅全集, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), supplementary volume, 9-19.

firmly on the earth and sustains the heavens". 152

The blood of Tang Sitong and the 1900 revolt martyrs spurred more people, such as Huang

Xin (1874-1916) 黄兴, the military giant of the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution, to join the

revolutionary camp. While studying in Japan in 1903, Huang fostered the spirit of

"dedicating one's body to China" among his fellow students. In his meeting with his

comrades Huang preached that "the salvation of China needs not only mental power but

more crucially the dedication of body. Only the action of achieving the righteousness of a

manly death (shashen chengren 杀身成仁) can one be called truly powerful". 153 He

became the pillar of the Military Citizenship Education Society that spread the spirit of

martyrdom among Chinese. Between 1903 and 1911, Huang and his comrades employed

violence, such as revolt and assassination, to overthrow Manchu rule. 154

The discourses on a manly death continued after the establishment of the Republic of

China in 1911. Many writers, such as Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962) and Lao She 老舍

(1899-1966), praised the valour of a manly death in their works. In 1921 Hu Shi published

a poem in Xin Qingnian 新青年 (New youth), eulogizing the spirit of the four martyrs of

1911 Anti-Manchu revolution. In this poem, Hu Shi expresses his worship of violence and

the valour of a manly death:

"Who were they?

Three heroes who failed,

One good man who succeeded!

152 See Chen Shanwei 陈善伟, Tang Caichang nianpu changbian 唐才常年谱长编, (Hong Kong:

Xianggang zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1990), 591.

153 Mao Zhuqing 毛注青, *Huang Xing nianpu changbian* 黄兴年谱长编, (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1980), 45.

154 See Mao Zhuqing, Huang Xing nianpu changbian, 41-8.

70

What was their weapon?

Bomb! Bomb!

What was their spirit?

Action! Action! Action!

What had they done?

A bomb that shocked the gut of the demon,

A bomb that overthrew the tyrant! 155

Other prominent republican writers, such as Lao She 老舍 (1899-1966) and Ba Jin 巴金 (1904-2005), also discoursed on violence and the art of a manly death. For example, in *Zhao Ziyue* 赵子曰, Lao She arranged for his protagonist Li Jingchun 李景纯, a young student, to die violently. In this novel, Li Jingchun is depicted as an upright hero who protected women from the importunity of a villain. He is also patriotic for he prevented the sale of Chinese cultural heritage relics to western buyers. While most of his classmates wasted time on gambling and empty chat, Li Jingchun studies hard and leads a healthy life. He serves as a lamp to light up the life of his friends. In the end, he decided to assassinate the biggest villain of the city, the head of the garrison in Beijing, an accomplice to the warlord. Unfortunately, this assassination attempt fails and Li Jingchun is captured and executed. Li's martyrdom arouses patriotism in his friends and, thus inspired, they too join in the struggle to fight for the salvation of China. Through Li's story, Lao She encourages the employment of violence and calls for the incorporation of wu masculinity by wen men.

Self-control on Sexual Desires

Although sexual restraint was considered important for wen men, especially for those

_

¹⁵⁵ Hu Shi, "Si lieshi zong shangde meizibei ge", 四烈士冢上的没字碑, Qian Gurong 钱谷融, ed, Xinwenxue de xianqu: <Xin Qingnian><Xin Chao>zuopin xuan 新文学的先:《新青年》《新潮》作品选, (Shanghai: Huadong shifan chubanshe, 1985), 65-6.

exemplary men (junzi 君子), the pursuit of women's company was deemed rightful in Confucian ideology and the consumption of womanly beauty was a distinctive feature of wen masculinity. The tens of thousands of lyrics (ci 词) written by wen men have witnessed their romances with women and articulated their taste in femininity. In contrast, a containment of romantic desire was much more serious and significant for wu fellows. It was the defining quality of wu masculinity. As Louie puts it, "the wu hero shows his strength and masculinity by resisting the lure of feminine charm". ¹⁵⁶ In both the *Romance* of the Three Kingdom (Sanguo yanyi 三国演义) and Water Margin (Shui hu 水浒), women's beauty was depicted as the poison to the manly virtue of the wu fellows. In the Romance of the Three Kingdom, the super robust man Lü Bu 吕布 was excluded from the category of hero because of his lust for womanly beauty. In contrast, Wu Song 武松, the wu hero from Water Margin, presented his wu masculinity by slaughtering the dangerous temptress, Pan Jinlian 潘金莲. By eliminating women physically, the wu heroes protected their virtuous body. This effort in sexual restraint was also seen in the early Qing period. In an attempt to show that the virtue of their dynasty originated from a wu tribe, the Qing court issued laws banning the sale of sexual services. In 1723, the Yongzheng Emperor 雍正 even launched a campaign to eliminate the entire entertainment quarter, which had long traditions in Chinese cities. 157 In a time favouring wu spirit, this asceticism was recovered to some extent. In the late Qing and early republican China, discourses on sexual restraint circulated in numerous articles and books, advocating a ban on early marriages and brothels, restriction of women's garment styles and the prohibition of masturbation. These discourses showed a rejection of women and femininity, which

¹⁵⁶ Kam Louie, 2002, *Theorising Chinese masculinity: society and gender in China*, (Cambridge; Oakleigh, Vic. : Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19.

¹⁵⁷ See Matthew H. Sommer, *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China*, (Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), chapter 6 and 7.

contributed significantly to the social ethos of wu.

Discourses on sexual containment were first embodied in the advocacy of later marriage for Chinese men. The practice of early marriage was part of a Confucian tradition that was thought to accelerate the speed of reproduction and its incumbent birth of sons and heirs. However this custom became a problem to many Chinese who were concerned about racial competition. Instead of men's integrity, the strength of China became the first concern for keeping women away from young men. For scholars such as Liang Qichao, the most important reason for a ban on early marriage was that it enervated the nation.

"When those adolescents got married, their bodies have not yet fully grown", Liang wrote: "so this early marriage would resulted in a seriously harm to their body and soul as well since these young men are not able to exert self-control on their sexual desire like the older people do. They will probably indulge in sexual activities." For him, the indulgence in sexual fulfilment could only deplete the youth rather than energize them. He saw early marriage as a form of suicide for the individuals involved because it destroyed the body and the soul of the youth—they could physically die or permanently lose their vitality. And "if everyone commits suicide in a society," he asked, "then what about the consequence to the whole nation?" He thus ascribes the decadence of China to its early marriage customs: "People enervated by sexual activities become the disabled; Nation that consists of the disabled becomes disabled nations. This is why China is weaker than other nations in this world." 158

To support his opinion about the relationship between early marriage customs and the

¹⁵⁸ Liang Qichao, "Jin zaohun yi" 禁早婚议,in Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi quanji* 饮冰室全集, (Taibei: Wenhua tushu gongsi,1981), 134.

decadence of China, Liang employed scientific evidence. He tells his Chinese audience that scientific research from western countries has shown that young parents are more likely to produce low quality children that are disabled, sick, insane, and criminal in nature. "The adolescent is not qualified for parenthood," he concluded, "This is primarily due to the underdeveloped state of the young parents' bodies and brains". ¹⁵⁹

The opinion that sexual containment was beneficial for a stronger nation was shared by many people at the time. For an example, *Funü shi bao* 妇女时报 (Women's Time) published in 1914 an article that preaches on the link between the evolution of the human species and the continuance of sexuality. It starts with an introduction to scientific research on the balance of the development of sexual organs and other human organs, advocating self-restraint in sexual activities for the full development of other human organs such as the digestive organs, the mental organs and the motor organs. For the sake of a strong nation, it even suggests a ban on marriages between the disabled people. ¹⁶⁰

Among these nationalist discourses about sexual containment, concerns about men's wellbeing were still found. For Liang Qichao, sexual containment was a necessity for both the nation and the individual. He points out that the custom of early marriage hindered the education of Chinese men therefore destroyed their career prospects:

The ordinary people start schooling at the age of seven or eight. They usually are 22 or 23 by the time the have specialized in a specific field. The time before this age should be dedicated to study. All his future achievements are determined by this period of study. If this period is halted by early marriage, his development in body, mind and spirit would be worse than others

¹⁵⁹ Liang Qichao, "Jin zaohun yi", *Yinbingshi quanji*, 135.

¹⁶⁰ Wu Ruonan 吴若男, "Minzu zhi xiangshang yi xingyu zhi jiezhi er de"民族之向上依性欲之节制而得, *Funü shibao* 妇女时报, 1914, vol.4, in *Funü shibao*, (Beijing: Xian zhuang shu ju, 2006).

thereby place him in a lower position in the social Darwinian schema. 161

He expresses especially his abhorrence of self-indulgence in sexual activities. "The one who marries early suddenly spends his most valuable time on exceedingly sentimental things, chanting about the flowers of spring and the moon of autumn, enervating his ambition for a competitive life, depleting his energy between the narrow walls of bedroom." He warns the young Chinese men that "No matter how talented he is, he would not be able to concentrate on superb careers and would be bound to work in low places to support his family."162

Here Liang is repeating the old Confucian exhortation about masculinity: male sexuality is a dangerous matter for it could lead men astray thereby fail to achieve success and morality. It is the orthodox Confucian belief that a man must learn how to control his sexual desire if he aspired to a superb career or high position in a society. And for Liang early marriage is especially damaging for a man who hoped to establish himself because as a young boy he usually lacks the willpower and skill in self-control over his sexual desire. Ultimately, Liang is trying to protect men's masculinity and the virility of China by advocating a ban on early marriage.

Influenced by Liang's preaching, some schools began to interfere with student's marriages. For example, Nankai High School and Nankai University stipulated that students must not get married before the age of twenty-one. 163 Zhang Boling, the President of this school and the university, maintained that dealing properly with sexual desire was the most important lesson for students to learn. Like Liang Qichao, Zhang insisted that students

Liang Qichao, "Jin zaohun yi", *Yinbingshi quanji*, 137.Liang Qichao, "Jin zaohun yi", *Yinbingshi quanji*, 137.

¹⁶³ See Wang Wenjun, ed., Zhang Boling jiaoyu yanlun xuan ji, 71.

could only get married when they had developed the capacity for self-control. 164 "Early marriage impedes the development of scholarship and morality", Zhang Boling exhorts in the parents meeting:

"The reason for parents to urge an early marriage is to increase the generations of the family." However what is the benefit for bearing and raising weak heirs? We school expelled the students who breached this rule and we would not compromise if the parents appeal to us with explanations". 165

The advocacy of self-control over sexual desire for men was also embodied in the exhortations about masturbation. In 1915 Xin qingnian 新青年 magazine published an article about masturbation, advocating men's self-control. This article was a mixture of Chinese exhortations and western discourse. It describes the human body as a well of carnal desires that is easily triggered by the spring flowers and autumn moons, by spicy food and by pornographic fictions, and so on. By introducing the western scholar's opinion about the destructive consequence of masturbation, the author starts his own exhortation on men's self-control. According to the author, the worst thing for masturbation is that it will generate an obsessive appetite for sex. And with obsessive sexual activities, the body and the soul can collapse because there can be problems with every organs of the body including brain, lung, stomach, heart, and spine. In short, masturbation will sap the energy, virility and health of men's bodies. To keep men healthy, upright and productive, the author introduces a set of methods for self-control. These included: maintaining a healthy diet, engaging in strenuous physical exercise, avoiding

 $^{^{164}}$ See Wang Wenjun, ed., *Zhang Boling jiaoyu yanlun xuan ji* , 43. 165 See Wang Wenjun, ed., *Zhang Boling jiaoyu yanlun xuan ji* , 71.

soft beds and pornographic books and concentrating on career development. With such an article published in the most influential magazine at the time, the leaders of the 1915-23 New Culture Movement showed their preference for asceticism.

However these loud exhortations about men's sexual containment did not suggest a repulsion of romantic love among the republican *wen* men. Concurrent with this asceticism was a serious exploration of and an experiment in conjugal love that was justified on the ground of nationalism and democracy. Shaped by the unique social context of a turbulent, transitional time, Chinese *wen* men at the time were both ascetic and romantic. I will discuss the romantic side of the republican *wen* men later in chapter Six.

Wu Masculinity and Modernity

As has been shown in the discussion about the 1903-19 Military Citizenship movement, the definition of soldier among the *wen* men was influenced by the modern western value of democracy. Hence it is fair to say that the resurgence of *wu* men at the turn of the twentieth century China was not simply a reincarnation of the traditional *wu* masculinity, rather it was a display of modernity. Apart from democracy, a lot of modern institutions including science, sports and hygiene had all impacted on the image of modern Chinese *wu* masculinity, which blurred the border between the *wu* and *wen* and created a trend of merging *wu* and *wen* attributes within one person at the time.

Due to the separation of the civil and military service examinations since the Tang dynasty,

1.

¹⁶⁶ See Meng Min 孟明, "Qingnian yu xingyu" 青年与性欲, *Xin qing nian* 新青年, 1.5 (1915), in *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang* 共产党, 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).

wu men in late imperial China were mostly associated with illiteracy and roughness. While the wen men in imperial China could receive their education at both the government and private schools, the wu fellows could only obtain some practical training from a private coach. In other words, there was no government-sponsored military education for wu men. Therefore it is not surprising that in the traditional gender discourses, the "Good fellow" (hao han 好汉) with robust body such as Wu Song 武松 and his fellow wu men were usually depicted as uneducated. Nevertheless this image of wu masculinity changed dramatically in late Qing and early republican China. The military reforms carried out in this period created a close link between wu masculinity and education as well as other refinements of human civilization.

Defeated at the hands of the colonizing powers, Chinese people were now aware of the importance of military education. For example Liang Qichao advocated in 1896 that each profession, such as farming, manufacturing and military service, had its specialized knowledge and should be studied as different majors or at different schools. "Because our soldiers have no military scholarship," he wrote, "in the war of last year our ninety six naval vessels acted like there were no ships resisting at all, and three hundred battalions of soldiers behaved like there were no soldiers fighting at all". ¹⁶⁷

As a consequence of such awareness, late Qing and early republican China launched military reforms to modernize China's military forces. One of the major features of the reforms was building up the connection between the army and learning about science and technology. Between 1866 and 1895, the Qing Court established eight modern military

¹⁶⁷ Liang Qichao, "Xuexiao tongyi", 学校通义, in Tang Zhijun 汤志钧, Chen Zuen 陈祖恩, Tang Renze 汤仁泽, eds, *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxv shiqi jiaoyu* 中国近代教育史资料汇编: 戊戌时期教育, (Snghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 19.

schools in China. The first modern navy school was built in Fuzhou 福州 in 1866, which was born along with Fuzhou shipbuilding factory. This school was divided into two parts: the front school and the back school. The front school taught in French, delivering courses in naval architecture; the back school taught in English, offering subjects of navigation. This school trained the earliest officers of the Chinese navy and provided the earliest engineers to Chinese society. Most of the teachers of these military schools were from Europe who taught both military tactics and modern science. Compared to military schools, the establishment of modern universities and modern primary and secondary schools in China came much later in time. The first Chinese modern secondary school was South Sea Primary School (Nan yang xiao xue 南洋小学), established in Shanghai in 1895. Hence the eight military schools were the earliest schools to embrace the learning of modern science and technology, which played a special role in Chinese modern history. 168 The soldiers trained in these modern military schools were the earliest people among Chinese to receive an education in western science and technology. Consequently, the students of these military schools were the people who diffused science and technology to ordinary Chinese people. Some of the students of the military schools became the earliest teachers of science for primary and secondary schools. For instance, Zhang Boling worked as a science teacher at a private school when he graduated from the North Sea Naval School in 1898. 169

It was a great leap for these wu men to move from being described as illiterates to being hailed as conduits of modern science and technology. The cultural training these wu men received in these earliest modern military schools privileged them with education. These

¹⁶⁸ See Yuan Wei 袁伟, Zhang Zhuo 张卓, Jiang Tingyu 姜廷玉, Zhang Weiliang 张伟良, *Zhongguo junxiao fazhan shi* 中国军校发展史, (Beijing: Guofang daxue chubanshe, 2001), 21-45.

¹⁶⁹ See Fu Dexin 符德新, "Zhang Boling: Qiangguo bi xian qiangzhong, qiangzhong bi xian qiangshen"张伯苓: 强国必先强种强种必先强身, Zhongguo jiaoyu bao 中国教育报, 23rd July 2007.

modern soldiers made a sharp contrast with the traditional wu fellows. For the first time in Chinese history the soldiers became the people who possessed the highest level of learning in the society. This fundamental change washed off the shame of illiteracy from the image of wu men.

The link between learning and wu masculinity was also found in the biggest Chinese martial arts club at the time—the Pure Martial Association. Founded in 1910, the leaders of the Pure Martial Association were all well educated merchants or journalists, which reflected that the wen men of the time were zealously seeking wu accomplishments. Chen Gongzhe, the founder of this association, graduated from Fudan University and was an English teacher at Shanghai School of Preparation for studying in America. Lu Weichang, a leader of this association, was a graduate of Shanghai Hanbaoli English College. Another leader of this association, Luo Xiaoao, was an established journalist in Shanghai press. The education of these leaders brought new vision to this traditional martial club. These leaders purposefully set a goal of enhancing wu with education and bringing about a balance of wu and wen accomplishments within one body. One of their efforts to combine wen and wu was called the "scientificization" of martial arts. This club provided scientific instructions in physical exercises and required the coaches to have the knowledge of anatomy, hygiene and psychology. 170 Articles about the scientific research on physical education were often seen in its physical education magazines. For example, the Journal of Physical Education in Series, which was published in 1924, contains a lot of articles explaining the physiological effect of the physical exercise. One of them was "The relationship between body and mentality in the process of physical exercise: an anatomical explanation to physical education", which was a translation to a Japanese

¹⁷⁰ Shi Yongxin, ed, Jingwu benji: Wushu, in Minguo guoshu qikan wenxian jicheng, vol.9, 184-5.

article written by a Japanese doctor.¹⁷¹ While providing scientific instructions in physical exercise, this club built up libraries to promote learning among its members. In this club, the traditional gap between the *wen* men and *wu* fellow was bridged on the ground of modern science and learning.

Another factor buttressing the links between wu masculinity and modernity was the embracing of modern sports. From its outset, the Chinese modern military schools included modern sports in its curricula. For military school students, physical education was compulsory. Their coaches were German or British. While military drills occupied the large part of the physical education, modern gymnastics and callisthenics were also taught by these foreigner teachers. According to the recollection of a student of the Tianjin Naval School, the sports training in this school included fencing, mace, boxing, dumbbell, hurdle race, walking race, broad jump, high jump, mast climbing, swimming, skating, balance beam, side horse, horizontal bar, parallel bar, and hiking. Students of this school were even taught team sports, such as soccer. 172 These educated soldiers were the earliest people among Chinese who were exposed to modern sports. Afterwards many of them became sports coaches at many Chinese universities, high schools and Chinese sports clubs. For example, Wei Xudong 魏旭东, a veteran from Nanjing Military School, worked as a sports teacher at the Southeast University and Cao Bridge High School in Suzhou 苏州 in 1905. Wei was well-known for his accomplishments in sports and received as much respect as the scholars did from the locals. For the local residents, a good sports teacher like Wei deserved the title of Mister. 173 Zhang Boling, another famous veteran from the

¹⁷¹ Shi Yongxin, ed, Jingwu benji: Wushu, in Minguo guoshu qikan wenxian jicheng, vol.9, 147-51.

Wu Wenzhong, Zhongguo tiyu fazhan shi, 67.

¹⁷³ Ding Jin 丁瑾, 2008, "Qingmo minchu de tiyuren--Wei Xudong" 清末民初的体育人-魏旭东, *Jiangsu difangzhi* 江苏地方志, 3 (2008): 1. Wei was well-known for his accomplishments in sports and

early military schools, diffused modern sports and sportsmanship in China. When he worked at Yan Private School, he directed students to entwine their braids and tighten their robes for practicing high jump with a bamboo pole strung across two chairs. To spread modern sports among Chinese people, Zhang Boling built fifteen basketball courts, five soccer courts, seventeen tennis courts and two Olympic standard track-and-field playgrounds Nankai University and Nankai High School in the 1920s. 174

The Pure Martial Association, too, embraced modern sports as an important part of its activities. It held athletic meets every year, with competitions in soccer, basketball, track and field, bicycle racing, table tennis, billiards, and roller-skating. ¹⁷⁵ In 1928, the Manila Pure Martial basketball team captured the Philippines basketball championship. ¹⁷⁶ This inclusion of modern sports by these veterans and martial arts warriors had significant impact on wu masculinity. First, wu masculinity was updated with modern sportsmanship that was internationally accredited. This updated wu masculinity was now a powerful international currency that could bring fame to China and the wu men's family. The social status of wu men was rising, for the brawny men were now valuable for their country not just in wartime but in peaceful time as well. Meanwhile with an outlet of energy in professional sport field, the wu men became more law abiding than ever. One reason that wu fellows were despised by the wen men in the old times was that they were perceived to have no dedication to their task in times of peace and were prone to become outlaws, as vividly depicted in the classic Ming novel Shui Hu 水浒(Water margin). This propensity to lawlessness was implied in the wu men's self-description: chujian furuo 锄奸扶弱

was respected by the locals as much as the scholars in his school. For the local residents, a sports teacher was truly a scholar and deserved the title of Mister.

¹⁷⁴ See Ding Yajin 丁亚金 and Jiang Guoqin 蒋国勤, "Zhang Boling tiyu sixiang de xiandai yishi"张伯苓 体育思想的现代意义, Zhonguo qinggong jiaoyu 中国轻工教育, 3 (2008): 3-5.

¹⁷⁵ Ren Ranran 任冉冉, "Shanghai shehui tiyu yanjiu 1912-1937"上海社会体育研究 1912-1937, (MA Diss., Shanghai Normal University, 2007), 189.

Morris, Marrow of the Nation: a History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China, 203.

(Helping the poor and weak by attacking the evil and rich). Therefore the enthusiasm of the *wu* men for modern sports indicated a shift of focus from wrestling with law to a more law-abiding career—the participation in sport meets. It was in the field of modern sports these *wu* men found a better place to express themselves as men—the men of martial valour and morality.

Conclusion

Wu masculinity, which refers to men's bodily strength and martial valour, was elevated dramatically after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. Physical strength and military skill was deemed by society as necessary to modern Chinese manhood therefore military training for male students became compulsory in both private and public schools. Both the notion of foreign masculinity and Chinese nationalism played crucial roles in the resurgence of wu masculinity in China, which showed the complexity of the social context to this male fashion.

The influence of foreign masculinity was conspicuous when exploring the implication of the phrase of the "Sick man of East Asia" and the discourses on "real soldiers". An awareness of global gender order in which the men of the colonized countries were placed in an inferior position to the men of the advanced countries was found among these prominent thinkers such as Yan Fu and Chen Duxiu. They deliberately coined the phrase the "Sick man of East Asia" as a means to spur Chinese men to reduce the gap between Chinese men and foreign men in physical form. The rapid and wide circulation of this phrase indicated that the elite Chinese men accepted the current western standards of masculinity in which physical strength was fundamental to manhood. The late imperial

male body ideal that emphasized men's reflexive function of the body was discarded. Meanwhile the western value of democracy was absorbed into the *wu* frame, because the elite understood that *wu* spirit was the embodiment of citizenly virtue. They expressed their admiration for this foreign military masculinity by naming it the attribute of the "real soldier". The 1903-19 Military Citizenship Movement and the cult of physical exercise in the opening decades of twentieth century China mirrored Chinese men's desire to be "the same" as the men of the advanced countries.

The wu spirit embodied in the 1903-19 Military Citizenship Movement and the cult of physical education was also a result of Chinese nationalism at the time. In the nationalist propaganda the promotion of wu masculinity was closely connected to national salvation and nation-building. Both men and women were encouraged to strengthen their bodies for the salvation of China; however women's physical education was mostly understood as a means for strengthening the bodies of the Chinese citizens. The wu masculinity presented by either the male or female athletes was hailed as the sign for rejuvenating China. The development of modern sports opened new space for the function of wu masculinity.

The resurgence of wu masculinity reached its peak through the fashion of "a manly death" for the salvation of China. By dedicating their bodies to reformation and revolution, Chinese men showed their spirit of iron and blood. The resurgence of wu masculinity was also embodied in the discourses on sexual containment which was an integral part of wu masculinity. By proscribing early marriage and masturbation, a distance from women was created which was believed to be beneficial for both the nation and the individual men.

Chapter 3

Seeking Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy:

The Modernization of wen Masculinity

They accuse the magazine Xin Qingnian 新青年 of destroying Confucianism, destroying ritual propriety, destroying the national quintessence, destroying chastity, destroying the old ethics, destroying the old arts, destroying the old religions, destroying the old literature and destroying the old political system. Of course we admit this is true. However, we are guiltless because what we do is for the establishment of the two gentlemen: Mr Democracy (De Xiansheng 德先生) and Mr Science (Sai xiansheng 赛先生). In order to support Mr Democracy, we have to strike against Confucianism, ritual propriety, chastity, the old ethics and the old politics. In order to support Mr Science, we have to strike against the old arts and the old religions. To uphold both Mr Democracy and Mr Science, we have to oppose the national quintessence and the old literature...We now believe that only these two gentlemen can save China from the darkness in political, ethical and intellectual fields. To support these two gentlemen, we do not fear the government's oppression, people's scorn and attacks, nor even the

breaking of our heads and shedding of our blood.

Chen Duxiu, 1919, "Bengzhi de zuian" (The crime of our magazine 本志的罪案)¹⁷⁷

Chen Duxiu's 陈独秀 (1879-1942) fierce public defense of his magazine and the 1915-23 New Culture Movement more generally encapsulates the mood of radical scholars of the time. In this announcement, two models of modern western masculinity—Mr Democracy and Mr Science were embraced as the heroes who could save China from its national crisis. The implication of this declaration is that the influence of the western masculinity was no longer just occurring at an external level, as mirrored by the resurgence of wu masculinity, but at internal level as well. Key thinkers, such as Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929), Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi 胡适(1891-1962), believed that there was a fatal deficiency in traditional wen masculinity and this deficiency could only be cured by the introduction of Mr Science and Mr Democracy from the west. Between 1896 and 1930, discourses on the appropriate construction of modern Chinese masculinity permeated the propaganda of the both reformists and the revolutionaries. Western models of masculinity such as George Washington (1732-99), Wilhelm Ostwald (1853-1932), and Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) were promoted to Chinese audiences of the time, of whom the vast majority were educated males. While the text-centred wen masculinity was dumped as being useless and slavish, the moral character and subjectivity of the "citizen" was promoted as an indispensable part of the new masculine image. This chapter analyses the gender consequences of the late Qing and early republic education reforms, the propaganda about *Xinmin* (new people 新

1

¹⁷⁷ Chen Duxiu, "Bengzhi de zuian"本志的罪案, in *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 1.6 (1919), *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang* 共产党, 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource] Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).

民) launched by the reformists and the 1917-23 literary revolution. It reveals how new Chinese scholars struggled to assert their power at the time and fought to fit themselves into the frame of modern masculinity in response to these events.

Education Reform and the Construction of Mr Science

As men of letters, the *shi* \pm enjoyed a cultural power that was rooted in the authority of the Confucian classic texts. For thousands of years, those men who were talented in interpreting Confucian classic texts and in producing philosophical and literary texts were bestowed with political power and cultural prestige. This textuality distinguished them not only from women but also from the men of other classes. However, the text-centered *wen* masculinity could not stand the assault of western imperialism, for the colonial wars against China were not only a test of the strength of China but also a test of Chinese masculinity and *wen* masculinity in particular. When China lost the Opium Wars and the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, Chinese men found that the text-centered *wen* masculinity was smashed by the power of modern science and democracy. Compelled by the presence of this power, the Chinese new *wen* men launched education reforms through which they hoped *wen* masculinity would be renewed.

The Decline of *shi*

After China's defeat in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War attacks on the textuality of the *shi* as well as the civil service examination system (*keju* 科举) became an increasing trend. Confucian scholars were no longer regarded as authoritative but rather as ignorant and useless. They were viewed as a burden to the whole society and a parasitic class that

undermined the capacity of China as a country to survive and thrive. The most powerful attacks were from the leaders of the 1898 Hundred Days reform: Yan Fu 严复 (1854-1921) and Liang Qichao.

Right after China's defeat in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War Yan Fu published his famous article "Jiuwang juelun" 救亡决论 (On national salvation), in which he criticizes both Confucian learning and the population that benefited from it—the *shi* class. He first denounced the authority of neo-Confucianism that had pervaded Chinese society since the Song 宋 (960-1279) dynasty. Yan Fu points out that the neo-Confucians such as Lu Jiuyuan 陆九渊 (1139-93) and Wang Yangming 王阳明 (1472-1529) had exerted bad influences on Confucian learning by opposing practical subjects and by the promotion of "empty talk" among the scholars. Yan Fu explicitly casts doubt on the textual power of Confucianism by raising the concept of usefulness or practical function as the measure of the efficacy of a learning system. "Both learning and recruiting able people must be based on usefulness, and the effect of the usefulness will be manifested in the prosperity and strength of the country", Yan Fu wrote. 178

In this article Yan Fu also criticizes the civil service examination system for producing useless scholars who then were responsible for blocking the progress of China. He articulates the view that these scholars became more and more ignorant and brazen since the implementation of the eight-legged essay¹⁷⁹ in the civil service exam system in early

.

Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun"救亡决论, in Tang Zhijun 汤志钧, Chen Zuen 陈祖恩, Tang Renze 汤仁泽, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu* 中国近代教育史资料汇编: 戊戌时期教育, (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 6.

¹⁷⁹ The eight-legged essay was a form of civil service examination essay writing, which was rigidly constituted by eight steps of expression to build up one's arguments concerning morality and state administration. Since early Ming (1368-1644) time, the eight-legged essay was the only form of expression stipulated by the board of the civil service examination.

Ming 明 (1368-1644). Yan points out that once the writing of eight-legged essays became the only criterion for obtaining access to political power, it exhausted the energy of Chinese scholars as they became preoccupied with studying the formulas and styles of examination essays rather than in producing knowledge and information. He ridicules the old-style scholars declaring that when those badly informed scholars excelled in examinations by "copying the expressions of other people", they "did not even understand what they had written"! ¹⁸⁰

Further more, Yan Fu attacks the *shi* for being impractical and idle. He points out that "in all the western nations the social classes of scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants are equal to each other, and only in China the *shi* are placed above the other three classes". And "while the farmers, artisans and merchants can make use of natural resources and supply goods to themselves and other people, the *shi* can only wait for others to serve them, holding their mouths wide open to be fed." He concludes that "*shi* are simply parasites on society".¹⁸¹

Following Yan Fu's opinion, Liang Qichao views the *shi* as bloodsucking animals that depleted China. Liang Qichao announces that old-style Chinese scholars are lice on the surface of his country because they lack a graduation date and their learning lacked practical use:

Among the four groups of people, namely the *shi*, farmers, artisans and merchants, the *shi* are proudly at the top. According to Adam Smith's theory, the western scholars are among those who rely on the products contributed by other people. Yet I judge with a steady heart that seven out of ten western scholars are contributors to their national income, though one or two out of ten of

_

Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu*, 4.
 Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu*, 5.

them are not. Why do I come to this conclusion? This is because when western scholars graduate from schools they become doctors, judges, lawyers and missionaries or school-teachers. And if what they learnt was commerce, they become directly the producers of material products. That's why I could not agree with Adam Smith. However, it would be perfectly correct if we apply Smith's opinion to China. There are two remarkably strange phenomena in regards to Chinese scholars: one is that there is no graduation date for their learning; the other is that these scholars can go nowhere when they cease their studies. 182

Liang points out that because scholars dwelled in the space of text all their lives, the existence of such a social class caused the depletion of national resources. He criticizes radically the uselessness and harmfulness of the Confucian scholars to their society:

Those who are destitute are preoccupied with composing the eight-legged essays and eight-rhythm poems, living in poverty until the day that their hair turns white. Those who have flourished show off the women they possess and dominate the public sphere, being parasites to their community and never teaching their people with knowledge. What I see is that the more scholars a country has, the more fatuous it is. Scholars are supposed to be teachers in morality, but in my eyes they lead a life of idleness, because they never let their limbs be occupied and can not tell the difference between the five kinds of grain. Also they are afraid to engage in labor and appear shameless and edacious. In sum, scholars are really parasites.¹⁸³

Here, the *shi* were criticized mainly for their failure to make contribution to the country's productivity. Disparaged as parasites, Confucian scholars were no longer admirable and masculine but were bookworms who were not able to produce material products. In his 1903 article "Lun jinbu" 论进步 (On progress) Liang describes vividly the harm Confucian scholars cause as such:

The literati are just like the tens of millions of silverfish who live by damaging books, the tens of millions of jelly fish who live by attaching to other creatures, and the tens of millions of dogs

¹⁸² Liang Qichao, "Lun shengli fenli" 论生利分利, in *Liang Qichao quan ji* 梁启超全集, (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), vol.3, 699.

Liang Qichao, "Lun shengli fenli", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 699.

From the position as the head of the four classes of people Confucian scholars had fallen to become the parasites of society—the change in the self-perception for these scholars was profound. In 1905 the Qing government abolished the Confucian learning-based civil service examination system, which in turn destroyed the traditional connection between political power and the texuality of the scholars. After that, the social rank of the *shi* plummeted and they became an object of mockery. This was especially embodied in the literary sphere. For example, Lu Xun presented his changed perception of the *shi* through the protagonist of his short story "Kong Yiji 孔之己.

In Lu Xun's tale, Kong Yiji is a *Xiucai* 秀才, a scholar who has passed the entrance examination at the district level. The symbol of the prestige Kong Yiji possesses is his robe that men of lower social classes are forbidden from wearing by government decree. However the robe is only a caricature of his real situation, because he is extremely poor. He is the only robe-wearing man that must drink outside the tavern, standing alongside the tramps and beggars. He is specialized in some trivial literary skills such as the unconventional renditions of the character *hui*. Such skills are almost useless in everyday life. Eventually he degrades into a thief and vanishes from public view in shame after his legs were broken as punishment for stealing books from the local nobles. Lu Xun's view of the *shi* is that they are impractical, nearly useless, decadent and degraded.

¹⁸⁴ Liang Qichao, "Lun jinbu" 论进步, in Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi quanji*, vol.3, 67.

The Rise of Mr Science

masculinity by the modern Chinese scholars. Rather, it implies the coming of a transformation of wen masculinity from highlighting literary and philosophical talent to underscoring the knowledge of science and technology. During the opening decades of the twentieth century, there was a difficult yet sturdy educational transition in China from Confucian learning to western learning (xixue 西学). In this educational transition Mr Science was venerated as the new model of wen masculinity for young Chinese men to emulate.

When facing military defeats at the hands of foreign powers, Chinese wen men still believed in cerebral power and education. While conducting military reforms, these wen men were enthusiastic in education reform. They declared that rather than fighting against western powers in the military field, China should fight in the commercial area, but before fighting in this commercial field China should first defeat them in education. After the defeat of China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese war, a movement called Strengthening Learning (qiangxue 强学) emerged among certain Chinese intellectual circles. In the winter of 1895, Kang Youwei 康有为(1858-1927), Huang Zhunxian 黄遵宪(1848-1905), Wang Kangnian 汪康年(1860-1911) established the Strengthening Learning Societies (qiangxue hui 强学会) in both Shanghai and Beijing, introducing western science and technology to Chinese scholars. Inspired by the desire to become superior to the westerners in education, these wen men gathered to exchange knowledge and information. They raised money to found newspapers and translation institutes that were tasked with introducing

¹⁸⁵ Kang Youwei, "Shanghai qiangxuehui zhangcheng", 上海强学会章程, in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu*, 149-55.

western sciences and technology to a broader public. On the long list of subjects recommended by the Strengthening Learning Societies, 90 percent were sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology, geology, agriculture and medicine science, or technological subjects such as engineering and mining. These new *wen* men warmly welcomed western sciences and technology and called them practical learning (*shixue* 实学). ¹⁸⁶

At this stage the concept of science (kexue 科学) was vague among Chinese people. Literally it means the studies (xue 学) divided by subjects (ke 科). Yet in actual usage it usually referred specifically to the subjects of western learning (xixue) in general, and natural science such as physics and chemistry in particular. Some Chinese scholars such as Yan Fu called it gezhi 格致 that referred particularly to natural science. They insisted that the study of natural science (gezhi) had once been included in Confucian learning by the sages but it had been neglected for a long time within neo-Confucianism. In the writings by these scholars, the term "science" was interchangeable with western learning and natural science (gezhi). For example, when advocating western learning Yan Fu parallels western learning (xixue) with gezhi in his 1895 article "Jiuwang juelun" 救亡决论(On national salvation). Meanwhile science was also called kexue among these scholars. This term kexue, like many other terms, comes from the Japanese translation for western science. In 1898, in his letter to the Emperor Guangxu 光绪, Kang Youwei advocated an education reform by including kexue, science, in the curriculum. 188

Despite that fact that the use of the terms for science was confusing, these scholars

¹⁸⁶ Kang Youwei, "Shanghai qiangxuehui zhangcheng", *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu*, 152.

Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu. 4-5.

¹⁸⁸, Kang Youwei, "Qing fei bagu shitie kaifa gaiyong celun zhe", 请废八股试帖楷法改用策论折, in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu*, 65.

expressed their clear concerns about education reform: that is, the connected Chinese learning to practical function and the material world by introducing new sciences or advocating the recovery of traditional sciences. For these scholars western learning, science and *gezhi* were all practical learning that could lead to material changes in the world. Instead of the classic philosophical texts written by Confucian sages, practical function was now raised as the final measure of the effectiveness of learning and *wen* masculine prowess as well. Yan Fu states: "All the activities on this planet can not evade the measure of physical function. This practical world can not be cheated with imaginary scenes of poems, nor can it be overcome by the arrogance of the Confucian scholars." 189

Beneath these discourses on education reform was the awareness of the deficiency of the traditional *wen* masculinity. These scholars were taught by military defeat that the textuality of the Confucian scholars was useless in modern warfare and its implicit racial competition. They now wanted to be practically powerful to protect their country from military and commercial invasions. Although they still believed in education and men's cerebral power, they acknowledged that men's knowledge and morality must be connected to material world. For Yan Fu and other scholars who believed in science, men were powerless if they had no knowledge or skills to manipulate the material force. Yan points out, "Cannon can destroy enemies ten miles distant and can eject hundreds cannon-balls within one minute. This power of science and technology cannot be conquered by the most courageous soldiers armed with only hand-made weapons." He thus ridicules the naivety, textuality and arrogance of Confucian scholars as such:

While they (westerners) ride electronic horses we take only donkeys, and while they drive flying ships, we are on ragged rafts, claiming we possess super moral power that will conquer

Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu, 8.
 Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu,10.

the wealth and strength of the west. 191

Yan Fu goes on further to demonstrate that science is a power that can save China from being split by the colonizing forces. He explains the reason for China's loss in war as follows:

It is not that China has no good soldiers; it is that China has no good generals. All the Chinese generals are servile subjects, lacking sufficient knowledge... Before undertaking a foray he must know topography; and to know topography he needs to make maps, and to make maps he needs to learn surveying; thus he needs to learn geometry and other sciences such as astronomy. 192

Yan Fu asserts that this type of knowledge could not be obtained from Confucian learning, because it was comprised primarily of literary reciting and philosophical debating. He concludes, "Western learning or science is not just for making a grand display, rather it is the only thing that can save the Chinese from extinction." ¹⁹³

This introduction of science was not a gender neutral project. In these nationalist discourses science was interpreted as Mr Science standing side by side with Mr Democracy. This interpretation of science indicated that science was perceived as a power that was masculine. This power was, as embodied in its domination of the physical world, so miraculous, exotic and macho that it was beyond the imagination of Chinese women and was even out of reach of most Chinese men. Desperately these scholars sought this power through education reform. For them scientific research was the most masculine profession that would enable a man to save China. Instead of literature and philosophy, science now was the source of male cerebral power for a patriotic Chinese man.

Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu, 9.
 Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu, 10.
 Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu, 9.

Moreover, in these nationalist discourses science was depicted as a means of salvation to all human beings, not just to the survival of China. For them Mr Science was also a revolutionary hero to the world, who led the cultural trends driving human societies forward and had the key to the happiness of everyone on this planet. In his preaching on Mr Science Chen Duxiu praises these scientists as such:

The pride of Twentieth-century scientists and the expectation of the age differ from those of previous eras. Science in every field has been profoundly developed. The scientific giant who synthesizes the development of knowledge shall arise from the expectations of the time. While the social structure becomes complex, the truth of human life emerges more clearly. More eagerly than when revolutionary times had called for heroes, the salvation and development of the entire twentieth century now anticipates the rise of the scientific giant. 194

As Mr Science was portrayed as powerful and heroic, the space of science was perceived by the nationalists as masculine. It is believed that the domain of science should be dominated by those ambitious men who were eager to save their country and women were supposed not to be able to do scientific research independently. When these short-haired scholars were doing scientific experiments, women were usually depicted as the assistants to their male leaders in classroom and in workplace. (See figure 3.1).

Now Mr Science had replaced Confucius as the most powerful and virtuous man in China and in the world as well. In these nationalist discourses, Mr Science was the new *wen* God, one who combines practical and cerebral powers. In his eulogizing of science, Yan Fu describes vividly the image of Mr Science to his Chinese audience. He is first depicted as

吴信忠, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe: 1993), 188.

¹⁹⁴ Chen Duxiu, "Dangdai er da kexuejia zhi sixiang",当代二大科学家之思想, in Chen Duxiu, *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* 陈独秀著作, edited by Ren Jianshu 任建树, Zhang Tongmo 张统模 and Wu Xinzhong

practical and connected to real life, for in science "the establishment of every rule, formula or method is based on experiment". Meanwhile for Yan Fu Mr Science is not an ordinary person who deals with routine things in everyday life but one who is full of wonderful cerebral power, for he is not only 'erudite', but also incredibly 'profound': "his research touches the bottom of the universe and overarches the knowledge of different areas". And because of being both practical and cerebral, his power is believed to be "perpetual". Moreover, Mr Science is presented as uniquely virtuous:

When he does his work, he must forsake his prejudice, dismiss all the exaggerations, and abandon his subjectivity. He must be very diligent and patient, very fair and open minded, so that he can achieve something and apply successfully his knowledge to the practical sphere. ¹⁹⁵

From the "Student of Confucius" to a Mr Science

In response to the call for Mr Science by those social activists, both the governments and individuals made their contribution to the process of transformation from Confucian scholars to modern scientists. Between 1896 and 1930, tens of thousands of Chinese young men went abroad for western learning. Meanwhile a lot of modern schools and universities emphasizing science and technology sprouted in China. In these modern schools, the old Confucian learning was replaced and a new form of Chinese wen masculinity was cultivated.

Despite the fact that the Strengthening Learning Society in Beijing and Shanghai were short-lived, they were the loud prelude to the late Qing and early republican education reforms that shaped profoundly the landscape of Chinese education and the image of *wen* men. In 1902 the Qing court implemented radical education reform programme. In this

¹⁹⁵ Yan Fu, "Jiuwang juelun", *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu*, 8.

program traditional Confucian teaching was replaced by a westernized education system in which learning was divided into graduation periods such as primary, middle and high schools. This meant learning was no longer a lifelong career in China. The 1902 education reform also set science and technology as the main contents of the new curriculum among the seven fields of learning: politics, literature, science, agriculture, industry, commerce and medicine. The field of Science was divided into six areas: astronomy, geology, arithmetic, chemistry, physics and zoology-botany¹⁹⁶. The field of industry included civil engineering, machinery engineering, electrical engineering, applied chemistry, architecture, naval architecture, mining and metallurgy, and weapon manufacturing. ¹⁹⁷ In this 1902 frame of education, the traditional Confucian learning was encapsulated in the field of literature, which was only one seventh of the space of the modern study. Through this new curriculum, men's cerebral power was geared away from the authority of the texts by Confucian sages and was connected to practical function and material world.

The Chinese governments played an important role in the transformation of Chinese scholars from *shi* to Mr Science. It cut the link between Confucian learning and political power. Three years after the 1902 Education Reform, the Qing Court implemented an even more radical change—they eliminated the Confucian civil service examination. This official renunciation of Confucian learning made the earlier reforms to the old education system complete and thorough. In addition, the government started to make connections between Mr Science and political power by giving recognition to students returning from overseas or to those who studied modern science and technology. Even before the formal abolition of the civil service examination the Qing Court held special examinations for

1

¹⁹⁶ Zhou Yutong 周予同, *Zhongguo xiandai jiaoyu shi* 中国现代教育史, in Zhou Yutong 周予同, Shu Xincheng 舒新城, ed., *Zhongguo xiandai jiaoyu shi, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi* 中国现代教育史, 近代中国留学史 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1989), 196-7.

¹⁹⁷ Zhou Yutong, *Zhongguo xiandai jiaoyu shi*, in *Zhongguo xiandai jiaoyu shi, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi*, 196-7.

students returning from overseas and rewarded those who excelled in these examinations. For example, in June of 1905, the emperor met the best graduates of western learning and bestowed upon them titles and offices equivalent to the traditional award system such as Hanlin, (member of national academy 翰林), Jinshi (graduate of metropolitan exam 进 士), juren (graduate of provincial exam, 举人). This custom was continued and in 1905, the year the civil service exam was abolished, the Qing court proclaimed that there would be state-held examinations every August for students who undertook the study of western learning, and those who excelled in the examinations would be bestowed with degrees similar to those of Confucian civil service examination system. Also similar to the civil service examinations, the scholars who stood out in the examinations would be given the honour of meeting the emperor in the court and receive administrative posts in the government. 198 West learning was valued even more highly by the Republican government after the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution. Men who had overseas study experience dominated the Republic's first Beijing cabinet. Of the ten members of the cabinet, two were trained in Japan and eight were educated in Europe and North America.¹⁹⁹ From the perspective of gender construction, what the Chinese governments promoted was not just western learning but also the new wen masculinity embodied in the image of Mr Science. By bestowing political power and social prestige on those who excelled in western learning, the Chinese governments were declaring these men of new cerebral power were the most masculine of all people in China.

While Mr Science was welcomed by the governments, he was also embraced by individual Chinese. After the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, many young Chinese men chose to

٠

¹⁹⁸ Shu Xincheng 舒新城, *Jin dai zhongguo liuxue shi* 近代中国留学史, in Zhou Yutong and Shu Xincheng, ed., *Zhongguo xiandai jiaoyu shi, jindai zhongguo liuxue shi*, 181-3.

¹⁹⁹ See Wang Yi-chu, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949*, (Chapel Hill: North Carolina U.P., 1966), 89.

go abroad to study modern science and technology. Science and technology had become the first choice for many Chinese men of this age. Hu Shi 胡适 had first selected agriculture as his major when he was studying in the United States. Lu Xun 鲁迅 had first chosen medicine when he embarked upon his studies in Japan. Lu Xun recollected: "My dream was really wonderful. I intended to save the lives of many patients like my father when I graduated, and to go to the battle field as a doctor when there was a war." According to Lu Xun's recollection, many Chinese students in Tokyo studied political science, natural sciences and technologies; few took literature and arts as their majors. A similar situation was found among the students in North America. In his study of the Chinese students going to America between 1912 and 1929, Wang Yi-chu finds that more than 50 percent of these students studied natural sciences and technology, and the students who chose humanities and arts were below 7 percent. 202

The popularity of science and the decline of humanities and the arts among these young Chinese men reflected the fact that Mr Science was in fashion at this time, and literary skill and philosophical knowledge became less desirable in this new mode of wen masculinity. There was a new proverb emerging in this era that encapsulates the twentieth century notion of Chinese wen masculinity: "Once a young man masters mathematics, physics and chemistry, he will survive everywhere under the heaven" (Xuehao shulihua, zoubian tianxia dou bupa, 学好数理化, 走遍天下都不怕). In contrast to the old notion of wen masculinity in which the source of masculine power was Confucian classic texts, the basis for new wen masculinity now was the authority of modern science. And interestingly, this new wen masculinity was deemed as universally accredited as the

2

²⁰⁰ Lu Xun, "Zi xu"自序, in *Lu Xun quan ji* 鲁讯全集, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), vol.1, 416

²⁰¹ Lu Xun, "Zi xu", in *Lu Xun quan ji* , vol.1, 417.

Wang, Chinese Intellectual and the West, 1872-1949, 111-2.

expression "survive everywhere under heaven" indicates. Obviously the Chinese now believed that accomplishments in scientific subjects would bring power to a man.

Yet the transformation from the student of Confucius to a Mr Science turned out to be quite a difficult process. Some students found that an interest in literature and philosophy was deeply rooted in their hearts and was hard to give up, so they finally came back to the literary and philosophic sphere. Lu Xun retrieved his interest in literature after a sojourn in medical science. Yu Dafu 郁达夫 (1896-1945) spent a lot of years studying economics in Japan but finally became a writer. It seemed that only those who were really keen on science succeeded in this transformation. A good example of this social trend is Zhou Taixuan 周太玄 (1895-1968).

Born in 1895 to a traditional Confucian scholar family, Zhou Taixuan started learning poetry and philosophy at a very early age. Like many graduates of traditional Confucian learning, he was good at composing poems and lyrics, painting, calligraphy and playing music instruments. Before he went to France for study, he had completed fifty five verses of *ci* (lyrics) and made a collection: *Guiying yiyue ci* (The lyrics of the shadowing sweet osmanthus in hazy moonlight 桂彩疑月词). This collection was very popular among his friends. Yet he was influenced by the 1915-23 New Culture Movement and decided to seek scientific knowledge in western countries. In 1919, he went to France and became a student of science. In his letter to friends, he described excitedly the turning point for him from a Confucian scholar to a Mr Science:

The first class in a laboratory was dissecting a snail to find its digestive organs and reproductive organs....And then we had to draw two pictures of these two systems, explaining briefly these organs....When I walked out of the laboratory I was overwhelmed by a strange feeling. I looked

at the sky and the earth, feeling that everything has changed its colour before me. This was the first time I knew what happiness was. It seemed that nature had stripped off its foggy coat and presented itself to me. I felt that today I really touched the body of knowledge. From then on, I read the book *Nature and Natural Science* every day, even at midnight.²⁰³

Clearly, Zhou is describing his experience as a pilgrimage to Mr Science. Newly converted from Confucianism, Zhou travelled a long distance to worship the truth in the most sacred place—the modern laboratory. The piety and rapture presented in this letter shows evidently this young man's longing for knowledge. For him, knowledge of Confucian classic texts no longer represented power—instead knowledge of the real world now held this position. This worship of knowledge also reflects Zhou's deep faith in wen masculinity—men's cerebral power, for what he sought was a special type of knowledge that could led to practical changes to the world.

This transformation from sentimental to rational, textual to practical was not easy for Zhou. In the same letter he revealed that before arriving in France he "had planned to study mathematics, chemistry, palaeontology and zoology all at once", but when he entered the zoology classroom, he "was horrified" by the difficulty of studying science and "cancelled immediately his plan for mathematics and chemistry". In 1920 he told his friends that he worked thirteen hours a day to keep pace with the lectures in classroom. ²⁰⁴ In 1930 Zhou received a PhD degree in zoology—eleven years after his arrival in France.

٠

²⁰³ Zhou Taixuan, "Zhi Shizheng, Guangqi, Mengjiu and Baihua" 致时珍, 光祈, 梦九, 白华, *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 2.10 (1921), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuanji* "少年中国" 专集, [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).

²⁰⁴ Zhou Taixuan, "Zhi Shizheng, Guangqi, Mengjiu and Baihua", *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 2.10 (1921), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuanji*.

Literature Revolution and the Construction of Mr Democracy

Mr Science was not the only model for Chinese *wen* men at the time. Going hand-in-hand with Mr Science, Mr Democracy also landed at the shrine of Chinese *wen* masculinity. As expressed explicitly in Chen Duxiu's "confession", the salvation of China needed the two heroes, Mr Science and Mr Democracy, working together. The arrival of Mr Democracy from the west also caused profound changes to the male Chinese scholars' self perception as *shi*. Being newly discontented with their traditional roles in the public sphere, these new *wen* men sought a new political identity—manly citizenship— in the modern era.

The Importation of Mr Democracy from the West

Between 1897 and 1917, a number of western heroes, who had strived for the independence and the democracy of their own country, were introduced to China by key thinkers. The first model of Mr Democracy chosen for Chinese men was George Washington. Between August and November of 1896, the biography of George Washington was published in serial form in the canon of the reformists: *Shiwu bao* 时务报 (Chinese Progress). In the introduction to the biography, Washington is depicted as one of the greatest heroes in the west. Liang Qichao praises the masculinity of Washington in his seventh essay "Xinmin shuo" 新民说 (On new people) as such:

When the Americans suffered from the tyranny of the Britain, the tax rate was high and human rights were denied, therefore the Americans could hardly make a living. At this time there was a heroic farmer arising from the countryside. He rang the bell of freedom, upholding the flag of independence. He resisted the British troop with an untrained civilian force and established a

The second Mr Democracy imported to China was Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). In 1903, Liang Qichao introduced the biography of Cromwell to his audiences. He writes:

...every time when I read history, when I read political science, when I read maps, there arose solemnly a giant in front of my eyes. Who is this giant? Oliver Cromwell. Without Cromwell, Great Britain would have no system of constitutional monarchy. Without Cromwell, there would be no such an empire—Great Britain. Cromwell was the hero of the British heroes, the only representative of the Anglo-Saxon.²⁰⁶

In Cromwell's biography, Liang Qichao describes lucidly the character of Cromwell:

His bosom was broad and transparent; his demeanour was stern; he saw evil as his enemy; he was eager for righteousness; he always restrained himself ascetically. He constructed his selfhood with religious belief, therefore was able to shape the whole country.²⁰⁷

Liang also depicted vividly the masculinity of Cromwell to his audience:

Cromwell was neither an orator nor the leader of the parliament, yet the sternness of his appearance made other people dared not confront him. His speech was the roar of a lion, electrifying the ears of the six hundred senators. His speech often inspired the vigour of his party and frightened his opposition.²⁰⁸

Yet personal strength of character was not the only criterion for the masculinity of the Mr Democracy. For China's key thinkers, Mr Democracy was admirable because he harboured both this unusual strength of character and a deep belief in individual's political rights and freedoms. In the introduction to Cromwell's biography, Liang Qichao explains why he admired these kinds of people. He said he admired those successful heroes such as

²⁰⁵ Liang Qichao, "Lun maoxian jinqu"论冒险进取, in Liang Qichao quan ji, vol.3, 667.

²⁰⁶ Liang Qichao, "Xin vingguo juren kelunweier zhuan"新英国巨人克伦威尔传, Liang Qichao quan ji, vol.3, 1114.

Liang Qichao, "Xin yingguo juren kelunweier zhuan", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 1118. Liang Qichao, "Xin yingguo juren kelunweier zhuan", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 1124.

George Washington and Abraham Lincoln (1809-65), and he also admired the failed heroes such as Louis Kossuth (1802-94) and Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72), yet he would not admire Napoleon (1769-1861) or Bismarck (1815-1898) because they "were only apparently admirable and not real heroes". For Liang Qichao, masculinity is not just politics and power but is necessarily the spirit of freedom and democracy. Liang's negative comment on Napoleon and Bismark indicated the coming of a new era when Chinese wen men embraced the spirit of freedom and political rights as the unique masculinity of Mr Democracy. The import of the notion of democracy and liberty renewed Chinese wen men's definition of masculinity and dramatically changed their self-perception as political men. This change was embodied clearly in their self-mockery—depicting Chinese men as slaves to their superiors.

A Slave Does not Make a Man

When Mr Democracy was imported the Chinese wen men measured themselves with the standard of a citizen and found that in fact they had long been slaves. The concept of slavery lay at the heart of the contemporary understanding of Chinese masculinity at that time. Around the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution and the New Culture Movement of 1915-23, there were dozens of articles on slavery and citizenship published in the magazines and books produced by the Chinese students overseas. Among them Zou Rong's 邹容(1885-1905) Geming jun 革命军(revolutionary troop) was the most famous. Contrasting with the great western masculinity, these new wen men attacked the slavish state of Chinese men.

²⁰⁹ Liang Qichao, "Xin yingguo juren kelunweier zhuan", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 1115.

According to Zou Rong, all Chinese men including *shi* had a long history of being slaves. He points out that all Chinese men had been submissive subjects to the dynastic courts since the Emperor Qin The First 秦始皇 (259-210BC) founded the Qin 秦 dynasty in 221BC: "Since Emperor Qin The First unified China, he became a almighty Majesty and lashed his subjects at will, rendering the country his private property and the people his slaves." For Zou Rong, Chinese men's slavery was doubled by the conquest of China by the Manchu, because the Manchu forced Han men, the majority of Chinese men, to shave their hair and to adopt a queue to mark their subjection to the Manchu. Moreover, he declared the Qing laws separated Manchu and Han and treated them unequally in a wide range of social and political arenas.²¹¹

Chinese men's servility was also seen as being embodied in their behaviour. The *shi*, especially the lower *shi*, were criticised because they were not only political slaves to their emperors, but also slaves to their superiors such as their examining teachers and the sages. An anonymous author attacked the moral quality of the *shi*:

The most noble among the people should be *shi*; however the most inferior and stupid were *shi*, too. When they embraced the eight-legged essays upon entering the examination room, they bore the shame of being frisked, as if they were thieves; they also bore the shame of flattering their examining teachers, like concubines attending to their masters.²¹²

According to this author, the upper shi, who became scholar-officials, were slaves, too.

Chinese officials are all inferiors. The higher his rank is, the more inferior he is. Although they are accompanied by subordinates and protected by bodyguards when they are out, these officials ingratiate their superior just like prostitutes, and run around the house of their

²¹⁰ Zou Rong, "Geming jun"革命军, in Zhi Zhi 郅志, ed, *Meng hui tou: Chen Tianhua, Zou Rong ji*, 猛回头: 陈天华邹容集, (Shen yang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994), 184.

Zou Rong, "Geming jun", Meng hui tou: Chen Tianhua, Zou Rong ji, 188-9.

²¹² Anonymous author, "Shuo guomin", 说国民, in Hu Weixi 胡伟希, ed, *Min sheng: Xinhai shilun xuan* 辛亥时论选, (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994), 4.

superiors like servants. They are afraid of their superiors as if they were tigers or wolves; they adore their superiors as if they were celestial beings. When their superiors smile they would be happy for days; when their superiors lose their temper they would be worried for days. They even flatter the servants of their superiors and never dare say no to them.²¹³

Obviously in the eyes of these new *wen* men the possession of political power by these scholar-officials did not contribute to their masculinity because in an authoritarian regime no officials could claim to carry the freedom and integrity crucial for a respectable man. These attacks on the servility of the *shi* implies a modification to the definition of masculinity: masculinity should not be just measured by how much political power and cultural prestige a man possesses, but also should be measured by the extent to which a man submits himself to the others, for it was common place in imperial China that an scholar-official could be both dominant and submissive in the exercise of his duties.

This view of masculinity developed further after the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution. As the leader of the 1915-23 New Culture Movement, Chen Duxiu elucidated the concept of slavery from Nietzsche's philosophy. In the opening issue of *Xin Qingnian*, Chen Duxiu declares that since the prevalence of the discourse of human rights and equalitarianism, no truly vigorous men can bear the label of slave. He criticises Confucian ethics as being, by Nietzsche's standards, the morality of slaves:

Yet loyalty, filial piety, chasteness and righteousness are all the morality of slaves. The great German philosopher Nietzsche divided morality into two: one is the morality of the noble, which is independent and courageous; another is the morality of the slave, which is obedient and docile. Light penalties and low tax rates, which were the objectives of the Confucian governance, were only the happiness of slaves; eulogies and tributes, which the *shi* used to produce, were only the articles of slaves; ranks and mansions bestowed by the emperor, which

-

²¹³ Anonymous author, "Shuo guomin", Min sheng: Xinhai shilun xuan, 6.

the scholars sought, were only the glory of slaves; big gravestones and large tombs, which were symbols of their contributions to the emperors, were only the markers of slaves. This is because they judged right or wrong and glory or shame by other people's interests and opinions, not by their own—thereby wiping out individual independence and equality.²¹⁴

Here, Chen stresses a new dimension for the measuring of masculinity: equality and subjectivity. For him, men can be called men only when they are equal to each other and therefore no longer be judged by their superior's interests or opinions. And by this standard, what the old shi sought and achieved, including the Confucian morality were all slavish things. He denies fundamentally the worthiness of the traditional shi: their political goal, works, social ranks and fame, because they lacked political equality and subjectivity. Chen calls this subjectivity "personhood" which he sees as the core of the moral character of a man. In his 1915 article "Jinggao qingnian" 敬告青年(Advising respectfully the youth) Chen Duxiu explains the meaning of personhood as follows:

I have hands and legs therefore I can make a living from them; I have a mouth and a tongue therefore I can express what I like and what I hate; I have a mind therefore I can choose what I believe in. In sum, neither do I need other people to live on my behalf nor do I live on the behalf of the others, which means all conduct, rights and beliefs must derive from one's own wit no matter what the level; as a result no subordination to other people should be permitted.²¹⁵

From Chen's description we can find that what Chen advocated was a mixture of individualism, equality and the spirit of judging everything by and from oneself. Central to Chen's concept of personhood is subjectivity, which was defined as the prerequisite of political equality and the basis for citizenly virtue. Given that only men had the rights to be a citizen at the time, Chen's attack on the servility of the shi and advocacy on personhood was a new definition of the "public men" in which the worthiness of men was defined not only by the power or skills the men possess but more essentially by the social

Chen Duxiu, "Jinggao qingnian" 敬告青年, in *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 131.
 Chen Duxiu, "Jinggao qingnian", *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 130-1.

equity and freedom they enjoy. In this new definition of a "public man" the refusal to be submissive to other people became the benchmark for power and masculinity.

Indeed, this was a new understanding of masculinity, which put aside the *wen* and *wu* dichotomy, focusing on the political freedom and subjectivity of men. By this new standard for manhood, the old *wen* and *wu* men are virtuous only if they are subject to nobody but themselves. From this perspective, the arrival of Mr Democracy in China ruptured the notion of what a public man is: men should have their share of power in public affairs not as a result of their success in examinations but simply because they are alive.

The Construction of Mr Democracy by reformists

The influence of Mr Democracy was everywhere. Key Chinese thinkers at the time worked hard on the transformation of the scholars from *shi* to modern citizens. After the failure of the 1898 Hundred Day Reform, Liang Qichao launched a campaign against the shortcomings of Chinese men. In 1903, Liang wrote a set of articles on "New People" (Xinmin 新民), discussing the character of Mr Democracy. In these articles Liang makes it clear that his advocacy of "new people" was for young Chinese men to construct a new form of masculinity that was desperately needed for nation building. In the end of the seventh essay, he laments that China is full of *nüde* 女德 (feminine virtues) but lacks *nande* 男德 (masculine virtues) and calls for a masculinization of China. He presents a song to the "boys"—his young male disciples and also his broader audience, encouraging them to become the great men of China:

Never look behind, boys,

When you're on the way;

Time enough for that, boys,

On some future day.

Though the way be long, boys,

Face it with a will;

Never stop to look behind

When climbing up a hill.

First be sure you're right, boys,

Then with courage strong

Strap your pack upon your back,

And tramp, tramp along...²¹⁶

Then, what kind of masculine attributes or masculine virtue does Liang Qichao expect his

"boys" to possess as men? Looking through all his essays on "New people", we find that

he is calling for men that combine great character and strong moral spirit. In the seventh

essay he advocates aspiration, fortitude, adventurousness as prerequisites for excellence in

manhood. In the seventeenth essay he calls for martial valour in the wen men of the

twentieth century. Yet he promotes in particular the character and spirits of Mr Democracy.

Most of his essays concentrate on the attributes of Mr Democracy such as independence,

defending of one's individual rights and the exercise of public virtue.

Liang Qichao first sets Anglo-Saxon men as the model of Mr Democracy for young

Chinese men to follow. He attributes the prosperity of western countries to the characters

Liang Qichao, "Lun maoxian jinqu"论冒险进取, in Liang Qichao quan ji, vol.3, 670.

of its people, and men in particular. He articulates the view that among all the races in the world, the white race is stronger than the non-white, because the white race is mobile, competitive, and progressive, and the non-white is less mobile, pacificist and conservative, therefore white men can spread civilization to new lands while the non-whites could only generate civilization within their borders. Liang makes further the comments that among the white races, the Teutonic excels the other whites, because the Teutonic harbours more political ability to form an autonomous city that is independent of the state. For Liang Qichao, among the Teutonic, the most excellent men in the world are Anglo-Saxon men. He wrote:

The Anglo-Saxon is more excellent than other Teutonic races. Why? This is because the fashion of independence prevails most among the Anglo-Saxon. When they were young, their parents and teachers never treated them as dependents but trained them to be independent. They are used to discipline and social order, and are full of common sense therefore never agitated by unsound plans. They are good at protecting their individual rights and they see individual rights as their second life. They possess the strongest body in this world therefore can embark on repeated adventure. Their character is the most fortitudinous and never gives up in adversity. They uphold material power and dismiss the textual things...²¹⁷

Contrasting with such an example, Liang analyzes the deficiency of Chinese men and calls for modern masculine attributes. He points out that Chinese men lack the sense of independent individuals who share responsibility in the society. Liang calls this real "public virtue" (gong de 公德), which is different from the fake public virtue—the loyalty to the emperors. He tells his disciples the relationship between the minister and the emperor, which was a primary dimension of Confucian ethics, is only one of the private relationships, because the emperor privatized the country as his own company. For this

²¹⁷ Liang Qichao, "Shi xinmin zhi yi"释新民之义, in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 659-60.

sake, Liang pointes out that the Chinese men have no idea what the public relationships and public virtue are. For Liang, men are public not because they are employed by the emperor to take charge of the state administration but because they are citizens of the country who have equal rights and responsibilities. He maintains the true spirit of patriotism—the real manly virtue comes not from the heart of a slave but from the heart of a citizen.²¹⁸

To foster citizenly virtue—"public virtue"—Liang prescribes some particular attributes for these patriotic Chinese men to embrace. The first attribute Liang recommends is the awareness of "individual rights" (quanli sixiang 权利思想). He states that every human is bestowed with natural rights by heaven but only the strong and the powerful are able to claim their natural rights. He explains that "a man's claim for rights is backed by his strength, just like the lion and tiger over the animals, the chieftain over his tribe, the noble over the humble, the men over the women, the majority over the minority, the powerful over the effeminate'. 219 He warns Chinese men that if a person has no notion of individual rights or can not protect his rights he would degrade himself into the position of the slave.220

Liang Qichao then elucidates further saying "whether he holds a strong notion of individual rights determines the character of a person. Mean people would bear the humiliation of the loss of individual rights while the noble would prefer their individual rights to his head."221 He criticizes those who tolerate the infringement of his material interests:

²¹⁸ Liang Qichao, "Lun gongde"论公德, in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol. 3, 660-2.

Liang Qichao, "Lun quanli sixiang", 论权利思想, in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 671.
 Liang Qichao, "Lun quanli sixiang", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 671.
 Liang Qichao, "Lun quanli sixiang", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 672.

When a person is violated, oppressed and vilified, he can not help but feel the pain mentally. And those who say fights are only over the material interests of a person are really small men. For example, if I have something that was snatched by another person and I appealed to a court, this legal action was aimed not at the substance but at the rights over the substance.²²²

For Liang, a real man should never give up his individual rights, and only the petty men would calculate the material loss of taking legal action. He insists that a man who gave up individual rights can not be counted on by his group therefore is not reliable or respectable. He maintains that when a man gives up his individual rights he is jeopardizing the interest of his community just like a man's committing suicide to the interest of his family.²²³

In connection with the awareness of individual rights, the second attributes Liang recommends to the public men is the spirit of freedom (*ziyou* 自由). And again he sets the spirit of freedom as the opposite to slavery therefore it is a prerequisite to the construction of masculinity. He sets western men as the model of Mr Democracy, describing how western men strive for their freedom in the political, religious and economic realms. He warns Chinese young men that the term freedom could be easily abused, claiming that law abiding is essential for the freedom of all members of a society. As some examples in striving for freedom, Liang encourages these young men to fight against their sages, customs, circumstances and sexual desires. ²²⁴

From Liang's perspective, another attribute important for a public man is autonomy (*zi zhi* 自治). He insists that the ability to govern oneself is a crucial qualification for citizenship. He warns that if a man has no ability to govern himself he is certain to be ruled by other people and thus loses his status as a citizen, and if a nation has no ability to be

Liang Qichao, "Lun qunli sixiang", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 673.

²²⁴ Liang Qichao, "Lun ziyou", 论自由, in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 675-6.

Liang Qichao, "Lun quanli sixiang", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 672.

autonomous it would certainly be governed by other nations. He points out that for thousands of years Chinese people were used to being governed by their superiors therefore they were docile and submissive. He thus challenges Chinese men "Are you ready for constitutional democracy and the parliamentary system?" 225

Mr Democracy in the Literary Realm

While the reformists²²⁶called on Mr Democracy in general, the revolutionaries²²⁷ tried to construct Mr Democracy specifically in the literary realm. By launching a literary revolution between 1917 and 1923, revolutionaries, such as Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi, effectively transformed the Confucian literati to the Republican citizen in the literary sphere. As the result of their campaigns, a new type of literature sprouted in China in which a modern wen masculine image, the republican literary men, emerged.

In the previous discussion on the textuality of shi I pointed out that almost every Confucian scholar was a literary person, because composing and reciting poems and lyrics were a major theme of their everyday life. As Song Geng has observed, the ability to interpret Confucian classic texts and produce literary texts (cai 才) and the poetic sensibility to everything in the environment (qing 情) were two key components of the old literati. 228 This understanding of cai and qing, however, was not just challenged by the power of Mr Science but also by Mr Democracy. In October 1916, Hu Shi, while he was still studying in the United States, published his proposal for literature reform in the

Song Geng, The fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong

University Press, 2004), 104-18.

²²⁵ Liang Qichao, "Lun ziyou", in *Liang Qichao quan ji*, vol.3, 682.

Here the "reformists" refers to the group of scholar-officials who advocated and participated in the One Hundred Days Reform in 1898. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao were the leaders of this political group. Here the "revolutionaries" refers to the group of people around the early republican time who favored a polical and cultural revolution rather than a gradual reform like the 1898 One Hundred Days Reform.

October issue of *Xin Qingnian*. This article signifies the coming of the campaign against the old textuality of *wen* men in the literary world²²⁹.

In this proposal for a literary reform, Hu expresses his dissatisfaction with the Confucian scholars. Through explaining his eight principles for literature reformation, he presents a list of the illnesses of the old literati: citing the words of the ancients too often to show the source of their authority; copying the styles and thoughts of the ancients to show their erudition and elegancy; presenting mawkish sentiments to show their delicacy; referring frequently to the stories of the ancients to show their knowledge; using parallel prose to show their exquisite taste, and writing without grammar to make the world of text mystical and difficult to outsiders.²³⁰ All these features led to the overall characteristic of the scholars: a textuality that was based on the authority of Confucian sages. Hu points out that the major problem with this type of literature is that the form transcended the content; the textual excelled over the unadorned, which made literature sick and useless to contemporary life.

Obviously, Hu, as the key thinker of the revolutionary camp, is expressing his dissatisfaction with the old *wen* masculinity. By accusing the old *shi* of copying the ancients, he casts doubt on the *wen* prowess of these Confucian scholars: their accomplishments in literature and philosophy. For him, most Confucian scholars can not be called men of *cai* and *qing*, because their literature is primarily repeating what the ancestors have already expressed. In order to overcome such a deficiency, Hu raises a new standard for *wen* masculinity: the creation of literature through which the citizenly spirit of

-

²²⁹ "Wenxue gailiang chuyi" 文学改良刍议, in Hu Shi, *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存, (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), Collection 1 vol.1

²³⁰ Hu Shi, "Wenxue gailiang chuyi"文学改良刍议, in Hu Shi, *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存, (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), Collection 1 vol.1, 7-24.

a man is expressed and the citizenly duty of a man is conducted.

First, Hu Shi insists that the creation of literature comes from the writer's feelings and thoughts as the experience of a unique individual. Hu emphasizes that "real" literature must be something "alive" and this could only be the expression of the special sentiments and ideas generated by the unique individuals. He maintains every individual is equal to each other; therefore the modern writers do not need to borrow authority from the ancient sages. Meanwhile Hu believes that every individual is special in terms of his/her talent and life experience, so when literature contains "ego" it would be unique and therefore valuable. He thus encourages the expression of subjectivity by modern authors.²³¹ And in order to present freely and fully the individual concerns and experiences, Hu Shi advocates that the traditional rules of writing such as parallel prose and adherence to rhyme schemes must be discarded.

Here Hu Shi is upgrading the definition of *cai* and *qing*, the two very attributes of *wen* masculinity. For Hu Shi, men's literary talent and skills should not be measured by how well he can understand and imitate the texts by the Confucian sages but by how well he can produce new texts that reflect his being and power as a citizen. From Hu Shi's perspective, the republican era should be a period when the *wen* men's masculinity could be released in an effervescent stream as a result of the freedom of expression he enjoys and the subjectivity he is allowed to pursue and display. To provide an example to display this new *wen* masculinity, Hu Shi tried a new form of poetry which discarded the traditional poetic rules requiring parallel phrases and strict rhyme schemes. In 1918, he published his collection of new poems— *Changshi ii* 尝试集 (The collection of trying).

-

²³¹ See Hu Shi, "Wenxue gailiang chuyi", in *Hu Shi wen cun*, Collection 1 vol.1, 7-11.

which was the first collection of modern Chinese poems.

Yet Hu Shi expected even more than this from the modern Chinese *wen* men. While freeing the literati from the constraints of the ancients, he requires them to undertake their citizenly duty through writing. Hu advocates that the literati should communicate with all Chinese citizens by adopting the vernacular language and following grammar. Hu Shi emphasizes that a good writer should be able to create texts that are clear to the ordinary people. He explains the meaning of *Baihua* 台话(vernacular)—the "clear language" in one of his 1917 letters to Qian Xuantong 钱玄同 (1887-1939), another activist in 1917-8 literary revolution.

First, the clarity of a clear language means the vernacular language spoken on the stage to the commoners, therefore *baihua* is vernacular language; second, the clarity of a clear language means the plain language spoken in everyday life, and the word of written language can be adopted only if it is plain or explicit; Third, the clarity of a clear language is without stacking and excessive adornment.²³²

Clearly, Hu Shi wanted the textual world to be open to more and more commoners by adopting vernacular, spoken language. When this plain, everyday language replaced the ancient, patrician language to be the currency of literary world, the ordinary people were able to enter this space by being readers of the literature. It is not exaggerating that Hu Shi's literary revolution democratized the world of literature. By using vernacular language, the power of *wen* masculinity increased because the scope of their audience dramatically enlarged therefore the influence of their work in the society as a whole expanded.

Hu Shi's democratic view of literary masculinity was also reflected in his introduction of

117

²³² Hu Shi, "Wenxue gailiang chuyi", in *Hu Shi wen cun*, Collection 1, vol.1, 55.

"Ibsenism" to Chinese modern literati. In 1918, Hu organized a special issue of *Xin Qingnian* for Ibsen's works. This issue includes three famous plays by Ibsen, a biography of Ibsen and an article discussing Ibsenism.²³³ In his article introducing Ibsenism, Hu lists those problems that Ibsen reveals in his plays, pointing out that a good writer should be the doctor to his society, who is able to present the symptoms of the illness of the society therefore leaves the possibility to solve these problems.²³⁴ By presenting Henrik Ibsen as a model of Mr Democracy in literature, Hu exhorts the young Chinese *wen* men that *Cai* is not just the ability to express individual feelings and thoughts, it refers also to the ability to bring about social changes and progress to the society.

Hu's literary reform scheme played an important part in the transformation of Chinese wen masculinity from the Confucian-sage-centred to the citizenship oriented. By upholding the spirit of the citizen, the male subjectivity was cultivated and nurtured in the fertile soil of freedom and equality. Instead of thinking through the dead ancients, the scholars were encouraged to create history by expressing their individual concerns and feelings. For the first time in history Chinese scholars were empowered by the rights of the citizen—judging everything by himself/herself not by references to Confucian texts or the ancients.

Chen Duxiu and many other new Chinese *wen* men welcomed Hu's literary reform program. On 1st of July, 1917, Chen Duxiu published his article "Wenxue geming lun" 文 学革命论(On the literature revolution) in *Xin Qingnian*, supporting Hu's opinion about

٠

²³³ The special issue dedicating to Ibsenism was *Xin Qingnian*, 1918, Vol. 4 Issue 6. This issue includes "A Doll's House", "An Enemy of the People", "Little Eyoff", a Biography of Henrik Ibsen and an article on Ibsenism by Hu Shi. See *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang* 共产党, 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).

Example 234 Hu Shi, "Yibusheng zhuyi"易卜生主义, in *Hu Shi wen cun*, Collection 1, vol.4, 13.

creating republican Chinese literature. In his article, Chen puts forward three slogans for the literature revolution: overthrowing the ornate and adulatory literature that belongs to aristocrats, constructing plain and lyric literature that belongs to civilians; overthrowing the stale, repetitive literature of the classic mode, constructing fresh and sincere literature in a realistic style; overthrowing the recondite literature of the hermits, constructing a manifest, popular literature of the citizen.²³⁵

Conjured up by Hu Shi's and Chen Duxiu's plea, a new generation of male writers, who used the vernacular language and spoke for themselves emerged from the ethos of the 1917-23 literary revolution. Writers such as Lu Xun, Lao She 老舍, Yu Dafu 郁达夫 and Ba Jin 巴金, were the embodiment of Mr Democracy in the literary field. These writers were no longer the slaves of the ancients but expressed their concerns and sentiments independently and individually. And they presented the social problems to their audience in the clearest of terms. This new style of literature was called by Lu Xun 'the songs of iron and blood', which was the opposite of the effeminate old literature—"chanting the moon and flower"(yinfeng nongyue 吟风弄月). Lu Xun proudly told his audiences that he was very careful about the style of his expression:

I avoid the adornment of the language, for I think it's enough to present only the concrete fact to the audiences. I prefer the pure fact than any foil or ornamentation. ...therefore I never delineate the sentimental scenery, and I never let the speech be too long.²³⁷

Here Lu Xun is emphasizing a new, masculine style of literature that was typified by a focus on revealing social problems, no excessive display of sentiment or personal feelings, and less talk and nagging. Lu Xun achieved what he set out to do and became the

-

²³⁵ Chen Duxiu, "Wenxue geming lun"文学革命论, in Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan, 260.

²³⁶ Lu Xun, Lu Xun zizhuan 鲁讯自传, (Taibei: Longwen chubanshe, 1993), 99.

²³⁷ Lu Xun. Lu Xun zizhuan. 101.

pioneer and icon of the manly republican literati.

Conclusion

The late Qing and early republican period witnessed a dramatic change in the notion of wen masculinity. Pressured by national crisis, Chinese men bravely embraced Mr Science and Mr Democracy to be the new male icons in modern era. Through education reform, studying overseas and the 1915-23 New Cultural Movement they tried hard to transfer themselves from students of Confucius to disciples of Mr Science and Mr Democracy.

In this transformation men's cerebral power embodied in his education was still held as crucial part of masculinity, which indicates a firm belief in *wen* prowess. However this belief came with a condition that emphasized the connection between men's cerebral power and his practical function. With a connection to the material world, Mr Science was venerated as the most authoritative and masculine in the world. Chinese men were encouraged to go to laboratories to assert their *wen* masculinity while Chinese women were delegated to the role of assistants in scientific world.

The traditional understanding of *wen* masculinity was also challenged by the fashion of Mr Democracy. In imperial times, political power was the prerogative of the *wen* men because of their knowledge of the Confucian classics and their success in civil service exam. This view of *wen* masculinity was changed profoundly by the arrival of modern democracy. Despite the fact that the *wen* men exercised political power in imperial times, they were criticized for being slavish to their superiors and the sages. The republican *wen*

men raised a new standard for political masculinity: equal rights to others and citizenly power to bring changes to the society. One embodiment of such a social change was that the notion of individual rights was held as crucial to the moral character of a man.

As an important part of the social construction of Mr Democracy, these republican wen men conducted a literature reform movement to transform the old literati. In this reform of their literary culture the definition of literary talent—men's most important wen prowess in the past—was redefined in terms of citizenly power and creativity, which reflected the impact of men's new political identity on the notion of wen masculinity. This wen masculinity was now recognized as manifesting the creativity of literature through which the citizenly spirit of a man is expressed and the citizenly duty is conducted. By launching a literature revolution these new wen men celebrated their new public roles as manly citizens.

Chapter 4

From Scholar to Entrepreneur and Technician:

The Rise of the Men of "Strong Hands"

In the previous discussion of the transformation of wen 文 masculinity I demonstrated that compelled by the power of western imperialism and colonialism, the new wen masculinity stressed a connection between men's cerebral power and the practical world. This trend was enhanced further through the Chinese Practical Enterprise (shiye 实业) Movement after the defeat of China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. Between 1896 and 1930, "Practical Enterprises" such as manufacture, technology and commerce became the source of masculine power for Chinese men. Scholars who had achieved success in civil service exam, such as Zhang Jian 张謇 (1853-1926) and Zhou Xuexi 周学熙 (1865-1947), deserted the ladder of high ranking officialdom and chose industry and commerce as their new career. Senolars of producing talented text in literature and philosophy, these scholars sought material power in manufacture, commerce and technology. Wielding the power of money, these scholar-businessmen stamped the world with their will and thereby created a new masculine image that was closely associated

²³⁸ Zhang Kaiyuan 章开沅, *Zhang Jian zhuan* 张謇传, (Beijing: Zhongguo gongshang lianhe chubanshe, 2000); Yao Kang 姚抗, *Beiguo gongye juzi: Zhou Xuexi zhuan* 北国工业巨子周学熙传, (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2007).

with 'strong hands'.

This chapter examines the changed arena for testing manhood in China under the impact of western expansion, Chinese nationalism and modernization. In particular, it explores the mechanism through which the patriotic Chinese men were transformed from textual scholars to practical entrepreneurs and technicians. By presenting the models of the men of "strong hands" such as Zhang Jian (1853-1926) and Zhou Xuexi (1865-1947), I argue that between 1896 and 1930, marketplace masculinity was exalted as the first-class manhood in China.

The Emergence of the Modern Scholar-Businessmen

"Scholar-businessmen" (rushang 儒商) as a social group emerged in late Ming 明 (1368-1644) when commerce flourished in China, especially in the lower Yangzi River 长 过 delta. It referred to those men who served in the commercial sector yet followed Confucian moral codes and also conducted Confucian learning. This term bore the intriguing relationship between the class of shi \pm and merchants, and also the tension between traditional wen masculinity and marketplace masculinity. 239

The Challenge of the Marketplace Masculinity in Ming-Qing 明清 Time

As I have discussed in the introduction chapter, the notion of masculinity varies in a

.

²³⁹ The term "scholar-businessmen" (*rushing* 儒商) emerged much later than it existed a social group. According to Wu Haoxue 吴浩学, it was He Lin 贺麟 who first used "scholar-businessmen" to refer to this special type of entrepreneurs in his book *Culture and Human Live* (Wenhua yu rensheng 文化与人生), which was published in 1930s.

society based on the diversity of class and ethnicity. There is usually more than one definition of masculinity existing in a society. However, not all the definitions of masculinity are valued as equal by the people. As Michael Kimmel points out, "one definition of masculinity continues to remain the standard against which other forms of manhood are measured and evaluated". 240 In imperial China, the wen masculinity held by shi class stood out as the hegemonic definition because of the wen men's exclusive access to political power, cultural influence and social privilege. Against wen' men's power and status, other types of masculinity borne by wu men, farmers or merchants were measured. This kind of evaluation went everywhere in the society. For example, there was a proverb circulating in late imperial China that made comparisons between the success of wen men and men of other classes: "In books there are certainly a million kilograms of cereals (shu zhong ziyou qianzhongsu 书中自有千钟粟); In books there are certainly mansions that are made of gold (shu zhong ziyou huangjinwu 书中自有黄金屋); In books there are certainly the women whose skin are as fine as jade (shu zhong zivou vanruvu 书中自有颜 如玉)." This proverb reminds people that success in the civil service examination surpasses the success of a farmer or a merchant, because it will bring about everything a man desires: the food produced by the farmer, the wealth of a successful merchant and above all beautiful women. Compared with wen masculinity, other types of masculinity including marketplace masculinity were diminished and therefore less desirable.

For a long time, Confucian ideology and the governments it supported suppressed marketplace masculinity. Merchants were placed at the bottom of the four classes: *Shi*, farmers, artisans and merchants. According to the orthodox Confucian ideology, running

.

²⁴⁰ Michael Kimmel, "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity" in Whitehead Stephen and Barrett Frank, eds, *The Masculinities Reader*, (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2001), 270.

a business does not increase value to the item on sale therefore merchants are merely transporting goods between different places and greedily obtaining the profit from the transactions. Based on such a discriminatory notion, the governments suppressed particularly the wealthy life style of the merchants. For example, in 1370, the Taizu Emperor of the Ming 明太祖 (1368-98) enacted a bill stipulating that the rich families of the commoner classes must not wear clothes made of silk and jewelleries made of gold and pearl. Instead they could only wear clothes made of cotton and jewelleries made of silver. In 1381, this emperor again directed that the farmers could wear some types of silk while the artisan families and merchant families could only wear cotton. In 1506, Emperor Wu of the Ming 明武宗 (1506-21) ordered that the wearing of furs was prohibited to all the families of the merchant, servant, prostitute and actor classes.²⁴¹ Such sumptuary laws confirmed the inferior social status of the merchant class relative to the *shi* class.

It is not surprising that merchants were disparaged by the *shi* as being as low as prostitutes or servants. Running a business was deemed a career not suitable for *shi* families. For example, Lu You 陆游, the famous poet of Southern Song 南宋 (1127-1279) exhorts his offspring in the household instruction 家训:

If you love children in the way your ancestors did, then you must make sure that your children have had sufficient food and clothes and have married at the proper age, and make sure they have been raised to become a *shi* instead of merchants or artisans, which belong to the inferior groups.²⁴²

Because of this social discrimination, those who had succeeded in commercial sector did

²⁴¹ Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, *Pinwei shehua: Wanming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu* 品味奢华: 晚明的消费 社会与士大夫, (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 2007), 123-4.

²⁴² Lu You, Weinan wenji 渭南文集, vol. 21, cited in Yu Yingshi 余英时, Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua 士与中国文化。(Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe. 2003). 464.

not view the accumulation of wealth as their ultimate goal. Rather, they would spend money seeking academic titles. As Tao Jinsheng 陶晋生 observes in his study of the *shi* in Northern Song 北宋 (960-1127), "many merchant families such as those selling tea or medicine, and many the artisan families such as the manufacturer of salts or hats, compelled their children to go to school and to take civil service examinations."²⁴³

However the rise of merchant class in late Ming 明 and Qing 清 times created an alternative path towards manly success, which put significant pressure on the pride of wen masculinity. One important social change in late Ming society was that the government loosened control on the clear division between different social classes, which meant the rich families could exalt their social status by buying certain type of academic titles and wearing luxurious clothes. Since the 1460s a particular type of academic title—Gongsheng 贡生—was open for sale. Some other titles of the low ranking officialdom were also sold in a similar fashion. Although the official titles bought with money usually did not include real administrative power, these titles brought honour to the merchant families therefore raised the standing of the families in the society.

The increased power of money enhanced the merchants' claims to masculity. On the one hand, they acknowledged that the scholar-officials possessed the first class masculinity because of their political power and cultural influence. On the other, they valued themselves as men. They claimed that "If a true man (dazhangfu 大丈夫) can not

.

 ²⁴³ See Tao Jinsheng, Bei Song shizu jiazu hunyin shenghuo 北宋士族家族婚姻生活, (Taibei: Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2001),13
 ²⁴⁴ The selling of academic title and official titles was started during the reign the Ying Emperor of Ming

The selling of academic title and official titles was started during the reign the Ying Emperor of Ming (1457-64), which exalted greatly the status of the merchant class. See Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, *Pin wei she hua: wan Ming de xiao fei she hui yu shi da fu* 品味奢华:晚明的消費社会与士大夫, (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Lianjing chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 2007), 86; Also see Lin Liyue 林丽月, *Mingdai de guozijian sheng* 明代的国子监生, (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue lishi yanjiusuo, 1979),101.

establish his name in the society like the *shi* do, he should be able to build up an empire in the family". 245 In his study of *shi* and merchants, Yu Yingshi 余英时 makes a comparison between the *shi* and merchants: "the space for *shi* to show their manhood was the state (guo 国), in which they establish themselves by bringing order to the society through political power and cultural influence, yet the space for merchants to present their masculinity was the family (jia 家), in which they build up an empire that can endure long enough for generations". 246

While the social status of the merchants was exalted, the *shi*, and the lower layer of *shi* in particular, felt the negative impact of this marketplace masculinity acutely. One major reason for them to feel lost over the promotion of the merchant class was that most of the *shi* were destined to fail the Provincial Examination (*xiangshi* 乡试) and the Metropolitan Examination (*huishi* 会试) because of the small pass quota the government set. Therefore most *shi* belonged to lower layer that did not and would never hold government office. Although they did enjoy some power and privilege over the commoners yet were often in need of money to cover their household expenses including the regular trips to the capital required in order to take the examinations. The embarrassing circumstances the lower layer of *shi* class faced was mirrored in Ming-Qing 明清 fiction. In his famous Qing 清 novel, *The Scholars* (*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史), Wu Jingzi 吴敬梓 (1701-54) presents vividly the image of scholars such as Fan Jin 范进, who constantly failed the civil service examination and were scorned for their poverty. In Chapter 44 Wu describes how the local society favoured the wealthy merchant family *fang* 方 and snubbed the obscure scholar

-

²⁴⁵ See Yu Yingshi, *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua* 士与中国文化, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003) 484

Yu Yingshi, *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua*, 484.

The relationship between the *shi* and the merchants became complicated from the late Ming. On the one hand, the merchants challenged the hegemony of the *wen* masculinity with the power of money, and in reaction the scholars disparaged those who entered the academic space by purchasing the *gongsheng* title. Both Lin Liyue 林丽月 and Chung-li Chang have pointed out that the men who purchased the title of *gongsheng* were not only despised by the *shi* through the regular channel of examination, but were treated with contempt by the district magistrates as well.²⁴⁸ On the other, the standing of the *shi* and the merchants were merging. The merchant families took advantage of money to support their sons and grandsons to seek success in civil service examination, and the scholar-officials with merchant family background or sponsored by merchants in turn paid tribute to the virtue of businessmen, preserving their names in Chinese history.²⁴⁹

After they attained a certain degree of wealth, the merchant families were enthusiastic about seeking academic titles and political power. In the southern Anhui 安徽 province, the area of the famous Hui Merchants (huishang 徽商), the merchant families usually directed the sons who were intelligent to undertake Confucian learning. The family provided strong financial support to these sons or grandsons, including hiring the best teachers, hosting literary discussions and philosophical debates and building up family

-

²⁴⁷ Wu Jingzi 吴敬梓, *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1975).

²⁴⁸ See Lin Liyue, *Ming dai de guo zi jian sheng* 明代的国子监生, (Taibei: Guo li Taiwan shifan daxue lishi yanjiusuo, 1979), 87; Chun-li Chang, 1970, *The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society*, Chapter Two, (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1970). ²⁴⁹ For further discussion of this point see Qiao Linxiao 乔凌霄, Liang Yandong 梁衍东, "Ming Qing shehui de shishang shentou jiqi yingxiang", 明清社会的士商渗透及其影响, *Lishi dangan* 历史档案 1(1999), 78-85; Liu Chunlin 刘春玲, "Wanming shishang shentou de shehui yingxiang",晚明士商渗透的社会影响, *Yinshan xuekan* 阴山学刊 20.4 (2007), 55-9.

libraries.²⁵⁰ The strong financial support provided by these merchant families resulted in a high rate of success of their children in civil service examination. According to the "Civil Service Examination Record" 科举志 of the "Two Banks of Huai Rivers" 两淮, in the late Ming, this area produced 137 the graduates of the Metropolitan Examination 进士, among them 106 were from the mobile merchant families and only 31 graduates were from the vast number of other local families.²⁵¹ This statistic indicated that the wealthy families were advantaged in the competition for success in civil service examination, and that there was a close and growing link between scholar-officials and merchants through kinship.

While urging sons or grandsons to undertake Confucian learning, these merchants imitated the conduct of the *shi*, thus showing that merchants could be as moral and cultured as the *shi*. This effort included exhorting children to be filial to parents, building up business ethics such as "no cheating" and "keeping promises", studying Confucian classics and composing poems at home, supporting Confucian learning by providing financial support to local governmental schools, and undertaking charity work in local community. They called themselves "serving the commercial sector" yet "conducting Confucian morality and learning". ²⁵²

.

²⁵⁰ For further discussion of this point see Li Linqi 李琳琦 and Tao Xiubin 陶秀彬, "Zhongjiao xingwen: huishang de fengshang I" 重教兴文—徽商的风尚 (一) (二), *Jinrong bolan* 金融博览, 8(2010), 68-71 and 9 (2010) 68-71.

²⁵¹ In the area of "Two banks of Huai River" 两淮, there were two types of residents, one was the mobile merchant families coming mainly from Anhui 安徽 province, Shanxi 山西 province and Shaanxi 陕西, another was the ordinary local families. The number of the mobile merchant families was very small compared to the vast number of local families. See Yan Guangfen 阎广芬, Jingshang yu banxue: jindai shangren jiaoyu yanjiu 经商与办学: 近代商人教育研究, (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiao yu chu ban she, 2001), 27.

²⁵² For a detailed discussion of the merchants' scholarly conduct, see Yang Jin 杨瑾, "Ruxia huji de huiren jingshen: Wang Daihan *Tai Han ji* zhong de shishang xingxiang" 儒侠互济的徽人精神: 汪道昆 《太函集》中的士商形象, *Jixi daxue xuebao* 鸡西大学学报 11.2 (2011) 113-5.

This incorporation of Confucian morality and learning by the merchants created a special type of merchants—the "scholar-businessmen", which promoted a particular kind of masculinity combining cultural attainments and business skills. The cultural effort by the merchants implied that at the time these merchants were not confident enough about their marketplace masculinity and sought an inclusion of the prowess of the *shi*. While they might look down up the lower layer of *shi* for their financial deficiency, they definitely hold respect for those *shi* who obtained advanced academic titles and state offices. The emulation of *wen* men by the merchants reflected the fact that although *wen* masculinity was threatened by the power of money, it was still the first class manhood in Ming-Qing times.

These merchant-born or merchant-sponsored scholars praised the masculinity of the "scholar-businessmen". They wrote a large number of biographies for those merchants, which perpetuated their names and reputations. For example, in *The Record of Wuyuan County* 婺源县志 at the time of The Emperor Guangxu of Qing 清光绪皇帝, Volume 28, the name of the merchant Wang Hongyin was preserved as such:

Wang Hongyin 王鸿崟, also named *qinru* 钦如 and *renshan* 仁山…He opened business in Wu 吴 and Chu 楚 areas, and gradually became rich. After that he shared all his wealth with his brothers, conducting the virtue of "ti" 悌. He advocated "righteousness 义" among his sons and nephews, and everybody in his family followed him. He promoted Confucian learning at home by building up a school and hiring teachers. To pay respect to the ancestors, he renovated the family temple. He was so fond of philosophy and history that he never stopped studying them…²⁵³

²⁵³ Zhang Haipeng 张海鹏, Wang Tingyuan 王廷元, ed., *Ming Qing Huishang ziliao xuanbian* 明清徽商资料选编, (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1985), 455.

In *The Record of Xiuning County* 体宁县志 at the time of Emperor Kangxi of the Qing 清康熙皇帝, Volume 6, another scholar-businessman is presented:

Wang Yan 注 金公, also named Xingfan 惺凡, coming from Shangxikou 上溪口. He is very affable. Once he travelled to Jingkou, his roommate at the inn left five hundred taels of silver in the room. Wang found it and returned it. Out of gratitude the roommate offered half of the money as reward, but Wang declined it...When he was home, he had continuously studied the Neo-Confucianism, expecting to attain a heart of the sages.²⁵⁴

Apart from these official records of local communities, the conduct and achievement of the scholar-businessmen were also recorded in the books written by individuals. The most important book about the "scholar-merchant" was *Taihan ji* 太函集 written by Wang Daokun 汪道昆(1525-93). Born to a family of Hui merchants, Wang succeeded in the civil service examination in 1547 and became a scholar-official. After retiring from office in 1575, Wang returned to his hometown and spent time with local celebrities such as famous poets, merchants and doctors. In *Taihan ji*, he eulogizes the social trend of "becoming civilized after attaining wealth 富而后教", presenting a great number of merchants who practiced Confucian learning and morality. In Volume 52, he gives a general picture of his hometown as such:

Xindu 新都 is an area full of culture and civilization, because one fourth of the men are *shi* and three fourths of the men are merchants. The merchants seek huge profits and the scholars pursue good names. When a man had followed the academic path for a long time without success, he would desert the examination enterprise and become a merchant; and when a merchant enjoyed good profit for a long time, he would promote his family status by going

-

²⁵⁴ Zhang Haipeng and Wang Tingyuan, ed., Ming Qing Huishang ziliao xuanbian, 450.

The Emergence of the New "Scholar-businessmen" after 1895

Although running a business had long been an alternative path towards success, this was only a second-best choice for Chinese men in late imperial time. As Wang Daokun summarizes in his book, only when a man failed constantly in the civil service examination, would he change his path to the business sector. On the records of scholar-businessmen of Ming-Qing times, there were no stories about how a successful scholar transformed himself into a merchant, rather the stories are all about successful merchants leaving the orbit of commerce in pursuit of the status of a scholar-official family.

The notion that cultural attainments are more masculine than the skills in trading and manufacturing changed dramatically at the turn of the twentieth century. In the distressing encounter with the colonialists from west and Japan, Chinese men became aware that masculinity now must be tested in public globally, in the battle field of military war and commercial competition in particular. Instead of teaching the uneducated people Confucian morality and rituals, fighting against the commercial invasion of the foreign capitalism became the top priority of a patriotic man. Thus, marketplace manhood was exalted to a heroic position in nationalist discourses after 1896.

Facing the assault of the global capitalism, Chinese men now saw industry and commerce as superior realms to literature, philosophy or even politics in proving one's masculinity.

²⁵⁵ Wang Daokun, "Haiyang chushi Jin Zhongweng pei Dai shi hezang muzhiming" 海阳处士金仲翁配戴氏合葬墓志铭, In Wang Daokun 汪道昆, *Tai han ji* 太函集, volume 52, (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2004, 1099.

There was a widely circulating slogan: "Saving China with Practical Enterprise" (*shiye jiuguo* 实业救国), which meant China was desperately in need of the experts who had the skills in manufacturing and commerce. This kind of knowledge and skill, along with science and technology, was venerated by key thinkers as being practically powerful and was called Practical Learning (*shixue* 实学). Whereas venerating Practical Learning and practical power, they criticized the traditional Confucian scholars and their *wen* masculinity as textual and useless. Yan Fu 严复 (1854-1921) called the old scholars "the decadent Confucian scholars (*furu* 腐儒), because they only laboured with mind and let their hands and feet withered. He points out that the most powerful men in modern era were those who laboured with both mind and physical strength. Illustrating the image of modern marketplace masculinity, Yan calls for the transformation of the Confucian scholars to the men of both powerful minds and strong hands.²⁵⁶

Inspired by the heroic image of marketplace manhood, Chinese men at the time started seeking knowledge of commerce and manufacturing. The reformers founded a series of newspapers and magazines, in which they diffused not only the notion of western democracy and science but also the knowledge of industry, commerce and war. For instance, most of the articles in *Shiwu bao* 时务报 (Chinese Progress), the canon of the reformists, were about trade, finance, railroads, surveying, guns and cannons. The details of the charter of London Railroad corperation was published in a continuous series between the second and twelfth issue of *Shi wu bao*. ²⁵⁷ Interestingly, there were almost no articles in *Shiwu bao* about poetry, the traditional form of *wen* learning. Obviously the

²⁵⁶ Yan Fu, "Zai Shanghai shangbu gaodeng shiye xuexiao yanshuo" 在上海商部高等实业学校演说, in Ju Xingui 璩鑫圭, Tong Fuyong 童富勇, Zhang Shouzhi 张守智, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian* 中国近代教育史资料汇编: 实业教育师范教育, (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 42-6

²⁵⁷ Wang Kangnian 汪康年, Liang Qichao 梁启超, ed., Shi wu bao 時务报, (Taibei: Jing hua shu ju, 1967).

Confucian scholars at the turn of the twentieth century were obsessed with the knowledge and skills in manufacturing, commerce and war.

Prompted by the reformers, the Qing government promoted the men who obtained the skills of manufacturing and commerce. In 1904, it issued a new policy stipulating that the graduates of Practical Schools 实业学堂 were to be bestowed with the same titles to the graduates of civil service examination. For instance, the graduates of the Advanced Practical Schools (gaodeng shiye xuetang 高等实业学堂) were conferred on by the government the title of juren 举人, which meant a man who excelled in provincial civil service examination". And the graduates of the Middle Practical School were granted the title of gongsheng 贡生, which meant a man who excelled in the examination at the provincial government school. ²⁵⁸ Through this education reform, the skills of manufacturing and commerce were included into the scope of wen, which meant the experts in industry and commerce also became proud wen people.

The understanding about *wen* and *wen* masculinity was changing dramatically in these conditions. The men specialized in operating business were becoming the most needed and respected in China. Under such a social ethos, it is not surprising that some men who had already succeeded in civil service examination transformed themselves into businessmen. From the turn of the twentieth century we begin to see lots of stories about how successful scholars became merchants, accurately reflecting the new truth of the era: being a scholar-official was not good enough, becoming a scholar-merchant was the best.

²⁵⁸ See "Ge xuetang jiangli zhangchen", 各学堂奖励章程, in Ju Xingui 璩鑫圭, Tong Fuyong 童富勇, Zhang Shouzhi 张守智 (eds), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian* 中国近代教育史资料汇编:实业教育师范教育, (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 10.

The most amazing story of this kind of transformation is evident in the biography of Zhang Jian. Zhang Jian succeeded in the Metropolitan Examination in 1894 as the first ranking graduate (*zhuang yuan* 状元) and became a member of the prestigious National Academy (*Hanlin yuan* 翰林院). In 1896 Zhang Jian received an unusual order from the then-time governor of Two Rivers 两江总督—Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 (1837-1909). In the official letter, the governor commanded Zhang Jian to establish factories along with The Bureau of Commerce in Nantong 南通. With this order, a modern enterprise, Dasheng Cotton Mill 大生纱厂 arose on the north bank of Yangzi River. The remarkable story that the first ranking graduate of Metropolitan Examination had turned into a businessman was discussed far and wide around the land. For Chinese, this was really headline news, because the man who became a businessman was not an examination failure but rather the most successful man who had a promised future in being exalted to the top scholar-official positions.

In his recollection Zhang Jian explained why he turned to the arena of industry and commerce. One major reason was that he wanted to prove he could be a man of both cultural attainments and practical skills. He pointed out that because of the impractical nature of Confucian learning the scholars were scorned by the practical world for long. And for this sake he wanted to demonstrate that a scholar could also be a "doer". The second reason for him to become a merchant was that he was not satisfied with both the scholar-officials and the conventional merchants. From his point of view the scholar-officials were very ignorant of how to support the industry and commerce in legislations and meanwhile the wealthy merchants were very short sighted in making investment for the development of China. And most importantly Zhang saw himself the right person to make liaisons between the government and the sectors of industry and

commerce. In other words, as an established scholar he could persuade the government to issue new laws and policies that were beneficial for the growth of Chinese industry and commerce. Meanwhile he was determined to be a new type of businessmen that would invest money in the development of China. "Bringing in communications and establishing allies (between the two groups), we are the one who should take this responsibility, although I would have to condescend to those difficult people", he described, "I hesitated for days and answered the request of the governor of the Two Rivers."

Zhou Xuexi (1865-1947) was another man who made the transformation from a scholar to an entrepreneur. From 1882 to 1893, Zhou spent more than ten years preparing for the civil service examinations and finally passed the provincial level examination and obtained the title of *juren* 举人. Yet for a man who was engaged in the Exam Enterprise, the goal was to obtain the title of *Jinshi* 进士, the scholar who had passed the highest, national-level of civil service examination. Such an individual would immediately be appointed to an esteemed official position in the administrative system. Just as Zhou was contemplating his future in the examination circuit, social reformists like Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929), were advocating dramatic changes to the education system, including the abolition of civil service exam system. Zhou changed his mind about the value of the civil service examination path. Encouraged by the reformists' ideas, he decided to retreat from the Examination Enterprise and enter the realm of commerce and industry. In 1895, he told his father that what China lacked was not *Jinshi*, the most successful scholar in civil service exam, but the people with

²⁵⁹ In his recollection, Zhang Jian also described that there was an estrangement between the scholar-officials and the merchants, despite that the standing of these two classes converged in the late Ming 明 and Qing 清 time. He describes "when the practical world looks down upon the scholars, the scholars are also in contempt of the practical world", cited in Zhang Kaiyuan 章开沅, *Zhang Jian zhuan* 张謇传, (Beijing: Zhongguo gongshang lianhe chubanshe, 2000), 76-7.

practical skills and he would like to choose business as his career. His father sighed over his son's decision but he did not oppose it. In 1897 at the age of thirty three Zhou started his new career from the management of Kaiping Coal Mining 开平煤矿, and showed his talent as a businessman. ²⁶⁰

As Yan Guangfen 阎广芬 showed in her study of the modern Chinese merchants, between 1895 and 1901, a number of men successful in civil service examinations left the ladder to high ranking officialdom and plunged into the commercial and manufacturing sphere. Among them there were members of the National Academy, the examiners of civil service examination, the magistrates of prefectures, and graduates of the Provincial Examinations (*juren*). Also a few men who received modern education in the west or Japan chose industry and commerce as their career. For instance, when Mu Ouchu 穆莉初 (1876-1943) graduated as a Master of Agriculture from the United States, he declared to his fellow Chinese that he would not enter the realm of politics and state administration; instead, he chose industry as his battle field for success. 262

The Power of the Men of "Strong Hands"

Masculinity is something that a man has to prove in front of the public. While the traditional *wen* men demonstrated their masculinity by academic and official titles and by the privileges his family were entitled to, the marketplace masculinity proved itself in a

²⁶⁰ Yao Kang, Beiguo gongye juzi: Zhou Xuexi zhuan .

²⁶¹ In her study of the social trend of becoming a businessman, Yan Guangfen gives out a list of the men who transformed from scholar or scholar-official into businessmen, see Yan Guangfen 阎广芬, *Jingshang yu banxue: jindai shangren jiaoyu yanjiu* 经商与办学: 近代商人教育研究 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 47-8.

²⁶² Mu Jiaxiu穆家修, Liu Hecheng 柳和城, Mu Weijie 穆伟杰, *Mu Ouchu xian sheng nian pu (1876-1943)* 穆藕初先生年谱 (1876-1943), (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2006), 60.

different way. As Michael Kimmel notes that the proving of marketplace manhood needs "the acquisition of tangible goods". With the substantial power of money, Zhang Jian and his comrades demonstrated that they were first-class men who could save China from poverty and who were able to be the virtuous leaders of their local communities.

First, they built up a number of enterprises that produced goods to meet the domestic needs of consumption. For example, Zhang Jian established a chain of factories on the north bank of Yangzi River between 1898 and 1907. Among these factories, the main one was two cotton mills that made huge profit between 1899 and 1921. The other factories were closely associated with the two cotton mills:

The Tonghai Land Reclamation Corporation provides material to Dasheng Cotton Mills; Guangsheng Oil Mill makes use of the cottonseeds coming out of the cotton gins; Dalong Soap Mill makes use of the leftover from the workshop of Guangsheng Oil Mill; Daxing (later Fuxing) Flour Mill produces flour to starch the yarns of Dasheng Cotton Mills; Zisheng Ironworks was set for the repairing the machines of Dasheng Cotton Mills...²⁶⁴

As a man of practical power, Zhang Jian also turned the desolation of muddy beach into prosperous cotton farms and salt fields. To provide cotton for his Dasheng Cotton mill, Zhang Jian bought some mudflats and organized people to cultivate the hitherto desolation. Between 1901 and 1910, his Tonghai Land Reclamation Corporation reclaimed 8210 hectares of land from the sea. Just like a magician, Zhang Jian created a new world complete with farms, markets, schools housing around 6500 or so people out of the vast,

²⁶³ Michael Kimmel, "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity" in Whitehead Stephen and Barrett Frank, eds, *The Masculinities Reader*, (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2001), 270

Press, 2001), 270.

²⁶⁴ Zhang Kaiyuan, *Zhang Jian zhuan* ,150.

By these developments of industry and commerce, Zhang Jian and his comrades sought to resist the commercial invasion of the imperialists from west and Japan. In his recollection Zhang Jian made clear that he plunged into the battlefield of industry and commerce for the salvation of China:

Since the Emperor Guangxu's 光绪 twenty first year (1895) the Japanese were allowed by the treaty between China and Japan to use machines in any Chinese town to produce goods. In order to resist the commercial invasion of the Japanese merchants, in September of that year, the former South Sea minister Zhang Zhidong instructed the capital officials at home, in Suzhou 苏州, Zhenjiang 镇江 and Tongzhou 通州 respectively, that they must raise investments and establish factories to produce goods on the basis of local supply. Because Nantong 南通 prefecture produces the best cotton in the country, I therefore considered the establishment of cotton mills. ²⁶⁶

Much like Zhang Jian, Mu Ouchu tried to develop the textile industry of China to resist the influx of Japanese goods. In his speech to the colleagues in textile industry, Mu Ouchu called for the attentions of his colleagues that:

Since the victory of the 1895 Sino-Japanese War and the victory of Russo-Japanese War, Japan promoted its industry and increased its exports to China, taking the Chinese market as its backyard. Right at this time the European war erupted and the Japanese took advantage of this event, pouring goods into China. Now in China, numerous goods of daily use are from Japan textiles in particular. Taking 1918 as an example, the import of Japanese textiles was 174,000,040,0013,000 Yuan.... Therefore merely the import of textiles would deplete the

²⁶⁵ See Zhang Yanqi 张廷栖, Meng Cun 孟村 , *Zhangjian hua zhuan* 张謇画传, (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2007), 140-5.

²⁶⁶ Zhang Jian yanjiu zhongxin 张謇研究中心, ed., *Zhang Jian quan ji* 张謇全集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1994) Vol. 3, 12-13.

fortune and the blood of China. Hence the promotion of the textile industry matters not only to the everyday life of the civilians but also to the fate of the Chinese economy. In sum, the promotion of the textile industry is saving the life of the poor and is also saving China."²⁶⁷

For these scholar-businessmen, the war between China and Japan continued after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War and the textile industry became the new frontier of the silent war. As the soldiers of commercial wars against the colonists from the west and the east, they shouldered their manly responsibilities to defend their country, saving it from poverty. Hence the new "scholar-merchants" worked not just for their personal gain, but also for the wellbeing of the nation. As a result of the efforts of these scholar-businessmen, a modern textile industry was built in China. Between 1913 and 1923, the import of cotton yarn declined by 38 percent, and between 1913 and 1921, the number of spindles operating increased from 484,192 to 1,248,282.

These new scholar-merchants showed that the power of the men of "strong hands" was tangible and virtuous in a variety of ways. Besides being soldiers in the commercial wars against the imperialists from the west and Japan, they played a crucial role in the process of modernization. With the profits they made from the business sector, they built up numerous modern schools, modern transportation systems, hospitals, museums, parks and so on in their hometowns. Among them all, Zhang Jian stands supreme as the most famous leader in the industrial modernization of China.

After his investment in cotton mills was successful, Zhang Jian immediately set up modern educational institutions in his hometown. In 1902, he drew 20,000 taels of silver

²⁶⁷ Mu Ouchu, Ouchu wushi zishu 藕初五十自述, vol. 2, (Taibei: Longwen chubanshe, 1978), 26

²⁶⁸ see Zhang Kaiyuan, *Zhang Jian zhuan*, (Beijing: Zhongguo gongshang lianhe chubanshe, 2000), 212.

from his salary in Dasheng Cotton Mill to found Tongzhou Normal College. This was the first private normal college in China, which included the training of teachers in language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, history, geography, agriculture, topography, engineering, silkworm growing among other practical subjects. Apart from Tongzhou Normal College, Zhang Jian also established Nantong Agriculture School, Nantong Textile School and Nantong Medicine School. ²⁶⁹All these schools or colleges were based on the education of modern science and technology that stood in complete contrast to the old Confucian schools.

Because of Zhang Jian's pioneering work, his hometown, Nantong prefecture, was acknowledged as "the first modern city of China". It possessed a set of modern education institutions from kindergartens to tertiary institutions. It boasted a museum, a public library and a public sports centre as part of its education system. It contained modern transportation systems from bus lines to train services. It harboured five parks and a theatre for its residents' recreation. It also had three nursing homes and one orphanage for those isolated or deserted. All these achievements were wonders created by the money Zhang Jian made from the marketplace, and showed directly just how practical and powerful a man of "strong hands" could be.

By building up a modern city, Zhang Jian realised his ambition for proving himself as a man of practical prowess. He was so proud of his power of industry and business that he overtly disparaged the profession of politician and bureaucrats. In 1910, he wrote a poem persuading Chinese young men to give up their ambitions for political careers. The first part of the poem runs as follows: "Whenever encountering an official I persuade him to

²⁶⁹ Zhang Tingqi and Meng Cun, *Zhangjian hua zhuan*, 93-105.

quit, you should cut off right away your relations to politics on hearing my persuasion. If you still hesitate and need more words, then you are so soaked in water that you can't climb onto the bank."²⁷⁰ This was the first time in Chinese history that the profession of politics and administration, which was the ultimate goal for manly success earlier disdained formally successfully centuries. by and educated was scholar-turned-businessman. This poem shows that Zhang Jian had placed the profession of manufacturing and commerce above those of politics and state administration in exerting and displaying masculinity. For him, a man of "strong hands" was even more powerful than a man of "books".

Society's Recognition of the Men of "Strong Hands"

Zhang Jian and his comrades were creating a new image of "scholar-businessmen", in which they enhanced the virtue of the old "scholar-businessmen" in Ming-Qing times. On the one hand, they improved upon the textuality of *wen* masculinity by bringing practical change to their communities and country. On the other, they carried on the leadership role of a Confucian scholar: teaching morality to the people by showing a good example and bringing order to the society. As Zhang Jian claimed in his recollection, he wanted to be a special merchant who knew "how to spend money". By spending money wisely and virtuously these men obtained huge social influence and tremendous power.

These new "scholar-businessmen" were frugal in their personal lives—a long-recognised merit of the virtuous traditional Confucian merchants in Ming-Qing time. Zhang Jian had ever said, "What is for other people and should be spent must be spent without hesitation, despite that it is millions huge; what is for self-use and consumption must be

²⁷⁰ This poem is collected in Zhang Jian yanjiu zhongxin 张謇研究中心, *Zhang Jian quan ji* 张謇全集, (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1994), vol. 5.

considered thoroughly, even it is one penny small." ²⁷¹ In his 1909 letter to family members, Zhang Jian instructed them to save money from everyday expenditure:

The accountant sent me the budget for family use, which was 4400 (taels of silver) or so each year. Just food and sacrifice would take 2000 (taels of silver). This was highly inappropriate. I audited the budget according to the number of family member and found that only 1200 (taels of silver) was needed. Also you can save hundreds from other items. Hence the family needs about 3200 (taels of silver). I have sent a letter to the accountant and hope you pay greater attention to saving money. Besides, a combination of one dish of vegetable and one dish of meat for each meal is good enough.²⁷²

Much like Zhang Jian, Zhou Xuexi was frugal in his private life. Although his investments reached more than billions, he led a simple life, which was typified by his preference for rough clothes and plain food. Zhou Xuexi required his children to follow his model. He directed his sons and nephews with such words: "For sons of the gentry's families, the title of 'the sons of silk' is most destructive, for you would be censured immediately if you were not on guard against it for even a second. The label you must most vigorously avoid is 'men of extravagance'; the label you should strive to win is 'men of thrift'". ²⁷³

While being fugal in private life, these new "scholar-businessmen" spent huge amounts of money on public education and social welfare, assuming a leadership role in their local community. As I have previously pointed out, Zhang Jian was the founder of numerous modern schools and colleges in his hometown, and he raised two nursing homes for the elders and a school for the deaf-and-dumb. In 1906 Zhang Jian founded Nantong Orphanage that embraced more than 1,300 orphans.

²⁷¹ Zhang Tingqi and Meng Cun, *Zhangjian hua zhuan*, 167.

²⁷² Zhang Yizu 张怡祖, Zhang Jizi Jiu Lu 张季子九录, (Taibei, Wenhai chubanshe, 1983), 3698.

²⁷³ Cheng Li 程莉, *Jindai Shiyejia Zhou Xuexi Yanjiu* 近代实业家周学熙研究, (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe, 2006), 19 and 252.

Imitating the model of Zhang Jian, Zhou Xuexi, Mu Ouchu and other scholar-businessmen spent money on education and charities. For example, Mu Ouchu established Mu's Scholarship at Beijing University, which supported students to study in Europe and the United States. In his letter to, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, the President of Beijing University, Mu Ouchu stated that:

Since your rule of Beijing University, you reformed the system and promoted scholarship. All these changes occurred within three years and are followed by other universities in this country. This is how the academics bring changes to the fashions and customs. Your aspiration was known by all people in China. Therefore I have considered almost everyday about how to assist you since I met you in January. I am of the opinion that the Chinese academy is still in its infancy and it is necessary for us to learn something from the Europe and the United States. Although what I can contribute is a tiny amount, I first provide 10,000 taels of silver as a fund for sending students to study overseas. ²⁷⁴

The virtue and leadership of the men of "strong hands" were appreciated and accepted by the society. All though the scholar-businessmen deserted the path to officialdom, they were welcomed by a number of governments due to their achievements in industry and commerce. Many of them were even offered high positions in governments. For example, in 1904 the Qing court offered Zhang Jian the post of first advisor in the Ministry of Commerce. After the 1911 Anti-Manchu Revolution 辛亥革命, Zhang Jian was invited to take charge of the ministry of Agriculture and Business by Sun Yat-sen 孙逸仙 (1866-1925) in 1912. Zhou Xuexi was appointed to the position of the Minister of Finance by Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 (1859-1916) in 1902. Mu Ouchu was invited to be the chief

Mu Jiaxiu 穆家修, Liu Hecheng 柳和城, Mu Weijie 穆伟杰, Mu Ouchu xian sheng nian pu (1876-1943) 穆藕初先生年谱 (1876-1943), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006, 188.

manager of the Bureau of Agriculture by Chiang Kai-shek 蒋介石 (1887-1975) in 1941.²⁷⁵ In a paradoxical fashion, the scholars who had rejected officialdom for business and practical enterprise would later be co-opted back into the bureaucracy.

Apart from being appointed to high positions of governments, these scholar-businessmen were often advisors to politicians. For instance, Zhang Jian played an important role in the South-North Negotiation after the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution. He was consulted frequently by the leaders of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmeng hui* 同盟会). Tang Shaoyi 唐绍仪, the representative of the South China in the South-North Negotiation after the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution, recollected that:

The leaders of The Chinese Revolutionary Alliance were not familiar with the situation in domestic China, Zhang Jian was a new figure who advocated practical enterprise to save China, leaders like Sun, Hu and Wang²⁷⁶ adored Zhang Jian very much. In order to know the local situation, these leaders needed to consult Zhang. And when they found that Zhang always discussed his ideas with Zhao Fengchang 赵凤昌 and always stayed in Zhao's house when he came to Shanghai from Nantong, they respected Zhao, too and took advice from Zhao.²⁷⁷

Obviously, the scholar-businessmen were the most successful and venerated men in their society at the turn of the twentieth century. They were the heroes to their country in terms of commercial wars; they were the leaders in education and social welfare; they were the moral examples in both public and private life; they were the experts in practical areas that

xian sheng nian pu (1876-1943) 穆藕初先生年谱 (1876-1943) (Shanghai : Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2006).

²⁷⁵ See Zhang Kaiyuan 章开沅, *Zhang Jian zhuan* 张謇传, (Beijing: Zhongguo gongshang lianhe chubanshe, 2000); Yao Kang 姚抗, *Beiguo gongye juzi: Zhou Xuexi zhuan* 北国工业巨子周学熙传(Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2007); Mu Jiaxiu 穆家修, Liu Hecheng 柳和城, Mu Weijie 穆伟杰, *Mu Ouchu rian sheng nian nu (1876-1943)* 穆藕初先生年谱 (1876-1943). (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she

Effective Sun refers to Sun Yatsen 孙逸仙, Huang refers to Huang Xing 黄兴, Wang refers to Wang Jingwei 汪精卫. These three men were giants of the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution.

²⁷⁷ See Zhang Kaiyuan , *Zhang Jian zhuan*, 249.

the politicians relied on; and they could also be the high ranking officials in the government. As Liang Qichao acknowledges in 1910 the marketplace masculinity was now the first class masculinity:

In old time the heroes came mostly from the arena of politics and army, but today the heroes arise mainly from the sector of industry. Those who succeeded in the industry of every country are all the first class people of their own nation. ²⁷⁸

Technology and "Strong Hands"

Along with industry and business, technology was also deemed as masculine power by these Chinese scholars at the time. For these *wen* men, the men of "strong hands" was closely linked to technology. It included entrepreneurs, who possess the machines, and technician, who operate the machines. Both of them were seen as the masters of the new technology. While entrepreneurship was advocated, the technician was also heralded and praised as the great hero to his fellow countrymen. Meanwhile, the new invention of machines and tools was introduced as the symbol of masculinity to young Chinese men. Instead of the pen, the machine became the source and symbol of masculine power for Chinese men. The worship of the machine and technicians was found in many activities and articles undertaken by Chinese men at the time.

The Worship of Machines

In order to introduce the power of the western technology to young Chinese men, Wu

²⁷⁸ Liang Qichao 梁启超, "Jingao guozhong zhi tan shiye zhe"敬告国中之谈实业者 in *Guofeng bao* 国风报, 11th November 1910, cited in Zhang Shouguang 张守广, *Lu Zuofu Nianpu* 卢作孚年谱, (Nanjing: Jangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), 1.

Zhihui²⁷⁹ 吴稚晖 (1865-1953) contributed two articles about "Youth and Tools" in *Xin Qingnian* 新青年 magazine in 1916. In these two articles, Wu advocates a bond between machine and young Chinese men, which immediately caught the attention of Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879-1942), the leader of the 1915-23 New Culture Movement. To support Wu's idea about technology and new masculinity, Chen Duxiu wrote a special commentary on Wu's article, which was published along with Wu's article in *Xin Qingnian* in 1916.²⁸⁰

In "Qingnian yu gongju" 青年与工具 (youth and tool), Wu praises the virtue of human hands and states that all machines were the evolution of human hands, but that they could undertake tasks that human hands cannot achieve. He tells young Chinese men that the invention of the steam engine has prompted a new area of human technology. As the examples of new technology, the lathe, drilling machine and saw bench are especially presented in his article:

When the steam engine was invented, many new inventions were triggered and became the tools of human beings, which are thousands times more powerful than the function of human hands. Following the steam engine, the mechanical lathe arrived which can shave the wood or metal that the ordinary planers cannot do; then came the mechanical drilling machine which can drill holes in the hard things that the ordinary drills can not do; then came the mechanical saw bench which can cut hard things that the old saws cannot cut. These three new machines are not just more powerful in shaving, drilling and cutting, they can also do work in accuracy that is thousands times more than before. All these new functions are beyond reach of the

²⁷⁹ Wu Zhihui (1865-1953), a former Qing 清 *juren* 举人 and also a 1911 Anti-Manchu revolutionary, venerated as key thinker of Guomindang 国民党.

²⁸⁰ See Wu Zhihui, "Qingnian yu gongju"青年与工具, "Zai lun gongju"再论工具, *Xin Qingnian* 新青年, 2.2 (1916) and 2.3 (1916), In *Xin qingnian*, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang*, 1920.11-1921.7. [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).

Yan Fu promoted the worship of machines in other ways. He depicted the power of machine by statistics. In his 1906 speech to students at Shanghai Advanced Commercial School, he tells his audience that the secret of the manufacture power lay on the invention and application of new machines:

Practical enterprises rely mainly on metallurgy and manufacture. Before the rise of the steam and electrical engines, manufacture in our country was not backward to others. And the manufacturing in Europe was no better than ours before the time of the Emperor Qianlong 乾 and Emperor Jiaqing 嘉庆. For instance in 1774 textiles were imported to Europe from India and the North America people still used Jibei to weave the textile. Right at this time James Watt invented steam engine. The influence of the steam engine was first seen in textile industry. In 1785 the British export of textile was only 860,000 pounds²⁸², but it increased dramatically to 1800,000 in 1810, and grew to 8000,000 pounds sixty years later. ..." ²⁸³

The power of new machines was also worshiped by other scholars. In his article "Manyou de ganxiang" 漫游的感想 (Thoughts from wandering around the world), Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962) praises the wonder made by the steam or electricity driven machines that he saw in the western countries. He tells his Chinese fellows that while the eastern world is still full of manpowered *jinrickshas* 黄包车, the west has already been a world of motorcycles and cars:

On the roads in the United States, motorcycles are everywhere, no mater it is city or

^{1978).} vol. 4, 406

Here the "pounds" is weight value.

²⁸³ Yan Fu, "Zai Shanghai shangbu gaodeng shiye xuexiao yanshuo" 在上海商部高等实业学校演说, in Ju Xingui 璩鑫圭, Tong Fuyong 童富勇, Zhang Shouzhi 张守智, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian* 中国近代教育史资料汇编: 实业教育师范教育, (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007), 43-8.

countryside. There was a story reported in the *New York Times*: A north American was driving his motorcycle in Miami and was caught by a policeman. The policeman asked him why he was blocking the traffic. He replied that he had already been driving at thirty-five kilometres an hour. The police officer shouted: 'Go at sixty an hour!' ²⁸⁴

Stronger, faster and extremely accurate, these were the powers of the new machines. While these new inventions were celebrated by the men of the west, these machines were embraced and adored by Chinese men. Chinese men welcomed these new machines as the extension of human hands and were amazed by their tremendous power. As part of the trend of venerating the men of "strong hands", the worship of machine reflected the notion of modern physical masculinity held by the Chinese wen men at the time. For them the natural muscle of men was masculine and adorable, but the muscle of the machine was even manlier and more desirable, because the muscle of the machine contained also men's knowledge and wisdom. This brain-power transformed physical masculinity was such a wonder and was especially celebrated by Chinese wen men. As Hu Shi and Lin Yutang 林语堂 (1895-1976) point out, these machines are by no means a display of sheer material power but an embodiment of the human civilization which shows how human beings, and men in particular, can enhance their natural physical strength thereby taking control over the nature. ²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Hu Shi, "Manyou de ganxiang" 漫游的感想 (Thoughts from wandering around the world), in *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存, (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), Collection 1 vol. 3, 54-5.

²⁸⁵ See Hu Shi, "Women dui xiyang wenming de taidu",我们对于西洋文明的态度, in Hu Shi, *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存, (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), Vol. 3, 3-23; Lin Yutang, "Jiqi yu jingshen" 机器与精神, in Hu Shi, *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存, (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), Collection 1 vol. 3, 25-37.

The Admiration of Technicians

While the machine was worshiped as masculine power, the great technicians such as James Watt (1736-1819), Thomas Edison (1847-1931), Johann Nicholas Dreyse (1787-1867), were idolized by Chinese *wen* men. A number of scholars praised the virtue and power of the technicians. The stories about how these great men invented new machines and how these inventions benefited their countries circulated among them.

Yan Fu introduced the German technician Johann Dreyse to Chinese students. In his narration, Dreyse was the great hero who saved Germany from military defeat:

At the beginning of the Nineteenth century, Prussia was much disturbed by Napoleon (1769-1821). Over the vanishing territory and increasing military expenditure, it launched wars against French but only lost more. In 1806, Prussia nearly lost its sovereignty in the battle of Jena. At that time, Johann Dreyse was nineteen and had finished apprenticeship as a locksmith. He went south and came across the battle field. He saw the dead lying in grass, some still holding their weapons. Then he checked the gun and realized that it was of the lowest quality. He bemoaned the fact that these soldiers could not help but fail when facing Napoleon's well-equipped troops with such low quality weapons and newly recruited soldiers. He vowed to make innovations to the weapons of Prussia when he returned from France. This was exactly the moment when the future of the German and French was determined by the mind of a technician, John Dreyse... ²⁸⁶

The American inventor Thomas Edison was admired by Chinese men for his numerous inventions and his virtue. Edison was respected by Chinese men as a man who made contributions to peace. His virtue was deemed as great as the Chinese sage, Mozi 墨子

²⁸⁶ Yan Fu, "Zai Shanghai shangbu gaodeng shiye xuexiao yanshuo", *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: shiye jiaoyu shifan jiaoyu*, 47.

Writers of the time also recommended to Chinese youth the American politician and inventor Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) as a man of both strong hands and powerful mind. In 1915 *Xin Qingnian* magazine published the autobiography of Franklin. In the introduction to the autobiography, Benjamin Franklin is remarked upon as being the first among superior men of the eighteenth century, and his achievements in politics, literature and technology were emphasized.²⁸⁸

Apart from western technicians and inventors, Chinese technicians were also introduced and praised by these writers. For example, the story about Tan Gen 谭艮, the Chinese pilot, was published in *Xin Qingnian* magazine, which introduced in detail Tan's skills in piloting, his innovation to helicopter and the contribution he made to both American and Chinese air force. While looking for modern Chinese technicians, the great Chinese sage and technician from Pre-Qin times—Mozi was rediscovered. After nearly two thousands years of obscurity, Mozi, who had invented a variety of tools and devices, was

²⁸⁷ Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji* 陶行知全集, (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe,1991), vol. 1, 382-3

²⁸⁸ Liu Shuya 刘叔雅, "Fulankelin zhuan", 富兰克林传, *Xin Qingnian* 新青年, 1.5 (1916), in *Xin qingnian*, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang*, 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996)

²⁸⁹ Jizhe 记者, "Da feixingjia Tan Gen", 大飞行家谭根, *Xin Qingnian* 新青年, 1.6 (1916), in *Xin qingnian*, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang*, 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).

reintroduced by Liang Qichao as a model of the men of "strong hands" to Chinese people. ²⁹⁰

For these key thinkers, Mozi was the great hero who saved people by his strong hands. Instead of saving the society with exhortation, like Confucius and his disciples did, Mozi helped people more by his actions. He was a great engineer and craftsman. His inventions in architecture and manufacture were recorded in vol. 14 and Vol.15 of *The Book of Mozi*. Mozi studied tactics and fortification methods, passionately devoting his time and energy to benefit the people without concern for his personal gain. During his life, he travelled tirelessly from one crisis zone to another to dissuade rulers from their war plans. Here is the well-known story about how Mozi saved people from warfare by his technology and action:

Gongshu Ban 公输班 (507-440BC), the chief military strategist of Chu 楚, invented the cloud ladder for Chu state to attack Song 宋 state. Mozi heard about it in Lu 鲁 state. He travelled for ten days and ten nights from Lu to Chu's capital Ying 郢. At the Chu court, Mozi told the Chu lord that the Song could not be conquered. The Chu lord replied that he had a super wise man, Gongshu Ban. Mozi asked for simulated war games with Gongshu Ban. These two men engaged in nine simulated war games and Mozi defeated each one of Gongshu Ban's stratagems. When Gongshu Ban intended to kill him, Mozi informed the Lord of Chu that his disciples had already trained the soldiers of Song with his fortification methods, so it would be useless to threaten him with death. The Chu lord was forced to cancel the war. ²⁹¹

The admiration for technicians can also be found in Hu Shi's articles. Supporting the study

Discussions on Mo Zi and Mohism were heated in the opening decades of the twentieth century.
New Youth magazine published a long article "The review of Mohism" on its Volume one Number two, five and six. Liang Qichao published three books on Mohism in 1904, 1920 and 1921 respectively. Hu Shi had written an article on Mohism as the preface to Liang Qichao's book.

²⁹¹ See discussions of Mo Zi in Liang Qichao, *Liang Qichao quanji* 梁启超全集,(Beijing, Beijing chubanshe, 1999), vol. 6, 3277.

of the great Chinese technician Mozi, Hu wrote a long preface to Liang Qichao's book about Mozi and Mohism. He points out that the men who invented steam engine and electricity engine should be regarded as sages, because these men made transportation convenient and saved human beings from being labouring cattle and horses.²⁹²

For Chinese thinkers at that time, every Chinese young man should possess a pair of strong hands and become an amateur technician. Wu Zhihui points out that mastering of new technology is not just the business of the entrepreneur and their technicians, but it is the urgent need for the civilizing process for all Chinese youth. He imagines that there could be a bond between the machines and the young Chinese men. Wu declares that "If our young men can unite all other young Chinese men to organize a conference welcoming the invention of all kinds of hardware, the young Chinese men's life would surely open a new page". 293

Wu advises that young Chinese men should possess the machine, get familiar with the machine and handle the machine. In order to obtain a pair of mechanical hands, Wu suggests every young Chinese man should set up a workshop at home:

If young Chinese men spend less on buying leather coat, watching drama, joining dinner parties, and spend more time on the lathe, drilling machine and saw bench, positioning them into workshops, then the hand boxes of Chinese young men would be found equipped with scissor, needle, nail clipper, hammer, pencil sharpener, corkscrew, drill, chisel, and everything needed...Therefore the measuring cup for boiling water, the battery which stores the electricity, and the ordinary axe and chisel, the shelf for hub and bow, are all mixed with lathe, drilling machine and saw bench. Then the Six Classic books, Three Histories, painting books and the

²⁹² Hu Shi, *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存, (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), vol. 3, 53.

²⁹³ Wu Zhihui 吴稚晖, Wu Zhihui xian sheng wen cun 吴稚晖先生文存, (Taibei: Heluo tushu chubanshe, 1978), vol. 4, 408.

"Do it Yourself" and Democracy

Another reason for key thinkers to urge young Chinese men to have a pair of mechanic hands was egalitarianism or democracy. Returned from the United States, Hu Shi presented the image of the western scholars who had strong mechanic's hands to China's youth, advocating the democratic spirit of the western men. He points out that in China the muscle of the scholar's hands withered because they never used them to work. He claims that in the democratic and industrialized western countries, almost no scholars in the west could afford hiring servants and every scholar was proudly the self-reliant citizen. Hu Shi praised the scholars that drove cars and repaired them by themselves: "No matter who you are, when the car is broken on the road, you have to roll up your sleeves to repair it". He declares this kind of training was more effective than ten year's of book reading, because it could cure the scholar of being "idle in using their four limbs therefore an numbness in their five sense-organs". 295

Hu Shi's democratic view of the men of "strong hands" was shared by Tao Xingzhi 陶行 知 (1891-1946), a well-known educationist also back from the United States in 1910s. Between 1919 and 1930, Tao Xingzhi conducted educational reform programmes in Nanjing 南京, the capital of Jiangsu 江苏 province. The aim of this educational reform was to cultivate the new citizen that was strong in both mind and hands.

Tao Xingzhi points out that Chinese suffered from the separation of mind and hands that

²⁹⁴ Wu Zhihui 吴稚晖, *Wu Zhihui xian sheng wen cun* 吴稚晖先生文存, vol. 4, 408. ²⁹⁵ Hu Shi, *Hu Shi wen cun* , Collection 1 vol. 3, 59.

定used two sorts of defects. One is called "clumsy hands and feet" (benshou benjiao 笨手笨脚), another called "thickhead" (daitou dainao 呆头呆脑), because in China the one who used his mind never employed his hands, and the one who used his hands never employed his mind. The "feeble hands and feet" referred to scholars, while the "thickhead" referred to the uneducated farmers and artisans. ²⁹⁶ He was worried particularly about the "feeble hands" of the Chinese scholars:

Generally speaking, scholars read dead books, read deadly the books and, read books to death. When Japanese invaded us, we could only yell slogans. After decades of working, things we use now, such as lights and buses, are all made by foreigners. We could not produce these goods of high technology. Why is this? This is because the bookworms never touched the science, never used their hands to do experiments, never used their hands to invent things.²⁹⁷

Tao Xingzhi's understanding of manliness can be seen from the songs written by him:

Everyone possesses two assets: mind and hands.

Using not hands but mind should be knocked down;

Using not mind but hands would lead to starvation;

Only employing both mind and hands would be the hero of the earth.

Dripping one's own sweat,

Eating one's own meals,

Do one's job on one's own.

The one who relies on nature and parents

Could not make a good man (haohan 好汉).²⁹⁸

In these songs, Tao Xingzhi advocates that the most desirable manhood come out of

²⁹⁶ Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji* 陶行知全集, (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), vol. 2, 605.

Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji*, vol.2, 604.

²⁹⁸ Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji*, vol. 2, 605-6.

labouring with both mind and hands. For him, the old scholars who saw a pair of feeble hands as the signal of men's power and prerogative were decadent and should be "knocked down" at the era of egalitarianism and democracy. But he makes it clear that brain power is essential for making a good man and the old farmers and artisans were not good enough in terms of masculinity. Obviously what he promotes is the democratic hero who possessed both a powerful mind and strong hands.

Based on his democratic view of masculinity, Tao made efforts to diminish the distance between the scholars and the people who labour with physical strength. In his school, there were no house servants. Every student must be self-reliant by doing things like cooking and washing. He invited artisans such as a carpenter into classroom to teach students how to make furniture out of wood.²⁹⁹ To show a model of the new scholars who were close to the ordinary people, Tao Xingzhi even resigned from his post as an administrator of the Chinese Education Foundation, which brought him a high salary, and took a low salary post. By doing this, he made his children serve themselves at home. He said, "The servants worked everyday for my sons and in the process retarded the functioning of my sons' hands. Being worried about this, I discarded the possession of my salary of 500 Yuan a month and took the post of headmaster, which was only 100 Yuan a month "300

To foster the men of both strong mind and hands, Tao Xingzhi drove his students to further master modern technology and machines. For him, a man of both strong mind and hands is scientific and technological. He advocated the alliance of the mind and hands for conquering the wildness of the nature. He placed his students in the wildness of the nature

Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji*, vol. 2, 605-7.
 Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji*, vol. 2, 605.

and pushed them to scientifically deal with various problems caused by its oppressive force of the nature:

Since there are wolfs in the mountain, we must lean the skills of hunting; Since there are snakes on the ground, we must learn how to cure people of the snake-bite; Since there are tens of thousands mosquitoes in the air, we must learn how to kill them...we realized from this kind of wild life that to solve the problems in the wildness it is not necessary to possess only our hands and feet. We discovered that to conquer the oppressive force of the nature, we must invent, produce and employ the tools, the extension of our body.³⁰¹

In sum, Tao Xingzhi's education reform programme played an important role in the transformation of Chinese masculinity from the scholar of leisure and prerogative to the men of action and egalitarianism. It built up links between citizenly values and the notion of masculinity and thereby modernized the definition of *wen* masculinity. By integrating the strong hands into the image of scholar, it cultivated a new type of masculinity that was scientific, practical and egalitarian.

The Conflict between Big Mind and Strong Hands

As discussed in the section above, the men of strong hands were connected to technology and democracy. Chinese men were driven by the tides of modernization and democratization to embrace the new definition of masculinity which was inclined to the power of modern technology, industry and democracy. In order to be practical and egalitarian, they made a transformation from the textual, bookish scholar to the bustling men of practical prowess: the entrepreneurs and the technicians.

Kam Louie has found a model of transformation of Chinese masculinity in republican

Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji*, vol. 2, 75.

China in Lao She's novel Er Ma (The Two Mas =3). In Er Ma, the hero Li Zirong 李子 \ddagger is depicted as shamelessly making money for personal benefit. He possesses a pair of strong hands and is not sentimental or romantic. His belief in money is individualistic and he insists the clear division of interests between individuals. Louie comments that "Li Zirong seems completely independent from traditional as well as 'modern' concerns". Yet in reality, no people were immune to the tradition and the environment. The process of transformation from scholar to entrepreneur and technician had a complicated face and created a special type of entrepreneurship: the scholar-businessmen, in which there was a conflict between or a mixture of the values of Confucianism and capitalism.

For Chinese scholars such as Zhang Jian, Zhou Xuexi, Mu Ouchu, the profit-centred commercial activity did not lead to the glory of the great manliness and must be countered with Confucian virtues that places the interest of the collective above that of the individual. According to the Confucian view of masculinity, a man is powerful only when he promoted the welfare of the family and the society thereby demonstrating his leadership to his family and the country. Therefore when these scholar-businessmen succeeded in business, they immediately undertook the responsibilities of developing their hometown and China as well. By doing this, they demonstrated their masculinity in the eyes of the public. From this point of view the strong hands of these scholar-businessmen were subject to their "big minds"—the Confucian values. What they wanted to change was to be practically skilful and powerful. But it was practical for the development of China and their hometown, not just for their personal gain and not even for their families. While making profits out of business, these scholar-businessmen still harboured the Confucian goals: governing the country and establishing leadership in local community. In so doing,

³⁰² Kam Louie, "Constructing Chinese Masculinity for the Modern World: with Particular Reference to Lao She's The Two Mas," *The China Quarterly*, 164.12(2000), 1062-1078.

they saw themselves the premier member of the community and the country rather than ordinary citizens.

The shadow of Confucian values about manhood was found especially in Zhang Jian's activities. First, he saw himself a morally superb scholar who sacrificed oneself for the goodness of the China. He commented his entering the community of businessmen as an action that "feeding the tigers with one's own body" (she shen wei hu 捨身饲虎), by which he meant he had to compete with the mean people in commercial realm and had to negotiate with the corrupt people in government.³⁰³ This comment reflected Zhang's self-perception as a scholar of integrity who makes money only for the wellbeing of the nation. Second, he sought ultimately the 'manly might' in education. Zhang Jian placed industry in a status inferior to that of education. He always said for the development of China, education was the father and industry was the mother. For Zhang Jian, industry was important only when it supported the development of education. As a Confucian scholar, he sought the control over and influence in education and culture. With such a big, Confucian mind, Zhang Jian poured money into the development of education and social welfare as well at the cost of the bankruptcy of his companies. Third, he wanted to be the leader of China rather than an ordinary citizen. Zhan Jian was so eager to be the first citizen of the local community that he spent the money more money than he owned on the development of his hometown. By 1925, Zhang Jian had spent more than 1500, 000 yuan on the development of education and welfare. But 50 percent of the money was borrowed from the factories he managed. And it was not surprising that in the end his corporations declared bankruptcy. 304

Zhang Kaiyuan, *Zhang Jian zhuan*, 320.
 Zhang Tingqi and Meng Cun, *Zhangjian hua zhuan*, 168-178.

Thus the men of strong hands at the turn of the twentieth century sought more than just to be economically independent and technically self-reliant. For these scholar-businessmen, entering the sector of industry and commerce helped them rise above ordinary people. It was thereby an alternative way towards leadership and political influence. Rather than economics or commerce, the power of education and politics stood at the end of this new masculinity. The old fashion of *wen* masculinity did not disappear completely. Instead, it was incorporated into new masculinity represented by scholar-businessmen. While the textuality of the old scholar was replaced by practicability of the businessmen, the traditional Confucian virtue, which required the educated men to rise above the ordinary men, was kept in the new image of Chinese *wen* masculinity.

In fact, these scholar-businessmen never discarded their identity as a scholar who was supposed to be the leader of the local community and the country as well. As a scholar, they kept control on education system by founding numerous schools and colleges. They also kept practicing literature by composing poems. For Zhang Jian and Zhou Xuexi, the lifestyle of book reading and poem composing kept them distant from the ordinary people. In a 1923 letter to his son, Zhang Jian writes, "although I am compelled to work by the dire situation of the textile industry, I still make the time to read books to communicate with the great ancients. I also make the time to compose poems for self enjoyment". ³⁰⁵ By composing poems, Zhang Jian showed his scholarly characteristics: sentimental and romantic.

Much like Zhang Jian, Zhou Xuexi, too, kept his identity as a scholar. He founded four schools, the Qiupu Medicine School, the Qiupu Silkworm School, the Hongyi

³⁰⁵ Zhang Yizu, *Zhang Jizi Jiu Lu*, vol. 7, 3967.

Confucianism School and the Qiupu Commerce School respectively, in his hometown. All these schools were free to local civilians. When he retired from business, he built up Queshen House at his hometown to support all his grandchildren to study Confucian books. He left the following words to his children:

Rural farming and reading is the basic way of making living...as for industry and commerce you should choose one as your career only when you have no other ways to raise a family. You should never invest independently to compete with those mean people. This is because the offspring of the respectable family would not be able to compete with the mean. In stead, you would just be made fool of by the mean. ³⁰⁶

Zhou Xuexi tried hard to keep his family as a scholar-gentry's family. In 1926, he set a family class at home, holding competitions among children in reading Confucian books, writing philosophical essays and composing poems. This class lasted for twelve years and became the tradition of his family. Zhou Xuexi insisted that if you were not a Confucian scholar, you would not be a good businessman. When his son failed in business, he directed him to study Confucianism to reshape his character. For Zhou Xuexi, a man's strong hands must be subjected to the big mind, the Confucian virtue and character in particular. ³⁰⁷

From this point of view, we can locate a rupture within the transformation of Chinese masculinity from scholars to businessmen and technicians. Whereas the new masculinity represented by technicians was oriented towards egalitarianism, the mighty manliness illustrated by the scholar-businessmen was inclined to superiority and distance. In other words, there was a conflict between the values of democratic citizenship and Confucian

³⁰⁶ Zhou Xuexi, "Zhou Xuexi Jia Yu" 周学熙家语, vol.77, 185, cited in Cheng Li, *Jindai Shiyejia Zhou Yuexi Yanjiy* 251

³⁰⁷ Zhou Xuexi, Zhou Xuexi Ji 周学熙集, (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 719.

ideals of what it is to be a man in society. The masculinity manifested by the scholar-businessmen can be seen as a compromise between the egalitarianism and elitism, the rational calculation of capitalism and the sentimental imagination of collectivism.

Conclusion

The early decades of the twentieth century China provided a big stage upon which a new breed of scholar-businessmen could play heroic roles in the modernization of China. Zhang Jian, Zhou Xuexi and other scholar-businessmen successfully changed the map of Chinese industry and ultimately the shape of China as a whole – an unprecedented new type of masculine power emerged. The image of the men of action or hands gradually replaced the leisured and textual scholar to become the new fashion of Chinese wen masculinity. The manly Chinese learning now expanded into the subjects of business and technology. The Chinese wen men therefore included bustling businessmen as well as technicians.

This transformation was rooted in the circumstances that confronted China at that time. The force of colonialism and global capitalism brought about military and commercial wars to China and this aroused patriotism among Chinese scholars. The profession of business, industry and technology, which was deemed only as an alternative path to success for Confucian men, miraculously became the frontier upon which to test Chinese manhood. Nationalism, again, performed this trick in the reconfiguration of masculinity. It turned the businessmen and technician from their lowly status into the heroic and virtuous.

Along with nationalism, the newly established republican political system also played an

important part in the transformation of Chinese wen men from scholar to businessmen and technicians. The new identity of citizenship brought about changes to the notion of what is to be a man in China. The leisured and servant-dependent lifestyle of the past was in conflict with the responsibilities and duties of a new republican citizen. Self-reliance was now incorporated by the scholars into the definition of Chinese masculinity. As the shadow of the tradition, however, the sense of superiority over the commoners was still lingering in the masculine image of scholar-businessmen at this time.

Chapter 5

Fighting shoulder-by-shoulder for China:

Nationalism, Democracy and Male Bonding

Men exert their masculinity not only individually but also collectively. As a social phenomenon, 'Men in groups' is as old as human history. It is even believed to have "evolved from the behaviour patterns of primates". Studies on male homosociality and friendship show that male bonding provided spaces in which men could share their masculine values and aspirations and appreciate, pursue and perform particular types of masculinity. Hence, it is important to examine the social construction of masculinity from the angle of male homosociality and male friendship. In his study of Chinese male friendship, Martin Huang even argues "In a patriarchal society such as that of traditional China, masculinity was mostly a homosocial enactment: what mattered most to a man was the scrutiny and judgement of other men". 310

Male bonding was a ubiquitous and remarkable feature of Chinese history. A variety of male bonds were created by Chinese men at different eras, ranging from the legendry male

³⁰⁸ See Lionel Tiger, *Men in Groups*, (London: Nelson, 1969), 18-40.

Alan Bray, *The Friend*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003); Anne Gerritsen, "Friendship through Fourteenth-Century Fissures: Dai Liang, Wu Sidao and Ding Henian", *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 9.1 (2007):34-69.

Martin Huang, "Male Friendship in Ming China: An Introduction", Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China, 9.1 (2007):8.

Thong Ziqi 钟子期, to wen men's literary, art and political clubs and to the military and non-elite men's sworn brotherhood ties such as the famous Peach Garden Oath between Liu Bei 刘备, Guan Yu 美羽 and Zhang Fei 张飞 in Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo yanyi 三国演义). And again, the trace of the division between wen-wu masculinity can be identified with these male bonds. The sworn brotherhood ties, which were usually formed among wu men and non-elite Chinese men, were imbued with a special type of masculinity that was highly hierarchal and violence-prone. The traditional wen men's social clubs, especially the literary clubs, had a close connection to the imperial civil service exams and were based on scholarly pursuits that were usually a combination of academic achievements and political power. Compared to the quasi-kin relationships among the sworn brothers, the male friendship that flourished within these traditional wen men's clubs was less hierarchical and appealed more to men's cerebral power than to bodily strength.

Scholarly interest in Chinese *wen* men's friendship has primarily focused on the imperial period, especially on the cult of friendship among the scholars in Ming China.³¹⁴ This chapter seeks to shift the focus of the study of *wen* men's bonding from the imperial period to the early republican era, exploring the nature of *wen* men's bonding in the

.

³¹¹ See McIsaac, "'Righteous Fraternities' and Honorable Men: Sworn Brotherhoods in Wartime Chongqing," *The American History Review*, 106.5 (2000):1641-55.

³¹² See He Zongmei,何宗美, *Mingqing wenren jieshe yanjiu*,明清文人结社研究, chapter 3, (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2003), 147-206.
313 For detailed analyses of the features of male bonding among the *wen* men in late imperial time, see Anne

Gerritsen, "Friendship through Fourteenth-Century Fissures: Dai Liang, Wu Sidao and Ding Henian", *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 9.1 (2007): 34-69; Joseph, S.C. Lam, "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China", *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 9.1 (2007):70-110; Martin Huang, "Male Friendship and Jiangxue (philosophical debates) in Sixteenth-Century China", *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 9.1 (2007):146-178.

See He Zongmei, *Mingqing wenren jieshe yanjiu*, (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2003); Martin Huang, ed, *Male friendship in Ming China*, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007).

context of national crisis and radical political, social and cultural change. The data referring to this period reveal that there was a rise of male camaraderie among young Chinese *wen* men at a time of crisis, turbulence and transition.

Between 1915 and 1923, the New Culture Movement and its major publicity organ the influential Xin qingnian 新青年 targeted young Chinese students and advocated social reform and a cultural revolution to bolster the political changes brought about by the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution. As a result of its articles many young men, primarily college students but also including some high school students, participated eagerly in the grand enterprise of nation-building. With a belief that the old people in China were unable to make the necessary fundamental changes to themselves and to China, these young Chinese men started to assume for themselves a heroic role of national salvation. Bonding together for national salvation became a fashion among these young students and new graduates. Hundreds young nationalist associations and societies that were mainly constituted by male Chinese college and high school students emerged in China between 1917 and 1925.315 For instance, the Mutual Support Society (Huzhu she 互助社) formed in 1917 among the college students in Hubei 湖北 province; the Youthful China Association (Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui 少年中国学会) in 1918 among the university students in Beijing and Shanghai; the New People Association (Xinmin xuehui 新民学会) in 1918 among college students in Hunan 湖南 province; the Populace Education Society (Pingmin jiaoyu she 平民教育社) in 1919 among the students and teachers of Beijing Advanced Normal College; the Awakened Society (Juewu she 觉悟社) in 1919 among the high

³¹⁵ For the influence of *Xin qingnian* magazine in the formation of these young nationalist clubs see Xia Kangnong 夏康农, "Huiyi Shaonian xuehui", 回忆少年学会, in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团, (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.3, 91-6.

school students in Tianjin 天津; and the Populace Association (*Pingmin xuehui* 平民学会) in 1920 among the students and young teachers at Fudan University in Shanghai. Many of the student clubs were purely male associations, such as the Mutual Support Society and the Youthful China Association. Yet some of them, such as the New People Association and the Awakened Society included female members. Given that the majority members of these student social clubs were male, it is fair to say that male bonding and male friendship flourished within these organizations.

I choose the Youthful China Association (Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui) and the New People Association (Xinmin xuehui) to conduct a case study of male bonding at this particular historical moment. These two were the most influential among the hundreds of young nationalist social clubs and they bore a lot of similarities as organizations. Both of them were big social clubs. The Youthful China Association (YCA) gathered more than a hundred members, while the New People Association (NPA) had nearly eighty. The YCA established branches in Beijing, Chengdu 成都, Nanjing 南京 and Paris. The NPA members were, too, active nationally and internationally in Hunan, Beijing, Shanghai and Paris. The YCA members were influential, for most of them had the experience of studying overseas, and had become the prominent scientists, journalists and the leaders of the political parties of the early republican China. It produced the right wing leaders such as Zeng Qi 曾琦 (1892-1951) and Li Huang 李璜 (1895-?). It also harboured the famous communists such as Li Dazhao 李大钊 (1889-1927), Yun Daiying 恽代英 (1885-1931) and Zhang Wentian 张闻天 (1900-1976). The NPA was, too, an important student social club. It provided a stage for the early Chinese communists such as Mao Zedong 毛泽东 (1893-1976) and Cai Hesen 蔡和森 (1895-1931). But as a student social

³¹⁶ Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 118 and 218; vol.2, 299; vol.3, 5; vol.4, 10.

club the NPA also retained the well-known anarchists such as Xiao Zisheng 萧子升 (1894-1976). Therefore the YCA and the NPA were not political parties but leading student social clubs. Last, both clubs were open to female applicants, which showed the male leaders of these two organizations welcomed women's participation or assistance in the enterprise of nationalism. Based on these similarities, I explore the nature of male bonding within these two nationalist social clubs, including the common ground for bonding, the self perception of gender as an organization, the form of male intimacy, the collective pursuit of male identity, and the level of hierarchy existing in the male bonding practiced.

Rallying Under the Flag of Saving China

Nationalism in China, as well as in many other societies, was viewed mainly as a male enterprise for it belonged to the public world outside of the home. Gender segregation between the public world and the domestic realm has existed in China ever since the establishment of earliest states such as Xia 夏(2000-1500BC), Shang 商(1500-1066BC) and Zhou 周(1066-256BC). The *Liji* 礼记(*Book of Rites*) provides written record of gender segregation in pre-Qin China, and shows in detail that men were assigned to the responsibility for and power over the public sphere while women were despatched to roles in the domestic world. In China, men were encouraged to take the initiative in public affairs. "Even a commoner male has the responsibility to the rise or fall of righteous order under heaven" (*Tianxia xingwang pifu you ze* 天下兴亡匹夫有责), says a proverb in circulation since the late Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644). With such a patriarchal tradition, the defence of the country and the administration of the state were certainly deemed a male duty. Thus an endangered nation in the social Darwinian world at

a time of western imperialism was first of all a masculine humiliation to China's male population. For many of these patriotic men, demonstrating manliness through national salvation and nation building topped all concerns and desires at that time. And significantly, nationalism became a unique venue where both wen and wu masculinity claimed legitimacy and as a consequence the boundary between these two became blurred, for Chinese men sought both male styles simultaneously. On the one hand, numerous Chinese men including wen men played sports, practiced martial arts, and joined the army for physically defending China. On the other, they tried hard to defend and enhance China with the power of mind, especially through studying science and technology. To share their masculine aspiration for a stronger China, they connected and bonded. Nationalism as a means for performing masculinity became the catalyst, common ground and shared desire for Chinese wen men's bonding together. In contrast to the traditional wen men's social clubs, which usually focused on literary pursuits and success in civil service examinations, 317 the male passion for national salvation and nation building provided the common ground for the initiation and the function of the YCA and NPA around the 1915-23 New Culture movement. The theme of nationalism permeated the activities at both the YCA and the NPA. National salvation and nation-building was the destination that almost all the activities in YCA and NPA were oriented toward. The goal for a stronger China was proclaimed or implied in the charters, and was also repeatedly emphasized by members in their articles and correspondence.

For the members of the YCA, nationalism was first expressed explicitly through the name of their organization—the Youthful China Association. And nation-building was stipulated in their charter, first published in 1919 in Beijing, as the goal for the YCA. In the first part

³¹⁷ He Zongmei, *Mingging wenren jieshe vanjiu*, chapter 3, 147-206.

of the charter, the core tenet of the YCA was described as "Based on scientific methods, we aim to conduct activities within society designed to construct a youthful China". 318 Nationalism underpinned the formation of the YCA, not least because Chinese students in Japan initiated the YCA as part of their patriotic and anti-Japanese activities between 1917 and 1918.

In May of 1918 the Chinese students in Japan held a demonstration to protest the Chinese Republican government led by Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 (1865-1936), for its signing of a military entente about the cooperation on defence between China and Japan. The Japanese police suppressed this patriotic demonstration, declaring it to be a radical strike against Japan, and as a result about two or three thousand Chinese students collectively cancelled their study plans in Japan and went back to China that very month. After returning from Japan, the leaders of the 1918 Chinese students back from Japan established in Shanghai the National Salvation Alliance of Chinese Students Returned from Japan, which prompted a sympathetic demonstration of two thousand students in Beijing. The Alliance also formed allegiances with students in other Chinese cities. Hoping to establish a branch in Beijing, Zeng Qi, the activist of the National Salvation Alliance of Chinese Students and later on one of the founders of the YCA, came to Beijing in June 1918. It was at Zeng's meeting with his friends in Beijing that the YCA was conceived. 319

On Zeng Qi's arrival, Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892-1936), a new graduate from the University of China and working at the *Jinghua Daily* 京华日报 as an editor, put forward a thoughtful proposal about gathering comrades for national salvation. Instead of

³¹⁸ See "Shaonian zhongguo xuehui zhangcheng" 少年中国学会章程, in *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 225. 319 See Wu Xiaolong 吴小龙, *Shaonian zhongguo xuehui yanjiu* 少年中国学会研究, (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2006).14-7.

launching political campaigns against the warlord government, which was the National Salvation Alliance's major strategy, Wang suggested forming a powerful union aiming at producing long term solutions to the national crisis by gathering people of good quality, inspiring their talent and ability and exploring scientific methods for saving China. Wang Guangqi's idea that the salvation of China required considerable preparation inspired Zeng Qi. He and his other friends in Beijing approved the idea of establishing a new union that would be more influential in impact than any other existing patriotic societies. Five days after Zeng Qi's arrival, seven founders of the YCA, among which five were students returned from Japan in protest, held the first meeting of the YCA in Beijing. They formed the charter of the YCA which consisted of seventy clauses prescribing the principles, membership, functions, administration, staffing, congregation, and finance of the organization.³²⁰

The fact that nationalism was the catalyst, common ground and shared goal for the bonding of these young men in turn determined that it was a male nationalist club rather than a political party. Members of the YCA did not hold the same political beliefs when they joined the union. Some of the members believed in anarchism, and a few were advocates for socialism, while some others were enthusiastic for radical nationalism. The members of the YCA were well aware of this diversity in political viewpoints. Wang Guangqi, one of the seven founders of the YCA, wrote in 1919: "Each of the YCA members has his own political belief and they adhere firmly to their political devotions." Therefore the YCA was a form of male bonding that reached beyond

³²⁰ See Wu Xiaolong, *Shaonian zhongguo xuehui yanjiu* ,14-7; Zhou Taixuan, 1960, "Guayu Canjia faqi Shaonian zhonguo xuehui de huiyi", 关于参加发起少年中国学会的回忆, in *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* vol.1, 536-49.

Wang Guangqi, Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui zhi jingshen he jinxing jihua 少年中国学会之精神和行动 计划, *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 1.6 (1919), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" zhuan ji, [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).

political differences. Although it can be seen as a political rally for Chinese young men seeking national salvation and nation-building, the bond formed was based on the general goal of achieving social and cultural change rather than party-political goals. The YCA members were well aware of this:

How could these eighty some members have bonded together as one organism? Surely there is something common among them. The most important commonality shared among the members of the YCA, which is implied by the name of the association, is that all of us are imbued with the will to contribute our energy to the transformation of China from a state of senility to one of youth. 322

The NPA differed slightly from the YCA in its left-wing inclination to explore the truth of the universe and to bring positive changes to the entire globe. While it held a broader vision than the YCA, nationalism still loomed large in the NPA. As with the YCA, it was patriotism that urged the founders of the NPA to make connection with their comrades. Mao Zedong, one the founders of the NPA, placed an advertisement in 1917 in a local newspaper in Changsha, in which he made it clear that he was calling on the comrades that were "fortitudinous in character and ready to die for China". Broad consent about the goal of nation-building for this new association was achieved through hundreds hours of discussion in Changsha between 1916 and 1917. After these discussions, these male students felt obliged to establish a union that "gathers comrades to create a new social environment as a collective action". The reconstruction of China as well as the world

³²² See Shen Zemin 沈泽民, "Shaonian zhongguo xuehui wenti" 少年中国学会问题, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 3.2 (1920), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

³²³ See Mao Zedong, "Mao Zedong zizhuan", 毛泽东自传, in Cai Yuanpei, *Wozai Beijingdaxue de jingli*, 我在北京大学的经历, in Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, *Wo zai Beijing daxue de jingli* 我在北京大学的经历, (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2003), 27; Zhou Shizhao 周士钊, "Xiangjiang de nuhou: Maozhuxi zai wusi yundong shiqi" 湘江的怒吼:毛主席在五四运动时期, in Zhang Yunhou, et al.ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 90-109.

³²⁴ See "Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (No.1)",新民学会会务报告(第一号), in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 574-85.

was set explicitly as the official goal for NPA in its 1920 Montereau meeting³²⁵ in France and in the Changsha meeting in 1921.³²⁶ Cai Hesen, one of the founders of the NPA. expressed his passion for nation-building in his correspondence with Mao Zedong:

You brother has long held that the major task for NPA is to explore the principle of the universe and to set order to the Chinese society. I can't agree with you more, and especially on those aspects that many existing political parties, social clubs or those reserved scholars dare not address. I think that when the reserved scholars can no longer be relied upon and the people contaminated are not suitable for national salvation, who else we could count on if we ourselves do not strive for it? 327

It is, therefore, not surprising that all the literary, philosophical and scientific pursuits and activities within the YCA and NPA were subjected to the enterprise of nationalism. Yun Daiying, an influential member of YCA and later on a leader of the Chinese Communist Party, epitomised this point in 1921:

We study, but we do not want to be the so-called scholars, which are only decorations to the populace. Rather, we study for the knowledge about the most sound and economic way of constructing a youthful China. We act, but we do not want to be the so-called entrepreneurs that are aimed at the power of control. Instead, we conduct projects aimed at developing our ability to construct a better China, because the one who never practices is not qualified to be an advocate for constructing a youthful China....therefore I believe that all these activities,

Between 1919 and 1920, about twenty members of the New People Association went to France as a part of the Chinese youth Going to France for Half-Study-and-Half-Working (Fufa qindong jianxue 赴法勤工俭 学) movement. Between 6th and 10th July 1920, these members in France gathered for a meeting in Montereau, a small town south to Paris, and sent a report of the meeting to the New People Association in Hunan.

³²⁶ See Xiao Zisheng, "Xiao Xudong de xin", 萧旭东的信, (Xudong is the courtesy name of Xiao Zisheng); and "Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (No.2)", 新民学会会务报告(第二号), in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 41 and 585.

³²⁷ Cai Hesen, "Cai Linbin de xin" 蔡林彬的信, (Linbin is the courtesy name of Cai Hesen), in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 15.

No Sissy Stuff

Both the YCA and NPA were highly masculine organizations. For these young male nationalists, nationalism, along with politics and scholarly pursuits, were men's business. Their associations provided space for young men to show the extent of their ambition, power and talent. This begs the question of their perceptions about the suitability of women in the projects of nationalism and nation-building. Although the NPA admitted female members and the YCA welcomed women audiences to their congregations, it seems that such actions did not change the perception of these young men about the masculine essence of their associations. The inclusion of women increased the standing of the men because they could present themselves as being modern and open, but it did not impact on the operations of the associations, which remained thoroughly male-oriented. Even in the NPA, which admitted women members, men still dominated the association, forming the overwhelming bulk of the membership and occupying the key leadership posts.

All of the 140 members of the YCA were men so naturally the YCA was oriented toward men almost in every aspect. Despite the fact that Zeng Qi had declared in 1919 that the YCA should be open to women, almost no echoes were found in the numerous articles and letters by the other YCA members except a claim from the meeting of the council one year later which admitted that the YCA was open to women because women were certainly

³²⁸ Yun Daiying, "Shaonian zhongguo xuehui de wenti" 少年中国学会的问题, *Shaonian zhongguo*, 2.7 (1920), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" zhuan ji, [electronic resource].

included in the expression "the aspiring Chinese youth" stipulated in the charter.³²⁹ There were no records showing women were ever introduced as applicants for membership of the YCA. More interestingly, at the 1925 Nanjing Congregation of the YCA, Zeng Qi, the only man in the YCA who had suggested admitting female members, nonetheless articulated in a speech that only the two hundred million members of the *male* population could be relied upon to launch a nationalist revolution in China. Zeng Qi's speech roused vocal protests by the women in the audience but their protests would not change these particular Chinese men's perception of women's marginal role in the enterprise of nationalism.³³⁰

Zeng's attitude towards women reflects the fact that Chinese women were not taken seriously by these young male nationalists, despite the fact that many of those very same women had already participated in nationalist inspired activities.³³¹ As demonstrated by the scholars in the field of Chinese women's history, from the perspective of politically-active women of the time, breaking into the public realm of politics was crucial to undermining the traditional division of gender roles.³³² An intriguing question here is: What did Chinese men feel about the definitions of gender when Chinese women attempted to break the established gender order between the public and the domestic? I argue that Chinese men at this time defended their masculine space by masculinizing their women and even by simply ignoring the presence of women in the public sphere. While desperately needing the support of women in national salvation and nation building,

³²⁹ See Zhengqi, 1919, Liu bie Shaonian zhongguo tongren 留别少年中国同仁, *Shaonian Zhonguo* 1.3 (1919), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" zhuan ji, [electronic resource].

³³⁰ See Shu Xincheng 舒新城, "Huiyi Yun Daiying tongzhi", 回忆恽代英同志, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 571.

³³¹ In her 2008 book *Gender, Politics, and Democracy: Women's suffrage in China*, Louise Edwards discusses in detail in chapter two and three about the subversive participation of women in activities of national salvation and nation building during late Qing and early republican period.

³³² See Louise Edwards' book: *Gender, Politics, and Democracy: Women's suffrage in China*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press: 2008).

many of these modern, educated young Chinese men did not change their male-centred view of the public sphere or of the gendered nature of nationalism. For them, the presence of Chinese women in the realm of nationalist activities did not produce fundamental changes to the masculinity born by nationalism broadly and their clubs specifically. In the eyes of these young *wen* men, the young nationalist clubs were mainly a place where men could encourage and support each other to fulfil the grandest of all male duties—saving the country and building up a stronger nation—and this space was certainly not supposed to be the site for femininity. Hence when Chinese women stepped into the world of nationalism at the start of the twentieth century, it was a historical moment for women but in entering this male domain it was women that undertook to change themselves, not men. Although at this time women were not required to assume male clothing, as the famed woman warrior Hua Mulan 花木兰333 had done in the past, but it was still necessary for them to change the way they thought and acted by strengthening their minds and bodies. Men and women were seen as equal only on the condition that women adopt the standards set for men.

The young male nationalists were highly sensitive to the masculinity of their space and did not permit "womanly stuff" such as gossip or discussion about trivial things to be brought into the male domain. In his recollections about his early life in the NPA, Mao Zedong described how he and his male friends safeguarded their masculine space by rejecting womanly things and even excluded men that talked about matters deemed feminine:

In this association the members were not large in number, but they were very serious and disparaged trivial things. All their discussions and all their actions related to the big picture.

_

³³³ Hua Mulan was a legendary heroine in Chinese history. She was believed to have lived before 555AD, and had ever joined the all-male army in place of her father. See Louise Edwards, "Transformations of the Women Warrior Hua Mulan: From Defender of the Family to Servant of the State", *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 12 (2010): 175-214.

They never spent time on love affairs, because they thought that China's situation was so perilous and there was so much to learn and to study that they did not have time to talk about women or personal problems...Usually men of such an age spend most of their time talking about the beauty of women. Yet my comrades dismissed not only love affairs but also the sissy stuff of everyday life. I remember that once I visited the home of a young guy, and to my surprise he talked about buying pork in my presence and asked his house servant to go off and make the purchase. I was irritated and never saw this guy again. My friends and I only preferred discussing big matters—the essence of human beings, the structure of human society, the fundamental things to China, the world, and the universe!

Mao conveyed here a strong stance of 'No-Sissy-Stuff' and expressed the view that his comrades should avoid discussion of matters that were conventionally assigned to women and 'petty' men. Mao also manifests the pride he and his male comrades felt about performances of their machismo at the NPA, which was rare among traditional Chinese wen men. Mao implied that although the NPA included quite a few female members, it was led by a group of tough men who tried to be sexually blind to the existence of women in their association. Underneath the prohibition of discussions of love affairs among the male members rested the broad suppression of sexuality among both men and women members at this time of national crisis. Obviously Mao was claiming a virtuous containment of sexuality. In so doing, Mao demonstrated that the NPA was overwhelmingly masculine and under the control of the 'strong men'—self-control of sexual appetites had long been construed as a strong man's attribute and Mao transferred this to the modern NPA context.

The members of the YCA were equally aware of the masculinity they performed and enjoyed within the YCA. In his diary of "Sojourns in Germany", which was published in

³³⁴ Mao Zedong, "Mao Zedong zizhuan", 毛泽东自传, in Cai Yuanpei, *Wo zai Beijing daxue de jingli* 我在北京大学的经历, (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2003), 28-9.

1920 in the magazine of *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, Wei Shizhen 魏时珍(1895-1992) reveals his perception of masculinity and femininity:

Recently I have spent more time with German women. I found that although these foreign women were said to have enjoyed the same freedom as men's, they are still passive in public life.³³⁵

On another day in Germany, Wei wrote:

It is said the western women are straightforward, but they are actually evasive and mysterious, which is similar to Chinese women. Women are ignorant and their discussion was confined to kitchen matters such as firewood, rice, oil and salt (*chai mi you yan* 柴米油盐). This is not just the case for Chinese women, but also is the case for German women. I was once invited to a German house where there were five or six women sitting at the table. These women talked about matters so trivial that one could hardly bear it.³³⁶

Wei's comments on German and Chinese women echoed Mao's opinion about differences between men and women and provided a male-centred view of which matters were considered to be big and which were trivial. These men also reveal their male pride about what they were performing at their nationalist social clubs. Obviously Wei and Mao hold a common opinion that women were domestic and trivial while men were public and grand. Therefore, these young men of the YCA were all engaged in "big" things which contributed to the improvement and management of the public sphere: travelling far away from their hometowns to other parts of the country or even abroad to explore the truth of the universe by scientific studies; defusing scientific knowledge to the Chinese population by publishing articles and books in China; establishing and maintaining a strong and distinct union as good models to the less educated and less manly; holding meetings to discuss the best path to a better China; and so on. For Wei Shizhen and the other members

³³⁵ Wei Shizhen, "Lu De riji" 旅德日记, in *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 3.9 (1922), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

Wei Shizhen, "Lu De riji", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 3.4 (1921), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

of the YCA, they bonded together so they could perform their male duties in an improved way and the existence of the YCA confirmed and strengthened the masculinity of the members.

Bonding to Survive

Men bonded together as a group for various purposes ranging from: conducting cooperatively manly tasks like hunting. 337 carrying out religious ceremonies as superior members of their society;³³⁸ seeking intellectual pursuits and pleasure together like the traditional Chinese wen men's poetry and music clubs; 339 and seeking protection if they were marginalized.³⁴⁰ The male bonds within the YCA and NPA can be seen as survival strategies through which wen men united together to fight against the negative impacts of warlords, incompetent government leaders and western imperialists to establish a stronger China and to protect themselves as men of virtue. This bonding for protection against external threats is quite rare among the male bonding practices of the Chinese wen men of traditional China, because in imperial times bonding as a survival strategy was usually employed by non-elite Chinese men such as the men in the Water Margin (shui hu 水浒).

Young Chinese men at the start of the twentieth century were compelled to bond for the survival of their nation, because China was threatened with dismemberment in a new social Darwinian environment. Early in 1969, Lionel Tiger states in his pioneering book on male bonding that male bonding in groups was usually associated with aggression,

³³⁷ Tiger, Men in Groups.

³³⁸ See Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, (K. Wolff, Ed.), New York: Free Press, 1950), 364.

³³⁹ Joseph S.C. Lam, "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China".

³⁴⁰ Lee McIsaac, "'Righteous Fraternities' and Honorable Men: Sworn Brotherhoods in Wartime Chongqing," The American History Review, 106.5 (2000): 1641-55.

which he defines as a process of coercion against the will of others.³⁴¹ Although this argument risks being over-generalizing, the case of the YCA and the NPA provides considerable evidence to support Tiger's view. To the young wen men at these nationalist clubs nationalism was first of all an endeavour to fight against the ferocious will of the colonists and the warlords. Zhou Taixuan 周太玄 (1895-1968), 342 another founder of the YCA, recollected that they found "the circumstances in China unbearable", because on the one hand, China was "oppressed and exploited" by western and Japanese imperialists, on the other it was tortured and split by warlords since the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolution. 343 Therefore there was a battle of will between these young Chinese wen men and the western and Japanese imperialists and warlords. Zhou stated that these young men wanted a "vouthful, independent, affluent and powerful China". This battle of wills was epitomised by Li Huang in his 1923 article in Shaonian Zhongguo Vol. 4 Issue 2: "To strive against invasions by the imperialists from the outside and to knock down the power of the warlords within China is the common ideal of each member of our association. We often talk about this and it is indeed the common desire shared by Chinese youth in recent vears".345

Yet what these young men fought against was even more complex. Deep in these conflicts within internal and external threats lay an anxiety among these young Chinese men over their endangered manhood and the personal crisis they were experiencing as marginalized

_

³⁴¹ See Tiger, *Men in Groups*, 158.

³⁴² Zhou Taixuan, 1895-1968, biologist and journalist, one of the founders of the Youthful China Association, a pioneering scientist in coelenterates after he obtained PhD in Science in University of Paris in the 1920s.

³⁴³ Zhou Taixuan, "Guanyu canjia faqi shaonian zhongguo xuehui de huiyi", 关于参加发起少年中国学会的回忆, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 539.

³⁴⁴ Zhou Taixuan, "Guanyu canjia faqi shaonian zhongguo xuehui de huiyi", in Zhang Yunhou, ed, *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, Vol.1, 539.

³⁴⁵ Li Huang, "Minzhu zhuyi de geming he shehui zhuyi de geming",民主主义的革命和社会主义的革命, *Shaonian zhongguo*, 4.2 (1923), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

men. In their studies on men's homosocial relationships in nineteenth-century America, Crowley and Rotundo demonstrate that men were more inclined to form intimate relationships with other men at their transitional stages, especially from boyhood to manhood. A similar situation was found with the young Chinese wen men in the opening decades of the twentieth century. While feeling obliged to save China from perishing, these young wen men also felt vulnerable and unprotected more generally in their society. For them, Chinese society under the impact of imperialism and warlordism was so dark that it could deprive a man of the goodness essential for building up manliness and manly traits such as integrity, vigorousness, freedom, scholarship, and this darkness could even swallow a man's life. This anxiety was expressed in the talks presented by these young wen men. For example, in 1919 Zeng Qi elucidated that one of the major aims for him and his comrades to bond together was seeking protection:

We felt that the contemporary society is extremely corrupted, evil and filthy. Without a strong union in which men can mutually supervise, encourage, guard, support, and find solace, the one who fights individually will probably lose to society and in turn be changed by society. At the very least he would fall into melancholia or commit suicide. Therefore it is necessary to build up a virtuous and strong union to protect individuals from degeneration or suicide. ³⁴⁷

What Zeng meant by "lose to society" or "degeneration" was yielding to the existing social order and merging with the rotten parts of traditional Chinese male culture such as "gambling, taking concubines, dallying with prostitutes, and wasting time (playing Mahjong)".³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ J. W. Crowley, "Howells, Stoddard, and male Homosocial Attachment in Victorian America", in Harry Brod, ed, *The Making of Masculinities: the New Men's Studies*, (Boston: Allen & Unwin: 1987); Anthony E. Rotundo, "Romantic Friendships: Male Intimacy and Middle-class Youth in the Northern United States 1800-1900", *Journal of Social History*, 23.1 (1989):1-25.

³⁴⁷ Zeng Qi, "Liubie shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren", *Shaonian Zhonguo*, 1.3 (1919).

³⁴⁸ Zeng Qi, "Gei Zuo Shunsheng de xin", 给左舜生的信, in "Shaonian Zhongguo Xuehui xiaoxi", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 2.3 (1920), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

There was, therefore, a close relationship between the protection of manhood and breaking down the contemporary hierarchy represented by the power of warlordism and western imperialism. For these young *wen* men the power of the existing hierarchy blocked their paths to their desired nationhood and manhood. This barrier was so formidable and ubiquitous that they used the term "meshwork" to describe it. As expressed by Cai Hesen, the prominent member of the NPA, "our ultimate goal lies at breaking the layered meshwork in human society to obtain freedom in personality, status and enterprise."³⁴⁹

Feeling oppressed and vulnerable these young *wen* men also desired to fight, so they bonded as groups. As described by the members of the YCA in their articles and correspondence, their male bonding "was primarily a character insurance company in an evil society" which provided a shelter for young men to remain vigorous and upright. In fact, the establishment of the bonds created a space in which these young *wen* men could share and encourage their masculine aspirations, such as intellectual pursuits, character building and most importantly the patriotic commitment to national salvation and nation-building. By finding like-minded individuals who would "grow-up" together, these young men were determined to escape the contamination of a decadent society and to establish themselves as good men of a new era.

Growing up together and fighting shoulder-to-shoulder

The scholars in the field of male friendship have identified the act of "doing activities together" as the major feature of male intimacy.³⁵¹ For the members of the YCA and the

_

³⁴⁹ Cai Hesen, "Cai lingbin de xin", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, 17.

³⁵⁰ Zeng Qi, Liubie shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren, *Shaonian Zhonguo*, 1.3 (1919).

Drury Sherrod, "The Bonds of Men: Problems and Possibilities in Close Male Relationships", in Harry Brod, ed, *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

NPA, their friendship with other members developed because they grew up together as young men and fought shoulder-to-shoulder from their self-designated positions as the oppressed and the vulnerable. A lot of association activities, such as meetings, correspondence, publishing organizational journals, sightseeing and even living together, were undertaken at these two clubs. These activities brought about dynamic interactions or exchanges between the members, which gave them scope for close interaction and shared experiences of the maturation of their comrades and brothers. By exchanging thoughts and information via debating, corresponding and publishing articles, these men encouraged each other's masculine aspirations including academic achievement, administrative skills, character building and above all creating a better China.

Studying together was the first and most crucial joint activity undertaken by these men's associations. Both the YCA and NPA encouraged its members to pursue knowledge and scholarship, the traditional *wen* masculine accomplishment. Within the YCA and the NPA, these young men eagerly exchanged the methods of study, reported or presented to each other their personal learning outcomes. When living in the same city, they often shared books and magazines. As revealed in the NPA's Montereau meeting report of 1920, the discussion on methods of study occupied one third of their meeting time. In the YCA, each member was required to have academic commitment to at least one specific area, as stipulated in its charter. Academic meetings were held frequently in local branches like Shanghai and Nanjing. The YCA's journal--Shaonian Zhongguo opened spaces for its members to present their academic interests and introduce new developments in their particular specialist areas. The YCA also sponsored its members' scholarly pursuit by

³⁵² Xiao Zisheng, Xiao Xuedong de xin, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 40-3. "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui guiyue", 少年中国学会规约, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 225-31.

organizing the publication of their works as a distinct group. Between 1919 and 1926, 32 books written or translated by the YCA members were published as a book series of the Youthful China Association.³⁵⁴

To the young men in the YCA and NPA growing up together also meant helping each other in "character building" activities. Character building was generally deemed essential to men's success, because a man marks himself in a society not only by achievements but also by good character and personality, and more importantly good character and personality secure a man's achievements. Therefore it is not surprising that character building was highly regarded and seriously taken in both the YCA and NPA. With the NPA, character building was raised as one of the major goals for its member in its initial meeting in 1918. In its 1920 Montereau meeting, the members spent two half days mutually appreciating and criticizing each other's character and personality. In YCA it was deemed the obligation of the members to keep an eye on their comrades' conduct and remind them of the weakness or potential pitfalls. Character building and personality construction through mutual appreciation and criticism was often seen in the correspondences between the members of the YCA. For example, in 1919 Zeng Qi received a letter from Zhou Taixuan in which Zhou suggested Zeng to make improvement to his personality:

I have some thoughts to present here in order. Whether they are accepted depends on your self-reflection, brother. First, when you, brother, do not possess a strong body, you lack the sense of mental cultivation. The biggest threat to your life is that you think radically with insufficient background knowledge and are often dominated by your emotions. This could

³⁵⁴ See Shaonian Zhongguo Congshu mulu, "少年中国丛书"目录, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 256.

³⁵⁵ See "Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (No.1)",新民学会会务报告(第一号), 1920, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed, *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 575.

Xiao Zisheng, "Xiao Xuedong de xin", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 40-3.

affect your lifespan. Second, brother, you seldom conduct serious research when there is a question. Therefore you form opinions too quickly because learning is not a goal but a tool for you. This is why you do not possess determination and preparation for long-term tasks. Third, because of the flaws above, brother, you are not able to produce profound observations and insights. This explains why you hold firmly to beliefs but do not know how to act. Fourth, the biggest problem with your personality is that you are hasty and impetuous. You often try to figure out things within short time and it often turns out to be the opposite. Fifth, brother, you are blocked by the ancestors you worship. You often raise the thoughts of these ancients as the standards for today, which hinders the productivity of your knowledge system. Therefore even as time has passed your knowledge has not increased. Sixth, you know about your weaknesses but you have failed to effect any changes. You seem OK on the surface but you are really fragile on the inside." 357

This letter was presented as an example of friendship and camaraderie in "The official Report of the YCA" in *Shaonian Zhongguo* volume 1, Issue 2, 1919. Underneath the sternness of the criticism was a spirit of protection of and support for a brother and a friend. It showed how the author assumed the role of supervisor in the character building processes of his comrade and friend. This letter was written in the summer of 1919, a time when Zhou Taixuan had just started his new life in France as an ambitious student. It revealed how he had expected and pushed his comrades and friends to be successful while he fought for success himself.

As indicated in the correspondence between Zhou Taixuan and Zeng Qi, growing up together also meant safeguarding each other for success and manhood. With the dynamic interaction among members, these men could be inspired by the spirit and progress of their comrades. Li Huang admitted to Zeng Qi that when he went back to hometown for his

³⁵⁷ "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui xiaoxi", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.2 (1919), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

wedding, he always reminded himself that many comrades were striving for success in the society and he should not stay home for a comfortable life. As an ambitious *wen* man, Li's dream was to promote his scholarship by studying in an advanced country. He went to Paris in the spring of 1919 and successfully managed his study by working part-time as a journalist. Encouraged by Li Huang and Zhou Taixuan who already started western style learning in Europe, Zeng Qi, the recipient of the letter above, embarked on the tour for France in the fall of 1919 to elevate his scholarship.

But they "did things together" not just for the security of manhood in a transitional and turbulent time. For these young and patriotic wen men, they looked after each other more out of a concern for the salvation of the nation. Here the pursuit of ideal manhood and ideal nationhood overlapped, as these young wen men saw their personal success as integral to the success of national salvation. "It is not an easy job to construct a youthful China", wrote Yun Daiying in 1920, "It requires not only the scholarship but also the character of every comrade. More crucially it demands the cooperation of every comrade to strive towards the same destination." Hence the bonding of these young wen men was more a survival strategy for the nation. To these young men, their bonds are also a union "to fight against the dark society shoulder-by-shoulder and back-against-back", ³⁵⁹ because the forces of warlordism and both western and Japanese imperialisms were so ferocious, the task of national salvation must be carried out by a collective effort. While neither the YCA nor the NPA were political parties that worked collaboratively on specific political issues, these two associations encouraged and urged their members to make achievements in their own areas as a part of group work by their organization. Within the

³⁵⁸ See Zeng Qi, 1919, Liubie shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.3 (1919); and Li Huang, "Li Huang zhi Zuo Sunsheng", 李璜致左舜生, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.1 (1919), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

Li Huang, "Minzhu zhuyi de geming he shehui zhuyi de geming", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 2.4 (1923), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

YCA, most of the members agreed that the task of saving China must be carried out bottom-up through the reformation of education and the conducting of social programs at the local level. Therefore they encouraged each other to make contribution to China by becoming prominent scholars and entrepreneurs. For them, the construction of a youthful China needed specialists and entrepreneurs that possessed a first class education, skills and the strongest character. Encouraging each other to go abroad for higher education became a fashion in the YCA. Between 1918 and 1926, many of the members of the YCA went to Europe, the United States and Japan to get the best education available at that time. When the YCA held its annual congregation in Hangzhou 杭州 in July 1922, it was found that nearly half of the members were studying overseas.

Because these young men believed that the reconstruction of the individual overlapped with the reconstruction of their imperilled nation they sincerely hoped for the successful progression of their comrades throughout life. Some members of the YCA even considered it was their membership obligation to help their comrades in career development. In 1921, Yun Daiying suggested a better understanding through intensive interaction between members, because to find a suitable job for a member required "not only knowing the strength of the friend, but also their shortcomings". He stated further that "when there is a real comrade in creating a youthful China, we should, according to his level, aspiration, personality, willingness and ability, look for jobs that are fit for him, so that this person can develop his ability in the right direction." He emphasized that "We must do this for the youthful China...We do this neither for the interest of our association, nor for the personal gain." ³⁶¹

_

³⁶⁰ "Hangzhou dahui ji lue"杭州大会记略, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 3.1 (1922), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

Yun Daiying, "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui wenti" 少年中国学会问题, Shaonian Zhongguo, 2.7 (1921).

By bonding in groups, the young men collectively constructed a vibrant vision of a youthful China against the power of warlordism, chaotic government and western and Japanese imperialism. The spirit of fighting shoulder-by-shoulder for a new China and a new masculinity was found everywhere. Wang Guangqi described the common will of the members of the YCA as such: "Member Zuo Xuexun said, even if all the other members die, the ones left would continuously work towards our goals in our current fashion. Member Zhou Wu left his words to me before he set out for France: 'If I fail in France, you and our other comrades should not lose confidence and cease your adventures. We strive as a group and continuously. No matter what the potential outcomes, we keep marching forward."³⁶² As a founder of the YCA, Zeng Qi described the determination of the members of the YCA from another angle: "We go forward step by step, based on the four disciplines: striving, practice, fortitude, and thrift, along the two paths: education and industry, remembering the words of Zeng Wenzheng 曾文正: 'Doing things at hand while looking at the distance; be sweeping in scope but precise in detail'. As long as our comrades are still alive, one day we will definitely realise our dream—a youthful China."363

Seeking Superiority in Male Identity

As I have mentioned in the previous section, these young men faced both a national crisis and a personal crisis at a time of western and Japanese imperialism, social transition and turbulence, and they bonded not only for national salvation but also for the protection and

Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui zhi jingshen he xingdong jihua", in "Shaonian Zhongguo" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource]. ³⁶³ Zeng Qi, "Liubie shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren", *Shaonian Zhonguo* 1.3 (1919).

elevation of their personal identities as good men. A desire for superiority in male identity can be discovered in both the activities of the YCA and the NPA.

As explained by Zeng Qi in 1919, the bond they formed was also a proclamation of men of excellence, who were "models to the people" and were "pioneers of the Chinese youth".³⁶⁴ They first tried to distinguish themselves from the men of the old generations. For these young *wen* men, fighting against the power of the warlordism and western and Japanese imperialism meant breaking from the men of the old generations that were perceived as decadent and selfish. Zhou Taixuan explained in his recollection that one of the reasons for they bonded together was because they were disappointed with the men of the old generations. In the eyes of these young *wen* men, the old generations had lost vigour and were contaminated by the bad aspects of Chinese tradition where a man's major aspiration was only "getting promoted in official rank and getting rich" (*shengguan facai* 升官发财). This feature rendered them "uncountable" for the task of creating a new China. ³⁶⁵ These young *wen* men felt a need to establish themselves first as the good men of new generation in order to show that they were the people who took responsibility for saving China.

It seemed that the new male identity sought by these young men was a combination of the merits of the traditional "good men" and the men of modern era. As expressed by Zeng Qi in his correspondence with his comrades: "my opinion is that we should first rid ourselves of the vices of the old men, such as brothel going and gambling, taking concubines or lounging with prostitutes. And in the meantime we must possess the merits of the new

.

³⁶⁴ Zeng Qi, "Liubie shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren," *Shaonian Zhonguo* 1.3 (1919).

See Zhou Taixuan, "Guangyu canjia faqi shaonian Zhonguo xuehui de huiyi", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, Vol.1, 538-9.

men, including egalitarianism, mutual support, devotion to the nation, and strength."³⁶⁶ For the members of the YCA, the first feature of this new male identity was being virtuous or pure (chunjie 纯洁), which involved staying away from the vices of the old Chinese male culture, the corruption of politics, and superstitions attached to various religions.³⁶⁷ It also involved an effort of seeking political equality with working class people which was a sincere belief in democracy by these young progressives. This purity was the basic criterion for obtaining membership at the YCA. Beneath this criterion was a shift in the notion of manly respectability. Occupation of administrative positions, brothel going and taking concubines, which were deemed the privileges of traditional wen masculine power, were now disparaged by these new wen men as rotten and out of date, thanks to the abolition of the civil service examination system and the introduction of conjugal love from the west. While it is indeed, as observed by Anne Gerritsen, a cultural ideal that "rates scholarly pursuits and learning more highly than rewards and social standing", 368 this tradition was enhanced and reformed in the republican era. In a society that had established a modern education system and encouraged industrial development, these new wen men believed a man should be able to live decently on their scholarship or industrial production. The founders of the YCA agreed that men could establish themselves more in the realms of education and industry than in the realm of the state administration, because they believed China had an urgent need for a fundamental change in education and industry while the contemporary political area was a space where petty men, who were only after their selfish interests, concentrated. So, distancing themselves from state administration became a signal of virtue at this time. While holding firmly to a belief in

³⁶⁶ Zeng Qi, "Gei Zuo Shunsheng de xin" 给左舜生的信, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 2.3 (1920), "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

Zhou Taixuan, "Guangyu canjia faqi Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui de huiyi", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 541-2.

³⁶⁸ Anne Gerritsen, "Friendship through Fourteenth-Century Fissures: Dai Liang, Wu Sidao and Ding Henian".

learning and scholarship, these young *wen* men focused their scholarly pursuit on science, which was deemed the crown of western learning. "Academic study is a calling to us—the new youth of China", wrote a member of the YCA to the editors of *Shaonian Zhongguo* in 1919, "the articles published in our journal must be based on (1) the knowledge of natural science, (2) the investigation on specific social phenomenon, (3) a prediction of the future."³⁶⁹ A belief in science was viewed as the essential part of the identity of the new *wen* men. To show their adherence to science, they disdained and rejected all religious converts as ignorant and impure. To sum up, a belief in and commitment to science, abhorrence of the commercial sexualised exploitation of women and seeking success outside the state administration system became the attributes of new *wen* masculinity that distinguished YCA members from the old Chinese *wen* men.

Yet the super masculinity pursued by these ambitious young *wen* men contained more than just being virtuous or pure.

Besides being virtuous or pure, another criterion essential for the membership of the YCA was strenuousness:

All those (young men) who are strenuous are bound to be successful in the academic or industrial world... Those who are idle and passive should not, no matter how pure they are, be introduced into our organization... This is because the major cause of the degeneration of our nation and the rampant problem of domestic thieves and the foreign robbers is these 'do-nothing people'. Since we are determined to strive for China our whole life, we certainly reject the idea that those 'do-nothing people' would join us.³⁷⁰

This official explanation to the criterion of "strenuousness" revealed that these young wen

36

³⁶⁹ Zong Baihua 宗白华, 1919, "Gei bianji de xin," 给编辑的信, in "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui xiaoxi", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.3 (1919), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

³⁷⁰ "Benhui zhengqiu huiyuan zhi biaochun" 本会征求会员之标准, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 237-8.

men rejected the role of the recluse. Reclusiveness was a characteristic of the traditional wen men, such as the poet Tao Yuanming 陶渊明, who sought to avoid cooperation with the corrupted governments. The members of the YCA considered those old-style reclusive scholars as "idle" and a "major cause" of the degeneration of China.

Apart from the reclusiveness of the scholars, the "decadent social ethos" that YCA members perceived prevailed at this time of national crisis was also targeted for attack. In the eyes of the founders of the YCA, many young Chinese students were extravagant and dissipated. They would therefore not strive to build a new world and would finally converge in the "dark side" of society.³⁷¹ To stress the criterion of strenuousness, they modified the charter of the YCA and expounded further on their core principles. For them, there were three foundational attributes to buttress strenuousness: Practice, Fortitude and Thrift. 372 This explanation shows that the founders of the YCA were calling for a special type of Chinese wen men—pioneers or soldiers in a social and cultural revolution—who were practical, hardworking, potentially successful and thereby heroic. This criterion set them apart from the traditional scholars who were usually relaxed poets and philosophers. What the YCA men tried to assert was a tough wen masculinity that would bring positive changes to the real world. "The founders of the YCA" were determined to absorb comrades, "who are dissatisfied with the current circumstance, dare throw away the old fashions of living, challenge their environments, and even be willing to break off with families, marriages and conservative kin". 373

The superior masculinity desired by the founders of the YCA was bound up in the idea of

³⁷¹ See Zhou Taixuan, "Guangyu canjia faqi Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui de huiyi", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 542.

^{372 &}quot;Shaonina Zhongguo xuehui guiyue", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 225. Zhou Taixuan, "Guangyu canjia faqi Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui de huiyi", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 542.

constant progress towards a new China. Zhou Taixuan describes this movement in his recollections: "The youth who were born in the rural areas went to the city; those who were born in small cities went to Beijing and Shanghai; those who had already become students in Beijing or Shanghai were still not content and looked forward to studying abroad. Almost all the founders of the YCA lacked sufficient money to study overseas yet they were infused with a fighting spirit for personal success as well as success for the nation, too."374 With the exception of Li Dazhao, the other six founders of the YCA came from the remote areas of China, far from the frontier of the areas experiencing modernization and urbanization. When these young students graduated from local high schools, they encouraged each other to leave their hometowns for Shanghai or Beijing to build their futures. Some of them obtained tertiary education by working part time as journalists. And when graduated from universities, they explored the path to western scholarship by establishing Chinese news agencies in Europe and publishing Chinese newspapers among Chinese workers in Europe. One by one, these young wen men arrived in Europe around 1920 to pursue western degrees and education. As such these young Chinese wen men broke away from the confines of the geographic and political borders, equipped themselves with newest knowledge and skills in the world and prepared themselves to effect long lasting significant changes to their nation.

While moral purity and strength were held as two key characteristics of the members of the YCA, the NPA set similar standard for its membership. The moral standard stipulated for the members of the NPA were: (1) No hypocrisy, (2) No indolence (3) No lavish lifestyles (4) No gambling (5) No brothel-going.³⁷⁵ Obviously, the men of the NPA were

٠

³⁷⁴ Zhou Taixuan, "Guangyu canjia faqi Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui de huiyi", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 542.

³⁷⁵ See "Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (No.1)" 回忆新民学会(第一号), in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 576.

required to be chaste and honest by not lounging with prostitutes or gambling. And similar to the YCA, they were expected to be hardworking and frugal. The differences between the moral standard of these two male bonds was minor. While the criteria of YCA underscored a pure heart free from political corruption and superstition, the NPA placed emphasis on the qualities of innocence and honesty. Though the NPA did not list strength specifically, this does not mean that the men of the NPA would not be measured by it, because the wasting of time and money was not allowed and members of the NPA were very proud of their toughness under harsh conditions. Much like the young men of the YCA, the members of the NPA longed to study abroad but often lacked the financial support. To secure an opportunity, they went to Beijing and contacted the founders of Chinese Students Going-to-France-for-Half-Work-and-Half-Study Movement 赴法勤工 俭学运动 around 1920. About one third of the members of the NPA embarked on the trip to France between 1919 and 1920, hoping to elevate their academic standing. The harshness of this kind of adventure became apparent from the very day that they boarded the ship:

On 31st Oct 1919, we set out for France by ship. There were one hundred sixty-two people all together... We were put into a large cabin at the bottom of the ship. During the nearly forty-day voyage, many people got seasick and lost their appetite. The biggest problem for us was the numerous bedbugs, which disturbed us all night. To obtain good sleep, some people put their hands into socks, tied up their trousers at the ankles, covered their faces and necks with towels, with only eyes and noses open to the air. ³⁷⁶

Yet for the members of the NPA, they were used to this tough life. When doing language preparation in Beijing before going overseas, they led a life that was extremely poor and

³⁷⁶ Li Weihan 李维汉, "Huiyi xinmin xuehui", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 609-30.

hard. "There were eight men squashed into three tiny rooms...during the nights, the heated beds shared by them were so narrow that they could not even breathe and they had to ask for permission from their neighbours before turning over in bed..." 377

In order to secure their desired collective male identity, both the YCA and the NPA set long probation periods and strict introduction processes for applicants. At the NPA, obtaining membership required passing through "a long probation period, the introduction by five members, the review by the council, and a notification to all members when accepted."378 The application process for membership was even stricter in the YCA. When introducing an applicant, members of the YCA were warned of the responsibility they had in defending the chastity of the union. Early in 1920, the councillors of the YCA sent letter to all the members, requiring them to be responsible when introducing applicants. 379 The letter declared that in order to secure the chastity and progress of the union, one must surpass the individual friendship when introducing new people to the YCA. It warned that, "occasionally published articles cannot be taken seriously [as evidence for membership] because the [applicant's] character and conduct are more important than scholarship and talent". 380 And when an applicant had less than five acquaintances at the YCA, the YCA required members to communicate with the applicant for a certain period of time to obtain accurate observations of the applicant's behaviour and character.

٠

See "Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (No. 1)", and Li Weihan, "Huiyi xinmin xuehui", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 578 and 609.

³⁷⁸ Ou Yangze 欧阳泽, "Ou Yangze de xin" 欧阳泽的信, in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*, vol.1, 20.

³⁷⁹ Zuo Xuexun 左学训 and Zong Baihua 宗白华, "Zuo Xuexun and Zong Baihua qi huizhong zhu tongzhi xin" 左学训宗白华致会中诸同志信, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.7 (1920), "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

³⁸⁰ Zuo Xuexun and Zong Baihua, "Zuo Xuexun and Zong Baihua qi huizhong zhu tongzhi xin", in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

The construction of super masculinity by bonding as a distinctive group was quite successful for the YCA. The strict terms of membership admission attracted youth from outside. Letters from youth outside the YCA reflected the high reputation it had obtained. "The Youthful China Association is a rare and perfect organization", wrote an outsider in 1919, "a few of the members of the YCA are my friends. The magazine they published, though small in size, is quite exquisite". The author, Yun Zhen 恽震 expressed his agreement with the YCA's strict admission criteria, suggesting some improvements such as adding two more criteria—benevolence and honesty to recruit the ideal men. ³⁸¹ Afterwards, this young man successfully applied for membership of the YCA. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), a revolutionary and then president of Beijing University, praised the YCA as the most promising of the various Chinese young men's societies, because "its words and actions are all tangible and practical, and were therefore free of impetuosity or exaggerations". ³⁸² Well-known in society for its strict moral codes, the YCA was held in wide public esteem. One YCA member even complained about this. He wrote:

"...a usually small mishap in an YCA member's behaviour, even one that is considered normal if it had happened in another association or society, would startle the public. All would lament this lapse by a member of a social group that is deemed morally superior." 383

Fraternity out of Democracy

In traditional China friendship was the only relationship among the five cardinal relationships—ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, the older and the

³⁸¹ See Yun Zhen 恽震, "Tongxin" 通信, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.5 (1919), in "*Shaonian zhongguo" zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

³⁸² Cai Yuanpei, "Gong xue huzutuan de da xiwang"工学互助团的大希望, *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.7 (1920), in "*Shaonian zhongguo" zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

³⁸³ Tai Shuangqiu 邰爽秋, "Taolun"讨论, in "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui wenti" 少年中国学会问题, *Shaonian zhongguo*, 3.2 (1921), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

younger brothers, friends—in which Chinese men could enjoy equality. Not all the homosocial relationships formed among unrelated Chinese men can be defined as friendship. Existing studies on Chinese male bonding reveal that the male friendship cultivated at the wen men's literary and art clubs was remarkably different from the fraternity fostered in the sworn brotherhood ties usually by the non-elite men. It seems that the homosociality created respectively by wen and wu men were shaped by different cardinal relationships. In his study on the sworn brother ties in 1940s Chongqing, Lee McIsaac suggests that sworn brotherhood formed by the non-elite men especially by the marginalised was a kind of quasi-kinship that put an emphasis on hierarchy and filial piety, the two essential fraternal values of the Confucianism. Evidence for this opinion can also be found in the sworn brotherhoods depicted in the Water Margin. In the Water Margin, the 108 wu fellows formed a male bond that stresses hierarchal order and filial piety between the 'elder' and the 'younger'. However studies on traditional wen men's social clubs showed that the male-male relation was inclined to be equal, though these male bonds usually built around a central figure that possessed high social rank. 384 This feature indicates the male friendship developed at the wen men's social clubs is more closely aligned to the relationship between friends, the last type of the five cardinal human relationships prescribed by Confucianism. While the causes of such a difference between the wen men and the non-elite men's bonding as a group remains unknown, I will nonetheless try to examine the level of hierarchy that existed within the YCA and the NPA, exploring the impact of the newly established democratic political system on wen men's friendship.

_

Compared to traditional wen men's social clubs, the male bonding developed at the YCA

³⁸⁴ Joseph S.C. Lam,. "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China"; Anne Gerritsen "Friendship through Fourteenth-Century Fissures: Dai Liang, Wu Sidao and Ding Henian"; Martin Huang, "Male Friendship and Jiangxue (philosophical debates) in Sixteenth-Century China".

and NPA was distinctly egalitarian and autonomous, showing that the definition of male friendship had been fundamentally shaped by a new social value—democracy. Instead of the old Confucian norms of fraternity, the male friendship cultivated by these young *wen* men was based on and subjected to a new political concept: citizenship. A rejection of hierarchy by these young *wen* men can be found within the two clubs. Furthermore, male bonding was employed as a site where the men could cultivate democratic skills as an important masculine accomplishment.

Although old *wen* men enjoyed a high level of equality within their literary and art clubs, their bonds were usually headed by a special member who possessed high social status such as the retired scholar-official Gu Xiancheng 顾宪成 (1550-1612) to his Donglin 东林 society, and Yan Cheng 严徽 (1547-1625), the son of the Grand Councillor 大学士 to his comrades at Yushan Qin Music School 虞山琴社. The existence of the central figure within these traditional *wen* men's clubs mirrored the social hierarchy born of the political identity of these wen men: subjects of the imperial court. However when these *wen* men obtained a new political identity in the early decades of the twentieth century: equal citizenship with the others, they started to seek a new type of male bond in which all men were equal to others in almost every aspect. This rejection of hierarchy was reflected in the fact that there were no single individuals occupying the central stage of either the YCA or the NPA. Both of the YCA and NPA were voluntary unions of men similar in social ranks, scholarship, and even age.

The NPA was formed by the senior college students in Changsha around 1920 and most of

the students worked as primary and secondary school teachers after their graduation.³⁸⁵ They were similar to each other in educational background, sharing common problems and aspirations. Except Xie Juezai 谢觉哉 (1884-1971), who was an old gentryman of the Qing 清 dynasty, all the members were young in age. Yet no records showed that this old gentryman had ever been treated as an authoritative figure within the NPA, rather he was regarded as an ordinary member. With no people possessing greater authority over others, all the activities the NPA were organized by friendly discussions and democratic elections.

The level of equality and autonomy was even higher at the YCA. To maintain the spirit of equality, the YCA consciously rejected those applicants who had already achieved high ranks in society including the established scholars. The YCA insisted that the YCA was a social club in which youth could grow up by mutual encouragement and criticism and therefore it was not to be a school led by teachers. Zeng Qi explains, "If his fame emerged from his real ability, then there is no need for him to join us in growing up through mutual encouragement and criticism, because he has already been a person of the established type that is able to depend solely on himself and bring positive changes to society." Wang Guangqi, the most important founder of YCA, was very proud of the equality at the YCA. He told his comrades that one of the wonders that YCA had created was there was no figure who occupied the central stage of their association:

The organization of the YCA is indeed very fascinating.... While all other parties regard highly the central figure of their organizations, our YCA has no head or the central figure, which means each of us are heads or central figures....the administration of our society is

20

³⁸⁵ Li Weihan 李维汉, "Huiyi xinmin xuehui", in Zhang Yunhou, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan, vol.1, 610.

³⁸⁶ Zeng Qi, "Liubie shaonian Zhongguo tongren", *Shaonian Zhonguo* 1.3 (1919).

These young wen men were quite conscious about the value of the modern democratic nature of their bonding and deliberately fostered this ideal. The ability to practice democratic administration was regarded as a prerequisite to modern masculinity and they saw the running of the social clubs as a great opportunity to develop these skills. As the founder of the YCA, Zeng Qi made it clear that one of the functions of the YCA was to transform the young Chinese wen men from old literati into citizens of republican China. When leaving China for study in France, he called the attention of members to the participation of the democratic administration of the YCA, stressing that this was a way to train a man to be qualified to undertake the responsibilities for building republican China. He criticised his friend Wei Shizhen who dodged his duty to elect YCA councillors, warning, "This does not measure up to the image of the new youth of new China". 388 Here "new youth" was a fashionable word that was parallel to "young male students" since the wide circulation of Xin Oingnian magazine from 1915. As indicated in the words of Zeng Qi, democratic skills were the new masculine attributes both desired and necessary for the ideal man in the republican era.

To foster the democratic skills that were now integral to the new masculinity, the structure of the YCA and the NPA were purposefully designed to be democratic in a manner that diminished social hierarchies as much to enable democratic administration to be practiced. Both the YCA and NPA set up a council to scrutinize the conduct of members and to review applications for membership. All the administrative positions, such as councillors and editors in the YCA and the NPA were elected at the annual congregation of the

Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui zhi jingshen he jinxing jihua", in "Shaonian Zhongguo" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

Regular Zhong Qi, "Liubie shaonian Zhong Qi, "Liubie shaonian Zhong Qi, "Liubie shaonian Zhong Qi," (1919).

association. In addition, the YCA gave its branches full rights to autonomous action. In November 1919 when the Nanjing branch of the YCA was formed, the YCA sent a letter of congratulations, in which it claims that all the branches of the YCA should be autonomous:

The headquarters of the Youthful China Association in Beijing values highly the establishment and development of the branches. All the administration of the branches should run independently. The headquarters in Beijing only liaises between different branches. From now on you should feel free to run all the activities of your branch, except those are of general interests to the [entire] Youthful China Association...³⁸⁹

In this democratic atmosphere, the members of the YCA demonstrated that they were men of a new form of public life in modern China. In his 1919 article "The spirit and vision of the Youthful China Association", Wang Guangqi praised the autonomy of the Nanjing branch:

the organization of the Nanjing branch is even more amazing. All the administrative jobs of this branch are undertaken voluntarily by its members, without even an election. Yet neither incompetence nor indolence was found within the administration of this branch...³⁹⁰

This was really a new type of male friendship or fraternity, for it was a voluntary union of the citizens, rather than a bond between imperial subjects. Each man was now a brother to the others through his equal and voluntary participation in the administration of their organization. In such a brotherly union, autonomy had replaced submissiveness as a core virtue of men; hence there was no supplication from younger to older or from commoner to celebrity. In other words, they were brothers to each other not only by choice but also by political identity.

⁹⁰ Wang Guangqi, "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui de jinshen he jihua", *Shaonian Zhonguo* 1.6 (1919).

³⁸⁹ "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui xiaoxi", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.6 (1919), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource].

Conclusion:

These young Chinese *wen* men created this particular type of male bonding at a time of national crisis and social transition. This unique social context made it different in many fundamental respects from the *wen* men's bonding of imperial times. Nationalism and democracy had shaped fundamentally the nature of this type of male bonding. While the scholarly pursuit for academic achievement, the core traditional masculine aspiration, still loomed large within these male bonds, it was also subject to the overarching enterprise of national salvation and nation building.

Nationalism had replaced success in the civil service exams or demonstrations of aesthetic taste to become the common ground for male bonding among wen men. National crisis also rendered male bonding a survival strategy for wen men, showing that under the oppression of warlordism, domestic political chaos and foreign imperialism, Chinese wen men faced unprecedented difficulties. And as a survival strategy, the criteria and procedure for membership were set remarkably high, making it distinct from traditional wen men's more loose gatherings. National crisis also rendered this type of male bonding heroic, for it called for men of good quality to fight for the future of China. Altogether, the shared passion for ideal nationhood, high personal criteria and strict admission procedures contributed to the closeness of the male bonding within these two nationalist social clubs. Consequently, bonding itself became a means to distinguish the participants' masculinity from that of commoner males. In sum, bonding provided these young wen men with a special space to perform a new style of masculinity around the biggest public matter of the times—nationalism.

Apart from nationalism, modern democracy also played an important role in male bonding

at the YCA and the NPA. The structure and the administration of the YCA as well as the NPA showed how much the new male identity as citizen had influenced male bonding among young Chinese *wen* men. Hierarchy, which had long been the shadow of traditional male friendships and even the defining feature of male bonding among the non-elite, was now intolerable within the bonds of *wen* men of the republican era. While these young men presented the spirit and skills of democracy as new masculine attributes, male bonding also worked as a venue where men could perform their masculinity for their new times.

Chapter 6

The War between Father and Son:

Filial Autonomy, Sexuality and Family Reform

Among all the new fashions and movements that sprouted after China's defeat in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, family reform was the most prolonged, complicated and far reaching in its significance and impact. Almost all the prominent reformists and revolutionary groups, including late Qing reformists, the 1911 Anti-Manchu revolutionaries, the 1915-23 New Culture movement radicals and the Chinese communists, professed their concerns and opinions about family reform. Public debates as well as legal and social actions against the old joint family system continued apparently ceaselessly throughout the first half of China's twentieth century. During this long-standing social reform, a number of new fashions around marriage and family emerged: new rituals for weddings were created, the longstanding convention of arranged marriages was criticized and invalidated, traditional concubinage was ridiculed, and conjugal love was promoted as the ultimate foundation of family relationships. Although women's liberation from the patriarchal family system was a major theme in the discussions about family reform, these debates were dominated by men and male concerns. The vast majority of articles, novels, plays, poems and letters written on family reform were contributed by urban, educated men, and

accordingly reflected male concerns and anxieties over their own identity in a globalizing, industrializing and democratizing world. As Susan L. Glosser insightfully puts it, 'The reshaping of the family was the first step in the process by which young men refashioned their economic, social and political identities.' This chapter examines the gendered consequences of this enduring social movement from the angle of the social construction of masculinity. While Glosser's study focuses on the link between socioeconomic change and male identity, I intend to investigate the influence of democracy, nationalism and modernization in men's role in family. By examining the male identity as son, father, husband and lover in late Qing and early republican period, I argue a profound change had occurred to Chinese wen men's self perception of the best way to negotiate the boundaries between the public and private sphere as a result of the impact of the dramatic social and political changes occurring in China at that time.

Mr Democracy and Filial Autonomy

Filial piety, the core precept of Confucianism was embodied primarily in an individual's submissiveness to the authority of his or her father. In imperial times this was the essential moral obligation for Chinese men. For thousands of years, men were exhorted to be pious sons in their dealings with their families but in particular to their fathers—this was a masculine ideal to which almost every Chinese man aspired. This ideal of masculinity, however, diminished under the impact of Chinese nationalism and modernization. For many people, the ideal Chinese man of the new times was a patriotic citizen that could contribute to a stronger China in a social Darwinian world. This new masculine image was

.

³⁹¹ Susan L. Glosser, "The Truths I have learned": Nationalism, Family Reform and Male Identity in China's New Culture Movement, 1915-1923, in Susan Brownell and Jefferey Wasserstrom, ed., 2002, *Chinese femininities/Chinese masculinities: A Reader*, Berkley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2002), 139.

more compelling and desirable than a pious, submissive filial son. And when reformists and radicals found that traditional Confucian family ideals, such as filial piety, were in conflict with the interest of national salvation, they launched campaigns to remove these obstacles so as to progress towards both the ideal modern nationhood and modern manhood.

Nationalism acted as the driver of family reform activism in the opening decades of the twentieth century China. From the perspective of nationalism, there were two reasons for attacking the Confucian family ideals represented by the old joint family system. First, there was an urgent need to strengthen men's public identity—sons of China at a time of national crisis. As maintained by Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929) in 1903, when there was a national crisis, what Chinese men needed first was not a prosperous family but a strong nation to which the families and the individuals could adhere. 392 Therefore patriotism became a key attribute of a good man and there was an urgent need for men to shift their attention from aspiring to be pious sons to meeting their duties in relation to national salvation. Second, the sons of China were no longer conceived as being servile subjects to the emperors but rather should be upright citizens for the country. Underpinning this shift was the belief that Mr Democracy and Mr Science were vital to the construction of a stronger China and that these social institutions would be crucial in bolstering China's success in the racial competition with the west. The elite wen men such as Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879-1942) and Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962) believed that the secret for the success of the western nations rested in the empowerment of the individuals by democracy. Chen Duxiu points out that western society is built on individuals while eastern society is based on joint families. He believes this difference produced a variation

³⁹² Liang Qichao, "Lun gongde" 论公德, in *Liang Qichao quan ji* 梁启超全集, (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), vol.3, 661-2.

in individual productivity between the west and the east.³⁹³ To enable China to rival western nations, Chen and his comrades advocated a new social construction of independent, creative and productive citizens who are free of the constraint of their families and therefore can fully participate in the social, political and economic activities required for racial competition. They accuse the old joint family of enervating the strength of the country by devouring the energy and spirit of the individual people, and men in particular. It was through the reformation of the family system that Chinese men tried to establish their honourable, modern male identity—a Mr Democracy who was characterized by autonomy, independence, creativity and productivity.

It was not surprising that elite *wen* men regarded the family as a site on which the public virtue of citizens—including independence, autonomy and creativity—was to be cultivated. As Dorothy Ko has observed, the family in Chinese culture was never the synonym for the 'private'. Rather, it was a social, political and economical institution where the activities of public and private intersected and overlapped.³⁹⁴ It was a Chinese tradition that the family was employed as a primary site to exercise the virtues required by the public sphere. The first sentence of the *Book of Filial Piety (Xiao jing 孝经)* reveals clearly the purpose of the cultivation of filial piety at home: 'The exemplary person (*junzi* 君子) who treats his father with filial piety would surely transfer this virtue to the loyalty to his ruler; the exemplary person (*junzi*) who treats his old brother with obedience would

³⁹³ Chen Duxiu, "Dongxi minzu genbeng sixiang zhi chayi" 东西民族根本思想之差异, in Chen Duxiu, *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* 陈独秀著作选, edited by Ren Jianshu 任建树, Zhang Tongmo 张统模 and Wu Xinzhong 吴信忠, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe: 1993), 166-7.

³⁹⁴ In her 1994 book *Teachers of the Inner Chamber*, Dorothy Ko has demonstrated how family assumed the role of the public as a repository of scholastic knowledge in the seventieth century China, see Dorothy Ko, 1994, *Teachers of the Inner Chamber: women and culture in seventeenth-century China*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), chapter Four.

surely transfer this virtue to being submissive to his superior'. 395 Hence the emphasis of the Confucian father-son relationship was set on the dominance of the father over the son and the father-son relationship was deemed fundamental to the establishment of the Confucian social order in the society. And when filial piety was viewed as the fundamental virtue for the family structure and social order, the authority of the father over the son could be extremely formidable and oppressive. Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒, a leading Confucian ethicist, states that 'the father was the pivot for the son' (fu wei zi gang 父为子 纲), which means the father has absolute dominance over the son. 396 These sorts of statements indicate that the old joint family is the source of tyranny, and the primary site in which the attributes of the outmoded servile subjects were nurtured. From the perspective of the reformers, the first task required for Chinese men to achieve the status of 'public citizen' was to knock down the old authority of the father and in so doing they would establish a new parental ideal characterized by a more affectionate and democratic relationship between father and son. Between 1900 and 1930, many Chinese wen men, famous or obscure, contributed their thoughts on promoting Mr Democracy through family revolution, and vigorously attacked the Confucian family norms in which the authority of father prevailed.

They first wrested 'personhood' (*renge* 人格) from their parents, and they did this by asserting that the Confucian authority of the father rendered the son to the position of a slave. 'Personhood' was a word frequently used by those who advocated family revolution yet its meaning was rarely clarified by those same authors. In most occasions it meant

³⁹⁵ Zhong Tao 钟涛, , trans. and anno., *Xiao Jing* 孝经, in Xia Jianqin 夏剑钦, Wu Zeshun 吴泽顺, eds, 1994, *Shi san jing jinzhu jinyi* 十三经今注今译, (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1994), 1943.

³⁹⁶ See Dong Zhongshu, *Chunqiu fanlu' 'tianren sance'* 春秋繁露, (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1997), Section 43 and 53.

both the subjectivity and individuality of a person, including taking full responsibility for his/her behaviour, enjoying the rights and being respected as an independent and individual person.

For Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi and many other the 1915-23 New Culture Movement activists, personhood was the basis on which an upright citizen could grow and thrive. They argued that the parents of the old joint family were devouring the future of China by depriving the sons of personhood. This point was made salient by the eminent scholar Gu Jiegang 顾颉 刚 (1893-1980) in his well-known three-part article "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang" 对于旧家庭的感想(Thoughts on the old joint family)published in *Xin chao* 新潮(New tides),a famous magazine organized by Beijing University students around 1919.

In the second section of the article, Gu points out that in orthodox Confucian ethics the parents can never be wrong, which means when parents did something wrong the sons should take responsibility for their parents and should never criticize the parents. Therefore in the joint family the elders enjoyed their rights yet did not need to take responsibility for their actions whereas the younger generations were deprived of rights and yet were supposed to take responsibility for the older generation's mistakes. Gu Jiegang maintains that 'the most obvious example of this phenomenon was the arranged marriage'. ³⁹⁷ "With an arranged marriage", he wrote, "it was considered the son's responsibility to make sure his parent's choice was correct. If the daughter-in-law was found not to be virtuous and obedient after marriage, the parents would never blame themselves for having made wrong choice but would rather blame their son for not having trained his wife to become a good daughter-in-law." And "it was in such ways", he

³⁹⁷ Gu Chengwu [Jiegang], "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang (II)" 对于旧家庭的感想, *Xin chao* 新潮, 2.4 (1920), in *Xin chao* [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).

The reformists also pointed out that in the joint family the sons as well as the daughters willingly lost their personhood by obeying the will of their fathers or older brothers. Gu Jiegang observes that the younger generation is unaware of their personhood because they always call themselves 'the son of the father' (renzi 人子), 'the younger brother of the older' (rendi 人弟), 'the woman of the husband' (renfu 人妇), or 'the subject of the ruler' (renchen 人臣). 'They don't view themselves as independent people,' he wrote, 'but rather as being in relationships with the others. And what makes it worse is they perceive the elders as being in heaven...On the one hand the younger man views himself as sub-human and on the other he views his elders as being as high as the heavens'. By perceiving themselves as attachments to their elders and as lower creatures than their elders, these sons and daughters lost their self-esteem and personhood.

Gao Yuan, a then student at Beijing University, elucidates this point from a similar perspective. In 1919 he points out that "Confucian ethics fosters the tendency of obeying and relying on the elders and makes people lose the spirit of independence", He articulates the view that young Chinese people do not have the concept of "ego" but instead possess the concept of "parents", viewing themselves as a part of the body of their parents thereby a vessel to carry out the will of the parents. He argues that if men are short of personhood at home there will be no democracy or daring citizens in the society. "In a Confucian society, there are the younger people—the sons and the younger brothers who are not willing to live independently; and there are elder people—the fathers and the old

³⁹⁸ Gu Chengwu, "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang (II)", in *Xin chao* [electronic resource].

³⁹⁹ Gu Chengwu, "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang (II)", in *Xin chao* [electronic resource].

⁴⁰⁰ Gao Yuan 高原, "Minzhu zhengzhi yu lunchang zhuyi" 民主政治与伦常主义, *Xin chao* 2.2 (1919), in *Xin chao* [electronic resource].

brothers who enforce their will on the younger people. How could we," Gao Yuan asks, "construct a democratic system in such a society?" 401

From the arguments made by Gu Jiegang and his fellow students we learn that they were fighting to live as people in their own right, rather than in relation to parents or to superiors. In other words they wanted to be respected as independent, individual people. For Chen Duxiu, Gu Jiegang and other urban educated men, the authority of the father sanctioned by Confucian ethics not only deprived Chinese men of their personhood but it also prevented them from being creative and productive. It was the Confucian ideal that the son must show respect for his father by following his father's law and keep the order of the family enterprise intact when the father died. According to this interpretation of filial piety, any improvement or changes to the rules set by the father would be a violation to the father's will and authority. Therefore the prevalence of Confucian family norms suppressed the development of the individuals and the wellbeing of the society. As Gu Jiegang laments, those who lose personhood to their parents don't know that they are individuals capable of creating enterprises outside of the business of the ancestors. 402

Further more, they found the relationship between father and son was ugly because it was often not oriented around love. Gu Jiegang points out that in the joint family the relationship between father and son is essentially the relationship of the debtee and the debtor, because for most parents, rearing a son was only to ensure their own welfare in their old-age. "We always hear people said 'Raising sons in case one gets old and needs care; accumulating cereals in case one encounters famine", he wrote, "Since the sons are

⁴⁰¹ Gao Yuan 高原、"Minzhu zhengzhi yu lunchang zhuyi" 民主政治与伦常主义、in Xin chao [electronic resource]. 402 Gu Chengwu, "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang (II)", in *Xin chao* [electronic resource].

only material beings to be used for family aged care, the parents call heavily on their sons for rewards and interest. What can be seen between the old generation and the younger generation is only the exchange of money and goods: the old are debtee while the younger are debtors". 403

By demanding personhood and love from parents, these new wen men showed their aspiration for being a Mr Democracy both at home and in society. For them, pursuing personhood at home was fundamental to the progress of democratization in China, because a servile subject at home can not be a qualified citizen in the society. And to exercise autonomy at home they required free choice in marriage as the first step towards men's new social, political and economic identity. They claimed that sons should have the right to choose when he gets married and whom he marries. They complained that in the old joint family the sons were usually coerced into getting married at a very young age, which hindered the development of sons as individuals. This sort of complaint was frequently seen in the public debates about family reform. In his letter to Xin Qingnian 新 青年, a young man analyses the impact of early marriage on Chinese men. He wrote, 'Because of early marriage, our youth can not make progress in study, can not persist in pursuing goals, can not accumulate in capital, can not gain adequate life experience, can not establish themselves in virtue, and can not be strong in health. According to this young man, Chinese men's masculine aspirations other than being a pious son were hindered by the early marriage under the arrangement of the parents.

Apart from demanding self-determination in marriage matters, Chinese men required

⁴⁰³ Gu Chengwu, "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang (II)", in *Xin chao* [electronic resource].

⁴⁰⁴ Mo Fuqing 莫芙清, "Mofuqing de xin" 莫芙清的信, first published in *Xin Qingnian* 2.2 (1915), collected in *Chen Duxiu shuxin ji* 陈独秀书信集, edited by Shui Ru 水如, (Beijin: Xin hua chubanshe, 1987), 52.

economic independence from the joint family. Right after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911, some elite Chinese men such as Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940) and Song Jiaoren 宋教仁 (1882-1913), formed a reform organization—The Social Reformation Society (Shehui gailiang hui 社会改良会), aiming at constructing qualified citizens in China through reforming social customs. Among its thirty-six tenets, economic independence, which went hand-in-hand with self-determination in marriage, occupied the third and the fourth articles of the charter. It advocated a man's economic independence from his parents and relatives by a financial separation from the joint family when he reaches adulthood. Economic independence was viewed as vital to a man's control over his own life. As Zhang Houzhai 张厚载, a then Beijing University student, points out, "When we rely on fathers and elder brothers we can not live independently and parental control remains so powerful, that we will not be able to reform the bad aspects of the old joint family". 405 To help young people get rid of the overbearing joint family, these new wen men organized a society called "Working and Studying by Mutual Support Society" (Gongxue huzhu tuan 工学互助团) in 1919 in Beijing. In this society, the young men and young women sought a balance between work and study and achieved economic independence by working four hours each day. 406 Aiming at resisting the tyranny of the joint family, this society was deemed the hope of the Chinese youth and was supported by a lot of elite men such as Cai Yuanpei, Chen Duxiu, and Hu Shi. 407

.

^{***} Zhang Houzhai, "Duli shenghuo", 独立生活, Xin chao 1.4(1919), in Xin chao [electronic resource]. **
*** See Wang Guangqi 王光祈, "Gongxue huzhu tuan", 工学互助团, Shaonian Zhongguo 少年中国 1.7 (1920), in "Shaonian Zhongguo" zhuan ji 少年中国专集, [electronic resource] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).

⁴⁰⁷ Wang Guangqi 王光祈, "Gongxue huzhu tuan", *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 1.7 (1920).

The New Ideal of Fatherhood

While demanding filial autonomy from parents, these new Chinese wen men called for new fatherhood that was featured by love, democratic spirit and patriotism. Discourses on new fatherhood appeared in both literary and non-literary forms. In 1918, Hu Shi published a poem—"My Son" (wode erzi 我的儿子), advocating a new father-son relationship that freed sons of debt to their fathers. Echoing Hu Shi's discourse on new fatherhood, Lu Xun, another prominent thinker of the 1915-23 New Culture Movement, published a few articles in 1918 and 1919 respectively in Xin Qingnian, discussing the problem of fatherhood. Because of the high profile of these two wen men, the discourses on new fatherhood rose to prominence within the debates on family reform.

In the poem "My Son", Hu Shi denies that giving birth to a son is a favour granted to the son by the father that needs to be paid back. He wrote, "It is just like the blossom of a tree, and its bearing of fruit when the flower has withered. You are like the fruit and I am like the tree. Neither did the tree bear fruit purposefully, nor did I lend you my favour." In this poem, Hu Shi also professes that raising a son is the father's obligation rather than a kindness offered by the father: "Since you have come, I have to rear you and teach you. That is not showing my favour but fulfilling my obligation to human society." In the end, he claims that he expects his son to grow to be an upright man in society instead of the pious and filial son for the father. 408

Hu Shi's declaration of democratic fatherhood mirrors the social changes occurring in the notion of a good man, which shifted from focusing on his family duties to stressing his

⁴⁰⁸ See Hu Shi, *Changshi ji* 尝试集, in *Hu Shi zuoping ji* 胡适作品集, (Taibei: Liu Yuan Chubanshe, 1986), vol.27, 27-8.

214

public obligation to society. The needs of the nation were now put above those of the family. And more importantly, Hu Shi freed his son from the Confucian moral obligation of filial piety. According to Hu Shi's explanation, giving birth to a son and raising a son was no longer the reason for fatherly control over the son but simply the moral obligation of the father as a human being. Hu Shi's poem also implies that the new definition of the father-son relationship was based on their roles in human society as citizens, because the son was now born with legal rights and the father was the contributor of the new qualified citizen. What looms large in Hu Shi's poem is the new masculine image for both the son and the father: a son of China with equal political rights to others.

Lu Xun, too, was highly unsatisfied with the Confucian ideal of a father-son relationship that focused on the wellbeing and authority of the father. He points out in this Confucian framework the son is miserable because he is deprived of basic human rights evident in such expressions as: "the father can certainly say anything to his son yet the son is in the position of wrong even before he opens his mouth". ⁴⁰⁹ In contrast to Hu Shi's perspective, which focused on men's citizenly duty to society, Lu Xun elaborates his idea about new fatherhood from the angle of nationalism and social Darwinism, advocating a shift from the wellbeing of the fathers to the development of the sons.

Lu Xun argues that the driving force for our whole organic sphere is evolution and this is the same for human societies including the role of fathers. From the standpoint of biological evolution, he points out, each successive life is usually stronger and more precious than the one preceding it; therefore, the old must sacrifice and support the young. This universal truth or lore produced the new family ideal with its emphasis on the value

⁴⁰⁹ Lu Xun, "Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin" 我们怎样做父亲, in Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quan ji* 鲁迅全集 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe , 1981), vol.1, 129.

of new life and the development of the younger generation:

...metabolism is necessary to the process of the evolution of living things. Therefore the new generation should happily go forward and this process is called "growing"; the old generation should, too, happily go forward and this process is called "dying"; each of these two categories go this way, paving the road of evolution. The old leaves the space to the young, prompting and encouraging. When there are pitfalls on the road, the old prepares the way for the young by filling these pitfalls with his/her life... 410

All the people awaken should wipe out the absurd oriental idea by increasing the fatherly obligation to son and by reducing the rights the father has enjoyed. All this can be seen as a reformation of morality in our family life with a bias to the wellbeing of the younger generation. 411

He reminds Chinese people that "this is the prevailing mode in European and American families and it is the most suitable for biological evolution". 412 Similar to Hu Shi, Lu Xun denounces the Confucian norm that a son owes moral debt to his father by receiving birth from the latter, asserting the event of birth is simply a natural link between the old and the young and in reverse to the Confucian norm the elder has the moral obligation to protect and nourish the young for the evolution of the species. He declares that what the Chinese had done in the past is opposite to the natural lore of the universe and results in the deterioration of the ability of the Chinese people and the stagnation of Chinese society. 413

Instead of pressing debt upon a son, Lu Xun suggests that loving should be the defining feature of new fatherhood. He claims that love for self is the first condition for building up fatherhood: "all those who are not able to love themselves are not qualified to be a father"

Lu Xun, "Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin", *Lu Xun quan ji*, vol.1, 133. Lu Xun, "Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin", *Lu Xun quan ji*, vol.1, 132.

⁴¹⁰ Lu Xun, 1919, "Suigan lu (49)", 随感录 (四十九), in Lu Xun quan ji, vol.1, 338-9.

Lu Xun, "Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin", Lu Xun quan ji, vol.1, 132.

because "many horrible diseases and deficiencies of the father carry can spread to his children". 414 He then points out that love for a son is the extension of love for oneself and all in all love for one's own species. In terms of love, Lu Xun specifies the role of father should play in the process of the son's development: First, treat children not as miniature adults but as children; second, guide them rather than dictate to them; third, set the children free instead of containing them. 415

The Decline of the Father-son Bond and the Rise of Conjugal Union

As discussed in the above sections, Chinese wen men now tried to build up a new father-son relationship by reducing the authority of the father and increasing the autonomy of the son. This meant a shift in Chinese family life from focusing on the wellbeing of the old generation to emphasizing the development of the younger generation. One embodiment of this social trend was the rise of conjugal love and companionate marriage among urban, educated Chinese people. The concept of conjugal love, which was largely an import from the west, spread among these new wen men. They eulogized conjugal love as the core value of the new family system and a signifier for the modernity of a respectable man. And when the conjugal union was promoted, the traditional bond between father and son declined proportionally.

Conjugal love was long suppressed in imperial China by Confucian family norms. This is not to say there were no conjugal love and companionate marriages in old Chinese society at all. In her study on the families of seventeenth century China, Dorothy Ko has

Lu Xun, "Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin", in *Lu Xun quan ji*, vol.1, 133-4. Lu Xun, "Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin", in *Lu Xun quan ji*, vol.1, 135-6.

demonstrated that there was an emergence of companionate marriage as the result of the emergence of women's education among the upper class. However companionate marriage was rare at a time when family identity was much more important than personal identity and marriage was mainly a bond between two families. As Ko herself admits, a companionate marriage came only 'as a joyful surprise' that was beyond the control of the bride and groom because 'A focus on individual compatibility and emotional needs' was 'the very concern that the Confucian family system sought to discourage'. This was partly because conjugal love and companionate marriage were deemed subversive to the patriarchal order prescribed by Confucianism.

First, conjugal love was suspicious because it could threaten the bond between the father and son. In imperial times, the focus of family life was placed on the bond between the father and son rather than on the tie between husband and wife. The filial piety of the son, which submits to the authority of the father and devotes to the wellbeing of the parents, was stressed as the key component of Confucian family life. In the joint family, the parents were usually cautious about the love between the son and the daughter-in-law, reckoning it was threatening the devotion of the son to his parents. As Gu Jiegang has observed, in the joint family the son's feeling towards his wife was closely monitored because "the brothers-in-law and the sisters-in-law all are spies for the parents'. He described the parental surveillance on a son's conjugal love as such: 'Once the young couple talked a lot to each other or the son distributed more food bought from shops to his wife than to his parents, it would surely be reported to the parents and result in acrimony.' 418 What is more, when there is a conflict between the devotion to parents and

⁴¹⁶ See Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the inner chambers: women and culture in seventeenth-century China*, chapter 5.

Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the inner chambers: women and culture in seventeenth-century China*, 179. Gu Chengwu, "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang (II)", in *Xin chao* [electronic resource].

the attachment to wife, the son was supposed to suppress or even sacrifice his love for wife. One well-known example in this regard is the divorce of Lu You 陆游 (1125-1210) from his first wife. Lu You was the foremost poet of the Southern Song 南宋 (1127-1279). When he was nineteen, Lu married his cousin Tan Wan 唐琬 by the arrangement of their parents. This marriage was a rare wonder among myriad of arranged marriages in China because Lu and Tan got along very well and built up true love between each other. Yet Lu had to give up this marriage because Lu's parents were unsatisfied with their daughter-in-law. Lu left quite a few poems and lyrics that express his feelings towards Tan.

Another reason for suppressing conjugal love is that in orthodox Confucian norms conjugal love was deemed potentially harmful to men's authority over their wives. In the imperial era, Chinese men's romantic sentiment and sexual preference was usually directed away from their prime wife, because the relationship between husband and wife was expected to set a ritual propriety, which sanctioned the hierarchal order of subjugation and subordination. In this hierarchal order, the husband was supposed to represent the power of the heaven and the wife was considered to be the earth that was subjected to heaven. There were ritual behaviours designed to enhance the authority of the husband and the submissive role of the wife:

The wife had to stand up immediately at the sight of her husband. It was arrogant of her to keep sitting when the husband entered. Instead of calling her husband "you", she must address him "master" (xianggong 相公) or "officer" (guanren 官人). And when serving food or tea to her husband, she should raise the dish and tea cup to the height of her eyebrows to pay respect.' 419

This ritualization of patriarchal order in everyday life made marital relationships rigid and

⁴¹⁹ Lu Jingxuan 陆景宣, "Xin Fu Pu", 新妇谱, cited in Wu Cuncun 吴存存, *Ming Qing shehui xingai fenggi* 明清社会性爱风气, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000), 39.

prim, because it was very hard for the couple to foster an atmosphere in which they could express unreservedly their mutual appreciation and fondness of each other. As described in the old saying: when they are in bed, they are a couple; when they get up, they treat each other as exemplary people (*shang chuang fuqi, xia chuan junzi* 上床夫妻下床君子).

War. In a time of national and cultural crisis, conjugal love was linked to nationalism and was considered a means of national salvation. In his 1900 article "Fufu gongyue" 夫妇公约(Conjugal pact), Cai Yuanpei advocated "soul mating" (xin jiao 心交) to all Chinese people, dismissing solely bodily copulation between husband and wife. He elucidated that conjugal love was linked closely to the enterprise of nationalism because the more the man and woman were attracted to each other, the stronger their baby would be. He laments:

(What I see is that) the relationships between husbands and wives in this world are only bodily copulations. It is even rare that they met each other's eyes. Alas! This is why the family line has weakened and the species of human beings has been undermined....and this explains why the sons of the free copulation in the wild field are always wiser than those emerging from out of conventional copulation. Alas! You man and woman of this world, please be cautious and do not mate with each other when you have not met the right soul mate! 420

Marital affection, which had been neglected and suppressed by Confucian family norms in imperial times was now viewed as a blessing to the welfare of the country thereby a signal for patriotism carried by respectable men. The significance of "Soul mating" between husband and wife to further national salvation was recognized by many Chinese men of the time. In his 1903 diary, Sun Baoxuan 孙宝瑄 (1874-1924), an ordinary scholar from a

⁴²⁰ Cai Yuanpei, "Fufu gongyue"夫妇公约, in Cai Yuanpei, *Cai Yuanpei quan ji* 蔡元培全集, edited by Gao Pingshu 高平叔, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984-1989), vol. 1, 102-3.

wealthy family, recorded his reading of books written by Chinese men about the link between "soul mating" and the stronger children:

The Mirror of My Wife" (wuqi jing 吾妻镜), is authored by Yang Lingxiao 杨凌霄 from Nantong 南通 Prefecture. Lingxiao is an acquaintance of mine... (The book) says that more than half of the giants of Europe were born of free copulation in wild fields. Couples who copulate freely in the wild field must be strongly attracted to each other and therefore the babies they produced are often of an outstanding sort. China forbids free choice marriage hence the matings between husbands and wives are usually unwilling. That's why our species is not vigorous and why we are short of talented people. 421

Yet conjugal love was not only justified on the grounds of nationalism. It was also vindicated from the perspective of democracy and modernization. For a Chinese man of that time, developing love with a wife signified the modernity led by western men. Western male sexuality was adored by Chinese elite men for its links to conjugal love. In their articles Chinese men expressed their admiration for western men's family life. Ding Zuyin 丁祖荫 (1871-1930), pen-named Chuwo 初我 and the founder of the magazine Nüzi Shijie 女子世界(Women's world), imagined the western conjugal love as such: "when in private, the couple are pleasant and sweet to each other; when in public, they adeptly treat each other with courtesy. Looking at the road ahead, they take the same vehicle hand-in-hand, creating an aura of delight and happiness." And insightfully, he points out that 'The space of conjugal life' in the west was "full of the air of European and American freedom". He laments on the backwardness of Chinese men's marital relationship: "In contrast, our Chinese couple were stiff and prudish in manner that is

⁴²¹ Sun Baoxuan 孙宝瑄, Wangshan lu riji 忘山庐日记, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), vol.1, 598.

⁴²² Chu Wo 初我, "Nüzi jiating geming shuo" 女子家庭革命说, *Nüzi shijie* 女子世界, 1904, vol.4, in Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, *Nüzi shijie wen xuan* 女子世界文选, (Guiyang: Guizhou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), 78.

featured by the faltering steps of the wife behind the husband". 423

Significantly, the notion of gender equality expressed in these discourses on conjugal love was shaped by the idea of western democracy. When Ding Zuyin made his comparison of the marital relationship between the west and China he was presenting his imagined vision and asserting that there was better gender equality in the west than in China because of the prevalence of democratic values in western societies. It was based on their belief in the power of western democracy that these new wen men tried to improve gender equality in China's marital relationships, although they were still inclined to uphold men's dominance over women. In his 1900 article "Fufu gongyue" (Conjugal pledge), Cai Yuanpei claims that the bond between a husband and wife is voluntary and contractual, in which women have not only the right to form the marriage but also the right to quit the bond when she is unsatisfied with her husband. In the same year this article was published, Cai put his theory into practice on forming his second marriage after the death of his first wife. When negotiating the conditions for a new marriage, Cai demonstrated that he was a modern man who embraced the notion of gender equality by promising publicly to his bride that he would be sexually loyal to his wife by not taking concubines and he would give his wife the right to quit the marriage if she so chose. 424 As an established scholar, Cai's discourse and practice on gender equality set a role model for other Chinese wen men to follow.

Urged by nationalism and the vision of globally-acknowledged modern male sexuality, Chinese elite men sought conjugal love and companionate marriage. They wrote articles,

⁴²³ Chu Wo 初我, "Nüzi jiating geming shuo", in Xia Xiaohong, *Nüzi shijie wen xuan*, 78.

⁴²⁴ See Wang Shiru 王世儒, 1998, *Cai Yuanpei xiansheng nian pu* 蔡元培先生年谱, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), vol.1, 46.

poems, plays and novels to eulogize conjugal love, believing affection between the couple should be the moral foundation of a family and the society as well. In his *Zhongxue xiushen jiaokeshu* 中学修身教科书 (Manual on self-cultivation for high school students), which was reprinted sixteen times between 1912 and 1924, Cai Yuanpei asserted that the cultivation of conjugal love was the basis for both the prosperity of the family and the morality of society:

The root of the nation is the family, and the basis of the family is the bond between husband and wife. The harmony between the couple determines the happiness of the family in particular and the powerfulness of the nation in general. This is exactly what the ancients called the origin of the human relations and the core of social morality....When the relationship between husband and wife is bitter, the morality of the family loses its foundation, and the virtues such as filial piety, ministerial loyalty, younger brotherly submissiveness, and friendly trustfulness will have no space to take roots and thrive. Hence the morality of the nation will be enervated....⁴²⁵

It was striking here that the construction of filial piety to father was no longer the apex of Chinese morality. Instead, cultivating love with one's wife now became the most important moral duty of men. Behind this shift was the decline of the bond between father and son and the rise of the importance of conjugal ties in Chinese family life.

When the cultivation of conjugal love becomes the basic male duty to both his family and his nation, a companionate marriage was regarded by men as a masculine achievement that was as admirable as possessing male friendship. Zuo Sunsheng 左舜生 (1893-1969), a prominent member of the Youthful China Association (Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui 少年中国学会), encapsulates the new thoughts of new Chinese *wen* men about the concept of a "wife":

⁴²⁵ Cai Yuanpei, "Zhongxue xiushen jiaokeshu"中学修身教科书, in *Cai Yuanpei quan ji* , vol.2, 201-3.

A man has three basic needs for material life: clothing, food and shelter. Equally he has three primary needs for his spiritual life: books, friends and a wife. If there are problems with the 'friends' and his 'wife'..., the pleasure of living would be reduced by more than fifty percent. The first condition for the unions between me and my 'friends' and my 'wife' is mutual understanding on the view of life. My 'wife' could only understand my 'friends' through understanding me. Similarly I could only become her 'friend' via her (view of life). And my 'friends' can only understand my 'wife' through understanding me. The rightful socializing between men and women rests on this mutual understanding and respect.

Zuo's article reveals that wife was viewed as important as books and friends to men, and together these three were fine accompaniments to a *wen* man's life. It was evident here that a good wife was now not just for meeting material needs or childbearing but more to meet men's spiritual needs. Men now opened up their spiritual world to their wives. This vision of a companionate wife was also seen in writings of other *wen* men. Wang Tongzhao 王统照 (1897-1957), a well-known writer and poet, described vividly in his diary his imagination of the pleasure of having a companionate wife:

At this grass growing and warbler singing yet yawning spring afternoon, facing the long screens and hints of smell of flowers from the vase, with baby swallows chirping in the nestle, the loving couple sit behind the curtains and by the bright window, chatting with hands holding to each other, their body leaning to the chair feeling a bit tired, their hairs emitting aroma, their cheeks tinted by kisses. The daytime is getting longer and the people are quiet and are at ease with themselves. What a happy life the couple are leading! They can boil a kettle of tea and discuss philosophy, or they can play chess, talking about literature and exploring the relationship between human beings and the nature. What a paradise they are in!⁴²⁶

As the soul mate of men, the wife is now part of the spiritual world of her husband. She must understand her husband and his friends very well. Hence a wife should not be a gift

⁴²⁶ Wang Tongzhao 王统照 and Wang Licheng 王立诚, 2005, "Minguo shinian riji" 民国十年日记, Weifang daxue xuebao 潍坊大学学报, 5.1(2005): 8.

from the men's parents but a choice made by men themselves and a product of the process of mutual interaction led and controlled by men. And as the result of such interactions, a good wife was regarded as a masculine achievement for men, because it glorified men's new-found self-determination as sophisticated, independent human beings rather than the sires of offspring for the clan.

Under such a social ethos, Chinese *wen* men started to write articles about their marital life, a genre rare in imperial times. In the imperial period, men usually only expressed their affection toward wives in lyrics (*ci* [iii]), a special genre for the writings of private life and was considered less solemn and elegant than poems. It was deemed inappropriate for men to write articles praising the wives. Instead, they expressed their fondness indirectly by asking friends to write epitaph inscriptions praising the virtue and character of their wives when their wives died. However, this fashion was altered at the turn of the twentieth century. For example, Cai Yuanpei wrote two articles in 1901 and 1921 about his two marriages with his two previous wives, showing openly his fondness to his wives by personally praising their virtues and fine characters. One of the articles was even included in the republican school textbooks as a model for students to follow.⁴²⁷ This fact mirrored the rise of a new social trend in which men were encouraged to show their affections toward wives rather than emphasizing husbandly authority over wives.

Now showing affection to one's wife was decent and fashionable, for it was something beneficial to the country and also a sign of men's modernity. Influenced by the prominent scholars such as Cai Yuanpei, more and more republican *wen* men presented their affection towards their wives in public. For instance, in 1919 Gu Jiegang (1893-1980)

⁴²⁷ Cai Yuanpei, "Dao furen Wang Zhaowen" 悼夫人王昭文, and "Ji wangqi Huang Zhongyu" 祭亡妻 黄仲玉, in *Cai Yuanpei quan ji*, vol. 1, 108-9, and vol. 4, 1-3.

published a poem in *Xin Chao*, mourning the death of his wife:

Since you passed away I am caught by distress and loneliness,

I cannot understand why I liked sorrowful plays at the time when everything went well:

In 'A Hundred Thousand Gold' Chuilian committed suicide unsuccessfully, facing two children with tears and sorrow:

'When I died, one called "father" in the front yard yet your father was too busy, another called "mother" yet your mother had already passed away!'

I was always tearful on hearing these heart-broken words.

Now these words have become omen and I am in such a circumstance!

I am in no mood to work when I see two children clinging so deeply to me.

The elder daughter is starting to learn characters, knowing her mother has already gone when reading the letter 'father' and 'mother',

The younger is just starting to speak, looking around cheerfully when uttering 'dad' and 'mom',

I told her it's too late to call mom as there was no mother for you to call,

She stared at me with round eyes and chanted again 'mom' 'mom'! 428

The Promotion of Male Chastity

As we have already seen, the notion of gender equality was now imported to China through the value of democracy and freedom. This introduction shaped fundamentally the notion of a man's duty to his family. Instead of being a pious son to one's parents, a Chinese man was now more inclined to be a democratic man to his wife and children by refraining from taking concubines and from dallying with prostitutes or catamites. Mirroring this social trend, the concept of male chastity was created as an important element of Chinese heterosexual masculinity. While losing some excessive sexual power

⁴²⁸ Gu Chengwu, "Dao wang qi" 悼亡妻, *Xin Chao*, 1.2 (1919), in *Xin chao* [electronic resource].

or privilege over female and male entertainers, Chinese men morally elevated themselves to be equals to their western counterparts.

Chinese men of imperial times enjoyed great privilege in fulfilling their sexual desires. The exercise of male sexuality, though deemed dangerous and subversive, had long been a tool for male power over women and men of low social status. Whereas women were required to be sexually loyal to her husband, it was acceptable or even admirable that men engaged in sexual affairs outside conjugal relationship. Taking concubines, brothel going and keeping catamites were three acceptable ways in which Chinese men sought sexual pleasures. As a privilege of men under patriarchy, concubinage was a key aspect of the old joint family system. Men were encouraged or obliged by their parents to take concubines, which signalled the wealth and status of men and the prosperity of his family. Apparently the function of concubines was to bring more heirs to men's family; they were also employed as the most important source of sexual pleasure to men. As implied in the old saying: "When you marry a wife you choose virtue (de 德) however when you buy a concubine you choose beauty (se 色)" (quqi qu de 娶妻娶德, quqie qu se 娶妾娶色), it was necessary for a concubine to be sexually attractive to her master while the duty of the prime wife was focused on household management. For old Chinese men, concubines were irreplaceable because the concubines and wife complemented each other in carrying out the functions of family, especially when the wife aged and lost her 'sexual vigour'. Apart from taking concubines, Chinese men, especially wen men, sought sexual pleasure from courtesans and catamites. As Wu Cuncun has showed in her study of men's sexuality, in late Ming 明 (1368-1644) and early Qing 清 (1644-1911), Chinese wen men created unique fashions in dallying with courtesans and catamites drawn from the entertainment

quarters. 429 Sitting with talented courtesans or beautiful catamites expert in singing, dancing or playing music instruments had long been a signifier of the Chinese *wen* men's high social status and privilege. A lot of scholar-officials showed in their poems and lyrics their appreciations of the sexual attractiveness of courtesans and catamites. 430 Concubinage and homosexual sensibility were, therefore, two remarkable features of male sexuality among Chinese *wen* men in late imperial times.

War. As a part of struggling for the rejuvenation of China, Chinese wen men showed their efforts in regulating male sexuality through family reform at a time of national crisis. Influenced by the western notion of conjugal love and gender equality, the elite Chinese men's view of what was respectable male sexuality was dramatically changed. On the one hand, they noticed the quality of heterosexual intercourse and advocate "soul mating" (xin jiao 心交), objecting to arranged marriages as a block to the joys of a physical copulation between men and women. On the other, they put forward 'male chastity' as a concept paralleling female sexual morality. They criticized Chinese men for not being sexually exclusive when requiring wives to be chaste and loyal. The idea that a respectable man should keep to only one wife as being morally pure emerged among the elite class around the turn of the twentieth century. To show their stance against concubinage, Liang Qichao and his friends formed an association called 'Monogamy Association' (Yifu yiqi hui 一夫一妻会). In his 1900 letter to his wife, Liang Qichao described vividly how he

Wu Cuncun, *Homoerotic sensibilities in late imperial China*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2004) and *Ming Qing shehui xing'ai fengqi* 明清社会性爱风气, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000). ⁴³⁰ For a further discussion of the sexual relationship between scholars and courtesans or catamites from the entertainment quarter, see Wu Cuncun, *Ming Qing shehui xing'ai fengqi* 明清社会性爱风气, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000) and *Homoerotic sensibilities in late imperial China*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2004); Ren Xiaowen 任孝温, "Wo qie fanglang jun qie ge: Mingqing jiannan wenshi fengliu yu jinu duqu", 我且放浪君且歌:明清江南文士风流与妓女度曲, *Sichuan xiju* 四川戏剧, 6(2008):42-4;.

suppressed his sentiment towards an 'excellent' Chinese woman in Hawaii and how he rejected this woman's pursuit of him in marriage. As he confessed in his letter, one of the reasons for Liang's sexual fidelity was to fulfil his promise made to the 'Monogamy Association'. Similar to Liang Qichao, a number of scholars at the time professed their objection to concubinage and polygamy. For example, as noted earlier, after the death of his first wife in 1900, Cai Yuanpei made a special contract with his new wife, in which he regulated himself with a criterion of 'no concubines'.

An important motive for Chinese elite men's objection to concubinage was to keep pace with western civilization in the construction of a heterosexual masculinity. In his 1915 letter to his mother to confirm his engagement, Hu Shi explained why he was against concubinage and polygamy. Hu Shi's mother arranged Hu's engagement before Hu went to study in the United States. She once suspected Hu sought women in the United States and wrote about her concerns. Hu replied to his mother that 'Your son always supports monogamy, because this is the system prevailing in all the civilized societies. I hate polygamy (such as concubinage or setting up two primary wives). How could I break my own aspiration by courting women other than my fiancé?' Hu Shi's explanation reflected the view that Chinese men with modernizing aspirations at the time wanted to be the same as the men of 'the civilized societies' in sexuality. For these republican wen men, concubinage was no longer a signal for male duty to his family or male privilege over women; instead it became a practice embodying dirtiness, lowness and barbarism.

Based on similar concerns, the republican moralist Cai Yuanpei sought a reform in male

⁴³¹ See Liang Qichao, *Liang Qichao jiashu* 梁启超家书, edited by Zhang Pinxing 张品兴, (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2000), 10-1.

Wang Shiru, Cai Yuanpei xiansheng nianpu, vol. 1, 46.

⁴³³ Hu Shi, *Hu Shi shu xin ji* 胡适书信集, edited by Geng Yunzhi 耿云志, Ouyang Zhesheng 欧阳哲生, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996), 66.

character and sexuality right after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911. In February 1912, Cai Yuanpei and his comrades established a morality society 'Jin De Society' (*Jin de hui* 进德会), also called the 'Six Nos Society' (*Liubu hui* 六本会), advocating character building among elite men. ⁴³⁴ The 'Six Nos' included: (1) No brothel-going, (2) No gambling, (3) No concubines, (4) No meat eating, (5) No alcohol drinking and, (6) No smoking. ⁴³⁵ In such a society, taking concubines was viewed as dirty as brothel-going and gambling, and the first three Nos were set as the essential criteria for being a member of Jin De Society. The influence of the western heterosexual masculinity in Jin De Hui was evident. As the primary founder of this society, Cai Yuanpei explained to the public that:

the scholars, officials and businesspeople of Europe and North America all prohibit brothel-going, gambling and taking concubines, viewing these three as utterly low and dirty. Yet in China it is deemed admirable for *wen* men to dally with prostitutes and male entertainers. They openly send elegant invitations to friends to gather at brothels. The officials and businesspeople also make brothels the places for communication and socialization. Therefore (by joining our Jin De Society), you automatically reject invitations (to practices of these bad customs).

Cai's explanation also reflected that 'No Concubines' and 'No Brothel-going' were two primary concerns relating to male sexual morality. Compared to taking concubines, brothel-going was even worse for a respectable man since 'No brothel-going' was listed as the first principle for Jin De Society. According to Cai's explanation, No Brothel-Going included not only men's sitting with prostitutes or courtesans but also the male homosexual relationships between the male entertainers and the scholars. While sex with

Wang Shiru, Cai Yuanpei xian sheng nian pu, vol.1, 123-4.

Wang Shiru, Cai Yuanpei xian sheng nian pu, vol.1, 123-4.

⁴³⁶ Cai Yuanpei, Cai Yuanpei quan ji, vol. 3, 127.

women other than one's wife was viewed as lascivious and indecent, homosexual sensibilities were now criticized as abnormal and obscene. In his 1900 article "Fufu gongyue" (Conjugal Pledge), Cai also elucidated that copulating between the same sex was against the natural law. According to Cai, people of the same sex contained the same electrons in their bodies therefore could not bring complementarity in electricity to each other while copulating. He implied that this type of mating was extremely harmful to people's health and soul. 437 Cai's objection towards male homosexual behaviour implies both the existence of male homosexual practice and a burgeoning trend of western heterosexuality in China in the early republican period.

The idea of male chastity articulated and diffused further in 1915-23 New Culture Movement. In his 1918 article "Wo zhi jielie guan" 我之节烈观 (My view of women's chastity), Lu Xun points out that by eulogizing women chastity Chinese men set a tight moral obligation on women but they had themselves been irresponsible in sexual morality. He questions:

Why does all the responsibility for saving the world by sexual morality rest solely on women? According to the old theory, women belong to yin 阴, the feminine essence, and they are the appendix to men and are only responsible for the inner quarters. Hence the duty to save the world should rest on the yang 阴, the masculine essence, the active force of the universe. It is inappropriate to put all the duty of salvation on women's side. According to the new theory, men and women are equal therefore must divide responsibilities between them. The male half should also fulfil their obligations in sexual morality. 438

Men's self regulation of male sexuality can also be found in the activities of all-men's

⁴³⁷ Cai Yuanpei, *Cai Yuanpei quan ji*, vol.1, 102.

⁴³⁸ Lu Xun, "Wo zhi jielie guan"我之节烈观, in Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quan ji* 鲁迅全集, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), vol.1, 118.

会) between 1915 and1923. Within these men's social clubs, the idea of male chastity was developed and upheld. As discussed in chapter five, the Youthful China Association regarded male chastity as a crucial criterion for its membership, and clearly the connotation of the concept of male chastity included no concubines, no brothel-going and no catamites. One distinct example for the requirement of male chastity at the Youthful China Association was Guo Moruo's 郭沫若(1892-1978) failure to gain membership of this fraternity. When in school, Guo Moruo had been engaged in homosexual affairs and had visited brothels frequently. These practices ruined Guo's reputation and left his schoolmates, some of whom became founders of the Youthful China Association, with very bad ideas about his moral standing. They rejected Guo's application on this moral basis and disregarded the considerable talent Guo had shown in the literary field. Feeling loathed and rejected by his previous schoolmates, Guo expressed his remorse in his letters to the members of the Youthful China Association. He wrote:

Muhan, Runyu, Shizhen and Taixuan, they all are my old schoolmates. I felt filthy and ugly when facing them. I was even worse than an amoeba! Alas! In sum, I'm not a 'human'. I'm the corrupted and am unworthy of your respect. I now want to be a phoenix, collecting some fragrant wood and burning up my body while chanting the sorrowful funeral music. I expect a rebirth from the purified ash! Yet I'm afraid this is only a dream!

All these discourses and social activities on improving men's sexual morality created a social ethos in which the traditional male culture represented by concubinage, brothel-going and keeping catamites was disdained. Because of Cai Yuanpei's efforts and his high profile in Chinese society, the members of Jin De Hui increased to nearly twenty

⁴³⁹ See Guo Moruo, Shaonian shidai 少年时代, (Xianggang: Dazhong tushu gongsi).

⁴⁴⁰ Guo Moruo, 1921, "Zhi Zong Baihua" 致宗白华, in *Shaonian Zhongguo*, 2.9 (1921), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji*, [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).

thousand by 1918. 441 Under such an ethos, filial piety as the primary male duty (with its focus on the production of male heirs to the family line), gave way to Chinese men's aspiration for new sexual identity that was marked by strict monogamy and heterosexuality. The surveys on republican wen men's thoughts about marriage and family revealed clearly the impact of this social trend. For example, the 1920 survey of male college students showed that more than 82 percent of them declared an objection to concubinage, claiming they would not take concubines even if their wives fail to produce a male heir for his family. 442 The answers those young wen men gave to the question about concubinage indicated that producing heirs was no longer deemed a male's duty to his family and a major aim for marriage. "When I can not have children, other people are able to bring about children", one young man wrote, "hence human beings will not become extinct". He went further in his opposition to concubinage: "I do not think taking concubines is an appropriate behaviour for human beings." Another man expressed a similar view saying that he was concerned more about the appropriate sexual relationship a man should keep than producing heirs: "I think marrying a woman is not just for producing heirs but more for mutual understanding and support. As long as she and I support each other, I do not mind whether we have children or not. So there is no need to take concubines." 443 Interestingly, some young men claimed that they objected to concubinage from the perspective of Christianity, which showed the direct impact of the western heterosexual masculinity on Chinese society. For instance, one man wrote: "I am a Christian who should fight zealously against taking concubines." 444

⁴⁴¹ Cai Yuanpei, "Jin de hui zhiqu shu", 进德会旨趣书, in Cai Yuanpei quan ji, vol.3, 126.

⁴⁴² Chen Heqin 陈鹤琴, "Jiangzhe xuesheng hunyin wenti yanjiu" 江浙学生婚姻问题研究, in Li Wenhai 李文海, Xia Mingfang 夏明芳, Huang Xingtao 黄兴涛, eds, *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan* 民国时期社会调查丛编:婚姻家庭卷, (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005), 10-1.

⁴⁴³ Chen Heqin, "Jiangzhe xuesheng hunyin wenti yanjiu", in Li Wenhai, Xia Mingfang, and Huang Xingtao, eds *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan*, 10-11.

Chen Heqin, "Jiangzhe xuesheng hunyin wenti yanjiu", in Li Wenhai, Xia Mingfang, and Huang Xingtao, eds *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan*, 10-11.

The Sexual Citizen through Romantic Love

While Chinese men promoted male chastity, they simultaneously claimed autonomy over their body and sexuality through the free choice marriage movement. The gratification of bodily desire and needs, which had no place other than to perform the duty of procreation in orthodox Confucian ideology, was now justified on the grounds of romantic love and science. Meanwhile the exercise of male sexuality by *wen* men was now associated with love for a decent, well-educated woman rather than the sexual exploitation of female or male entertainers.

As Kam Louie has observed, Chinese *wen* men were traditionally identified with women and romance. The textual power this social class exclusively possessed in the imperial time left them greater access to women and the men of low social status. The Chinese romance embodied in the Scholar-beauty (*caizi jiaren* 才子佳人) stories in Yuan 元 drama and Ming-Qing 明清 fiction forcefully presented the connections between *wen* men and *qing* (sentiment or sensibility 情). As maintained by Song Geng 宋耕, a poetic sensibility was one of the key constituents in the discourse of Caizi (talented scholar 才子) in the Ming-Qing scholar-beauty fiction. However, men's somatic desire had little value in this Chinese romantic tradition. These *wen* men, as noted by both Louie and Song, were expected to be finally self-controlling over their sexuality after a temporary

⁴⁴⁵ See Kam Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China*, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19.

⁴⁴⁶ Song Geng, *The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinities in Chinese Culture*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 104-7.

self-indulgence in the private realm. As Song Geng demonstrated the cult of *qing* (sensibility to both nature and humanity) in the Ming-Qing times did not sanction sexual fulfilment. This reflects a separation between mind and body in the Chinese culture, in which the mind was considered pure and decent while the body was deemed dirty and low. In this mind/body dichotomy women were relegated to the lower realm of body. For example, the fox-fairy stories always depicted women who seduced innocent scholars and sucked greedily at their masculine essence. In contrast, men were perceived as dwelling in the superior realm of the mind because they were supposed to have the capacity to take control over their bodies. Men's indulgence in sexual fulfilment was acceptable only when it was temporary and linked with the domination of women and men of low social status. In sum, there was a strong tendency towards self-denial of somatic needs in the Confucian ideal of masculinity.

This dichotomy between the upper realm of pure and spiritual sentiments and the lower realm of carnal desires and bodily fulfilment continued in the early republican era in some writers' fiction. As Leo Ou-fan Lee observes, 'in his devotion to spiritual ideal of love,' Su Manshu 'has generally avoided the issue of sexuality in his works.' Yet this tradition was challenged by republican wen men such as Yu Dafu 郁达夫(1896-1945) and Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897-1931). These new wen men exerted the unity of spiritual love and bodily fulfilment and stressed the individuality of bodily desire. Male sexuality was

٠

West Wing (Xixiang ji 西厢记) in Yuan play, see Kam Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China*, chapter 4.

See Song Geng, The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinities in Chinese Culture, 104-9.
 Lee, Leo Ou-fan, The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard

deemed the expression of men's individual identity and was a concrete part of masculinity.

They fought defiantly against their parents on arranged marriages, and sought free love with decent women with the intention of actually marrying them.

As a celebrated wen man and one of the founders of the Creation Society (Chuangzao she 创造社), a famous literary club in 1920s, Yu Dafu played an important role in Chinese modern literature and the discourse of male sexuality. He published a lot of autobiographical stories that depict vividly the ego of the author struggling between the ideal and the reality, traditional ethics and the new morality. In his short story Chenlun 沉 (Sinking), published in 1921 in Shanghai, Yu narrated his first experience with sex when he was studying in Japan. As an adolescence shifting from childhood to adulthood, Yu felt strongly the sexual urge inside of his body, yet to his distress, Yu was not able to find a lover among Japanese women because Chinese people were looked down upon by Japanese people. He ended up going to a brothel and found himself humiliated by a soulless physical sexual mating with someone of the opposite sex of an alien race. Although brothel-going for a scholar was acceptable in the Confucian framework, Yu felt extremely guilty and depraved. He told his audience that he really sought a woman's warm heart and craved romantic love with women:

I want neither knowledge nor fame, what I want is only a heart that can provide solace for my soul. A warm sincere heart! And the compassion of this heart!

Love that was transformed from compassion!

What I want is only love!

If there is a beauty who can understand my distress, I would like to die for her!

If there is a woman who loves me sincerely, I would die for her whether she is beautiful or not.

For Chinese audiences who were familiar with the scholar-beauty stories, the discourse on male sexuality permeating *Chenlun* is quite provocative. First, when men's sexual bodily fulfilment was still a taboo topic in many other writers' work in early republican period, Yu Dafu demands a legitimate outlet for men's bodily desire, revealing how bodily need constitute concretely the passion of love and caused the restlessness or even illness of the youth. In Chenlun, Yu Dafu describes how he longs for the touch of women's body and confesses how he has peeped excitingly at the bodies of women when passing the window of the bathroom. This kind of depiction can be seen as a heroic protest at the silencing of bodily desire and somatic needs by the Confucian ideology. Further more Yu relentlessly scorns the Confucian separation of the mind and body in the discourses of ideal manhood. In Chenlun, he discloses the sense of vanity and shame after the loveless sexual intercourse with the prostitute, denouncing the traditional connection between scholars and women from entertainment quarter. Because there was no love between him and the Japanese prostitute, Yu blames himself for having sunk to "the lowest level among human beings" and deserves to die in a place far from his home country. 451 Therefore Yu did not simply approve of bodily desire by approving of the exploitative sexual relationship between men and women from low social status. Yu Dafu sees modern romantic love as the only means to salvage the body from its low physical desires. By setting heterosexual love as the moral foundation for sexual relationship he presents his identity as a new wen man who gives recognition to the body and seeks the unity of the body and mind. Noticeably, in Chenlun the pursuit individually of sexual identity is set as a basic need of men that outweighed other masculine pursuits. Yu claims that rather than "knowledge",

⁴⁵⁰ Yu Dafu, "Chenlun"沉沦, in Yu Dafu wenji 郁达夫文集, (Xianggang: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian Xianggang fendian ; Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1982-1985), vol.1, 24-5. Yu Dafu, "Chenlun", in *Yu Dafu wenji*, 52.

"fame" or "money", he seeks solely the love of "Eve from the Garden of Eden" and with the love of his "Eve", he would become a whole and would not need anything else. 452 Through the language of "Eve' from 'the Garden of Eden', Yu Dafu conveys strongly a sense of individual being and self which constitutes the core of his male identity.

The publication of *Chenlun* made Yu Dafu famous in China overnight. Suddenly, Yu Dafu became a hero for his expression of the new ideal of male sexuality: Men do have a body that belongs to himself as an individual rather than to his clan collectively and more importantly the fulfilment of bodily need is essentially linked to the salvation of his soul. This declaration of male identity based on individual, sexual body was confrontational. As Guo Moruo points out, 'His audacious self-revelation struck like a bolt of lightening from a tempestuous gale against at the hypocrisy and prudery that for centuries had been cloaked in scholars gowns—It shocked those hypocrites and fake scholars into a state of crazed fury. Why? Because this sort of undisguised sincerity made them feel the hardships of being false.' **A53** Chenlun** sold more than twenty thousand copies within three years of its publication in 1921. **454** Many young readers viewed Yu Dafu as their friend because of his self-exposure in *Chenlun**. They identified themselves with Yu Dafu in his search for a rightful sexual fulfilment through romantic love and his struggle to establish sexual identity as individual. **455** After *Chenlun**, sex became a topic that young people could talk about as a "clean" and "sacred" act as long as it was linked with romantic love.

Yu was not alone in building a discourse of modern heterosexual masculinity. Between

⁴⁵² Yu Dafu, "Chenlun", in Yu Dafu wenji, 24-5

⁴⁵³ Guo Moruo, "Lun Yudafu"论郁达夫, in Wang Zili 王自立, and Chen Zishan 陈自善, ed., *Yu Dafu Yanjiu Ziliao* 郁达夫研究资料, (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1982), 93.

⁴⁵⁴ Huang Deshi 黄得时, "Yu Dafu pingzhuan", 郁达夫评传, in Wang Zili, and Chen Zishan, ed., *Yu Dafu Yanjiu Ziliao*, 423.

⁴⁵⁵ Xiuzi 秀子, "Yu Dafu zuoping he sixiang" 郁达夫作品和思想, in Wang Zili, and Chen Zishan, ed., *Yu Dafu Yanjiu Ziliao*, 400-2.

1896 and 1930, many people, mostly young wen men, spoke of the new ideas about sexuality and masculinity. For these young wen men sexuality was the root of both masculinity and femininity and the expression of sexuality should be individualistic through the free choice marriage. Early in 1900, Cai Yuanpei manifested his view that the human body had its individual preference for a sexual partner. As noted earlier, in his famous "Fufu gongyue" (Conjugal pledge), Cai Yuanpei elucidated his ideas that the effects of human bonding through marriage and intercourse varied because of the differences in the personal characteristics of human electrons. This idea that human sexuality is individualistic and that the human body has its own will was widespread among the new generation after the 1911 Revolution. In 1919, Lu Xun included a letter from a young man in one of his articles. In this letter, the young man laments that he was raised in such a way that did not know what love was. In the second part of his letter, this young man wrote:

I am a nineteen-year-old whose marriage was arranged by my parents. Several years have past and we [my wife and I] began to get along with each other. But the connection of this marriage was totally under the management and control of other people. This means we bonded on the joking words of the other people at a particular time. We are like livestock that follow the direction of the master: "You two must live together and get along with each other!" *457

By presenting this letter, Lu Xun protested at the arranged marriage system for depriving people of human subjectivity and dignity. For Lu Xun and other the 1915-23 New Culture Movement activists, the formation of marriage bond must be voluntary, contractual and individualistic. The new generation believed marriage that grew from romantic love and free choice could provide both men and women with the feeling of real self-control over their body because it did not require self-denial of somatic needs but rather provided a

⁴⁵⁶ Cai Yuanpei, "Fufu gongyue", in *Cai Yuanpei quan ji* vol.1, 102-3.

⁴⁵⁷ Lu Xun, "Suigan lu (40)",随感录(四十), in *Lu Xun quan ji*, vol.1, 321-2.

balance between the body and the mind, which embodied human subjectivity, freedom, and dignity.

The changes in the notion of male sexuality led to concrete actions. While the majority men suffered from the agony of an arranged marriage, some new Chinese *wen* men challenged the authority of father by marrying the women they loved and abandoning the wives their parents had chosen for them. As a rebellious hero, Yu Dafu kept leading the fashion of male sexuality by seeking his true love outside his arranged marriage.

Like many young men at the time, Yu Dafu's first marriage was a bitter compromise with his parents. He lost his father when he was six and from then on his mother assumed the role of father in his family. In 1917 when he was 21-years-old and studying in Japan, Yu's mother arranged for his engagement to a daughter of the local Sun family. Yu was unsatisfied with his fiancée and tried hard to avoid this marriage. He showed his rejection by postponing the wedding and staying away from his hometown at vacation time. He wrote to his elder brother requesting that the engagement be annulled, claiming he did not 'want to marry for all of his life'. But he was unable to resist his mother's request and eventually returned to China for the wedding in the summer of 1920. As his last protest at this arranged marriage, Yu put unreasonable conditions on the bride's side, including no wedding sedan, no formal wedding ceremony, no band and no formal banquet. To his disappointment, his fiancée's family accepted all his obstructive conditions and sent him a bride in a small, ordinary sedan. To Yu Dafu, this arranged marriage was the embodiment of the cruel separation of mind and body in which the body had to be subordinated to the mind of the parents. It was not surprising that after his marriage Yu

⁴⁵⁸ See Yu Yun 郁云, *Yu Dafu zhuan* 郁达夫传, (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984), 37.
⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, p39-40.

was still 'sinking' into decadent life by visiting brothels frequently and yearning for true love. 460

Yu Dafu physically deserted his first wife in 1927 as soon as he encountered his true love—Wang Yingxia 王映霞 (1908-2000) in Shanghai. In contrast to his first wife, who was thin, Confucian and stiff mannered, Miss Wang was plump, modern, and lively. Meeting Miss Wang at a friend's house, Yu fell in love with this beauty immediately. Even though Yu felt sorry for his first wife, he could not resist taking up with his true love. In his diary, he described how life became worthwhile now that he had fulfilled his desire for romantic love with Miss Wang. He wrote that Miss Wang would surely inspire him to seek success in his career and elevate him from his hitherto decadent life of brothel-going. 461 Yu and Miss Wang's affair did not encounter strong objections from Wang's family. Rather, it was encouraged by Wang's grandfather, an old-style wen man well-known for his literary talent and taste for life. Supported by the grandfather, Yu Dafu and Miss Wang were formally engaged in June of 1927 and were married in March of 1928 with the agreement that Yu would cease his relationship with his first wife but continue to support her financially. 462 By marrying his beloved. Yu achieved his ideal about the unity of mind and body and in his actual life realised his publicly espoused principles of human sexuality in general and male sexuality in particular. As a celebration of the victory of romantic love over the authority of the father, Yu Dafu published in 1927 his diaries: a record of the process of courting. Just as with Chenlun, Yu's Riji jiuzhong 日记九种(Nine diaries) was very popular among young Chinese audiences, and this made Yu's love

⁴⁶⁰ See Yu Dafu, "Nanxing za ji",南行杂记, in Sang Fengkang 桑逢康, *Yu Dafu: sheng fei rongyi si fei gan*, 郁达夫: 生非容易死非甘, (Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1995), 304-10.

⁴⁶¹ Yu Dafu, Yu Dafu riji ji, 郁达夫日记集, (Taibei: He luo tushu, 1978), 48 and 91.

⁴⁶² See Yu Dafu, 1978, *Yu Dafu riji ji*, 81-124; and Yu Yun, *Yu Dafu zhuan*, 94.

Yu Dafu was not the only one who sought the unity of mind and body. In the early republican era there were a lot of heroes who fought against arranged marriages that separated mind and body. These defiant figures include Chen Duxiu, Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo, all of whom were established scholars in the philosophical or literary sphere. For these famous *wen* men, sex without love was immoral and love without the commitment of bodily union was incomplete. As Xu Zhimo, the most glamorous idol as a lover at the time, professed, "Love might not start from the body, but it is through the body that love reaches its summit". And it was through the completion of love these men exerted their new style masculinity; marked as it was by courage, morality and accomplishment. Here the passion of body was no longer viewed as a threat to masculinity but as an instrument necessary for the realization of masculinity. This connection was manifested by Xu Zhimo in his 1923 letter to Liang Qichao. Facing recriminations about his 1922 divorce from his first wife, Xu Zhimo stated:

In so doing, I'm not just avoiding the bitterness (of marital life), but am seeking to raise my consciousness, the realization of my personhood and the salvation of my soul....I am going to search for my particular soul mate among the myriad of human beings. If I find her, I am lucky; if not, it is my fate.... 465

The early republican era was a period in which Chinese wen men celebrated their masculinity through romantic love and sexual fulfilment as modern, positive and progressive characteristics. Being confident in their masculinity, most of these defiant

⁴⁶⁴ Xu Zhimo, *Xu Zhimo wei kan riji* 徐志摩未刊日记, edited by Yu Kunlin 虞坤林, (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003), 225.

242

⁴⁶³ According to Yu Yun, the sale of Nine Diaries reached more than 30,000 after its publication in 1927. See Yu Yun, *Yu Dafu zhuan* 郁达夫传, (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984).

⁴⁶⁵ Xu Zhimo, *Xu Zhimo shuxin* 徐志摩书信, edited by Chen Guang 晨光, (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1986), 11.

heroes published their love letters and love diaries. These published love records included Yu Dafu's *Riji jiu zhong* 日记九种 (Nine Diaries), Lu Xun's *Liangdi Shu* 两地书 (The letters between two places), and Xu Zhimo's *Aimei Xiaozha* 爱眉小札 (The little records of loving Mei). It was not surprising Xu Zhimo declared proudly in his famous love diary *Aimei Xiaozha* that love was his only accomplishment:

Mei! Give me your hand, for I am going to guide you to a higher place. I want you to bestow upon me your hand in trust....I have no other method but love! I have no other talent but love! I have no other ability but love! I have no other drive but love!

Changing Expectations about Wives

As I have discussed in the previous sections, the focus of family life was experiencing a shift from the welfare of the old generation to the happiness of the younger generation. Accordingly, the expectation of wives was also changing. In the joint family, receiving a bride from outside usually meant the arrival of a child-bearer for the family and a house servant for the parents-in-law. Wives were expected to be virtuous homemakers and house servants, roles that required little in the way of literacy or education. The commonly circulating maxim that women's illiteracy signified her virtue (niizi wucai bianshi de 女子 无才便是德) typified this mentality. When the joint family was gradually replaced by the conjugal household, the expectation of wifely duties shifted from serving the needs of the parents-in-law to meeting the needs of the husband. While the ability to carry out housework was still an important criterion for choosing a wife, the educated young Chinese men also expected new attributes from their wives. For this group, a wife was an indicator of her husband's identity, mirroring his aspirations, education, attitude and

⁴⁶⁶ Xu Zhimo, "Aimei xiaozha" 爱眉小札, in *Xu Zhimo wei kan riji*, 52-53.

mindset.

First, such men required their wives to have a pair of natural feet. For centuries the size and shape of feet was linked to women's sexuality and status. As Dorothy Ko and Wu Cuncun reveal in their studies of the custom of footbinding, bound feet were powerful in late imperial China as representations of the bride's family wealth, and her physical delicacy, which was regarded as the most feminine or attractive to men. 467 However a pair of bound feet was no longer popular in the closing decade of Qing and especially in the early republican era. It became common to see marriage-seeking men advertising in newspapers for brides with natural, large feet. For example, on 26 June 1902 a man advertised in Dagong Bao 大公报 for a marriage partner; this was probably the first marriage advertisement in Chinese history. In this advertisement, the man made 'natural feet' the first criterion for his wife to be. 468 Similarly, Cai Yuanpei made it clear that he was seeking a wife who did not have bound feet, when his first wife died in 1901. By requesting women of natural feet, these men showed their stance as patriots and modernizers. For these young men, a pair of natural, large feet represented the vigour and progress of both the family and the country. Therefore a wife with natural feet displayed not only the energy of the woman but also the modern identity of her husband.

Since the shape of a woman's feet was linked to her husband's public political identity, many Chinese men persuaded their wives to loosen their foot cloths and unbind their feet. In 1914 when Hu Shi was still studying in the United States, he urged his fiancée to set

⁴⁶⁷ See Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2005); and Wu Cuncun, *Ming Qing shehui xingai fengqi* 明清社会性爱风气, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000), chapter 5.

⁴⁶⁸ Cited in Yue Qinping 岳庆平, *Jiating bianqian* 家庭变迁, (Beijing: Minzhu yu jianshe chubanshe, 1977), 44.

free her bound feet. In his letter he told her:

Recently I received a letter from my mother in which she told me that you have agreed to unbind your feet. I'm most relieved to hear this. I hope you gradually release your feet and no longer bind them. Foot-binding is the cruellest custom of China and it will be forbidden soon. As Hu Shi's woman, you should be the leader of my hometown in releasing feet from their bindings. 469

It is clear here that Hu Shi's enthusiasm for his wife's "foot liberation" was directly linked to his aspirations to be a leading figure in the process of modernization in his community. Her feet were a marker of his political standing as a modern man.

Second, these new *wen* men required their wives to be educated. In late Qing and early republican period, elite men advocated women's education and started to seek well-educated women as wives. In the newspaper advertisements for marriage, men usually put a good education (along with a pair of natural feet) as an essential criterion for their future wives. As the aforementioned marriage advertisement put it, the ideal wife should: "First, have a pair of natural feet; second, possess both Chinese and western scholarship; third, be ready to cast aside the old rotten wedding ceremonies and embrace a modern-style ritual". And Interestingly, Cai Yuanpei in 1901 set similar criteria for choosing a new wife. He put forward five conditions for both the wife and the husband: "First, natural feet; Second, literacy; Third, the husband must not take concubines; Fourth, the marriage contract can be rescinded when there were irreconcilable disputes between the couple; Fifth, the wife can remarry when the husband dies." And By setting new criteria for wife as well as for husband, the Chinese new *wen* men constructed their own identity:

4

⁴⁶⁹ Hu Shi, Hu Shi shu xin ji, 43.

⁴⁷⁰ Dagong Bao, 26th of June, 1902, Cited in Yue Qinping 岳庆平, *Jiating Bianqian* 家庭变迁, (Beijing: minzhu yu jianshi chubanshe, 1977), 44.

Wang Shiru, Cai Yuanpei xian sheng nian pu, vol.1, 46.

patriotic and modern. Because of the propaganda of the reformers, it was commonly accepted that the prosperity of China depended on the improvement of the women's body and mind. Releasing women's bound feet and promoting women's education, like other social reforms in this country, would bring about the modernization of China.

Another reason these men required women to be educated was that they expected a companionate marriage. As I have mentioned in the previous sections, Chinese wen men were now yearning for a wife who was able to understand her husband's scholarship, and able to participate in daily conversations about literature, philosophy and science. They wanted their wives to be an active part of their spiritual life and tried to promote an intellectual dynamic between husband and wife. The education of women, which was deemed subversive to the authority of the husband in imperial times, was now vital to the happiness of the husband, because there was a new trend among elite men in which men valued more the horizontal interaction of the couple rather than the vertical control over their wives. When Cai Yuanpei and other wen men advertised for well-educated wives, they were creating a new fashion in which men's prestige was emphasized by a modern, companionate marriage. Hence possessing a well-educated wife became admirable among these new wen men.

Yet the number of well-educated women was so small at the time that only a limited number of men had the luck to develop romantic love with these women and marry them. In reality, most Chinese *wen* men married the women without modern education. The illiteracy of their wives caused frustration for the husbands who expected mutual understanding and good communication in their marriages. These husbands expressed their dissatisfaction with these marriages in the surveys on family life carried out in the

early republican period. In a survey conducted in 1920, nearly sixty percent of male college students claimed that they felt unsatisfied with their marriage because their wives had not received a modern education. Poor education was the main cause of the husbands' dissatisfaction with their wives. The his answer one man wrote: "My marriage is very unsatisfying, because she lacks not only scholarship but common knowledge also. She is so blind that she can not even recognize the simplest character "Ding" (Mubushiding 日不识了)." Another man said, "How could I be satisfied with it? The biggest problem is her illiteracy. I do not require very much but she cannot even understand what I talk about. She is not even qualified to be my student, not to mention a good friend or fine mate." 473

From these statements, we can see that women's education status deeply affected men's feelings about their marriage and family in a time when companionate marriage became a signal for men's modern identity. Illiteracy, which used to be beneficial to women in the marriage market of imperial times, became a serious problem for the happiness of both the husband and the wife at the turn of the twentieth century. Men demanded new types of wives when the society was experiencing dramatic social changes. In his answer to the 1920 survey on marriage problems one young man described vividly the changing expectations of the ideal wife's attributes:

I was much contented with my marriage before, because I lived in the old society in which the old values governed. My wife's character and features along with her dowry measured up well to the old standard. Yet now everything is reversed, and she becomes an eye-sore to me. Why is this? It is because I have been baptized by the New Culture Movement, seeing that women

.

⁴⁷² Chen Heqin, "Jiangzhe xuesheng hunyin wenti yanjiu", in Li Wenhai, Xia Mingfang, and Huang Xingtao, eds., *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan*, 7.

⁴⁷³ Chen Heqin, "Jiangzhe xuesheng hunyin wenti yanjiu", in Li Wenhai, Xia Mingfang, and Huang Xingtao, ed., *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan,* 5.

should be equal to men not only in literacy but also in social life. Who could anticipate the woman I married is the opposite (to the new standard for a good wife): illiterate, foot-bound and occupied with powder and rouge. There is no sign in her of the brightness of the twentieth century! So now I am very much unsatisfied.⁴⁷⁴

Conclusion:

The early republican era is a period in which Chinese *wen* men's self perception as sons, fathers, husbands and lovers underwent profound changes. Modern democracy, along with nationalism, had shaped fundamentally men's role in love, marriage and family.

The family was the primary site for fostering the character of a citizen for elite *wen* men. Filial piety, the apex of Confucian masculinity, was replaced by filial autonomy as the basis for men's new social identity as citizens. As the father-son relationship became more equal and affectionate, the father-son tie declined in importance and this gave rise to an enhanced husband-wife bond in men's family life. Being associated with the new social value of democracy, conjugal love, companionate marriage and male chastity were in vogue among the urban educated men as the signal of men's modernity.

Filial autonomy, conjugal love and companionate marriage were also the embodiment of men's patriotism. In order to plunge full-heartedly into the racial competition for China, men fought for rights and freedom from the control of their fathers and grandfathers. And they saw the cultivation of conjugal love that would produce healthier and stronger children as their citizens' duty.

.

⁴⁷⁴ Chen Heqin, "Jiangzhe xuesheng hunyin wenti yanjiu", in Li Wenhai, Xia Mingfang, and Huang Xingtao, ed., *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan*, 5.

Soul-mating with a beloved woman as wife signalled a man's democratic spirit, his patriotism. And accordingly men's sexuality was elevated from the hidden and despised to a new status as a visible and decent personal achievement through the magic of romantic love. Seeking the unity of mind and body in romantic love outside the arranged marriage was a remarkable, new feature of Chinese *wen* men in early republican era. After being suppressed for thousands years, bodily passions were embraced as part of virtuous masculinity.

Chapter 7

Summary and Discussions

The overarching aim of this study was to explore how the notion of masculinity changed when the Chinese male scholars transformed from the formally privileged $shi \pm to$ a class of modern, educated men between 1896 and 1930. I utilized the gender theories of both Connell and Louie as guides to collect and explore data in order to better understand how the meaning of male identities was negotiated at a transitional and crisis time when the traditional masculinity of Chinese elite men was gazed at, challenged and measured against standards set by the formidable western and Japanese powers. There were two assumptions for this study, which were drawn from the gender theory by (1) Connell: the notion of masculinity is fluid and is subject to social change and historical situation 475 ; by (2) Louie and Edwards: a wen/wu ($\chi \neq 0$) paradigm of masculinity operated in traditional Confucian society in which wen stands for men's cerebral power such as cultural attainments, wu represents men's physical strength and martial valour. 476

To satisfy the purpose of the study, five objectives about study of the changing self-perception of the elite Chinese men at the turn of the twentieth century were

⁴⁷⁵ Robert Connell, "Studying men and masculinity," *Resources for Feminist Research*, 29.1/2 (Winter 2002): 45.

⁴⁷⁶ Kam Louie and Louise Edwards, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu," East Asian History, 8. 11(1994): 135-148.

accomplished. First, I examined the phenomenon of the resurgence of military masculinity—wu masculinity after the defeat of China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. This examination explored the causes to this phenomenon, the way the new wu masculinity was forged and a comparison between the traditional wu masculinity and the new wu masculinity. Second, I examined two masculine icons—Mr Science (sai xiansheng 赛先生) and Mr Democracy (de xiansheng 德先生) that were promoted in China between 1896-and 1930. 477 I looked at these two icons particularly through the late Qing education reform and democratic movement, through the cult of going to overseas to undertake western learning, through the 1915-23 New Culture Movement. Third, I explored the rise of the new "scholar-businessmen" (rushang 儒商): the men of both powerful "brains" and strong "hands". This exploration included an observation of the way this new type of powerful men demonstrated their masculinity, and of how the society evaluated and promoted the marketplace manhood. Fourth, I investigated male bonding among this social group during this transitional, crisis time. Fifth, I examined the long-standing family reform to find how the self-perception of men as sons, fathers, husbands and lovers was altered to fit the new social context of the twentieth century. The summary and discussion of my findings are as follows:

The Resurgence of wu Masculinity

From the mid Tang (618-918) onwards, an imbalance between cerebral men and brway men in government recruits created a social ethos that prioritized *wen* masculinity (men's

.

⁴⁷⁷ The two icons-- Mr Science and Mr Democracy were particularly promoted in the New Culture Movement 1915-23, however the introduction of these two masculine icons from the west was much earlier than this time. It could be dated back to the A Hundred Day Reformation in 1898. After the failure of the reformation, Liang Qichao launched a campaign to reconstruct the desirable citizens in which he required young Chinese men to embrace the social values of democracy and freedom.

cultural accomplishments) above wu manliness (men's martial valour)—expressed in the maxim "valuing wen over wu" (zhong wen qing wu 重文轻武). One of the embodiments of this social ethos was the unique male body culture in Ming-Qing (1368-1911) times: a celebration of the delicacy and handsomeness of the male body. A fragile and delicate body was venerated as a refined product of privileged cultural activities and a distance from heavy manual labour. This suppression of wu masculinity, nonetheless, was questioned after China's encounter with western and Japanese imperialism. The intrusion of western men into Chinese life brought western standards of masculinity to Chinese attention. Both western men and Chinese men started to measure Chinese men's body with western notions of manliness. On the one hand, western missionaries viewed Chinese gentlemen as "effeminate" and started to expand the western notion of masculinity through introducing modern sports and physical education to Chinese students. On the other, the Chinese scholars such as Yan Fu 严复 (1854-1921) accepted the western idea that without a strong body a man was insufficiently male. In order to spur Chinese men to seek a strong body Yan Fu coined a self-mocking phrase—the "Sick man of East Asia" (dongya bingfu 东亚病夫) —to describe China and the Chinese people in relation to the west.

With such a serious self-mockery, modern Chinese scholars called for an incorporation of physical strength by all Chinese men and *wen* men in particular. In a time of national crisis and racial competition, a robust body, was no longer a symbol of low social status, but a necessity for Chinese manhood and nationhood. A strong body and physical exercise was no longer an option between the cultural and the military paths to social success and masculine respectability, but an essential part of manhood that all other manly attributes would rely heavily on. Based on such a modern, scientific view of manhood, Chinese

scholars welcomed physical education and the 1903-19 Military Citizenship Movement (junguomin yundong 军国民运动).

Inspired by a nationalist view, both the governments and individuals embraced the practice of physical exercise by men and women. Invoking women's significant biological role in reproduction, women's physical education was mostly viewed as key to building the new citizens' strength and the overall health of China's population. The strong body presented by female athletes was viewed as a manifestation of China's wu masculinity. This wu masculinity displayed by both the male and female athletes was valued as the sign for a virile China. In this nationalist fad, the old notion of a delicate scholar was suddenly redundant and the people with physical strength were adored as heroes or the mothers of future heroes.

This valorization of wu masculinity emphasized its military aspects—not just its promotion of physical strength. Between 1903 and 1918, physical education and military training were connected to each other, contributing to a cult of promoting wu sprit, which was called "shang wu" 尚武 . In this wu movement, citizenly virtue, which was exotic to Confucian China, was regarded as essential part of the definition of wu masculinity. The idea that citizenship makes 'real' soldiers and real wu masculinity first emerged in Japan among the Chinese students. Inspired by the idea of military citizenship, the Chinese students in Japan created a wu craze. This new wu spirit soon spread to the mainland of China.

Both the Qing 清 court and early republican government supported this Military Citizenship Movement by implementing western military drills in their education systems.

This military training included military drills, shooting and fencing, long distance marching and military science. The republican government also promoted military training in public schools. These state interventions in school physical education advanced the process of transformation from fragile scholars to robust soldiers.

The Emergence of Mr Science

In imperial time the traditional *shi* enjoyed a textual power that was rooted in the authority of the Confucian classic texts. As Song Geng has observed, textuality was the defining feature of the traditional scholar.⁴⁷⁸ However when China lost the Opium Wars and the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, Chinese men found that the text-centered *wen* masculinity was shattered by the power of modern science and democracy. The key thinkers started to criticize the textuality of the *shi*, which resulted in a transformation of the learning system and *wen* masculinity.

The traditional *shi* and their learning were criticized as impractical therefore useless in both commercial and military wars. In order to win the racial competition facing China, elite men launched education reforms, through which a new type of *wen* men that combined cerebral strength and practical function were molded. They called this modern *wen* man Mr Science and upheld it as a new *wen* icon.

In response to the call for Mr Science by these social activists, both the governments and individuals contributed to the process of a transformation from Confucian scholars to modern scientists. Between 1896 and 1930, tens of thousands of Chinese students went to

_

⁴⁷⁸ Song Geng, *The fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 71-9.

the west and Japan for study. Meanwhile a lot of modern schools and universities emphasizing science and technology sprouted in China. In these modern schools, the old Confucian learning was replaced by western learning therefore a new form of Chinese *wen* masculinity was cultivated.

The late Qing government played an important role in the transformation of Chinese scholars from *shi* to Mr Science. On the one hand, they cut the link between Confucian learning and political power by abolishing civil service examination in 1905. On the other, they started to make connections between Mr Science and political power by giving recognition and official posts to the students returning from overseas or to those who studied modern science and technology in China. The early republican Beijing government paid an even bigger tribute to western learning and Mr Science, because two thirds of its ministers were the students that had studied in Europe, North America and Japan.

The Rise of Modern "Scholar-businessmen"

The icon of Mr Science represents a masculinity that stressed a connection between men's cerebral power and the practical world. The emergence of this practical wen masculinity was also manifest through the rise of modern "scholar-business men". In late Qing early republican China, there was a movement called Chinese Practical Enterprise Movement (shiye yundong 实业运动) among the wen people. By plunging into "Practical Enterprises" (shiye 实业) such as manufacturing, technology and commerce, Chinese scholars sought and demonstrate a new masculine power.

The Ming-Qing 明清 dynasties witnessed the growing importance of scholar-businessmen as the result of a government policy of loosening strict class demarcations between *shi* and merchant. This rise of scholar-businessmen, however, only proved further the dominance of the traditional *wen* masculinity over marketplace masculinity, as the later was deemed to be only a "second best" option for Chinese men to follow. Only those who had constantly failed the civil service examinations would change their orbit for success from the civil service examination world to the business world. In other words, in the Ming-Qing times, Confucian textual power was still the source and symbol of the hegemonic masculinity.

The arrival of western and Japanese imperialism altered the notion of hegemonic masculinity in China. At this time of national crisis there was a widely circulating slogan: "Saving China with Practical Enterprise (shiye jiuguo 实业核国), which implied that China was desperately in need of the experts in manufacturing, commerce and technology. Men specialized in operating businesses and machines were becoming the most needed and respected in China. Compelled by the perilous situation facing their nation, these scholars came to realize that being a scholar-official was not good enough, becoming a scholar-merchant was the best. Between 1895 and 1901, a number of men successful in civil service examinations, such as members of the National Academy, the examiners of civil service examination, the magistrates of prefectures, left the prestigious realm of state administration and plunged into the commercial and manufacturing sphere. I named these men the wen men with "strong hands".

As the men who sought heroic, practical *wen* masculinity, these new scholar-merchants showed that the power of the men of "strong hands" was tangible and virtuous in a variety

of ways. With the profits they made from the business sector, they built numerous modern schools, modern transportation systems, hospitals, museums, parks and so on in their hometowns. In so doing, they showed the public that they were not only the soldiers in the commercial wars against the imperialists from the west and Japan, but played a crucial role in the process of modernization.

The virtue and leadership of the men with "strong hands" were widely appreciated and accepted in society. All though the scholar-businessmen deserted the path to high-ranking officialdom, they were respected and hired by a number of governments due to their achievements in industry and commerce. Thus, these successful modern "scholar-businessmen" harvested both money and high-ranking officialdom, by which they demonstrated that they were truly first-class men of the new times.

Along with industry and commerce, these scholars also deemed technology to be a source of masculine power. For these scholars, the man of "strong hands" was closely linked to technology. Just as canons, steam machines, tractors and motor-bikes were all new extensions of the strong, tough manly hands that were made of iron. Moreover, these new machines were the perfect embodiment of a combination of human cerebral force and practical power as the strong muscle of the machine contained human knowledge. Chinese wen men embraced technology and technicians while they welcomed entrepreneurship. The new inventions of machines and tools were introduced as symbol of masculinity to young Chinese men. The highly influential magazine Xin qingnian 新青年 published a set of articles suggesting that young Chinese men should set up workshops at home in order to develop a pair of mechanically-skilled hands.

Another reason for key thinkers to urge young Chinese men to have a pair of mechanically-skilled hands was egalitarianism and democracy. Hu Shi (1891-1962) 胡适 and later on another social activist Tao Xinzhi (1891-1946) 陶行知 tried to promote the image of the iconic democratic heroes who possess both a powerful mind and a pair of tough, strong hands. They expressed their worries about the withered muscle of the Chinese scholars, warning them that due to the arrival of the era of democratization, a man who takes advantage of the physical labour of other people was outmoded or even decadent. In 1920s Tao Xinzhi launched an influential education reform in Jiangsu 江苏 province which aimed to cultivate modern, democratic manhood possessing both cerebral power and strong hands.

The Emergence of Mr Democracy

While calling for practical wen masculinity, these key thinkers tried to build up a link between citizenly virtue and masculinity. Not only did they encourage scholars to have a pair of mechanically-skilled hands, but more essentially they advocated the subjectivity and individualism of all men in China. They named this subjectivity and individualism "personhood" (renge, 人格), and deemed it to be the foundation or essence of a modern public man—Mr Democracy. These attributes of modern public men were zealously explored, eulogized and advocated by both the reformists and revolutionaries through their propagandas. The key reformist thinker Liang Qichao called the new public men the "new people" (xinmin, 新民), and afterwards the New Culture movement leaders named this kind of men the Mr Democracies (de xiansheng, 德先生). The expressions the New Culture Momovement leaders used were more precise and gendered, for they revealed not

only the origin of the character of the new public men: the west, but implied the continuing dominance of men over women in public sector in these democratic aspirations.

The reformists made their contributions to the construction of Mr Democracy in China. They introduced a number of western heroes such as Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) to Chinese audiences, exploring the sprit of freedom, independence, individual rights and adventure. The arrival of Mr Democracy from the west caused profound changes to the Chinese male scholars' self-perception. This change was embodied clearly in their self-mockery—depicting Chinese men as slaves to their superiors. The concept of slavery was central to the contemporary understanding of Chinese masculinity at that time. The *shi*, especially the lower *shi*, were criticized because they were not only political slaves to their emperors, but also slaves to their superiors such as their examining teachers and the sages.

Being newly discontented with their traditional roles in the public sphere, these new *wen* men sought a new political identity—manly citizenship— in the modern era. The spirit of freedom and political rights were embraced as the unique masculinity of Mr Democracy. The New Culture movement leaders launched campaigns to forge a new political manhood. The literary revolution was the major driver of this push for a revitalized political manhood. Between 1917 and 1923, Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu called for literary reform, which had widespread repercussions in Chinese society. As a result of this campaign, a new type of *wen* men, the republican literary men emerged in China.

For key thinkers such as Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu, the textuality of the traditional wen men

was really problematic, for it not only hindered the burgeoning of modern science in China but it brought about the stagnation of literature in the country. In his famous proposal for literary reform, Hu Shi concluded that most the old *wen* men could not be regarded as men of talent (*caizi*, 才子), for what they wrote was mainly a copy of the work of the ancients in terms of idea and forms. Through such sharp appraisals he cast doubt on the worthiness of the traditional literary masculinity. While criticizing the stagnant, old literature, Hu Shi advocated a live literature that reflects or expresses the individual feelings and experiences of the vivid, individual lives of the commoner people. For Hu Shi, a man's literary talent should not be measured by how well he can imitate the texts of the Confucian sages but by how well he can produce new texts that truly reflect the social reality and show the writer's power as a citizen. He believes the republican male writer's political identity as a citizen could empower them in thinking and writing, therefore they should take this advantage to produce a citizenly literature, which would be more creative, more masculine than ever.

文学) and a new category of wen men. A generation of republican wen men emerged from the fertile soil of 1915-23 New Culture Movement, and contributed new poetry, novels and drama to Chinese audience. As was exemplified by Lu Xun, this new type of literature was strikingly masculine because it expressed the citizenly concerns and observations through a language of "iron and blood", which showed the citizenly manhood of these republican wen men.

Enhancing Masculinity through Male Bonding

Men often bond and pursue masculinity together. The early republican era witnessed a

rapid growth in male bonding. Around 1915-23 New Culture Movement numerous young nationalist clubs emerged in China in which men dominated in membership and leadership and therefore were able to develop male friendship through their organizational activities. I explored the nature and characteristics of the male friendship within two nationalist social clubs: the Youthful China Association (*Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui*, 少年中国学会) and the New People Association (*Xinmin xuehui* 新民学会).

First, nationalism was the common ground for these young men to bond. In a patriarchal country like China, nationalism was viewed mainly as a male enterprise for it belonged to the public world outside of the home. Therefore an endangered nation at a time of western and Japanese imperialism was first of all a humiliation to China's male population. Under such circumstances, the young *wen* men rallied for the salvation of both nationhood and their manhood. The YCA and the NPA was initiated to promote the grand enterprise of good men: nationalism. In the YCA, a purely male club, nationalism functioned as the catalyst, common ground and shared goal for the members. In the NPA, although there were female members, male members controlled the operations to ensure that everything focused on the "big" masculine issues: the salvation of China or even the establishment of the order on this planet. As emphasized by Mao Zedong in his recollections, all the sissy, womanish, domestic things were prohibited in NPA, which implies the women of the NPA must learn to be masculine.

Furthermore, bonding was a strategy for survival. In the earlier dynastic times, wen men usually bonded by sharing specific philosophical, political ideas or aesthetic tastes.⁴⁷⁹

-

⁴⁷⁹ Lam, Joseph S.C.. "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China", *NAN NU -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 9.1 (2007): 70-110. Li Shangying 李尚英, Mingmo donglin dang 明末东林党, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983).

However at this time of national crisis, young wen men at the YCA and the NPA rallied simply for the survival of both nationhood and manhood. Neither the YCA nor the NPA was a political party or a literary club that held specific political ideas or philosophic doctrines. The young men at YCA and NPA expressed their anxiety over the possible dismemberment of China and the vulnerability of their manhood or even their lives. Much like the marginal men's bonding in peace time, surviving rather than thriving became the reason for the wen men's bonding together in turbulent times.

Moreover, bonding was deemed vital for "growing up" together and fighting shoulder by shoulder. In order to survive, these young men had to develop in knowledge, character and power. Their bonding provided a shared, encouraging space for them to mature as men. They promoted scholarship together through exchanging books, corresponding about study progress, publishing their study outcomes as a distinct cohort. In addition to pursuing knowledge as a group, they also helped each other in building character. Character building was a major theme of the cultivation of friendship at both the YCA and the NPA.

In addition, bonding was a proclamation for seeking collectively a super male identity. Both the men of the YCA and the NPA tried to distinguish themselves from the traditional wen men by setting strict selection criteria for membership. They viewed the old scholars as decadent or impure, because these old scholars enjoyed the outmoded male culture such as brothel going and gambling. The old scholars were deemed unreliable for the enterprise of national salvation because what concerned them was only personal gain such as the promotion of official ranking and making profit. The young men at the YCA endeavored

to set up new male models by rejecting applicants who manifest the vices of old Chinese male culture. In order to secure their desired collective male identity, both the YCA and the NPA set long probation periods and strict introduction processes for applicants.

Last, there was a rejection of hierarchy. Unlike the traditional *wen* men's political party or literary clubs, in which usually there was a high profile person who occupied the central stage, ⁴⁸⁰ the male friendship cultivated in the YCA and NPA was unprecedentedly egalitarian. A rejection of hierarchy can be found within the two clubs. Based on their new political identity—as republican citizens, these young men employed their bonds as sites for exercising democratic skills which they viewed as an important masculine attribute given that at that time no women were allowed to be citizens.

The Changing Definition of Family Masculinity

In late Qing and early republican times, the social construction of Mr Democracy was not just through literature reform and education reform; it also occurred in other realms and through other channels such as family reform. As a cultural tradition, the family was employed as a site on which the public virtue of men was cultivated. The modern wen men launched a lasting family reform through which men's citizenly virtue —including independence, autonomy and creativity—were to be fostered. The need for democratization, which was combined with a need for a stronger nationhood, became the drivers for the family reform. As a result, the definition of men's family identities as son, father, husband and lover was reshaped and updated.

This family reform first updated men's role as sons. From the perspectives of democracy

_

⁴⁸⁰ Lam, Joseph S.C. "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China", 70-110; He Zongmei, *Mingqing wenren jieshe yanjiu*,明清文人结社研究, (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2003), 147-206.

and nationalism, the elite *wen* men attacked the Confucian definition of "good son". Filial piety, which was the core attribute of a good man in dynastic times, was now viewed as suspicious and dangerous to the enterprises of nation building and democratization for it hindered men from being independent and creative individuals for China. The traditional role of the son was criticized on the grounds that he was only a slave to his parents because he was deprived of his basic rights as a person yet was supposed to take responsibility for the mistakes made by his parents. This definition of what constituted a good son was replaced by a new definition that set filial autonomy as the basis for the morality and strength of a son. It was believed that if men were short of the sprit of independence at home there would be no daring, creative citizens in the society. As part of the social construction of Mr Democracy at home, the elite *wen* men advocated self-determination in marriage and economic independence from parents as two basic practices of filial autonomy.

The second male family identity to be reshaped was fatherhood. The old definition of fatherhood became problematic, too. Key thinkers like Hu Shi maintained that fathers had no rights to demand Confucian piety from their children because giving birth to children was not a debt that needed to be paid back by the son but a natural process of the universe. Furthermore, these elite *wen* men contended that a good father should sacrifice for the wellbeing of their children in order to raise stronger, more successful offspring. Paving the road for children by sacrificing themselves was deemed the natural lore of biological evolution.

Not only were the understandings of what constituted a good son and a good father changed, but so were the understandings of men's roles as husbands. At a time of national

crisis and democratization, showing filial piety to one's parents as a married son was no longer the focus of performing masculinity at home; instead cultivating conjugal love in a nuclear family was deemed a sign of patriotism and modernity in a man. Marital affection, which had long been neglected and suppressed by Confucian family norms in imperial times, was now viewed as a foundation on which healthy children could be produced and the harmony of the family could be achieved. Although exerting dominance over one's wife was still a crucial part of family masculinity, promoting marital love between the couple became the basic moral duty of a respectable man.

As the importance of conjugal love to men's happiness and the welfare of the nation increased, the issue of male chastity arose naturally within the agenda of family reform. Public debate about male chastity was heated. Modern scholars attacked the traditional male sexuality which featured taking concubines and dallying with prostitutes and catamites from the entertainment quarter. In order to catch up with western men in modern heterosexuality, the key thinkers and social activists organized societies such as "Jindehui" 进德会 to fight against the old "decadent" male culture. Seeking affection and sexual fulfilment outside of marriage was no longer a male privilege. Instead, being sexually loyal to one's wife was deemed a necessity to the integrity of a modern man.

As a result of this updated notion of what constituted a good husband, seeking affection in a marriage and showing affection to one's wife was in vogue among the urban educated men—this in turn gave rise to the demand for free choice marriage and spawned the production of a variety of publications on the theme of conjugal love. A lot of prominent wen men played pioneering roles in the social trend of seeking exclusive conjugal affection and modern heterosexuality. Among them the most famous were Yu Dafu

(1896-1945) 郁达夫, Xu Zhimo (1897-1931) 徐志摩 and Lu Xun. These wen men published their love diaries or love letters to profess their modern male sexuality.

Discussions Regarding Connell's theory

The result of this study suggests strongly that masculinity is subject to social change, which is an important assumption of Connell's theory of gender and masculinity. This project provided concrete facts that the self-perception of the scholars changed dramatically as the history of Chinese society progressed into a modern era when China faced severe national crisis. The ideological changes occurring in China such as the rise of nationalism and democratization had huge impact on Chinese scholar's thinking about what constituted a good man in modern times.

The self-perception of these *wen* men changed tremendously. First, as the successors to the traditional *shi*, they no longer viewed themselves as confident leaders of men of other classes such as farmers, artisans and merchants. Instead they engaged in self-mockery by criticizing the traditional scholars as useless parasites of society because they failed to make contributions to the material production of the country. These modern scholars criticized the textuality of the traditional *shi* as unpractical and useless. And for this reason they sought the practical power of Mr Science and in the men who dominate modern industry and technology. The hegemonic masculinity of which the *shi* were proud was shaken and smashed. Second, they were no longer proud of the image of a pale-faced, weakling scholar. On the contrary, they criticized it as a sign of weakness and backwardness. They even deemed the delicacy of the male body to be a sickness of the scholars. By ridiculing themselves as the "Sick men of East Asia", these awakening modern scholars desperately sought to promote the strong physique of all Chinese men.

Third, they even doubted whether the traditional *shi* had the strength of morality and character. For key thinkers like Chen Duxiu and Lu Xun, conventional scholars could only be called slaves to the emperor and their superiors, for they all lacked the subjectivity that brings about freedom, independence and true morality to men.

The results of my project show that nationalism was one of the causes of the dramatic change in the self-perception as men among late Qing and early republican scholars. The need for national salvation and nation building was so overwhelming that it brought about an array of changes to the standard of what is a good man. When nationalism was prevailing, a man was not manly enough if he possessed only literary talent but lacked martial skills and valour; a man was not masculine if his knowledge was confined to the textual world and failed to bring about practical power to the battle fields of commercial and military competition; a man was not a good husband if he failed to produce strong, talented children through romantic, conjugal love; a man was not a good father if he kept leading the father-son relationship with coercion rather than with love or even self-sacrifice.

This investigation of the social construction of masculinity at this time also suggests that democracy as a modern institution profoundly shaped men's self-perception among this group. When the notion of democracy was imported from the west and the elite men were subsequently bestowed with citizenship as the Republic of China was established, the understanding about what constituted a virtuous, brave and talented man changed radically. The traditional *shi* were no longer viewed as talented in literary terms, instead they were considered as being uncreative and derivative because of their repetition of what the ancients wrote; the scholar-officials were no longer viewed as powerful and virtuous,

that the traditional *shi* held over concubines, prostitutes and catamites was deemed a sign of moral corruption—they became failed husbands incapable of gender equality in sexuality with their wives; the scholars who hired servants to do physical work were deemed decadent as they let the muscle of their hands wither. At a time of democratization, even soldiers were deemed not to be "real soldiers" as their lack of citizenly values was deemed to be the cause to their lack of true *wu* sprit. In addition, the notion of democracy shaped the republican young *wen* men's view of their male bonding as they made the bonds more egalitarian and autonomous.

Another finding of my study is that the social construction of masculinity in an oppressed country at the times of crisis generated by colonization and globalization was related to the men of the advanced countries. According to Connell, masculinity is constructed not only in relation to women but in relation to men of other social groups. Here this study suggests one more relational dimension for the social configuration of masculinity, for Chinese wen men tried to build up their new masculinity to catch up with western men. They were ashamed by the perceived gap between Chinese men and the men of the advanced countries. The most salient example for this kind of awareness of gap was the self-mocking term—the "Sick man of east Asia". Before the time of western and Japanese imperialism, a pale-faced scholar was perceived to be a sign of privilege and power, yet when the western and Japanese men arrived in military forms, the physical gap between a pale-faced scholar and the men of the advanced countries was quickly identified and an effort to physically catch up with foreign men was made through the cult of sports and military training. Obviously it was in contrast to the men of the advanced countries that

_

⁴⁸¹ Robert Connell, "Studying men and masculinity," 45-6.

these modern scholars called themselves the "Sick man of east Asia". Another example for this kind of "catch up" mentality in terms of masculinity was the social construction of Mr Democracy. It was in contrast to the western men that Chinese elite men found the old, prestigious scholars were only "slaves" to their superiors and could not be viewed as virtuous. They eulogized the true morality of Mr Democracy and tried to bridge the gap between a Confucian scholar and a modern citizen through family reform and literature revolution.

Discussions Regarding the wen/wu Model of Masculinity

While reinforcing Connell's theory of gender and masculinity, this study increases our understanding of *wen/wu* theory of Chinese masculinity. It puts *wen/wu* model under interrogation by examining how the nationalism, democratization and globalization impacted on the definition of masculinity in late Qing and early republican China. The results of this interrogation indicate that the traditional meanings of both *wen* and *wu* were challenged and reshaped, however this paradigm showed significant resilience to the blows dealt by those dramatic social changes.

After the abolition of civil service examination system in 1905, both wen and wu experienced serious challenges, yet each in different ways. Wu masculinity was revived due to the need for national salvation and nation building in the face of wars generated by western and Japanese expansionism. At this moment of national crisis, the wen men changed their condescending attitude towards the wu fellows and desperately sought wu masculinity through embracing sports, martial arts and military training. However the understanding of wu sprit was significantly changing. As the western value of democracy

arrived, the traditional wu men were criticized for not being "real" soldiers for their country for they were not citizens but only "slaves". This criticism suggests a new notion about wu: the male identity of citizen could add magnificent martial valour to wu masculinity. From this perspective, wu masculinity was not only challenged by but also revived through the process of democratization.

Wu masculinity was also reshaped by and revived through modern military education and modern sports. The establishment of the modern Chinese military schools since the 1860s produced a new type of wu men that harbored both martial skills and modern education, which brought a remarkable change to the conventional image of wu fellow that was brawny yet illiterate. Because of the modern education the new type of professional wu men received, they became more respectable and were very active in diffusing modern values of science, technology and sporting. One famous figure of this type of modern wu men was Yan Fu, who played a pioneering role in the process of modernization in China and was the leader to numerous wen men who sought social reform. Furthermore, the spread of modern sports in China made wu men more law-abiding than ever. Rather than committing the traditional wu job of robbing the "evil" rich, the wu people found a lawful outlet of their energy and skills: playing and teaching sports. Because of modern sports, wu masculinity became an international currency that could bring tremendous honour to China.

Compared to wu masculinity, the concept of wen manliness experienced a blow that was much more devastating yet we can see that a firm belief in male cerebral power was maintained even during these turbulent times of crisis. This period in Chinese history shows that whereas the traditional meaning of wen was thoroughly challenged, modern

Chinese scholars sought new forms of *wen* masculinity. This complicated situation suggests that what was shaken was not the belief in *wen* masculinity but the understanding of what is *wen* masculinity.

Indeed, the traditional form of wen masculinity—the textual Confucian power—was smashed by the power of western and Japanese imperialism. Because of the repeated defeat in military wars and commercial wars, the old textual masculinity was attacked for its uselessness and impracticality. Moreover, the traditional literature was accused of mainly comprising the repetition of what the ancients had written. This attack was a blunt denial of the cultural attainment of the shi, which was the embodiment of their wen masculinity. Another blow to the traditional wen masculinity was the attack to shi's sexuality: taking concubines, dallying with female and male entertainers from the entertainment quarter. The man who exercises this kind of sexual power was criticized as being morally decadent and impure, which would be rejected when applying for the membership of the progressive men's social clubs such as the Youthful China Association.

However, these attacks did not imply a rejection of men's cerebral power, rather it meant the advent of a transformation in education, literature, family and ultimately wen masculinity. As I have analyzed in chapters 3, 4 and 6, the meaning of what constituted powerful wen masculinity was updated through education reforms, literature revolution, the Practical Enterprise Movement and, family reforms. Chinese men were still keen on learning, but the stress of learning was not on literature and philosophy but on subjects of mathematics, physics and chemistry (sulihua, 数理化). Knowledge of science and technology was deemed the source of masculine power for all men on the earth. This new form of wen masculinity was venerated as the power of Mr Science, which was believed

to have a connection between men's cerebral strength and the practical world. The wen scope also expanded to the skills of commerce and manufacturing. The graduates of commerce and manufacturing were bestowed with academic titles similar to those of the successful graduates of Confucian learning. While expanding wen's scope to science, technology, commerce and manufacturing, the modern scholars reformed literature to meet the needs of democracy and nationalism. The call for a citizenly literature conjured up a generation of republican wen men who fought for the future of China through expressing individual concerns and feelings. Wen masculinity was also enhanced through family reform. Modern scholars claimed their sexuality not through showing excessive sexual power over the women other than their wives but through the promotion of conjugal love and male chastity. As such the morality and quality of male sexual power were stressed and elevated.

One more finding of this study regarding wen/wu model is that the split between wen and wu seemed to cease since the abolition of civil service examination system in 1905. The tendency to desire the convergence of wen and wu attributes in one person was found to be occurring in the early twentieth century in this investigation. The wu men were expected to receive modern education to master those weapons that were made out of modern science and technology. Being cerebrally powerful was necessary for a wu Chinese man to be patriotic at the turn of the twentieth century. The elite Chinese men realized that at a time of technology revolution a good soldier must be a person of both wen skills and wu valour. They also realized that a wen man as a citizen must have physical strength and martial valour to fulfill his citizenly duties. Therefore the twentieth century was a time when the wen and wu attributes should reunited in one man. In the meantime, both wen and wu men were required to replace some outmoded Confucian virtues such as filial piety

with democratic virtues filial autonomy and male subjectivity. The need for democracy and nationalism bridged the gap between the traditional *wen* and *wu*.

Above all, wen/wu model of Chinese masculinity was subject to social change yet was flexible when absorbing the impact of these social changes. Since wen represents male cerebral power and cultural skills and wu stands for men's physical strength and martial valour, it is not surprising such a model has remarkable resilience to social change. This study shows that the social changes reshaped not whether men needed to be brainy or brawny but rather the notions of what was considered brainy and brawny.

Limitations and Further Suggestions

As displayed in above sections, this study offered some insights into the social construction of Chinese masculinity in the decades immediately after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. It is unique as it fills the gap of masculinity studies in the late Qing and early republican period. This is not to say there is no investigation of masculinity in this period, given that Kam Louie has provided some excellent analysis of the social construction of masculinity in 1920s China through Lao She's novel: $Er\ Ma\ (\Box^{\Box})^{482}$. However my study brings Connell's theory and wen/wu model of Chinese masculinity together, offering a more detailed and cohesive analysis of Chinese masculinity around this transitional time. While it reinforces Connell's theory of gender in terms of masculinity and change, it suggests something that seems perpetuate: masculinity reflects the body-based power relationships between men and women, and between men and men. In the case of Chinese masculinity at the turn of the twentieth century, this power

_

⁴⁸² Kam Louie, "Constructing Chinese Masculinity for the Modern World: with Particular Reference to Lao She's The Two Mas," *The China Quarterly*, 164.12(2000), 1062-1078.

relationship continued: the *wen* men tried to be both brainy and brawny by filling new content into the *wen/wu* frame of masculinity. While bringing some modification to Connell's theory, this study demonstrates the credibility of *wen/wu* model of Chinese masculinity: it explains well the power relationships between men and women, men and men in various historical Chinese contexts.

While offering concrete facts and insights in masculinity and change, this study has some limitations. First, it draws on the *wen/wu* model of Chinese masculinity as a dimension for collecting and analysing the data yet ignores the *ying/yang* theory of Chinese masculinity. In fact, the *ying/yang* theory, as revealed in Song Geng's brilliant study,⁴⁸³ also reflects the power relationships between men and women, men and men in China. This suggests a possibility of a possible further study that combines Connell's theory and the *ying/yang* theory so as to explore the social construction of masculinity in China during this period of time.

Another obvious limitation is with the exploration of male bonding. In my study I only collected the data regarding two young nationalist social clubs, which is far from enough for revealing the overall characteristics of male bonding at this transitional time. As I have already experienced, the exploration of male bonding was so exciting and rewarding in revealing the mechanisms and customs created in this new construction of collective masculinity such as the exchange of common male anxieties, aspirations and taking collective actions. So I strongly suggest and encourage further investigations of this aspect to help produce a clearer and fuller picture of masculinity in late Qing the early republican China.

_

Song Geng, *The fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004)

In sum, this study investigates the impact of Chinese nationalism, democracy and modernization on the social construction of masculinity among the urban, educated men between 1896 and 1930 China. It reveals how the meaning of male identity was reshaped by and negotiated through these social changes under the gaze and challenge of western and Japanese men. By bringing together Connell's gender theory and Louie and Edwards' wen/wu paradigm, this study presents a picture about masculinity and social change in late Qing and early republican China, which enhances our knowledge about the fluidity of masculinity. Maenwhile the findings of this investigation expand our understanding of the wen/wu model of Chinese masculinity: its root and evolution through social/historical changes.

Bibliography

- Anonymous author. "Shuo guomin" 说国民 (Talking about citizens), in Hu Weixi 胡伟希, ed., *Minsheng: Xinhai shilun xuan* 民声:辛亥时论选 (The voice of the people: selected essays produced at Xinhai Revolution time), (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994).
- Banerjee., Sikata. *Make me a man : Masculinity, Hinduism, and nationalism in India*, (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2005).
- Bray, Alan. *The Friend*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- Brownell, Susan and Wasserstrom Jefferey, eds, *Chinese femininities/Chinese masculinities: A Reader*, (Berkley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2002).
- Brod, Harry. ed., *The Making of Masculinities: the New Men's Studies*, (Boston: Allen & Unwin: 1987).
- Burton, Clare. Subordination: feminism and social theory, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985).
- Cai Jian'guo 蔡建国. Cai Yuanpei hua zhuan, 1868-1940 蔡元培画传 (The pictured biography of Cai Yuanpei 1868-1940), (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988).
- Cai Hesen 蔡和森. "Cai Linbin de xin" 蔡林彬的信 (A letter from Cai Linbing), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培. Wo zai Beijing daxue de jingli 我在北京大学的经历 (My experience at Beijing University), (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2003).
- ------. "Gong xue huzutuan de da xiwang" 工学互助团的大希望 (The big hope for the society of part-work and part-study), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 1.7 (1920), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- ------. "Fufu gongyue" 夫妇公约 (Conjugal pact); "Dao furen Wang Zhaowen", 悼夫人王昭文 (An essay in memory of my deceased lady Wang Zhaowen) in Cai Yuanpei, Cai Yuanpei quan ji 蔡元培全集 (The full collection of works by Cai Yuanpei), edited by Gao Pingshu 高平叔, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984-1989), vol. 1.; "Zhongxue xiushen jiaokeshu" 中学修身教科书 (The self-cultivation textbook for high school students), in Cai Yuanpei quan ji , vol.2; "Jinde hui zhiqu shu", 进德会旨趣书 (A paper about the purport of Jinde Society), in Cai Yuanpei quan ji, vol.3; "Ji wangqi Huang Zhongyu", 祭亡妻黄仲玉 (An essay in memory of my deceased wife—Huang Zhongyu) , in Cai Yuanpei quanji, vol. 4.
- Caplan Pat. ed., The Cultural Construction of Sexuality, (London; New York: Routledge, c1987).
- Castle, Kathryn. *Britannia's children: reading colonialism through children's books and magazines*, (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996).
- Chang, Chung-li. The Chinese gentry: studies on their role in nineteenth-century Chinese society,

- (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1970).
- Chen Duxiu 陈独秀. "Bengzhi de zuian" 本志的罪案 (The case of our magazine), *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 6.1(1919), in *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang* 共产党, 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource] (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).
- ------. "Dangdai er da kexuejia zhi sixiang" 当代二大科学家之思想 (The thoughts by the two contemporary great scientists); "Jinri zhi jiaoyu fangzhen" 今日之教育方针 (The guideline for contemporary education); "Wenxue geming lun" 文学革命论 (On literature revolution); "Xianfa yu kongjiao" 宪法与孔教 (Constitution and Confucianism); "Xin qingnian" 新青年 (New youth), in Chen Duxiu, *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* 陈独秀著作选 (Selected works by Chen Duxiu), edited by Ren Jianshu 任建树, Zhang Tongmo 张统模 and Wu Xinzhong 吴信忠, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe: 1993).
- -----. *Chen Duxiu shuxin ji* 陈独秀书信集 (A collection of letters by Chen Duxiu), edited by Shui Ru 水如, (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1987).
- ------. "Wangguo pian"亡国篇 (an essay on subjugation), in Chen Duxiu, Chen Duxiu wenzhang xuanbian 陈独秀著作选编 (Selected works by Chen Duxiu), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1984).
- Chen Congzhou 陈从周. Xü Zhimo nian pu 徐志摩年谱 (The biographical annals of Xu Zhimo), (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1981).
- Chen Heqin 陈鹤琴. "Jiangzhe xuesheng hunyin wenti yanjiu" 江浙学生婚姻问题研究(A study on marriage problems of the students in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces), in Li Wenhai 李文海, Xia Mingfang 夏明芳, Huang Xingtao 黄兴涛, eds, *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan* 民国时期社会调查丛编:婚姻家庭卷 (A compilation of the surveys in republican time: the volume of marriage and family), (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005).
- Chen Guyuan 陈顾远. Zhongguo hunyin shi 中国婚姻史 (The history of marriage in China), (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1984).
- Cheng Li 程莉. *Jindai Shiyejia Zhou Xuexi Yanjiu* 近代实业家周学熙研究(A study on the modern entrepreneur Zhou Xuexi), (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe, 2006).
- Chu Wo 初我[丁祖荫]. "Nüzi jiating geming shuo" 女子家庭革命说 (On women's family revolution); "Shuo nü mo" 说女魔 (On female demon), in Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, *Nüzi shijie wen xuan* 女子世界文选 (Selected works from *Women's World*), (Guiyang: Guizhou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003).
- Connell, Robert W. "Studying men and masculinity", *Resources for Feminist Research*, 29. 1/2 (Winter 2002): 45.
- ----- Masculinities, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
- Connery, Christopher. *The Empire of Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China*, (Lanham:Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, 1998).
- Crowley, J. W.. "Howells, Stoddard, and Male Homosocial Attachment in Victorian America", in Harry Brod, ed., *The Making of Masculinities: the New Men's Studies*, (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).
- Demetrious, Demetrakis. "Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique," *Theory and Society*, 30.3 (Jun., 2001): 337-361.
- Deng Hongbo 邓洪波 and Gong Kangyun 龚抗云. ed., *Zhongguo zhuangyuan dianshi juan daquan* 中国状元殿试卷大全 (The answer sheets written by the first title winners at the royal examinations), (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006).

- Dikötter, Frank, Sex, culture and modernity in China: medical science and the construction of sexual identities in the early Republican period, (London: Hurst & Co., 1995).
- Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒. *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (The numerous dews in spring and fall), (Changsha: Yuelu Bookhouse, 1997).
- Edwards, Louise. "Transformations of the Women Warrior Hua Mulan: From Defender of the Family to Servant of the State", *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 12 (2010): 175-214.
- -----Gender, Politics, and Democracy: Women's Suffrage in China, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press: 2008).
- Edwards, Louise and Zhou, Lili. "Gender and the Virtue of Violence: Creating a New Vision of Political Engagement through the 1911 Revolution", *Frontiers: History in China*, 6.4 (2011): 485-504.
- Evans Harriet. Women and sexuality in China: dominant discourses of female sexuality and gender since 1949, (Oxford, UK: Polity Press in association with Blackwell, 1997).
- Fincher, John H. Chinese democracy: The Self-government Movement in Local, Provincial and National Politics, 1905-1914, (Canberra: Australia National University Press, 1981).
- Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮. *Tangdai keju yu wenxue* 唐代科举与文学 (civil service examination and literature in Tang dynasty), (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2003).
- Gao Yuan 高原. "Minzhu zhengzhi yu lunchang zhuyi"民主政治与伦常主义(Democracy and Confucian ethics), *Xin Chao* 新潮, 2.2 (1919), in *Xin chao*,[electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Gerritsen, Anne. "Friendship through Fourteenth-Century Fissures: Dai Liang, Wu Sidao and Ding Henian", NAN Nü-- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China, 9.1 (2007):34-69.
- Gu Chengwu 顾诚吾[Jiegang], "Duiyu jiujiating de ganxiang (II)" 对于旧家庭的感想 (Thoughts on the old joint family), *Xin Chao* 新潮, 2.4 (1920), in *Xin Chao*,[electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- -----. "Dao wang qi" 悼亡妻 (Mourning for my deceased wife), *Xin Chao* 新潮, 1.2 (1919), in *Xin Chao*, [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Gulik, Van. Sexual life in ancient China: a preliminary survey of Chinese sex and society from ca.1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D., (Leiden: Brill, 1974).
- Guo Moruo 郭沫若. "Zhi Zong Baihua" 致宗白华 (To Zong Baihua), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 2.9 (1921), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- ------. "Lun Yudafu" 论郁达夫 (On Yu Dafu), in Wang Zili 王自立, and Chen Zishan 陈自善, ed., *Yu Dafu Yanjiu Ziliao* 郁达夫研究资料 (The data on Yu Dafu study), (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1982).
- -----. Shaonian shidai 少年时代 (The time of adolescence), (Xianggang: Dazhong tushu gongsi).
- He Bingdi, *Ladder of success in Imperial China: aspects of social mobility, 1368-1911*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).
- He Zongmei, 何宗美, *Mingqing wenren jieshe yanjiu*, 明清文人结社研究 (Studies on *wenren*'s bonding at Ming and Qing times), (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2003).
- Hoganson, Kristin. Fighting for American manhood: how gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, (New Heaven: Yale University Press,

1998).

- Hendrick, Susan S. and Hendrick Clyde. Romantic love, (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1991).
- Hinsch, Bret. *Passions of the cut sleeve: the male homosexual tradition in China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
- Hu Shi 胡适. *Hu Shi shuxin ji* 胡适书信集 (Collected letters by Hu Shi), edited by Geng Yunzhi 耿云志, Ouyang Zhesheng 欧阳哲生, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996).
- -----. *Changshi ji* 尝试集 (The volume of trying), in Hu Shi, 1986, *Hu Shi zuoping ji* 胡适作品集 (Collected works by Hu Shi), (Taibei: Liu Yuan Chubanshe, 1986), vol.27.
- ------. "Wenxue gailiang chuyi" 文学改良刍议(My meager opinion about literature reformation), in Hu Shi, *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存 (Collected works by Hu Shi), (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), Collection 1 vol.1; "Manyou de ganxiang" 漫游的感想 (Thoughts from wondering [around the world]), in *Hu Shi wen cun*, Collection 1 vol. 3; "Women dui xiyang wenming de taidu" 我们对于西洋文明的态度 (Our attitude towards western civilization), in *Hu Shi wen cun* Collection 1 vol. 3; "Yibusheng zhuyi" 易卜生主义 (Ibsonism), in *Hu Shi wen cun*, Collection 1, vol.4
- ------. "Si lieshi zong shang de meizibei ge" 四烈士家上的没字碑歌 (The unwritten lyrics on the plain tombstones of the four martyrs),in Qian Gurong 钱谷融, ed, *Xinwenxue de xianqu: <Xin Qingnian><Xin Chao>zuopin xuan* (The pioneers of the new literature movement: selected works from *Xin Qingnian* and *Xin Chao*) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan chubanshe, 1985).
- Huang Deshi 黄得时. "Yu Dafu pingzhuan" 郁达夫评传 (A critical biography of Yu Dafu), in Wang Zili 王自立, and Chen Zishan 陈自善, ed., *Yu Dafu Yanjiu Ziliao* 郁达夫研究资料 (The data on Yu Dafu study), (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1982).
- Huang, Martin. "Male Friendship in Ming China: An Introduction", NAN Nü-- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China, 9.1 (2007):2-33.
- -----. "Male Friendship and Jiangxue (philosophical debates) in Sixteenth-Century China", *Nan Nü -- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China*, 9.1 (2007):146-178.
- -----. *Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China*, epilogue, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).
- Jeffreys Elaine. ed., 2006, Sex and sexuality in China, (Oxon, England; New York: Routledge, 2006).
- Jizhe 记者, "Da feixingjia Tan Gen" 大飞行家谭根 (The great pilot—Tan Gen), *Xin Qingnian* 新青年, 1.6 (1916), in *Xin qingnian* 新青年 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang* 共产党 1920.11-1921.7, [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).
- Kang Youwei. "Qing fei bagu shitie kaifa gaiyong celun zhe" 请废八股试帖楷法改用策论折 (Appealing for replacing the "Eight-legged" essay by a proposal for state administration); "Shanghai qiangxuehui zhangcheng", 上海强学会章程 (The regulation of Shanghai Enhancing Education Society), in Tang Zhijun 汤志钧, Chen Zuen 陈祖恩, Tang Renze 汤仁泽, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu* 中国近代教育史资料汇编: 戊戌时期教育 (A compilation of the data on the history of education in modern China: Education around A Hundred Day Reformation time), (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007).
- Kent, Susan Kingsley. Gender and power in Britain, 1640-1990, (New York: Routledge, 1999).
- Kimmel, Michael. "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity" in Whitehead Stephen and Barrett Frank, eds, *The Masculinities Reader*,

- (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2001).
- Ko, Dorothy. Teachers of the inner chambers: women and culture in seventeenth-century China, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994).
- Kuchta, David. *The three-piece suit and modern masculinity: England, 1550-1850*, (Berkeley, CA.; London: University of California Press, 2002).
- Lam, Joseph S.C.. "Music and Male Bonding in Ming China", NAN Nü-- Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China, 9.1 (2007): 70-110.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1973).
- Li Huang 李璜. "Li Huang zhi Zuo Sunsheng" 李璜致左舜生 (A letter to Zuo Shunsheng by Li Huang), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 1.1 (1919), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" zhuan ji 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Li Linqi 李琳琦 and Tao Xiubin 陶秀彬. "Zhongjiao xingwen: huishang de fengshang I" 重教 兴文—徽商的风尚(一) 和 (二) (Promoting education and culture: the custom of Hui merchants), *Jinrong bolan* 金融博览, 8(2010), 68-71 and 9 (2010), 68-71.
- Li Shangying 李尚英. Mingmo donglin dang 明末东林党 (Donglin faction in late Ming time), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983).
- Li Weihan 李维汉. "Huiyi xinmin xuehui" 回忆新民学社 (Recalling the New People association", in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Li Wenhai 李文海, Xia Mingfang 夏明芳 and Huang Xingtao 黄兴涛. eds, *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan* 民国时期社会调查丛编:婚姻家庭卷 (A compilation of the surveys in republican time: the volume of marriage and family), (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005).
- Li Zheren 李喆人. "Huiyi Shaonian Zhongguo Chengdu fenhui zhi suoyou chengli", 回忆少年中国成都分会之所由成立, in in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Liang Qichao 梁启超. "Xuexiao tongyi" 学校通义 (A general elucidation of schooling), in Tang Zhijun 汤志钧, Chen Zuen 陈祖恩, Tang Renze 汤仁泽, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu* 中国近代教育史资料汇编: 戊戌时期教育 (A compilation of the data on the history of education in modern China: Education around A Hundred Day Reformation time), (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007).
- -----. Liang Qichao jiashu 梁启超家书 (Liang Qichao's letters to his family), edited by Zhang Pinxing 张品兴, (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2000)
- -----. "Lun shang wu", 论尚武 (On war-like spirit); "Lun shengli fenli" 论生利分利 (On material production and consumption of material goods); "Shi xinmin zhi yi" 释新民之义 (A interpretation of the definition of new people); "Lun gongde" 论公德 (On public virtue); "Lun ziyou"论自由(On freedom); "Lun quanli sixiang" 论权利思想 (On the idea of rights); "Xin yingguo juren kelunweier zhuan" 新英国巨人克伦威尔传 (The biography of the new Britain giant- Oliver Cromwell), in Liang Qichao, *Liang Qichao quanji* 梁启超全集 (The full collection of works by Liang Qichao), (Beijing, Beijing chubanshe, 1999),vol.3; "The Spirit of Chinese Bushido 中国武士道 (The spirit of Chinese Samurai);"Wo de shengsi guan" 我的死生观 (My opinion about life and death),in *Liang Qichao quanji* vol. 5.

- ------. "Lun jinqu maoxian"论进取冒险 (On ambition and adventure); "Jin zaohun yi" 禁早婚议 (A suggestion about banning on early marriage); "Lun jinbu", 论进步 (On progress), in Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi quanji* 饮冰室全集 (The full collection of works by [the master of] Ice-drinking studio, (Taibei: Wenhua tushu gongsi,1981)
- ------. "Wuxu liujunzi zhuan" 戊戌六君子传 (The biographies of the six Wuxu gentlemen), in Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi he ji.wen ji* 饮冰室合集.文集(Collected works by [the master of] Yinbing studio), (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1941) vol.1.
- Lin Liyue 林丽月. *Ming dai de guo zi jian sheng* 明代的国子监生 (The students at the Imperial Schools in Ming dynasty), (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue lishi yanjiusuo, 1979).
- Lin Yutang, "Jiqi yu jingshen" 机器与精神 (Machine and human spirit), in Hu Shi 胡适, *Hu Shi wen cun* 胡适文存 (Collected works by Hu Shi), (Taibei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1953), vol. 3, 25-37.
- Liu Chunlin 刘春玲. "Wanming shishang shentou de shehui yingxiang"晚明士商渗透的社会影响 (The influence of the mutual infiltration between *shi* and merchants in late Ming dynasty), *Yinshan xuekan* 阴山学刊 20.4 (2007), 55-9.
- Liu Qinli 刘琴丽. *Tangdai wuguan xuanren zhidu chutan* 唐代武官选任制度初探, (An exploration of the promotion system for the military officials in Tang dynasty), (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006).
- Liu Shuya 刘叔雅. "Fulankelin zhuan" 富兰克林传 (Biography of Fulankelin), Xin Qingnian 新青年, 1.5 (1916), in Xin qingnian 新青年, 1915.9-1926.7; Gongchandang 共产党, 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).
- Lorber, Judith. Paradoxes of Gender, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
- Louie, Kam and Edwards, Louise, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing wen and wu", East Asian History, 8.11(1994):135-148.
- Louie Kam. "Constructing Chinese Masculinity for the Modern World: with Particular Reference to Lao She's The Two Mas," *The China Quarterly*, 164.12(2000), 1062-1078.
- Lu Xun 鲁讯. Lu Xun zizhuan 鲁讯自传 (The autobiography of Lu Xun), (Taibei: Longwen chubanshe, 1993).
- ------. "Suigan lu (49)",随感录 (49) (Random thoughts); "Suigan lu (35)",随感录(35) (Random thoughts; "Wo zhi jielie guan" 我之节烈观 (My view of chastity); "Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin" 我们怎样做父亲 (How could we act as a father), in *Lu Xun quan ji* 鲁迅全集 (The full collection of the works by Lu Xun) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1989), vol.1; Lu Xun, "Sibada zhi hun" 斯巴达之魂 (The soul of Sparta), in *Lu Xun quan ji*, the additional volume.
- Mao Zedong 毛泽东. "Mao Zedong zizhuan" 毛泽东自传 (The autobiography by Mao Zedong), in Cai Yuanpei, *Wozai Beijingdaxue de jingli*, 我在北京大学的经历, in Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, *Wo zai Beijing daxue de jingli* 我在北京大学的经历 (My experience at Beijing University), (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2003).
- Mangan, James A. The game ethic and imperialism: aspects of the diffusion of an ideal, (New York: Viking, 1985).
- Matsumoto Seiichi. ed., Sexuality and human bonding: proceedings of the XIIth World Congress of Sexology, (Yokohama, Japan, 12-16 August, 1995).
- Metcalf Andy and Humphries Martin. eds, Sexuality of men, (London: Pluto Press, 1985).
- McIsaac, Lee. "Righteous Fraternities' and Honorable Men: Sworn Brotherhoods in Wartime Chongqing", *The American History Review*, 106.5 (2000):1641-55.

- Mo Fuqing 莫芙清. "Mofuqing de xin" 莫芙清的信 (A letter from Mo Fuqing), collected in *Chen Duxiu shuxin ji* 陈独秀书信集 (Collected letters by Chen Duxiu), edited by Shui Ru 水如, (Beijin: Xin hua chubanshe, 1987).
- Mu Jiaxiu 穆家修, Liu Hecheng 柳和城, Mu Weijie 穆伟杰, *Mu Ouchu xian sheng nian pu (1876-1943)* 穆藕初先生年谱 (1876-1943) (The biographical annals of Mr Mu Ouchu), (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2006).
- Mu Ouchu 穆藕初, *Ouchu wushi zishu* 藕初五十自述 (The autobiography by Ouchu at fifty years old), (Taibei: Longwen chubanshe, 1978), vol. 2.
- Munck, Victor C. ed., Romantic love and sexual behavior: perspectives from the social sciences, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998).
- Ou Yangze 欧阳泽. "Ou Yangze de xin" 欧阳泽的信 (A letter from Ou Yangze), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organisations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Peng Lin 彭琳. trans. and anno., *Yili* 仪礼(The book of rites), in Xia Jianqin 夏剑钦, and Wu Zeshun 吴泽顺, ed., *Shisan jing jinzhu jinyi* 十三经今注今译 (The modern annotations and translations of the thirteen classic books), (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1994).
- Peterson, Willard. ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978-2009).
- Qi Rushan 齐如山. "Zhongguo de ke ming"中国的科名 (The civil service examination in China), in Yang Jialuo 杨家骆, *Zhongguo xuan ju shiliao: Qingdai bian*,中国选举史料:清代编 (The data on civil service examination: Qing dynasty), (Taibei: Dingwen shuju, 1977).
- Qiao Linxiao 乔凌霄 and Liang Yandong 梁衍东. "Ming Qing shehui de shishang shentou jiqi yingxiang"明清社会的士商渗透及其影响 (The mutual infiltration between shi and merchants and its impact on Ming-Qing societie), *Lishi dangan* 历史档案 1(1999), 78-85.
- Ren Xiaowen 任孝温. "Wo qie fanglang jun qie ge: Mingqing jiannan wenshi fengliu yu jinu duqu", 我且放浪君且歌:明清江南文士风流与妓女度曲 (Let me abandon my composure when you burst into song: Romantic literati and Courtesan's musical composition in Jiangnan), *Sichuan xiju* 四川戏剧, 6(2008):42-4.
- Rotundo, E. Anthony. American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern era, (New York: BasicBooks, 1993).
- Rotundo, Anthony E. "Romantic Friendships: Male Intimacy and Middle-class Youth in the Northern United States 1800-1900", *Journal of Social History*, 23.1 (1989):1-25.
- Seidler, Victor J. *Unreasonable men: masculinity and social theory*, (London; New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Shao Xianchong 邵先崇. *Jindai Zhongguo de xinshi hunsang* 近代中国的新式婚丧 (The new fashion of wedding and funeral in modern China), (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2006).
- Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui 少年中国学会. "Shaonian Zhongguo" zhuan ji 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- ------. "Hangzhou dahui ji lue", 杭州大会记略(A brief record of Hanzhou congregation), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 3.11 (1922), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" zhuan ji 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- ------ "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui zhangcheng", 少年中国学会章程 (The charter of the

- Youthful China Association), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan 五 四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- ------: "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui guiyue" 少年中国学会规约 (The regulation of the Youthful China Association), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- -----. "Benhui zhengqiu huiyuan zhi biaochun" 本会征求会员之标准 (The criteria for the membership of the Youthful China Association), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯 et al., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- -----. "Shaonian Zhongguo' Congshu mulu" "少年中国"丛书目录 (A list of the seiries of books by the members of the Youthful China Association), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., Wusi shiqi de shetuan 五四时期的社团 (Organizations and societies around May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Shen Zemin 沈泽民. "Shaonian zhongguo xuehui wenti", 少年中国学会问题 (The problems with the Youthful China Association), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 3.2 (1920), in "*Shaonian zhongguo" zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Sherrod, Drury. "The Bonds of Men: Problems and Possibilities in Close Male Relationships", in Harry Brod, ed., *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987.
- Shu Xincheng 舒新城. Jindai zhongguo liuxue shi 近代中国留学史 (The history of studying abroad in modern China), (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1989).
- Shu Xincheng 舒新城. "Huiyi Yun Daiying tongzhi", 回忆恽代英同志, in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯 et al., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Song Gen, *The fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004).
- Summers, Martin. Manliness and its discontents: the Black middle class and the transformation of masculinity, 1900-1930, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
- Sun Baoxuan 孙宝瑄. 1983, *Wangshan lu riji* 忘山庐日记 (The diaries from the Mountain-forgotten Cottage), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, vol.1.
- Sun Yat-sen 孙逸仙, Zhongshan xiansheng yanshuo quan ji 中山先生演说全集 (The full collection of the speeches by Mr Sun Zhongshan), (Taibei Yonghe zhen, wenhai chubanshe, 1971).
- Townsend, James. "Chinese nationalism", Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs, 27 (1992): 97-130.
- Tao Jinsheng 陶晋生, Bei Song shizu jiazu hunyin shenghuo 北宋士族家族婚姻生活 (The marriages of the shi families in North Song dynasty), (Taibei: Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2001).
- Tao Xingzhi, *Tao Xingzhi quanji* 陶行知全集(The full collection of works by Tao Xingzhi), (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe,1991), vol. 1 and 2.
- Tiger, Lionel. Men in Groups, (London: Nelson, 1969).

- Twitchett, Denis., and Loewe, Michael. "The Chin and Han Empires", in Peterson Willad, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978-2009).
- Wang Daokun 汪道昆. *Tai han ji* 太函集 (Vast inclusion), volume 52, (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2004)
- Wang Guangqi 王光祈. "Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui zhi jingshen he jinxing jihua", 少年中国学会之精神和行动计划(The spirit and vision of the Youthful China Association), *Shaonian zhongguo* 少年中国, 1.6 (1919), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" zhuan ji 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- ------."Gongxue huzhu tuan" 工学互助团 (The society of part-work and part-study), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国 1.7 (1920), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [electronic resource] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Wang Kangnian 汪康年 and Liang Qichao 梁启超. ed., *Shi wu bao* 時务报 (Chinese progress), (Taibei: Jing hua shu ju, 1967).
- Wang Yi-chu. *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949*, (Chapel Hill: North Carolina U.P., 1966).
- Wang Shiru 王世儒. Cai Yuanpei xiansheng nian pu 蔡元培先生年谱 (The biographical annals of Cai Yuanpei), (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), vol.1.
- Wang Tongzhao 王统照 and Wang Licheng 王立诚. "Minguo shinian riji" 民国十年日记 (The diary of the tenth year of the republic of China (II), *Weifang daxue xuebao* 潍坊大学学报, 5.1(2005).
- Wang Zili 王自立 and Chen Zishan 陈自善. ed., *Yu Dafu Yanjiu Ziliao* 郁达夫研究资料 (The data on Yu Dafu study), (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1982).
- Wei Shizhen. "Lu De riji" 旅德日记 (The diary of sojourning in Germany), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 3.9 (1922), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Widmer Ellen and Wang David Der-wei. ed., From May fourth to June fourth: fiction and film in twentieth-century China, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Widmer Ellen and Chang Kang-i Sun. ed., Writing women in late imperial China Stanford, (Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- Wu Cuncun 吴存存. Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004).
- Wu Cuncun 吴存存. *Ming Qing shehui xingai fengqi* 明清社会性爱风气 (The erotic practices of Ming and Qing dynasties), (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000).
- Wu Jingzi 吴敬梓. *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史 (The scholars), (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1975).
- Wu Ruoan 吴若男, 1914, "Minzu zhi Xianshang yi xingyu zhi jiezhi er de", 民族之向上 依性欲之节制而得 (The progress of a nation relies on sexual containment), in *Funü shibao* 妇女时报, 1914 vol.4, in *Funü shibao* (Beijing: Xian zhuang shu ju, 2006).
- Wu Xiaolong 吴小龙. Shaonian Zhongguo Xuehui yanjiu 少年中国学会研究 (A study on the Youthful China Association), (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2006).
- Wu Zhihui 吴稚晖. "Qingnian yu gongju" 青年与工具 (Youth and tools), *Xin Qingnian* 新青年, 2.2 (1916), in *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang* 共产党, 1920.11-1921.7., [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).

- ------ "Zai lun gongju" 再论工具 (Once again on tools), *Xin Qingnian* 新青年, 2.3 (1916), in *Xin qingnian* 新青年, 1915.9-1926.7; *Gongchandang* 共产党, 1920.11-1921.7., [electronic resource], (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).
- -----. Wu Zhihui xian sheng wen cun 吴稚晖先生文存(Collected works by Mr Wu Zhihui), (Taibei: Heluo tushu chubanshe, 1978). vol. 4.
- Wu Renshu 巫仁恕. *Pinwei shehua: Wanming de xiaofei shehui yu shidafu* 品味奢华: 晚明的消费社会与士大夫 (Savouring luxuriance: the *shi* and the consumer society of late Ming time), (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 2007).
- Xia Kangnong 夏康农. "Huiyi Shaonian xuehui"回忆少年学会(Recalling the Juvenile Association), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团(The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.3.
- Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, ed., Nüzi shijie wen xuan 女子世界文选 (Selected works from Women's World), (Guiyang: Guizhou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003)
- Xiao Aishu 肖爱树. Er shi shiji Zhongguo hunyin zhidu yanjiu 二十世纪中国婚姻制 度研究 (A study on the marriage system of the twentieth century China), (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2005).
- Xiao Zisheng 萧子升. "Xiao Xudong de xin", 萧旭东的信 (a letter from Xiao Xudong), (Xudong is the courtesy name of Xiao Zisheng), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979) vol.1.
- Xin chao 新潮 (New tides), [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Xin qingnian 新青年(New youth), 1915.9-1926.7; Gongchandang 共产党 (Communist party), 1920.11-1921.7 [electronic resource], edited by Zhongyang danganguan, Beijing chaoxing gongsi (Beijing: Dianzi gongye chubanshe, 1996).
- Xinmin Xuehui 新民学会. "Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (No.1)", 新民学会会务报告(第一号), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (Organizations and societies around May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Xiuzi 秀子. "Yu Dafu zuoping he sixiang" 郁达夫作品和思想 (Yu Dafu's works and ideas), in Wang Zili 王自立, and Chen Zishan 陈自善, ed., *Yu Dafu Yanjiu Ziliao* 郁达夫研究资料 (The data on Yu Dafu study), (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1982).
- Xu Zhimo 徐志摩. Xii Zhimo wei kan riji 徐志摩未刊日记 (The unpublished diaries by Xu Zhimo), edited by Yu Kunlin 虞坤林, (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003)
- -----. Aimei xiaozha 爱眉小札 (The little diaries of courting Mei), (Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian, 1987).
- ------. Xü Zhimo shuxin 徐志摩书信 (Collected letters by Xu Zhimo), edited by Chen Guang 晨 光, (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1986).
- Xu Zhigang 徐志刚. trans. and anno., *Lunyu Tongyi* 论语通译 (A thorough annotation of Analects), (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1997).
- Yan Fu 严复. "Jiuwang juelun" 救亡决论 (A determined call on salvation); "Jiuwang juelun" 救亡决论 (A determined call on salvation), in Tang Zhijun 汤志钧, Chen Zuen 陈祖恩, Tang Renze 汤仁泽, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian: Wuxu shiqi jiaoyu* 中国近代教育史资料汇编: 戊戌时期教育 (A compilation of the data on the history of education in

- modern China: Education around A Hundred Day Reformation time), (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007).
- -----. "Zai Shanghai shangbu gaodeng shiye xuexiao yanshuo" 在上海商部高等实业学校演说 (A speech at Shanghai advanced technology school), in Ju Xingui 璩鑫圭, Tong Fuyong 童富勇, Zhang Shouzhi 张守智, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian* 中国近代教育史资料汇编:实业教育师范教育(A compilation of the data on the history of education in modern China: Technology education and teacher-training education), (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2007).
- ------: "Yuan qiang"原强 (On strength), in Yanfu, Lun shibian zhi ji: Yan Fu ji 论世变之亟: 严复集 (On the urgent need for social changes: selected works by Yanfu), edited by Hu Weixi 胡伟希, (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1994).
- Yan Guangfen 阎广芬. *Jingshang yu banxue: jindai shangren jiaoyu yanjiu* 经商与办学: 近代 商人教育研究 (Running business and operating schools: a study on modern merchants and education), (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiao yu chu ban she, 2001).
- Yang Jin 杨瑾. "Ruxia huji de huiren jingshen: Wang Daihan *Tai Han ji* zhong de shishang xingxiang" 儒侠互济的徽人精神: 汪道昆《太函集》中的士商形象(Hui merchants of spritual interpenetration between Confucianism and cavalryman: the image of scholar-businessmen in Wang Daokun's *The collected woks from Tai Han*), *Jixi daxue xuebao* 鸡西大学报 11.2 (2011) 113-5.
- Yao Kang 姚抗. *Beiguo gongye juzi: Zhou Xuexi zhuan* 北国工业巨子周学熙传(The biography of the industrial giant in northern China—Zhou Xuexi), (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2007).
- Yu Dafu 郁达夫. "Nanxing za ji" 南行杂记 (A miscellany of travelling down the south), in Sang Fengkang 桑逢康, *Yu Dafu: sheng fei rongyi si fei gan*, 郁达夫: 生非容易死非甘 (Yu Dafu: It was not easy either for life or for death), (Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1995).
- ------."Chenlun" 沉沦 (Sinking), in Yu Dafu, Yu Dafu wenji 郁达夫文集 (Selected works by Yu Dafu), (Xianggang: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian Xianggang fendian; Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1982-1985), vol.1
- ------. Yu Dafu riji ji, 郁达夫日记集 (A collection of the diaries by Yu Dafu), (Taibei: He luo tushu, 1978).
- Yu Yingshi 余英时, *Shi yu zhongguo wenhua* 士与中国文化 (*Shi* and Chinese culture), (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003).
- Yu Yun 郁云. Yu Dafu zhuan 郁达夫传 (The biography of Yu Dafu), (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984).
- Yue Qinping 岳庆平. *Jiating bianqian* 家庭变迁(The social changes in family system), (Beijing: Minzhu yu jianshe chubanshe, 1977).
- Yun Daiying 恽代英, "Shaonian zhongguo xuehui de wenti" 少年中国学会的问题 (The problems with the Youthful China Association), *Shaonian zhongguo* 少年中国, 2.7 (1920), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Yun Zhen 恽震, "Tongxin" 通信 (Correspondence), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 1.1 (1919), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).

- Zeng qi 曾琦, 1919, Liu bie Shaonian zhongguo tongren 留别少年中国同仁, (A farewell to the comrades of the Youthful China Association), *Shaonian zhonguo* 少年中国 1.3 (1919), in "*Shaonian zhongguo" zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- ------. "Gei Zuo Shunsheng de xin" 给左舜生的信 (A letter to Zuo Shunsheng), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 2.3 (1920), in "*Shaonian zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Yue Qinping 岳庆平. *Jiating bianqian* 家庭变迁 (The social changes in family system), (Beijing: Minzhu yu jianshe chubanshe, 1977).
- Zhang Haipeng 张海鹏 and Wang Tingyuan 王廷元. ed., *Ming Qing Huishang ziliao xuanbian* 明清徽商资料选编 (A compilation of the materials on Hui merchants in Ming-Qing times), (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1985).
- Zhang Houzhai 张厚载. "Duli shenghuo", 独立生活, *Xin chao* 新潮, 1.4 (1919), in *Xin chao* [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Zhang Jian yanjiu zhongxin 张謇研究中心, ed., *Zhang Jian quan ji* 张謇全集 (The full collection of works by Zhang Jian), (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1994), vol. 3 and 5.
- Zhang Kaiyuan 章开沅. *Zhang Jian zhuan* 张謇传 (The biography of Zhang Jian), (Beijing: Zhongguo gongshang lianhe chubanshe, 2000).
- Zhang Yanqi 张廷栖 and Meng Cun 孟村. Zhangjian hua zhuan 张謇画传 (The pictured biography of Zhang Jian), (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2007).
- Zhang Yizu 张怡祖, Zhang Jizi Jiu Lu 张季子九录 (Nine recordings of Zhang Jizi), (Taibei, Wenhai chubanshe, 1983).
- Zhang Yunhou 张允侯. et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979).
- Zhao, Suisheng. A nation-state by construction: dynamics of modern Chinese nationalism, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004).
- Zhou Shizhao 周士钊, "Xiangjiang de nuhou: Maozhuxi zai wusi yundong shiqi" 湘江的怒吼: 毛主席在五四运动时期 (The roaring Xiang river: Chairman Mao at May-Fourth Movement time), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯, et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around May-Fourth Movement time), ((Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979), vol.1.
- Zhou Taixuan 周太玄. "Zhi Shizheng, Guangqi, Mengjiu, Baihua" 致时珍, 光祈, 梦九, 白华 (A letter to Shizheng, Guangqi, Mengjiu and Baihua", *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 2.10 (1921), in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuanji* " 少年中国" 专集, [electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- ------: "Guayu Canjia faqi Shaonian zhonguo xuehui de huiyi" 关于参加发起少年中国学会的回忆 (A recollection about initiating the Youthful China Association), in Zhang Yunhou 张允侯 et al., ed., *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* 五四时期的社团 (The organizations and societies around the May-Fourth Movement time), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1979)
- Zhou Xuexi 周学熙. Zhou Xuexi Ji 周学熙集 (Collected works by Zhou Xuexi), (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Zong Baihua 宗白华, 1919, "Gei bianji de xin," 给编辑的信 A letter to the editors, Shaonian

- Zhongguo 少年中国, 1.3 (1919), in "Shaonian zhongguo" zhuan ji 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).
- Zuo Xuexun 左学训 and Zong Baihua 宗白华, "Zuo Xuexun and Zong Baihua zhi huizhong zhu tongzhi xin", 左学训宗白华致会中诸同志信 (A letter to the commrades in our association by Zuo Xuexun and Zong Baihua), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 少年中国, 1.7 (1920),in "*Shaonian Zhongguo*" *zhuan ji* 少年中国专集, [Electronic resource],(Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).