West Wind:

Being "Modern" and "Chinese" through Translation

Lu Wang

School of Modern Languages

Newcastle University

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Abstract

This thesis examines how *Xifeng* (西风 West Wind, 1936-1949) magazine participated in and contributed to the making of a modern Chinese identity through translating the West and promoting a *modus vivendi* for being "modern Chinese" among its readers in the 1930s and 1940s. *Xifeng* was a widely-circulated magazine featuring translated articles from popular Western periodicals, which also successfully promoted indigenous creative writings by learning from magazine articles in the West. This thesis rediscovers *Xifeng* magazine as an important journal belonging to the *Analects* school (论语派) of writers in modern Chinese literature and culture. By situating the translation and literary practices of *Xifeng* in the modern Chinese context, this thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach by engaging insights from both translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies to investigate the productive agency translation played in the formation of modern Chinese identity. The thesis discusses what means to be modern Chinese through three key issues, namely, modern Chinese language, modern Chinese national selfhood, and modern Chinese woman, and argues that the magazine has contributed to the shaping of a modern Chinese identity with a distinctive modern ethos that favours a moderate and balanced attitude towards the agonies of Chinese modernity.

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Explanations

1. Romanisation: All Chinese terms and names are spelled in *pinyin* system, except for already established names (eg. Chiang Kaishek), names of people from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other countries and regions, if applicable, and names in citations from other works.
2. Translations: All Chinese terms, phrases and passages cited, if not otherwise stated, are translated by the author of this thesis, with no further explanation in the thesis. In other cases, when English translations of Chinese texts are directly cited from published works, authors of these works will be provided.
3. Citations: Some sources (quotations, illustrations, and advertisements) from magazines published in Republican period were printed in the inner cover page, with no names of contributors or page numbers. Many citations are from works of the editors of *Xifeng* magazine. From Issue 21 on, there are editorials entitled "Bianzhe de hua" (编者的话 Editorial, Issue 21-118) in a regular column. For convenience, I use "Editors" as the author name when I cite "Bianzhe de hua" and provide years and issue numbers afterward. "Bianzhe de hua" often appears on the first page of each issue (not always page 1), without the author name given. For the rest of works by the editors, I use "Bianzhe" (编者 Editors) and "Xinxiangbu" (信箱部 Xifeng Mailbox Section), as appearing in the content page of the magazine. I list "Editors," "Bianzhe," and "Xinxiangbu," respectively in the bibliography. There are also short passages of comments given by the editors in the beginning or end of articles. These short passages are not listed in the bibliography.

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Introduction

0.1 Thesis Statement

This thesis examines how *Xifeng* (西风 *West Wind*, 1936-1949) magazine participated in and contributed to the making of a modern Chinese identity through translating the West and promoting a *modus vivendi* for being modern "Chinese" (the language and the people) among its readers in the late 1930s and 1940s. Based in Shanghai, *Xifeng* was a widely-circulated magazine of general interest, launched with a specific mission to publish translated works from Western journals and magazines. Throughout the long turbulent period over the Resistance War against Japan (1937-1945) and the ensuing Civil War (1945-1949), the magazine achieved and retained its popularity through publishing translated works from Western popular journals and promoting indigenous creative writings, with literature in Western periodicals as a model. By examining the role played by translation in this process, the thesis discusses a distinctive modern Chinese identity that has been constructed through three perspectives, namely, modern Chinese language and literature, modern Chinese national selfhood, and modern Chinese woman.

The thesis begins with a review of *Xifeng* magazine, which has received some attention but no archival, monographic studies in academic circle. With an overview of the translation and literary achievements of this magazine, I propose the importance of *Xifeng* in demonstrating a special modern identity, which involves study of both translation and Chinese modernity. By situating the practice of modern Chinese language and literary writing in the context of the language reform movement and contentious debates over the Europeanised Chinese language from the 1910s to 1930s, it is found that the magazine successfully developed a fluent translation style and also promoted a new literary writing in Chinese by learning from Western periodicals. Through both translation and creative writings, *Xifeng* promoted a smooth and fluent vernacular language as modern Chinese language and a writing style that reflected the true feeling and experience of ordinary people's life, against the awkward expressions which were full of ideological slogans which prevailed in the public press at the time.

After reviewing a long-standing superiority and inferiority complex against the foreign underlying the mentality of Chinese people, especially influential intellectuals, I study the

articles published in *Xifeng*, including translations and works from cosmopolitan writers. I contend that the magazine promoted a moderate attitude in balancing the psychological complex in relation to the West and promoted among its readers a modern Chinese identity that could be both patriotic and cosmopolitan at the same time, despite the nation's crisis in the war background. By highlighting and analysing the Modern Woman as constructed in *Xifeng*, I demonstrate how the magazine, through its translation practices as well as its interactive communication among its editors, contributors, and readers, constructed an ideal modern woman, who was modern not in a radical sense, but modern as an educated, cultivated and independent woman, not unlike the contemporary mainstream images of women as portrayed in the Western periodicals that *Xifeng* focused on translating and introducing to Chinese readers.

0.2 Research Objective and Research Questions

The research objective of this study is to examine the construction of a modern Chinese identity through translation in the magazine *Xifeng* during its operating period, 1936-1949.

This study sets out to answer the main research question—what kind of modern Chinese identity was established, and how was it established through translation in the *Xifeng* magazine? By answering this, the study will also respond to following interrelated questions: What does it mean to be "modern Chinese" in the process of Chinese modernity? What kind of role does translation play in shaping a modern Chinese identity in *Xifeng* magazine? What kind of generative agency have the translation practices in *Xifeng* produced?

Looking into the research question from an interdisciplinary approach, the study is set in and bridges the theoretical approaches of translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies. Set against the historical background of 1930s and 1940s China, the thesis investigates how a modern Chinese identity was produced through the active agency of translation, within several key concerns of Chinese modernity discussed in the four chapters. The study focuses on how translation practices—including conceiving a translation magazine in the modern Chinese cultural context, its editorial mission and principles, the educational background of its editors and contributors, the training of its translators, the selection of articles for translation, and the interaction with its readers—functioned in the process of the Chinese modernity project. Through empirical archival research on the entire original texts of the *Xifeng* magazine, the study examines its publication practices, involving interactive

communication among its editors, contributors and readers, and analyses how it contributed to the modern Chinese identity formation in three key aspects against the background of hot debates in the literary field in Republican China: the practice of a translated style in modern Chinese language and literature reforms, a search for modern selfhood as a cosmopolitan Chinese, and the formation and definition of a modern woman.

0.3 Contribution

This thesis attempts to make original contributions to the fields of translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies in the following ways.

First, this thesis rediscovers, through archival study, an insufficiently studied magazine while focusing on its translation practices and investigating its contribution in the modern Chinese context. By unearthing this important journal in Republican China, I find not only a distinctive practice of translation in the given historical context, but also a particular group of translators, writers and scholars, whose cultural practices formed a reciprocal and interactive relationship in which a new practice of writing Chinese was promoted and established. More importantly, their translation and cultural practices contributed to the formation of a unique identity of being modern Chinese through translating the West.

Secondly, this is an interdisciplinary study across translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies. After the call for a cultural turn in translation studies, translation is no longer viewed as happening in vacuum. Translation is seen as playing active agency in histories and cultures between nations. When it is applied to the Chinese context, little has been done to discuss the role of translation in the formation of Chinese modernity through an investigation of a translation magazine. This study situates the translation practices of *Xifeng* magazine into a modern Chinese context, and investigates how translation has contributed to the modern Chinese identity formation. The study has highlighted the much relevant and even dominant function of translation in Chinese modernity as a generative power in literary and mental formations of being modern Chinese. The thesis also highlights the derivative power of translation in inducing a complimentary interaction with creative writing in modern Chinese literature and culture.

Thirdly, through this case study I fill a gap in modern Chinese literary and cultural studies, by highlighting the importance of translation in contributing to a new literary writing style. The study incorporates the literary and cultural practices of the contributors in *Xifeng*

whose names were seldom mentioned among mainstream literary groups. Besides those unknown, a few important and well-known modern Chinese writers made their debut or early development by contributing to *Xifeng*, which are included in this study. The study also involves translation and translated works, which are not sufficiently discussed in literary and cultural studies, though translation is itself seen as of central importance in Chinese modernity and in the making of modern Chinese identity. In the meantime, this study also enriches modern Chinese literary and cultural studies by highlighting the importance of translation in the promotion of creative writings. Translation is found to be mutually productive with influence to the literary and cultural field. Finally, this study approaches literary, national and gender issues of Chinese modernity through a non-elite perspective and examines the ordinary everyday voices of the contributors and readers of the magazine, which are worthy of more scholarly attention in modern Chinese literary and cultural studies.

0.4 Thesis Structure

This thesis is comprised of an introduction, four main chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 1 provides a historical overview of the *Xifeng* magazine in the modern Chinese context and a theoretical overview informing my study of the three issues of translation and Chinese modernity. Chapter 2, 3 and 4 are parallel, addressing three independent yet interrelated issues that contribute to the formation of modern Chinese identity. Each chapter takes into account an important dimension for being modern Chinese, namely, the modern Chinese language and literature, the patriotic/cosmopolitan identity, and the modern Chinese woman. The thesis concludes by summing up the above three issues and opening up more possible topics related to the study of *Xifeng* for future research.

Chapter 1. *Xifeng*, Translation and Chinese Modernity

Chapter 1 includes a short study of *Xifeng* magazine, and an overview of the existing scholarship on translation and Chinese modernity studies. It provides an overview of *Xifeng* magazine, including its historical background, features, and people (editors, translators, writers, and readers), followed by a research background of the magazine. Except for a few studies from the perspective of literature and psychology, the magazine has been to a certain extent neglected and insufficiently studied in both translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies, despite its popularity at the time and its contribution to the formation of a modern cultural identity through translation. Involving translation and the

question of Chinese modernity, the study is informed by theoretical insights from both translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies. The chapter offers an overview of relevant theoretical approaches and insights in both translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies, and situates the study of *Xifeng* in the historical and cultural context of Chinese modernity in which translation played a critical role.

Chapter 2. Writing Modern Chinese through Translation

Chapter 2 explores how the translation practices of *Xifeng* participated in the contentions of modern Chinese language reform and literary development, and how a new kind of literary style characteristic of modern Chinese was taking shape through translating Western magazine literature. Beginning at the language reform during the New Culture Movement, translation had been playing an active role in the modernisation of Chinese national language, with *baihua* (白话 vernacular language) replacing *wenyan* (文言 classical language) as the modern Chinese. After about two decades' development, *baihua* faced a crisis in awkward Europeanised representation and the promotion of *dazhongyu* (大众语 Language for the masses) by the Leftists who were imposing a proletarian ideology into the language. As a result, the major contentions in literary and cultural scenes in the 1930s involved debates on "what counts as a modern Chinese national language" and how stylistic Westernisation brought about by translation affected on what counted as "modern Chinese." The literary practices of the *Analects* group led by Lin Yutang, to which *Xifeng* magazine belonged, participated in these important debates by promoting Western Magazine Literature (*xiyang zazhiwen* 西洋杂志文), writings that were popular in Western periodicals, for they were closer to life and more genuine in expressing one's feeling. As the most representative journal publishing Western Magazine Literature, *Xifeng* participated in those debates with its own translation and literary practices. Though the journal's name suggested a Westernised disposition, it did not advocate an attitude of total Westernisation. What is more, in terms of language in translation, it achieved popularity by providing lucid and smooth translation, in stark contrast to the widespread Europeanised translation style in vogue around the 1930s. Besides the practice of modern Chinese language, translation in this journal also played an exemplary role in establishing a new literary style in which "writing your true life and feeling" was particularly promoted, which matched Lin Yutang's ideal of modern periodical writing.

Chapter 3. Modern Chinese Citizens: both Nationalist and Cosmopolitan

Chapter 3 deals with the issue of the recognition of a cosmopolitan national "self" as an important part of the modern Chinese identity. The major content of *Xifeng* magazine suggested a cosmopolitan stance, which went alone with a trend of cosmopolitanism in 1930s China, but its publication during the Resistance War also incorporated a patriotic nationalist sentiment in the whole nation. This chapter engages the Chinese national identity through three venues: the psychological complex in Chinese self-recognition, the patriotic/cosmopolitanism, and the recognition of racism, which were brought into China against the same historical background and interrelated with each other. Ever since the continuous defeats China experienced in the late 19th century, Chinese intellectuals had always been in a constant anxiety of feeling inferior to the West out of a sense of humiliation. It was against such a background that the Chinese nationalism rose in the intellectual discourses. In the 1930s-40s, China was engaged in the momentous war of national survival in which modern Chinese nationalism reached its peak. The chapter demonstrates how *Xifeng* magazine made an effort in balancing the burden of a psychological complex and contributing to a moderate and confident Chinese identity during the time. The argument is threefold—it examines how the magazine built up a national confidence against the constant anxiety in front of the Western gaze, how it cultivated a cosmopolitan identity which did not conflict with the nationalist identity and patriotic sentiment, and how it promoted racial equality which contributed to a more moderate attitude toward racial discourses.

Chapter 4. New Woman, *Modeng* Woman and Modern Woman through Education

Chapter 4 examines how *Xifeng* promoted a modern female identity through translation and interactions between editors, contributors, and readers. The discussion of what kind of modern woman was constructed in *Xifeng* is set in the context of the identity crisis of modern woman in literary, cultural, and political fields in the 1930s. With a brief review of the emergence of various types of Modern Woman in the late Qing, the May Fourth period, and in the 1930s, the chapter aims to prove that *Xifeng* magazine made an effort in deconstructing the rigid and stereotypical images and discourses on Modern Woman, a result of a partial and radical understanding of the "Western Woman." In order to substantiate *Xifeng*'s effort in deconstructing the alleged images of modern woman and in constructing alternative (mainstream) images of Western Woman, the chapter further discusses three issues, namely,

the virtuous wife and good mother (*xianqi liangmu* 贤妻良母), freedom of love and marriage, and traditional views on chastity and virginity, which were featured as major issues in the magazine. In addition, the chapter discusses how the magazine emphasised the importance of education with a purpose to promote modern knowledge and modern mentality among its readers. It was through education that *Xifeng* offered its reader different models of modern woman, and promoted a kind of modern woman who was educated, cultivated, and independent, who would play a good role in the coming modern time.

Conclusion

The final part concludes the thesis by claiming *Xifeng* magazine to be an all-inclusive Chinese *Reader's Digest*, which contributed to the construction of a modern Chinese identity through a non-elite approach to modernity. It also highlights that there are other aspects of the modern way of life and perspectives to be examined in terms of its contributing to the formation of the modern Chinese identity in *Xifeng*, such as the identity of modern man guided by science and the identity of war-time Chinese, which deserve further discussions in future studies.

Chapter 1. *Xifeng*, Translation and Chinese Modernity

The 1930s China featured a vigorous development of the print culture, boosted by a comparatively stable and prosperous economy, a growing reading population, and a large group of writers, scholars and specialists who had studied in Western countries and now based in Shanghai and other newly-developed cities. It was also in this trend that Chinese periodicals, after a short development in the 1910s and 1920s, flourished and reached their full bloom in terms of diversity in content subjects and intellectual preferences. Covering topics of the time, including political issues, everyday life, commerce, women, science, recreation, and various professional subjects, mostly from the West, periodicals opened up a considerable public reading sphere for the burgeoning urban population, in which a modern mentality and way of being was in the formation.[1]

The early 1930s saw a few interesting phenomena in the literary and cultural circle, including "the Year of Humour" (幽默年, 1933), "the Year of Periodicals" (杂志年, 1934) and "the Year of Translation" (翻译年, 1935), all of which owed to the critical efforts of an important figure: Lin Yutang (林语堂 1895-1976). An influential Chinese writer, translator, and intellectual, Lin was well-known to both Chinese and the Western world in the 20th century.[2] He was an active figure in the 1930s literary scene in Shanghai, whose name was closely tied with humour, familiar essay (小品文 *xiaopin wen*) and literature of leisure (闲适 *xianshi*), which were introduced in the Chinese modern literature and culture in the early 20th century. Calling for a rediscovery of the literary tradition from among the Ming writers, Lin promoted true expressions of writers' feeling and mind, and his cultural and literary ideals were realised the best through periodicals. From 1932 to 1935, he launched and edited a series of popular literary magazines, including *The Analects* (论语 *Lunyu*, 1932-1949), *This Human World* (人间世 *Renjianshi*, 1934-1935) and *Cosmic Wind* (宇宙风 *Yuzhoufeng*, 1935-1947). By these journals, Lin gathered around him a group of writers and intellectuals who were mostly liberal intellectuals, received Western or Western-style education, and shared a broad

[1] For a discussion of the print culture and cultural modernity in the 1930s and 1940s China, represented by Shanghai, see Lee (1999).

[2] There have been substantial studies on Lin Yutang as an important figure in Chinese modern literary, cultural and intellectual history. See Qian Suoqiao (2011a; 2016).

literary and political disposition. Though working independently and not to form a literary school in strict sense, the group were loosely connected and regarded as the *Analects* group (论语派), a title after *The Analects*, Lin's first magazine.[3]

With *The Analects* promoting humour and humorous writing, and *This Human World* and *Cosmic Wind* devoted to familiar essay and writings of various genres, Lin was not satisfied with magazines in China. In his *History of the Chinese Press and Public Opinion*, Lin wrote: "the art of editing magazines and writing magazine articles has not been quite developed to the point of Western magazines." (1936a: 157) Conceiving a modern periodical featuring writings of Western magazines, Lin firstly made a trial by translating Western magazine articles in a column in *This Human World*, entitled "*Xiyang zazhiwen*" (西洋杂志文 Western Magazine Literature), beginning in Issue 15 (5th November, 1934). At his suggestion, a few young translators began to contribute to this column with translated articles from Western popular magazines, such as *Reader's Digest* and *Harper's*, which received favourable responses from its readers within a short time, who demanded more works of the same type. In 1936, Lin Yutang and two main translators for this column, Huang Jiade (黄嘉德 1908-1992) and Huang Jiayin (黄嘉音 1913-1961), decided to launch *Xifeng*, a special magazine for publishing translation articles, with the purpose of exposing Chinese readers more with literature in Western magazines and everyday life in the West, and bringing a different style to the Chinese periodical circle. (Huang Jiade and Huang Jiayin 1936: 395)

The last of Lin Yutang's magazines, *Xifeng* bore his editorial concepts and ideals in magazine literature and stood out among the *Analects* group publications as both showing a liberal cosmopolitan disposition and distinction in the promotion of Western magazine literature.[4] Besides its contribution to the literary field, the magazine contributed to the Chinese modernity project by introducing to its readers a panoramic view of the Western culture and life, both of which achieved through translation. A study of *Xifeng* magazine then requires both Translation studies and the study on Chinese modernity, which will be reviewed in this chapter. Before that, I will first introduce the magazine and existing studies on it.

[3] Here I use the phrase "Lin Yutang's magazine" by Charles A. Laughlin (2008a: 208), referring to the magazine published under the auspices of Lin Yutang, even if Lin was not the only editor and publisher of these magazines.
[4] For more detailed studies of the literary practices of the *Analects* group, see Laughlin (2008a) and Qian Suoqiao (2011a, chapter 4 and 5)

1.1 *Xifeng* as a Translation Magazine

1.1.1 *The magazine*

Published from September, 1936 to April, 1949 in Shanghai, *Xifeng* was a monthly magazine of general interest designed to introduce every aspect of life from foreign countries through translation. In its editorial mission "*yishu xiyang zazhi jinghua, jieshao oumei shehui rensheng*" (译述西洋杂志精华，介绍欧美社会人生 translating select articles from Western journals and introducing European and American society and life), *yishu* (译述 translate and deliver) demonstrated its approach of introducing articles from outside, and *xiyang* (西洋 the West) and *oumei* (欧美 Europe and America) indicated sources of its articles. The mission echoed with the title of this magazine—*West Wind*—meaning news, ideas and stories sent from the West.

In its total of 118 issues, *Xifeng* published articles that were selected and translated from more than 100 journals from America and European countries, and a few from Asian countries such as Japan, Vietnam and China. It demonstrated an all-inclusive coverage as it translated from not only most popular journals such as *Reader's Digest*, *Forum*, *Harper's*, *Vanity Fair*, *The Times*, but also journals of specialty such as *Hygeia: The Health Magazine of the American Medical Association*, *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, and *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. (A list of these journals is provided in Appendix A) The magazine intended to introduce various aspects of Western life, as shown in its editorial mission, by translating not only serious articles from *New York Times Magazine*, and also articles of various interests from *Scientific American*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Photoplay*.[5] Besides, the magazine also copied the practice of Western journals to translate and publish book excerpts or book reviews, introducing dozens of best-sellers at the same time as they were released in the West.[6]

Praised as having provided high-quality translation and interesting contents, *Xifeng* achieved an instant success among its peers. In the second issue it published a comment from

[5] The three were science magazine, women's magazine, and film fan magazine, respectively, popular in the US at the time. A few women's magazines will be mentioned in Chapter 4.

[6] Xifeng Press also published a few journals of the same kind, including *West Wind Supplement* (西风副刊 *Xifeng Fukan*) and *Western Book Digest* (西书精华 *Xishu jinghua*). *West Wind Supplement* had the same editorial mission as *Xifeng*, which published translated works and articles of winners of the *Xifeng* writing competitions. The two journals started in 1936 and ceased publication in October 1941, partially due to the war situation in Shanghai.

Dalubao (大陆报 The China Press, 1911-1949), an influential journal with a large circulation at the time, that *Xifeng* "has opened a new epoch for the Chinese magazine." ("Xifeng zhi chuangkan yiji gebao zhi pipan," 1936: unpaged). Editors from *Lin Pao* (*Libao* 立报 1935-1949) and *Huamei wanbao* (华美晚报 *Sino-American Evening News*, 1936-1949) also recommended the magazine as providing exactly the type of journal they needed. It was praised as providing the same reading experience as the American *Living Age* or *Reader's Digest*. (ibid.)[7] Within one year it had established itself as an outstanding magazine featuring a Western style among the flourishing print culture of 1930s China. It was directly called "the *Reader's Digest* in China," "the best journal to introduce Western life and thoughts" by *The China Critic*.[8] ("Shanghai de wenhuajie," 1937: 79) Its circulation grew together with its popularity. According to Huang Jiade (1990: 65), 2,000 copies of the first issue were sold immediately after its release, requesting a reprint of 1,000 copies. After that, the circulation increased fast and reached 20, 000 copies by the end of 1941, a big number among the publications at the same time.[9]

By translating the "magazine literature" onto the modern Chinese literary scene, the magazine introduced to its readers a wide spectrum of topics a modern Chinese should read and know about in everyday life. *Science & Nature*, *Mentality & Education*, *Women & Family*, *Biography & History*, *Travel & Adventure*, *Society & Exposure*—these major columns manifested *Xifeng's* resemblance to the American *Reader's Digest*, with articles covering all sorts of general interests of a common modern urban household. The goal here was to present a whole set of Western ideas and modern ways of living, through a channel of "practice and life," since new concepts and theories could only be implanted into people's mind by being engrossed in real society and practising them in real life. (Ding Zan 1944: 32)

In terms of general topics such as women, family, and everyday life, *Xifeng* was in line with a few other popular magazines of general interest, such as *Dongfang zazhi* (东方杂志

[7] An evidence can be found in Qian Zhongshu's description of the room of a young lady, who was from a comprador's family in Shanghai, in early 1938. In his *Besieged City* (围城 *Weicheng*, firstly published in 1947), Qian describes that Miss Zhang, his protagonist, put a pile of *Xifeng*, together with the English magazine *Reader's Digest*, on her bookshelf, as part of her everyday reading. (Qian 1984: 45)

[8] *The China Critic* (1928-1940, 1945) was an influential English journal edited by a group of Western-trained scholars in Shanghai, many of them friends or colleagues of Lin Yutang. The journal will be mentioned again in Chapter 3.

[9] It should be noted that during the 1930s and 1940s, magazines were not affordable items among many readers, and it was common for readers to share their purchase or borrow from a public reading room, for example in Wanxiao Zuzong (1947: 93). So a circulation of 20,000 could be seen as a big number, compared to the circulation of 35,000 of *Ta Gung Pao* (*Dagongbao* 大公报), the best circulated newspaper at the time (Lin 1936a: 121).

Eastern Miscellany) and *Liangyou huabao* (良友画报 The Young Companion). But the latter two to a larger extent emphasised the material life and popular culture in the West (Lee 1999: 74) *Xifeng* was more about showing a modern way of life from the perpective of mentality, which was influenced by its chief editors. (See 1.1.2) It had successfully established an example of the Western-style Chinese periodical with an emphasis on a moderate liberal attitude and a cosmopolitan ambiance. With its popularity in Shanghai before 1949, the magazine even served as a representative of journals of general interest and an example for the 1950's magazine writing/publication in Hong Kong. (Liu 1991:363)[10]

Setting out with the purpose of translating Western magazine articles, *Xifeng* had in fact introduced a set of practices in magazine publishing in the West into the local context. For instance, it launched a series of Writing Competitions with the purpose of promoting Western magazine articles and encouraging indigenous writings from both home and abroad.[11] Besides translated articles, overseas correspondence and indigenous articles also became its regular content. It can be found that in the 1940s more and more non-translated articles were published in the magazine, most of which were concerned with topics about the West. Instead of translating the texts written by foreigners, these writers who had oversea experiences began to "translate" directly what they saw or learned in the West to the magazine, which kept its role as bringing "West Wind" to its reader. In one correspondence from America, Sun Guanhan (1941)[12], also a reader of *Xifeng*, praised what the magazine presented to its reader as being of no difference from articles written in the West. When mentioning a newsletter reporting the American presidential election, he commented that it had conveyed the precise information as what he read in the United States, even with more details. (ibid: 349)

The non-translated sections, which occupied nearly half of each issue in later publication of *Xifeng*, included correspondence from overseas (海外通讯), articles on special topics (专篇, mainly contributed by specialists from various fields), feature articles (特写, chosen from the indigenous creative writings), and also some platforms offering communications between editors and readers. Readers had chances to communicate with editors through Xifeng

[10] There has been a long period after 1949 when *Xifeng* was depreciated in the mainstream ideology and political discourses in mainland China. In 1950 a journal with the title *Xifeng* was run in a short period, which was of no relation with the Xifeng Press in Shanghai.

[11] How *Xifeng* promoted the Western magazine articles through Writing Compositions will be further discussed in Chapter 2. How the magazine solicited contributions from cosmopolitan writers from abroad and from its common readers will be further discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, respectively.

[12] Sun Guanhan (孙观汉, also known as Sun Kuan-han, 1914-2005), a physicist honoured as China's "Father of Atomic Science," was a PhD in physics, working at the University of Pittsburgh at the time.

Mailbox (西风信箱, since Issue 14) and Free Forum (自由论坛, since Issue 18), in which they raised their personal questions and expressed their ideas openly, often relating to a certain topic raised in the recent issues. These sections provided a double perspective to look at the West and their own living experiences, and the interaction among editors, contributors, and readers became a distinct feature of the time, which contributed to a dynamic process of the modernisation of their identities.

Xifeng was published at a most turbulent time when China had been suffering from military threat from Japan since 1931, the Resistance War against Japan (1937-1945) and the Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists (1945-1949). After the outbreak of the Resistance War in 1937, the Japanese army started massive invasion into large areas of China, including Shanghai. The Shanghai International Settlement and the French Concession were besieged by the Japanese troops, forming an "isolated island" between 1938 and 1940. Many presses and printing houses, including Xifeng Press, received protection in these concessions and continued publishing, forming a particular literary phenomenon called literature of the "isolated island" period. But the temporary peace within Shanghai was interrupted in 1941 after Japan started large-scale attack worldwide and intruded into the concessions. The Xifeng Press was forced to move its office to Guilin in December 1941 and resumed publishing in 1942. Issue 64 and 65 were published in May 1942 and January 1943, due to the difficulty of receiving correspondence, including especially overseas articles and Western magazine articles for translation. It was worth noting that, despite the interruption of publication, contents of *Xifeng* were not very much affected by the war, even if in issues 64 and 65, which included its regular columns such as worldwide news, psychological issues, issue of women, sex and so on. The magazine distinguished itself by trying to demonstrate that life of ordinary people should go on despite of the fact that they were going through the darkest period of the war. Though having published 15 issues in Guilin, the Press moved back to Shanghai after the defeat of Japan in 1945. It then sustained publishing until April, 1949, when the People's Liberation Army entered Shanghai.

1.1.2 *Editors, contributors and readers*

The magazine featured a particular group of editors and contributors (often including readers), many of whom were Western-educated liberal cosmopolitan writers and scholars, constituting a strong basis for its success during the long period of turbulent times. When

Xifeng was launched in September 1936, Lin Yutang already moved to America and only took the position of consultant to the magazine. Huang Jiayin and Huang Jiade became publishers and editors-in-chief of the magazine from 1936 to 1949. Like Lin Yutang, the Huang brothers were also St. John's graduates. St. John's University was an Episcopalian missionary school founded in 1879 in Shanghai, one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in modern China. The university offered a Western-style education with English as its main medium and produced a generation of important figures who were influential and active in modern Chinese history. The St. John's graduates, like Lin Yutang and the Huang brothers, received systematic training of subjects which were directly brought from the West, though with strong religious influence. They not only had good command of foreign languages, but also had a deep and comprehensive understanding of Western culture. Huang Jiade graduated in 1931, majoring in Western literature. In the 1930s he worked as a professor at St. John's and at the same time became an established translator belonging to the *Analects* group. (Guo Liandong 2005: 31) Huang Jiayin majored in History, and minored in Journalism and Psychology. Also with good command of both Chinese and English, he was interested in translation while promoting Western knowledge with an emphasis on modern psychology in *Xifeng*. The Huang brothers had done an extraordinary job in connecting their St. John's alumni for magazine contributions and cultivating a group of young translators and correspondents for the magazine from St. John's students. As Huang Jiade (2008) later recalled, when he taught journalism at St. John's in the 1940s, he asked his students to submit translated works from Western publications and their journalistic reports to *Xifeng*.

The chief-editorship, which demonstrated a special identity of the Western educational background, was also aided by the involvement of an Englishman during 1938-1939, when Shanghai was occupied by the Japanese army and the public press was generally under strict censorship under the Japanese control. During the period the role of the chief editor was taken by Allen J. McClausland (马彬和 Ma Binhe, dates unknown), who worked with Chiang Kai-shek to support the publicity work of the Nationalist government. Known to have received education in Oxford and learned Chinese for ten years, McClausland got acquainted with Lin Yutang and other writers in Shanghai, and joined in the publication of *Xifeng* magazine. ("Naturalization is Refused," 1938: 354) He was the publisher and editor-in-chief of *Xifeng* from May 1938 to February 1939 ("Xifengshe gaizu qishi," 1938: unpaged; "Xifengshe qishi," 1939: 676).

McClausland contributed to the magazine by not only maintaining continuous publication under the Japanese interference to the press in Shanghai, but more importantly, through providing his expertise as a magazine editor from a Western perspective, he added a mixed feature of the magazine.[13] The combination of its editorial board demonstrated a style and identity of the magazine, as shown in the following Christmas and New Year Card published in the January issue in 1939.

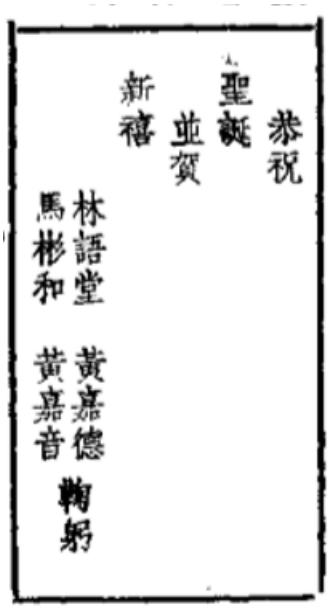

Illustration 1.1
(Issue 29, 1939: 446)

Merry Christmas ***and*** **Happy New Year** Lin Yutang, Ma Binhe Huang Jiade, Huang Jiayin Give a bow

Translation of *Illustration 1.1*

[13] He was at the time publishing and editing another journal named *Zhongsheng* (众生 Every Life, 1938), a literary journal based in Shanghai promoting anti-Japanese spirit and national salvation campaign.

After the launching of *Xifeng*, the editors called for contributions to the magazine from the public, suggesting a wide range of topics, almost anything as long as it touched the truthfulness of human feeling and life and expressed a taste or character. ("Zhenggao qishi," Issue 1, unpaged) The call successfully attracted a broad range of contributors, including translators, scholars (specialists) and amateur writers (who were selected through the writing competitions since Issue 19). They included university professors, government officials, school teachers, office clerks, or even young students or ordinary housewives who were originally *Xifeng* readers. (Bianzhe, 1940a: 110)

It was planned from the beginning that the magazine was not going to be an elite journal targeted at highly-educated intellectuals only, though well-known writers were invited to contribute to the magazine. Famous writers like Lao She (老舍,1899-1966), Xu Xu (徐訏, 1908-1980), and Xie Bingying (谢冰莹 1906-2000) were invited to write about their overseas experiences, and renowned specialists like Shen Youqian (沈有乾, also known as Eugene Shen, 1899-?, logician), Dai Wensai (戴文赛, 1911-1979, astronomer), and Qin Daojian (秦道坚, 1912-?, chemist) were recruited as regular contributors to introduce articles of special fields.[14] With frequent contributions from a list of big names at the time, the chief editors also engaged themselves in a project of training and gathering their own translators coming from different educational backgrounds.[15] Any piece of contribution would comply with one rule—to be close to life. As the editors pointed out in their introduction to the *Special Issue: Mentality & Education* (Bianzhe 1938a: 297), their editorial objective was to make the difficult and intangible theories of psychology and education more accessible and applicable to a common audience, and they would like to do a "lower-level work" (下层工作) of popularising such knowledge to the ordinary people.

The contributors as a group mainly had good command of one or more foreign languages, with overseas education and training in different areas, for example, medical staff (Blowers and Wang 2014: 145). They presented to the reader a meticulously constructed blueprint of what Western modern life looked like. Even when the country faced great humiliation and danger from the Japanese invasion, when everything was stopped for the cause of national salvation, when the idea of "once the war began, culture became useless"

[14] The literary practices of Xu Xu and Shen Youqian will be further discussed in Chapter 3.
[15] The editors recruited regular translators in the beginning years and then invited students from many universities in China and overseas to be their translators. (Zou 2000: 217-218)

(Fu 1993:14) prevailed, the magazine did not change its editorial mission and demonstrated with its articles what people in a warzone needed to know about modern life. As the magazine demonstrated, it was actually because of the war that people should take the chance to modernise themselves by learning from "the most active and optimistic" practices of the Western life and society (Ding Zan 1944: 33). During the war time, "the national interests are above all other things," "fighting against Japan" and "saving China" became the dominate discourses among major publications, especially in those journals with clear political stances. Discussions on any leisure life style or interests in ordinary people's life such as personal relationship or care for women and children seemed to be irrelevant or even politically incorrect in front of those political ideology-ridden discourses. In order to maintain its mission and purpose, *Xifeng* had to take a firm stand and managed to find a voice among publications at the time, by providing pragmatic information in terms of what was close to ordinary people's life, with a special taste which could help it reach the reader directly.

Readers

The magazine firstly targeted a readership of intellectuals and students in Shanghai, but it soon reached all walks of life and spread to almost every region of the mainland, and even overseas via Hong Kong, which could be found through both readers' correspondence and magazine's own advertisement published in every issue.

In 1945 a reader wrote to the editors: "Here (in Sichuan) many people consider *Xifeng* the favourite journal among readers in China. On a recent long-distance business trip, I found that almost all bank or financial offices I went to had subscribed a copy of your magazine." (Li 1945: 317) The editor (Huang Jiayin 1945: 317) replied that according to a survey made by his American journalist friend, *Xifeng* ranked the top among college students in two universities in Chongqing. Having survived both the War of Resistance and the Civil War, the magazine remained a fresh and popular publication among Chinese readers throughout Asia until its close in 1949.

The magazine established its popularity and influence among a large body of readers, mainly emerging middle-class urbanites, who lived in China, Hong Kong, Macau and Southeast Asia. From the subscription lists and readers' information in the *Mailbox*, it can be seen that the *Xifeng* reader covered almost all kind of social levels. There were company/government employees, teachers, policemen, soldiers, and college students. There

were soldiers who fought battles in the frontline (Editors, Issue 72, 1945:536), as well as a great number of young readers still in their mid-teens. The *Xifeng* reader might be a young lady living in a traditional big household as far inland as in Yunnan (Issue 40: 421), or a flight attendant living a freer life travelling to different places outside her country (Bianzhe 1941: 476).

Some of these readers later became magazine contributors by participating in the Writing Competitions held by the magazine. Through the competition, the famous writer Zhang Ailing (张爱玲 1920-1995) made her debut in *Xifeng*. (See Chapter 2) Some actively joined in the many discussions over heated topics through the platforms such as Free Forum and Mailbox provided by the magazine. The *Xifeng* reader had actively participated in the construction of a modern Chinese identity together with this magazine.

1.2 Literature Review on *Xifeng*

After 1949, when Communist ideology dominated all aspects of cultural life in China, *Xifeng* was labelled "a magazine for Capitalists" with "Bourgeois decadence" (Zhang Jishun 1995; 2007), and was severely criticised and then forgotten in China until the late 1980s. In the 1980s and 1990s, the literary and translation activities of the Xifeng Press have been recollected and recorded in memoirs and interviews by 20th century writers and works on modern Chinese literature and publications of the Republican period. (Wang Zhiyi 1985: 105-106; Zou Zhenhuan 1994, 2000: 215-220; Chen Zhenyu 1997, etc.) But besides a few short references, there was no case study of the magazine except for one chapter of Zhang Jishun's book *Zhongguo zhishi fenzi de meiguoguan* (中国知识分子的美国观 Chinese Intellectuals' Views on America). The study, based on Zhang's PhD thesis (1995), discusses the magazine from a point of view of class-struggle and anti-imperialism. Reading *Xifeng* from a narrow ideological stance, a conclusion is drawn in the chapter that the magazine was used as a channel to propagandise American imperialist ideology to the Chinese people. Its significance as an influential literary magazine was totally overlooked.

In recent years, thanks to new trends and approaches to the use of journals and magazines as research objects in literary, historical and cultural studies, *Xifeng* has gained attention from researchers as an important literary journal relating to Lin Yutang and the *Analects* group. Besides a footnote by Laughlin's (2008a: 238) study of the *Analects* group, *Xifeng* received two studies by Lü Ruohan (2007) and Wang Pengfei (2010), as a magazine

playing an important role in promoting *xiaopinwen* and magazine literature. In her study of the women's autobiography, Jing Wang (2008, chapter 2) discusses the contribution of the magazine and the Huang brothers in promoting Chinese women's writing. Wang (ibid: 58) notices the function of translation and how the magazine encouraged its readers to write about their own life by providing a platform for general public readers to write their personal daily lives, which was a new literary phenomenon in the 1930s and 1940s.

The magazine, with its heavy emphasis on psychology, physiology and sex-related knowledge, has also been studied as an influential practical reader promoting the social application of modern sciences. (Zhang 2007; Wang 2011; Blowers and Wang 2014) Zhang's (2007: 92) paper accredits the magazine to have built up "a network of discourses of sex, gender, body, life and society" in a modern society backed by discourses of modern science. Having reviewed over 170 articles related to mental health and psychological diseases in *Xifeng*, Wang (2011) studies the magazine as a journal of specialty promoting modern psychology among the young generation, claiming the magazine did a "lower-level" job, a different practice from the elite approach to this modern scientific subject. Blowers and Wang (2014) provide a historical study of *Xifeng*'s contribution to the psychotherapeutic culture in Republican China, with short biographic discussions on four scholars and contributors, including Huang Jiayin and three other renowned specialists in psychiatry. The authors mention how a showcase of translation articles of mental health from abroad made a promising beginning, attracting new generation of scholars and practitioners to contribute to the magazine (ibid:145). The significance of the magazine lies in not only creating a psychotherapeutic culture among both specialists and non-specialists, but established the only group of people who could push forward subjects on mental health in the 1960s (ibid: 158). The study by Blowers and Wang also notices the interesting practice of the magazine to solicit essays from the general reader (ibid: 145). More importantly, the authors point out that the magazine aimed to "introduce Western lifestyles and culture to a readership that could learn, compare and judge its offerings from the viewpoint of its own traditions and culture and thereby adopt a modest and respectful attitude without being either adulatory or rationalistic." (ibid: 152)

As a Lin Yutang's magazine representing his ideal magazine model, *Xifeng* was discussed as a participant in the Chinese modernity project by the *Analects* school, in Qian Suoqiao's *Liberal Cosmopolitan: Lin Yutang and Middling Chinese Modernity* (2011a). Qian

views *Xifeng* as an integral part of "the *Lunyu* phenomenon," bearing the part of Western values in a "two-way cross-cultural" enterprise, and having a "long lasting influence upon the shaping of Chinese cultural modernity" (ibid: 116). Qian claims that through a "kaleidoscopic approach," the magazine was characterised by eclecticism and hybridity, and the editors adopted a "modern attitude" when they addressed questions from their readers. (ibid: 117) Qian sets *Xifeng* as a case in discussing the literary practices of Lin Yutang under a framework of liberal cosmopolitanism he proposes as an approach to view the process of Chinese modernity. He also points out the participation of translation in the effort of the magazine to establish a modern ethos to be cultivated among its readers. (ibid: 116-117) But he has not gone into details about this magazine. How *Xifeng* participated in the "shaping of Chinese cultural modernity" through translation remains a question to be answered.

Xifeng's feature of eclecticism and hybridity, on the one hand, could be a reason for its being less discussed than other journals which had a clear "identity" from a particular literary society or political stance, and on the other hand, serves as a basis for the establishment of a patchwork of modern values and concepts among common readers. In this sense, different from other literary groups, the loosely-connected group of contributors around the magazine did form a new "identity" with association to a vision for a modernised Chinese way of life. The collective contribution by this group deserves a comprehensive study and evaluation. What was translated and what was chosen for the construction of "modern Chinese"? What role did translation play in the cultivation of the modern ethos? How could a project of modernisation for common people be carried out during the time? These questions remain to be addressed.

Xifeng was born out of the modern Chinese cultural context and was part of the flourishing print culture in 1930s and 1940s China. Its publication period, beginning at 1936, put it into an awkward situation as the nation soon sank into a decade-long crisis in which national salvation became the "only" sentiment as seen "correct" for public press. As a typical translation magazine it is often excluded from a history of translation practices during the war time. (Zou Zhenhuan 1994) But during a period when translation activities had sharply decreased and cultural construction sabotaged (ibid: 89-90), the importance of this magazine should be further discovered, particularly in terms of its disposition of cultivating a modern mentality and way of life among its readers.

With an intention to give a critical study of this magazine in the context of 1930s and 1940s China, I will review the relevant theoretical approaches in both translation studies and modern Chinese literary and cultural studies, and explain the research context and theoretical approaches that have informed and inspired this study.

1.3 Translation Studies

1.3.1 *Cultural turn in Translation Studies*

Contemporary translation studies since Eugene Nida have mainly been focusing on the linguistic transfer on various levels between the source and target texts. It was not until the 1990s when the cultural aspects of translation began to draw academic attention, especially when Susan Bassnett and Andrè Lefevere (1992) put forward the concept of "cultural turn" and thus widely broadened the scope of translation studies.

However, the turn "was presaged by the work on polysystems and translation norms by Even-Zohar and Toury," which had already contributed to a huge theoretical and methodological shift, reorienting the approaches to translation studies, and pushing its boundary to include wider cultural elements and issues. (Hatim and Munday, 2004:102) Through a cultural approach, translation is no longer viewed as linguistic transfer isolated or independent from culture and history. Foci on whether original texts are "faithfully" or "completely" translated give way to efforts to explain the choices made in the translated works and an evaluation of their function and influence in the target culture.

Largely a cultural theory, the Polysystem Theory proposed by Even-Zohar sees the culture as a "heterogeneous, hierarchized conglomerate (or system) of systems which interact to bring about an on-going, dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as whole" (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997: 176). It is worth noting that the members of the multiple system, "a system of various systems," are interdependent as well as functioning as a structured whole, and that they are not equal and are "hierarchized." (Even-Zohar, 2005: 40-42) In terms of literary polysystem, translated literature, being one of the sub-systems, is in a constant interaction with a host literary system, and competing with other subdivisions for the dominant position.

In spite of the general assumption that translation permanently occupies a secondary (peripheral) position in the literary system, Even-Zohar (1978/1990: 46) points out that "this

is by no means the case." He argues that translated literature takes the central position under three conditions, i.e., when the literature is (a) "young", (b) "peripheral" or "weak," or both, and when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. (ibid) In such cases, it functions as an "innovatory forces" in the host culture (ibid) and therefore contributes to the formation of its host culture and literature.

The notion of systems and three conditions of literature which provide favourable condition for translation to play an important role matches the cultural situation in late Qing and early Republican China, when "crises" or "vacuums" happened in the Chinese literary context and a large number of Western literary works were translated. This attracts attention from a few scholars in an attempt to discuss the literary translation in the period by applying Polysystem theory. (Wang 2006: 225-228) But in Wang's study of a history of literary translation in 1895-1911 China, he points out, by using example of two papers, that these scholars fail to provide logically accepted conclusions due to their confusion of the positions of translation in systems, and he tries to modify the theory in order to better explain the translation phenomenon in China (ibid: 228). Wang's study is inspired by Chang Nam Fung (2001), who aims to provide a framework for translation research and proposes an augmented version of Polysystem theory.[16] In these attempts of providing a cultural explanation to the nature of translation activities in the specific Chinese context, more support from other theories and perspectives is often required.

Developing from Even-Zohar's Polysystem theory, Toury (1995: 60) sees translation as "a norm-governed activity." He argues that translation is formed by a range of historical and cultural factors and norms in the target system, and at the same time, serves as a structuring power in the formation of target culture. Departing from the traditional view that translation is derivative and affiliated to the target language and culture—hence the obsession on "faithfulness" to the original—Toury (1995) proposes that translation should be considered as a part of the target culture. Viewing translations as "facts of the target cultures," he calls for a "proper contextualization" in their description and explanation. (ibid: 29)

[16] Even-Zohar later shifted his research interest from language and literature to culture in its broad sense. He deleted references to language, literature and translation in his theory in its 1997 revised version and got rid of the classifications of polysystems to "foreground the universal features of all polysystems and formulate a general theory of culture." (Chang 2001: 318-319) As opposed to Even-Zohar's modification, Chang (ibid: 321) proposes that "the activities and products of translators, especially those of literary texts, are governed mainly, but not exclusively, by norms originating from six polysystems or certain sub-systems." By refining the six sub-systems and incorporating elements such as ideology to the stystems, Chang (ibid: 321-327) succeeds in explaining the case of Chinese translation of David Lodge's *Small World* in the mid-1980s China, which cannot be explained in the 1990 version of Polysystem theory by Even-Zohar.

Toury has made an essential change to the task of the studies by expanding the scope of what translation is/what translation should be (especially the rules of translating). He revises the question of "what is translation" into "what should be viewed as translation," for example, by studying pseudo-translation. In his case study, Toury (2005) attempts to illustrate the role played by translation in cultural planning by showing how fictitious translations were invented to serve specific needs in a cultural and historical context. However, Toury's contextualisation was still focusing on the explanation of the translation *per se*, rather than on the influence of translation on its host culture as he theorised. This is exactly what this thesis takes on to elaborate.

In Even-Zohar's theory he describes a dynamic movement of how translation makes its way to the central position of a system while creating new models for the home repertoire (establishing new translational norms). (Even-Zohar 1978/1990: 50-51) It is interesting to observe how translation in *Xifeng* affacts new norms in the target context and its influence on local literature in a home literary system. Besides, following Toury's idea of contextualisation, the thesis, rather than discussing translation's adequacy/acceptability in relation to the translation norms[17], places more interest in discovering new social norms that were brought in by translation. Here I adopt the notion of norm which can be referred to in a wide range of concepts—"customs, conventions, role, identity, institution, culture, and so forth" (Horne 2001: 3)—not necessarily in a strict sociological definition. The norms, such as language, identity, and images, entered China with translation and played their role in the formation of modern Chinese identity.

Informed by the cultural turn of translation studies, this study situates *Xifeng* in the context of the 1930s and 1940s Chinese literary and cultural scene, aiming not only to provide a case which has not been discussed from the perspective of translation, but to further discuss a more complicated relationship between the host culture and agents (including editors, contributors, and readers in this case). In the following, I will also give a short review on how translation research can benefit from other disciplines, which, together with what I have reviewed above, frame the questions that are relevant to this study.

[17] Toury (1995: 56-57) uses adequacy for translation that subscribes to the source norms, and acceptability when subscribing to norms that originate in the target culture. The consideration on to what extent translators follow the source/home norms is a common approach by researchers to discuss the result/influence of translation activities in their studies, for example, see Wang (2006: 228).

1.3.2 *Expanded Translation Studies*

Since the end of last century translation studies has been substantially enriched by collaborative work among scholars from different research fields. It has kept borrowing from a wide variety of fields such as sociology (Field and Habitus), literature (postmodernism), and cultural studies (post-colonialism and feminism) to expand the dimensions of translation as research subject. The role of translators, for instance, began to be noticed. In a collaborative work, researchers trace a history of human progresses chained by the activities of translators, whose role as cultural agents in their own cultures becomes prominent. (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995)

Integrated studies cope with the demand of providing important historical materials for narration and explanation, and also extend the theoretical framework and methodology of translation studies. In an anthology addressing the translation of Western literature in late Qing period edited by David Pollard (1998), Hung (1998) contributes with a study of the translation of detective stories in the late Qing context with a re-evaluation of those works in the literary position in China. Chinese translation history provides a disciplinary support to this study by constructing a new scholarship including both genealogical tracking of how a word or concept was translated and derived, and panoramic studies on the translation activities in a long period. With contributions from historical studies and translation studies, these researches open up new spaces in the "China" discussion, in which many "blank spaces" are waiting to be filled (Santoyo: 2006).

Based on existing scholarship, three questions are relevant to and thus raised in this study on *Xifeng* magazine, for the purpose of discussing the role of translation in the Chinese modernity project.

1. What is studied (as translation)?

It is not an ontological study of the nature of translation, but rather how translation practices—including conceiving a translation magazine in the modern Chinese cultural context, its editorial mission and principles, the educational background of the editors and contributors, the training of the translators, and of course the selection of articles for translation, as well as interaction with its readers—functioned in the process of the Chinese modernity project. In other words, this study focuses mainly on translation as an active agent and what translation does in its context.

2. How should we situate translation in the context?

This process reveals the nature of translation studies as an interdisciplinary study, and it also echoes with a demand for the participation of other studies, including history, literature, and culture. By discussing *Xifeng* in the modern Chinese context, the creation of new norms will be discussed in the particular situation, in the Chinese case, the various social contentions, including Westernisation, new medium (as modern Chinese language), new national identity (cosmopolitan), and new female identity (what it is to be modern woman) during the 1930s and 1940s.

3. How should we consider the translator(s) in *Xifeng*?

This study sees all translation activities in *Xifeng* magazine (however categorised) collectively contribute to a cultural or social transformation, so they are viewed as one body or phenomenon. All participants (translators and contributors) are also regarded as a group. This study will pay special attention to the cultural practices of the editors and contributors, such as Lin Yutang, the Huang Brothers, and a group of translators, writers, and readers, who played significant roles in the process of translation.

1.3.3 *Translation and modern China: a Translated Modernity*

Questions of modernity in China are closely entwined with translation from the West. Beginning with the earliest missionary translation, there is always a direct link between translation, the West, and Chinese modernity.[18] A history of translation in China is in fact a long process of learning from the West (*xixue* 西学, including the translation from Japan in the early 20th century), which is imbued with a clear teleology—to enrich the country, empower the people, and become modern (Hung 2005: 141). The goals of "enriching the country and empowering the people" have been held by generations of Chinese in the 20th century, while "becoming modern" has been the means to achieving them. This target to a large extent determined how translation was going to join in the reshaping of Chinese nation and people in a process to modernity.

[18] For a review of the translation from the West (*xixue fanyi* 西学翻译), which began with the missionaries' activities in China since the 16th century, see Hung (2005: 140-141). The missionaries and their translation had partially or directly participated in the Chinese social revolutions in the late 19th and early 20th century. (ibid: 160-165)

Beginning in the late Qing came the first translation boom in modern Chinese history,[19] represented by two eminent translators, Yan Fu (严复 1854-1921) and Lin Shu (林纾 1852-1924). Their translations of the Western social sciences and literatures exerted enormous impact on a generation of intellectuals and fundamentally changed Chinese society in terms of both mentality and language of the Chinese people.[20] Lin's huge amount of rendition of Western literature triggered a translation fever of novels and stories around the end of the 19th century to the early 20th century. (Hu Ying 2008: 15) Yan Fu's translation had a greater social impact as he appropriated the works by European thinkers on evolution to warn his fellow countrymen of the danger of extinction, if China did not make progress. Leading intellectuals such as Liang Qichao (1873-1929) and Lu Xun were deeply influenced by his introduction of social Darwinism, which directly shaped their political and literary agendas. Through an investigation of Yan Fu's translation of the evolutionary theory and other sociological works, Leo Lee (1990) discovered a "unilinear discourse of modernity," which explains why Chinese intellectuals were obsessed with anything "new," "modern" or "West," which were synonymous with "progress."

The translation boom during the May Fourth era, which was larger in scale than the first one, shook the traditional Chinese culture through a more fervent call for translating Western works, with the introduction of not only Democracy and Science, but also figures, such as *Nala* (娜拉 Nora), who triggered a huge social impact by calling for independence and rebellion from the feudal family among young intellectuals.[21] Translation, the call for modernisation, and Westernisation almost became synonyms.

Researchers have discussed the interactive relation between translation and the Chinese modern from the perspective of literary and intellectual history. David Wang (1998) in his "Translating Modernity" discusses how new literary techniques and ideological notions were transferred from the West to China in the late Qing, during a process when Chinese intellectuals played freely with "the modern" in the formation of their (political) discourses. Hu Ying (2008) studies the construction of images of the New Women through the translation of a range of Western female icons from 1899 to 1918. Chen Jianhua (2000; 2009) has

[19] Hu Ying (2008: 15) in her *Tales of Translation* uses the "initial translation boom" to refer to the large amount of translation during the end of the 19th century till 1911. Such chronology is also seen in Huang (2005).
[20] Yang Lianfen (2003: 113) has discussed how new terms entered the daily vocabulary of Chinese people through the translation of Lin Shu.
[21] The image of Nora in China, which had great impact on the shaping of modern woman, will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

discussed the issue of Chinese modernity through tracing the discursive formation of "revolution," which also involved the participation of translation.

Lydia Liu proposed the idea of "translated modernity" in her book *Translingual Practice*, in order to examine a process of cultural formation based on translation in an East-West encounter. Instead of viewing it as a mere product, Liu sees translation as a dynamic process by which "new words, meanings, discourses and modes of representation arise, circulate and acquire legitimacy" (Liu 1995: 26). After reviewing important works on translation studies, cultural studies, postcolonial studies and Chinese studies, Liu examines approaches to the new formation of language across cultures. Rather than discussing the history or the technical aspects of translation, Liu aims to tackle the question of the condition of translation and discursive practice in translingual encounters. She sees the translator as agent, who "initiates the linguistic transaction by inviting, selecting, combining and reinventing words and texts." (ibid: 27) By tracing how terms such as nation, nationalism, and individual (the self) were translated and reinvented in the modern Chinese context, Liu leads researchers' focus to the establishment of new terms and concepts by means of translation. Her study highlights concerns about travel, development and settlement of the terms and concepts in language, starting the project of studies on "translingual practice" followed by researchers from various backgrounds (cf. Liu 1999; 2004).

Liu's seminal idea on translated modernity inspired a number of researches by viewing new terms, concepts, and thoughts in a "travel of the meanings" (supported by the Travelling Theory proposed by Edward Said), and tracing how they were translated, criticised and appropriated in the creation of a new culture and modernity. A recent book *Fanyi xiandaixing* (翻译现代性 Translating Modernity) by Zhao Xifang (2012) demonstrates how translation of literature participated and negotiated in the formation of modern Chinese intellectual history by reviewing how major Western thoughts were introduced through translation from the Late Qing to the May Fourth era, which showed a complicated process in the cultural formation toward modernity in China.

Discussions of translation in a Chinese context, especially in modern Chinese history, involve not only cultural translation and rewriting, but more specifically, they address a history of a series of transformations of new terms, concepts, literature, social system, and ideology. With participation and interpretation of translators and other cultural agents,

translation practices were highlighted as playing a more complicated and significant role in modern Chinese social evolution along its way to modernity. Considering the special relationship between translation and modernity in Chinese history, the study of *Xifeng* in terms of its translation practices is a good fit for the discussion of Chinese modernity.

1.4 Situating *Xifeng* in Studies of Chinese Modernity

In this section, I will explain how studies on modernity in the Chinese context relate to and differ from the studies on Western modernity, and how scholars make a collective effort in providing alternative approaches to the study of Chinese modernity, by which my study of *Xifeng* is illuminated.

1.4.1 *Chinese modernity—an Enlightenment project*

Modernity, as an idea that was "born in the Christian Middle Ages" (Calinescu 1987: 13), has received considerable attention as a central issue in theories by philosophers, historians, sociologists, literary critics, and cultural theorists since the 1980s in Western academia. Theorists and scholars of Western modernity have carried out many studies on the origins, developments, and interpretations of the notion in its European cradle land. Its beginnings in the "darkness" of the Middle Ages, for example, is thoroughly examined in a series of writings on "The Idea of Modernity" by Calinescu (ibid: 13-94). Though reinterpreted and redefined in the more recent discourses in the high development of capitalism in Western countries (such as in Weber, Habermas, and Giddens), the term with its original connotation is still relevant in the explanation of Chinese modernity in terms of its close relationship with a cultural renaissance and the task of enlightenment in early modern China.

In tracing its Western origins, Calinescu (ibid: 20) defines modernity as being "conceived of as a time of emergence from darkness, a time of awakening and 'renascence,' heralding a luminous future." He also observes a split of the idea during the first half of the nineteenth century—between modernity as "a product of scientific and technological progress, of the industrial revolution, of the sweeping economic and social changes brought about by capitalism" and "modernity as an aesthetic concept." (ibid: 41) The former, which he calls the "bourgeois idea of modernity," is closely associated with the key values and spirits of the middle class in their struggles for the modern in the past centuries:

> "The doctrine of progress, the confidence in the beneficial possibilities of science and technology, the concern with time (a measurable time, a time that can be bought and sold and therefore has, like any other commodity, a calculable equivalent in money), the cult of reason, and the ideal of freedom defined within the framework of an abstract humanism, but also the orientation toward pragmatism and the cult of action and success." (ibid.)

This side of modernity is reflected in the development of Chinese modernity, as demonstrated in Leo Lee (1990). Lee (1990:124) links the above traces of the "bourgeois idea of modernity" with the 'modern' outlook of May Fourth intellectuals, in which he finds a mode of consciousness in 20th century Chinese history and literature. Rather than conveniently consider the fervent literary and artistic discussions on modernism and post-modernism as "a new Western craze" or product of social modernisation, Lee argues that there is a mode of historical consciousness generated at the end of the 19th century and bolstered in the May Fourth era, lying at the core of the concept of "modernity" which he defines as "a mode of consciousness of time and history as unilinear progress, moving in a continuous 'stream' or 'tide' from the past to the present; it also contains the valorised notion of the present as a new 'epoch,' not only unprecedented and qualitatively different from previous eras but better, which leads prophetically to a purposeful future." (ibid: 109-110, 122) By further explaining the development of notions of *shidai* and *xiandai* (with connotations of both modern and contemporary) and their infusion into the literary discourse, Lee argues that "In contrast to its European counterparts, modern Chinese literature has been so intertwined with history that the artistic stances of modern Chinese literature are not adverse to historical modernity." (ibid: 110)

As Lee points out perceptively, there is one important difference between Chinese and Western modernities: in Western modernity, the two domains of historical (material) modernity and aesthetic (cultural) modernity as defined by Calinescu (1987: 41-42) were rather antithetical in that one can detect an inclination of anti-bourgeois attitudes in literary modernism, while this constraint was in fact not obvious in the literary and intellectual discourses in modern China. It explains why Chinese modernity discourses are not characterised by a disappointed tone towards the hollowness of modern life by writers, artists, and intellectuals. Instead, Chinese modernity emerged from a realistic basis of the development of industrialisation and capitalism (to catch up with the West), and was firstly incubated in a vision of the "present," of an imagined and expected Western world, which

must be "superior" to and more advanced in time than the rest of the world, a source of anxiety among the Chinese intellectuals. Chinese intellectuals and writers, whether or not belonging to the newly emerged bourgeois, were in fact excited and optimistic about entering the new epoch and experiencing that everyday life of the West.

In his book *Shanghai Modern* Lee again traces the source of the "new mode of time consciousness" from "the Western post-Enlightenment tradition of modernity," which received "severe criticism by postmodern theorists for the positivistic and inherently 'monological' tendencies embedded in its faith in human reason and progress." (Lee 1999:44) When this legacy was "transplanted into China," it "served to add a new dimension to Chinese semantics: in fact, the very word 'new' (*xin*) became the crucial component of a cluster of new word compounds denoting a qualitative change in all spheres of life. … This sense of living in a new era … was what defined the ethos of modernity." (ibid.) Such a view of the unilinear progression of history not only dominated a May Fourth ideology, but also influenced the mainstream historical and literary discourses in the later Republican period, even till the contemporary period. (see discussions of prevalence of "modernisms" in Lee 1990: 110)

The May Fourth legacy—new concepts and doctrines introduced by leading intellectuals, featuring anti-traditionalism and Westernisation as an enlightenment project—has become the centre of discourses of Chinese modernity, not only in terms of its time as a starting point of modernity, but also its dominant values of progress and denunciation of tradition, and its totalitarian appropriation under the Communist ideology in latter half of the 20th century. It was against this background that quite a few scholars in the 1990s started to question the unilinear progressive view of history in modern China and the dominant discourses in modern Chinese literature, culture and ideology.

1.4.2 *De-centring the May Fourth and mainstream discourses*

A number of scholars have challenged the mainstream discourses on Chinese modernity by deconstructing the monolithic narration of the May Fourth Movement. David Wang (1997: 8) through his study of four types of novels in the Qing period claims that the thrust of modernity did not start during the May Fourth period, but during the late Qing. Wang makes this claim in his discoveries of the "repressed modernities" in late Qing fiction, which have long been suppressed by progressive writers and dismissed in the May Fourth paradigm. In

his discussion of what it means to "historicize the polemic of modernity," Wang points out that some existing discussions regard the modern as "master narrative of a linear and preconceived time," thus the lament of a "belated modernity." (ibid: 6) He argues that modernity is to be viewed at any historical conjuncture and demonstrates a certain possibility which does not necessarily survive in that period of history. The efforts of de-centring the May Fourth discourse in search of alternative discourses on Chinese modernity have appeared in the works of a considerable number of researchers in the 1990s. (Yeh 2000: 1-3)

In fact, a series of concepts—"repressed modernity," "incipient modernity" (Wang 1997), "incomplete modernity" (Lee 1999: 44), and "alternative modernity" (Chen 2000; Daruvala 2000; Gimpel 2001, etc)—have all demonstrated attempts to rediscover the various voices in China's modern practices of literature, art, and pop culture. Instead of treating the Chinese case as a simple absorption of Western modernity, these researches have contributed to a project of finding a subjectivity in the quest for Chinese modernity, in which major issues of nationalism, women, literature, and urban culture are addressed and discussed.[22]

Driven by a post-modernist view of replacing the grand narratives with detailed experiences, these works investigate various types of modernities that are "alternative" to the existing mainstream discourses. Daruvala (2000) and Gimpel (2001) clearly demonstrate their aims of discovering the alternative literary practices and voices of Chinese modernity, while Chen (2000) seeks alternative explanation to ideas like "revolution" which was formed in a complex process of translation. Supported by post-colonial theories, cultural theories and literary criticism, Chow (1991) and Liu (1995) examine a process of the establishment of female and narrative subjectivity in the construction of Chinese modernity. Wang (1997), by discovering the "incipient modernities" in the late Qing novels repressed in the iconoclastic doctrines, challenges the long-established May Fourth paradigm of modern literature. Lee (1999) and Yeh (2000) expand the scope of vision by looking at experiences of modernities in participants other than writers only, such as publishers and other ordinary people from various backgrounds. They also set their foci on the rise of urban cities, a breeding ground for the

[22] For example: *Woman and Chinese Modernity: the Politics of Reading between West and East* (1991) by Ray Chow, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated modernity-China, 1900-1937* (1995) by Lydia Liu, *Fin-de-Siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1848-1911* (1997) by David Der-wei Wang. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (1999) by Leo Lee Ou-fan, *The Discourse of "Revolution" and the Chinese Modernity* (2000) by Chen Jianhua, *Zhou Zuoren and an Alternative Chinese Response to Modernity* (2000) by Susan Daruvala, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (2001) by Shi Shumei, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (2001) by Denise Gimpel, and *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (2000) edited by Yeh Wen-hsin.

development of a modern urban culture. In his study of literary societies in modern China, Michel Hockx (2003) also challenges the May Fourth paradigm with a new critical perspective. Choosing literary journals as a modern medium, Hockx identifies a connection of the literary societies with their origin in the Chinese tradition, a rethinking of the literary position that had been decided in the May Fourth paradigm. Trying to decentre the May Fourth movement which has long been determining the mainstream discourse and paradigm, these works successfully broaden the discussions on Chinese modernity, which appear to be "complex and multivocal" (Ip, et al. 2003: 491). In a recent work on the translation of Lin Shu and his collaborators, Michael Hill (2013), by a re-examination of their translation works and the often discussed problems on Lin, discovers a distinct practice by them which played a significant role in the formation of modern literature and culture. To the notorious blames on Lin's strategy of translation and use of classical language, Hill challenges the rhetoric and practices by the May Fourth writers and points out a distinctive contribution by Lin's translation to the formation of Chinese national language and modern literature. (Hill 2013, chapter 2)

Instead of focusing on the elite discourse of the May Fourth paradigm, another focus shared by many of the above works is to discover the roles and functions of newspapers, journals and magazines during the Republican period. Periodicals have provided most direct source materials for researchers to observe the prevailing ideologies and practices of the late Qing and Republican era, since they played a significant historical role in terms of bringing in Western knowledge, disseminating new concepts and promoting modern practices. Unlike other types of publication, the periodicals are more accessible to the public within the social arena where new culture is formed; they extend new discursive space by opening up platforms for readers to engage in public discourses and have dialogues with the editors and writers. Researches pay attention to popular literature, initiated by Leo Lee who studies an urban modernity in *Dongfang zazhi* and *Liangyou huabao*. Both Denise Gimpel (2001) and Zheng, Yiting Ethan (2008) examine in *Yueyue xiaoshuo* how the writers addressed their concerns of being modern, when an idea of modernity was represented. Gao Yunxiang (2006) studies *Linglong* magazine (玲珑 *Linglon*, 1931-1937), and examines the generation of the concept robust beauty" (*jianmei* 健美) as a result of translation in the context of a national campaign by the Nanjing Government in the 1930s. Louise Edwards (2012) investigates the female

images constructed in *Linglong*, proposing the idea of a "moderate modernity" in "the Shanghai Modern Woman's American Dreams."

The May Fourth Movement, which was initially an outbreak of patriotic student demonstrations on May 4, 1919, protesting against results in the Versailles Conference which severely violated the interests of China, later became a nationwide movement that mobilised masses of people from various social backgrounds to call for social, cultural and political changes in China. The Movement, often linked with the New Culture Movement, heralded a period marked by radical anti-traditionalism, iconoclastic campaigns against Chinese culture, zealous enthusiasm for change, and strong admiration for Western culture, with which the advocates believed that the whole Chinese traditional social system, value, and ethics could be reshaped through "total Westernization" and upon a total denunciation of the past. Following the "May Fourth paradigm" and the grand narrative of modern Chinese history, the question of modernity is often addressed with huge topics raised by elite intellectuals (Lee 1999: 81). In historical and literary studies, Chinese modernity had long been pinned to the May-Fourth discourses and the voices became limited and monotonous. Scholars have called for more investigation of the diversity and multiplicity of the modernity debate (Ip, et al. 2003: 504).

It is quite clear that the unilinear model of Chinese modernity discourse has been challenged recently by scholars in the field, who attempt to seek alternative voices from the social and literary practices in the late Qing and Republican era. Works by Liu (1995), Wang (1997), Lee (1999), Daruvala (2000), Yeh (2000), Hockx (2003), among others, have demonstrated that the literary choices and discursive practices of the May Fourth leading figures are not the only models in Chinese modernity discourses. These works motivate and inform this study of *Xifeng* in terms of their alternative discourses and approaches to Chinese modernity. Next, I will further discuss how I come to the current thesis.

1.4.3 *Works that inspire the current study*

While the search for alternative discourses on Chinese modernity in modern Chinese literary and cultural studies has significantly paved the way for my current study, this thesis is directly inspired by a few works in which translation, modernity, and issues of modern Chinese experiences are particularly explored.

This study is initially inspired by Lydia Liu's project of "Translated modernity," as my work is to demonstrate how translation contributes to the construction of a modern identity

through establishing a modern ethos, including an attitude, a mentality and a way of life. Liu (1995) studies translated modernity by seeing translation as an active agent through which new concepts, discourses and norms are manipulated and deployed in the Chinese modern context. Through the examination of the Chinese modern experience, Liu challenges a post-colonial paradigm in which the reaction from non-Western cultures is often reduced to "resistance" (ibid: xvi). This idea echoes a dominant phenomenon in translation studies that the appropriation of Western theories onto the non-Western cultures often show limitations. (Tymozcko 2003). It is also a starting point of my research with an intention to contextualise the translation practices of *Xifeng* and examine how they join in the negotiation and appropriation of the West into modern China.

In her project Liu focuses on the language and tries to answer Lee's (1990) question "what is so 'modern' about Chinese modern history and literature" by reviewing how language was used in talking about modernity by the twentieth century Chinese (Liu 1995: 28). I am going to answer this question by reviewing the issue of language from another sense, that is, by discussing how a "modern Chinese" was introduced and developed through translation against the background of debates on translation and language during the 1920s and 1930s. Liu also discusses a crisis of Chinese national identity in which Chinese elite intellectuals were troubled with the Chinese national character (国民性 *guominxing*) and a Western gaze. (ibid: 45-47) Her discussion provides an entry for my discussion of Chinese national identity in Chapter 3, in which I will further discuss how the magazine treated the image of the Chinese and its relation to the West. Her writing about the appropriation of female literature for a nationalist discourse (ibid: 199-213) also leads me to consider women's self and the construction of Modern woman which could be outside the frame of nationalism (national salvation), which I will discuss in Chapter 4.

Leo Lee's study (1999) provides an example of studying the urban modernity in the 1930s and 1940s Shanghai, by examining the material representation of the modern (ibid: 4-5) and the printing culture in Shanghai, in which a bourgeois sense of modernity is revealed. His research reveals a project of intellectual enlightenment which had been associated with a modern style of life in Shanghai in the given period. Lee defines the 1930s as a time when Chinese modernity itself was being constructed as a cultural imaginary, a "visionary imagination preceded the efforts of nation-building and institutionalization." (ibid: 47) By reviewing *Dongfang zazhi* and *Liangyou huabao*, two influential popular magazines in

Shanghai, he discusses how a range of modern notions, such as family, health, hygiene, were promoted by the Chinese popular press as the life modern people should live at the time.

Lee's work, largely based on the print culture in Shanghai, provides resources and background for my study of *Xifeng*, which was also based in Shanghai in the same period. Discussion of the images of modern woman in his study of *Liangyou huabao* and the literary creations of the Modernist writers inspires me to think about the modern woman image presented in *Xifeng*, which leads to my focus of Modern Woman in Chapter 4. His discussion of "Shanghai Cosmopolitanism" also provides a source for my consideration for the modern Chinese identity as showing a cosmopolitan disposition, a topic I will discuss in Chapter 3.

As I will argue in Chapter 2, one of the distinctive features of *Xifeng* lies in its practice of a "translated style," both in the sense of a style of language and a writing style, which participates in a central *problematique* of Chinese modernity in the formation of a modern Chinese cultural identity.

Susan Daruvala's study (2000) of the literary practices of Zhou Zuoren in terms of an alternative response to Chinese modernity informs my study, in terms of its offering a different attitude and practice in the participation of the several contentious issues during the 1930s. The May Fourth paradigm, particularly as appropriated by the Communist/Leftist line, can be summarized as the institutional and ideological canonization of Lu Xun as the model for Chinese modernity discourses. Daruvala shows that Zhou Zuoren, Lu Xun's brother, represents another pillar for modern Chinese literature and culture: he calls for an alternative aesthetics for a number of critical issues facing Chinese modernity. Zhou's promotion of *xiaopinwen* (小品文 familiar essays), of self-cultivation as detached from xenophobic nationalism, of a style of writing and living drawn from traditionally marginalized late Ming essayists, were important features of the *Analects* group led by Lin Yutang in the 1930s Shanghai, from which *Xifeng* and its translation practices originated.

David Wang's idea of "modernity as a possibility" (1997: 7) inspires the idea of treating all the literary efforts in *Xifeng*, including imagination, transplantation, and advocacy of a Western modern life, as an advanced demonstration of "modern," which competed with many other possibilities at the same period of time. This idea, together with the "cultural imaginary" by Lee (1999: 63), supports my research target of looking at a modern Chinese identity in *Xifeng* magazine.

Jing Tsu's book (2005) discusses the making of a modern Chinese identity from a unique angle—the experience of failure, which has been branded in the memory of Chinese and often appropriated by Chinese intellectuals in their discourses of nationalism and modern Chinese identity. Her discussion provides a point of reference to my Chapter 3 and 4.

As previous scholarship has done much on decentring the May Fourth paradigm, "tradition" is no longer viewed as being opposite to modernity. On the contrary, researchers see tradition in modernity, as in Daruvala's study. Instead of putting oneself in an absolute dichotomy between the old and the new, the East and the West, Left and Right, by looking into the literary practices of Lin Yutang, Qian Suoqiao (2011a) proposes an alternative perspective of a middling modernity between the mainstream nationalist and revolutionary discourses. He sees modernity in this way:

> "Chinese modernity is a historical given. …In an elemental sense, 'Chinese modernity' refers to the ensemble of historical practices that happened to modern China. On the other hand, it is also such historical practices that have produced a new distinct modern Chinese way of being, which is certainly fluid, flexible, undetermined, incomplete and ongoing, far from being an 'identity' as such." (Qian 2011a:25)

Qian's work not only points to *Xifeng* magazine (ibid. 117-118), the research material of this study, but also highlights several key issues in Chinese modernity, many participated by the literary and cultural practices of Lin Yutang and the group of people sharing similar cultural disposition. His introduction and discussion on the literary practices and journals run by the *Analects group* and the literary propositions by Lin Yutang (Qian 2010; 2011a: 96-127) inspire chapter 2 in this study and his argument on the liberal cosmopolitan provides insightful perspective in reviewing an attitude in treating a radical nationalism, which is relevant to my discussion of Chinese national and gender identity in Chapter 3 and 4.

Chapter 2. Writing Modern Chinese through Translation

"What is so 'modern' about modern Chinese history and literature?... in what ways did the May Fourth generation, and their predecessors, attempt to define their difference from the past and articulate a new range of sensibilities which they would consider 'modern'?" (Lee 1990: 110) This is what Leo Lee asks in his pioneering article, calling for attention to the overlooked dimensions other than the much-focused distinction between tradition and modernity in discussions of the May Fourth intellectual revolution and their legacy. Similarly, Lydia Liu (1995:28) in her project of "translated modernity" points out the importance of asking "what kind of language" Chinese actually used in the 20th century to demonstrate a different identity from their past. In Liu's study, how the modern Chinese articulated their modern experience is discussed through their translation strategies, narrative modes, discursive formation and legitimising process of new ideas and concepts. But there is perhaps a more fundamental perspective of viewing "what kind of language" the modern Chinese used or developed to demonstrate their modern identity. It is the style of language itself, which in the Chinese case refers to the distinction of *wenyan* (the classical language) and *baihua* (the vernacular language), and signifies the evolution of modern Chinese language in the 20th century. To answer how the style of modern Chinese language participated in the shaping of Chinese modernity, it is worth looking back at one of the most contentious periods for modern Chinese writers, scholars and intellectuals as they argued about and chose what kind of linguistic representation should be counted as modern Chinese national language. It was in this historical scene that *Xifeng* participated in the practice of writing modern Chinese which demonstrated the magazine's distinctive style and stance from other writing practices around the same time.

The new Chinese national language and its writing style, which have been reinvented and developed since then, have fundamentally shaped how a modern Chinese thinks and speaks and have defined the very being of Chinese today. But as innovations in Chinese language came as a result of a strong Western influence, particularly through translation, from the beginning Europeanisation (or Westernisation) in language became the source of problems. In the early 1930s, language innovators launched fierce polemics over different plans for the development of new styles of writing, in which translation became a focus of contention in the process. From the end of the 1920s through the early 1930s, new voices

were added to the ideas of the May-Fourth generation, and divergent opinions arose on Europeanisation and translation, including the resurrection of *wenyan*, and the call for a new style, *dazhongyu* (大众语 language for the masses). The modern Chinese language became problematic and met its crisis as a kind of awkward Chinese language became prevalent.

This chapter situates the translation practice of *Xifeng* magazine in the context of language and literary reforms from the 1910s to the 1930s and discusses how Lin Yutang, the initiator of *Xifeng* magazine, responded to the modern language reform and the crisis of Chinese language in the 1930s. The chapter also discusses how *Xifeng* followed Lin's ideal by providing smooth and fluent language in translation and promoting a new literary genre, as a way to cure the problem in both modern Chinese language and literature.

2.1 *Baihua, Dazhongyu*, and Translation

2.1.1 *Wenyan, baihua and the Vernacular Language Movement*

After China's disastrous defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1895, the Qing government issued a number of reforms, and in 1905, the age-old Civil Examination System was abolished. Thereafter, groups of Chinese youth went to study abroad to achieve their educational capital. By the latter half of the 1910s, a new generation of Western/Japan-educated Chinese emerged on the intellectual scene. Deeply concerned with the fate of China, they were about to start a cultural revolution which would change the nation fundamentally over the whole 20th century. In 1915, Chen Duxiu (陈独秀 1879-1942), who had returned from Japan, launched *Journal of Youth* (青年杂志 *Qingnian zazhi*, 1915-1922) in Shanghai, which changed its name to the *New Youth* (新青年 *Xinqingnian*) in 1916. In its "Manifesto" (社告 Shegao), the journal called on Chinese youth to participate in cultural reconstruction when "the nation is at stake and the culture is collapsing" ("Shegao," 1915: 1) In the same year on the other side of the globe, a group of Chinese students in New York were thinking about the same thing. The group, including Hu Shi (胡适 1891-1962), Zhao Yuanren (赵元任 1892-1982) and Mei Guangdi (梅光迪 1890-1945), had a discussion about whether or not the traditional *wenyan* (文言 classical Chinese language) was dead and thus needed to be replaced by a new medium.

Hu Shi met many opposing opinions on whether *wenyan* was dead, but he had brooded over his idea of using a new language as the interim Chinese language. In 1917 he published

his famous article "Modest Proposals for the Literary Reform" (文学改良刍议 Wenxue gailiang chuyi) in *New Youth*, proclaiming a modern Chinese literature written in the vernacular *baihua*. In this article Hu made eight suggestions for writing, including emphasising that writers should stop using classical allusions, literary conventions, parallel structures and so on. (Hu 1917: 1-2)[23] What he denounced were the restricted literary patterns followed by the traditional Confucian literati, which had become fetters on the Chinese literature and made it a "dead" one.[24] Deeply convinced that the classical *wenyan* was not a sufficient medium for delivering meanings, Hu saw more value in *baihua*, the vernacular language, which originated from the beginning of Buddhist Sutra translation and was widely used in important literary works in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Hu believed that *baihua* would become the written language for future Chinese literature, just like the cases in European countries in the late medieval times when writers in Italy, England, and France started to write in their local dialects or colloquialisms and finally formed their national languages. Hu's initiative immediately triggered the Literary Revolution, at the base of which was the Vernacular Language Movement.

Hu Shi later made it clear in several articles and speeches that he regarded the replacement of the classical *wenyan* by the vernacular *baihua* as the most important accomplishment of the New Culture Movement. To him, the "literary revolutionists" were calling for "a living literature—a literature which shall be written in the spoken tongue and shall truly represent the life and needs of the people." (1919/2013: 3) In this sense the reform of both language and literary writing became indispensable elements in this "literary revolution." Only the literature produced in the everyday spoken language could be viewed as representing the real life of the nation. Only the "emancipated" literary form could produce works with "enriched content" (1919/2013: 6). Thus the classic *wenyan* must be replaced by *baihua*.

The movement spread so quickly that after the summer of 1917, new issues of *New Youth* started to publish articles written in *baihua*. In 1918, Lu Xun's "Dairy of a Madman" (狂人日记 Kuangren riji) was published in the same journal, signifying the birth of modern

[23] Hu's proposal for literary reform includes eight points: 1. Literature should convey ideas; 2. Do not imitate the ancient people; 3. One should follow the linguistic rules; 4. Do not adopt a sentimental aesthetic over daily subjects; 5. No clichés; 6. No idioms and allusions; 7. No parallelism; 8. Do not avoid colloquial expressions. (Hu 1917: 1-2)

[24] Hu Shi came up with his idea on the "dead" literature of China when he was studying in Cornel University in 1915, and he later developed and delivered the idea of developing a living literature for future China in many of his writings (Hu 1917: 10; 1918a: 289; for a short review of Hu's comment on the dead literature, see Qian Suoqiao 2016: 191-193)

Chinese vernacular literature. In a short time, thanks to the efforts of progressive intellectuals, the vernacular *baihua* achieved the dominant status of "national language" in China. According to Hu (1919/2013: 5), some chief editors of newspapers and journals began to use the new language in their editorial writings, then periodicals such as *The Weekly Review* (每周评论) and *The Renaissance* (新潮), were basically published in the "vulgate Chinese," and so followed a few books of science and philosophy. In 1920 *baihua* was designated to be taught in the primary schools by the Ministry of Education as the National Language. (Hu 1922/2013: 11) Since then *baihua* has become the only legitimate language commonly used in textbooks, journals and newspapers nationwide.

At this time *baihua* was still a vague concept, lacking authoritative definition or description. Hu Shi used the terms "plain language" and "vulgate Chinese," meaning the simple colloquial language used by the most ordinary people, such as the street venders. To him modern literature should be written in the same way as being spoken, in order to be called the "living literature." But since *wenyan* was still largely in use and the proclamation of its "death" could not immediately lead to establishment of the new language, the actual practices of *baihua* were quite indeterminate, to say the least.

Although Hu Shi might have found the origin of *baihua* in the long historical practice of "the vernacular" in China, his idea of developing the vernacular language came from the similar experience he identified in the modern history of European countries, which he explicated in various articles. (Hu Shi 1917; 1922/2013) In addition to being rediscovered in the vernacular practice dating back to the Yuan, Ming and Qing period, *baihua* in the Vernacular Language Movement was more inspired and informed by Western influence, which was a marked phenomenon of Chinese modernity.

Chinese intellectuals had suffered a sense of humiliation due to many defeats by the Western powers from the 1840s on, which caused an anxiety to catch up with the West and condemn everything in their traditional culture as decayed and harmful. This included most notably their radical denunciation of the classical language which had been the official and dominant medium for over 2,000 years. This psychological factor soon evolved into a radical progressionist view that almost dominated the intellectual field in 20th century China.[25] So,

[25] A famous example can be the much criticised translation by Lin Shu, who rendered more than 200 Western novels by using *wenyan*. Lin received fierce attacks in the 1920s and 1930s by the May Fourth writers because of his adherence to the traditional language and culture. Hu Shi "announced the failure" of Lin's translation by using a "May Fourth standard,"

while Hu Shi promoted a "Chinese Literary Renaissance" (Hu 1931/2013: 43) through the development of the vernacular language as the national language, as comparable to the European historical experience, more radical literary revolutionists, such as Hu's student Fu Sinian (傅斯年, 1896-1950), believed that *baihua* should be constructed by bringing in the linguistic forms of European languages, rather than adopting the vernacular or colloquial form of Chinese. (Fu 1919a; 1919b)

2.1.2 *Translation, Europeanisation, and modern Chinese*

Though Hu Shi found the source of vernacular style in everyday usage and some literary works of the recent hundred years, there was still no established model for a modern vernacular literature.[26] To Fu Sinian, there had been a confusion about how to write *baihua* after the literary revolution, since many did not know how to write in it at all, so he felt necessary to write an article to explicate how to produce *baihua* literature. (Fu 1919a: 171) He found that the new national language was extremely simple and dry so that Western literary techniques such as tense, syntax, lexicon, and figures of speech would need to be borrowed to enrich it. He continued to argue that *baihua* at the time was too barren and new vocabulary needed to be created to express the items in modern life, which were available in Western languages. To him, Europeanisation was the only solution. (Fu 1919a: 178-179)

From Fu we can understand how Europeanisation came to be at the centre of contention and how translation was involved in the construction and development of *baihua*. Fu (1919a: 182) even suggested that literal translation should be adopted as a practice of writing through which writers could gradually produce good articles in *baihua*. According to Fu, *baihua* was much closer to Western languages and must be the medium for translating foreign works (Fu 1919b: 535-536). In a sense, this was rather contradictory, as *baihua* was still in the making. Under the overwhelming trend of Westernisation, the question was not solely about whether *baihua* or *wenyan* should be used in translation, but how modern Chinese itself could be developed through translation. In addition, along with successive debates on the proper

because of his use of *wenyan*, which was in Hu's term a "dead" language. (Yang 2008: 92) In the study of Hill (2013), he draws a different conclusion. Hill (2013, Chapter 2) finds that Lin's use of *guwen* (古文 the classical language) already demonstrated an early development of the modern Chinese language.

[26] There had been a tradition of vernacular literature in China since the Tang Dynasty, such as the Chinese traditional masterpieces *Shuihuzhuan* (水浒传 The Water Margin), *Sanguoyanyi* (三国演义 The Romance of Three Kingdoms), and *Xiyouji* (西游记 Journey to the West). Hu Shi believed such literature could circulate for a long time among the common readers. (Hu 1917: 10)

principles and strategies of translation, the question of modern *baihua* became all the more complex and came to a crisis in the early 1930s.

In the decade after the New Culture Movement, the prevailing intellectual ethos was to absorb the Western/European to replace, enrich and change the Chinese culture. Different interpretations of the Western/European could reveal the divergent and complicated sources of opinions among intellectuals at the time, including the rise of Communism and the Leftist writers who engaged heavily in the language and literary movement from the late 1920s onwards.

Lu Xun, the leading figure of the New Culture Movement and later head of the League of the Left-wing Writers (afterwards referred to as the Left League), was well known as advocating a literal translation from Western works in order to enrich the Chinese language, so to him Europeanisation of the Chinese language was essential. In 1929, Lu Xun commented on his own translation in an afterword to his translation *Wenyi yu piping* (文艺与批评 Arts and Criticism):

> "The arguments in the original work are concise and straightforward. But due to incompetence of the translator and insufficiency of the Chinese language, the translation reads obscure and is hard to understand. But if I broke down the clauses, the original pithy tone would be lost. I could not find another way but to maintain a strict word-for-word translation with the only hope that the reader would force themselves to read it through." (cited in Liang 1929a: 3)

Lu Xun named his strategy "stiff translation" (*yingyi* 硬译), meaning strictly following the original sentence structure, with which readability was no longer the priority. This idea was criticised by Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋, 1903-1987), an important member of the *Xueheng* (学衡) School, which was founded by several Harvard graduates, students of Irving Babbitt (1865-1933), who held the preservation of traditional Chinese culture as their mission. Citing examples of awkward translation by Lu Xun, Liang (1929a: 1) argued that Lu Xun's so-called "stiff translation" was actually "dead translation," since the reader received nothing from reading such difficult passages. In another article published in the same issue of *Xinyue* (新月

Crescent Moon)[27], Liang (1929b) argued that literature should not be classified according to the Marxist social strata or be used for the Proletarian class struggle.

Lu Xun (1930) fought back point by point against Liang. On the point of readability of translated works, Lu stated again his idea that Chinese readers would gradually become accustomed to the new syntax after going through the "unpleasant" experience of reading unfamiliar sentences and expressions. (Lu 1930: 71-72) Lu Xun's rebuttal was published in *Mengya yuekan* (萌芽月刊 *Sprouts Monthly*), the mouthpiece for the Left League, which published translated works of the Marxist theories and proletarian literature from the Soviet countries. In this journal, the highly Europeanised language was generally adopted, and the sentences written in long-winded structure were a common phenomenon. For example:

> 公社的政府***是***将艺术家及艺术事业底组织，任之于人民教化部底一员——其后从中所选出的美术家孤拔(G. Courbet)***的***。(The sentence was translated from a European language. The original sentence might be equivalent to: "It was the government of the Commune that assigned the artists and their organisations under the People's Education Section, from which artist G. Courbet was selected.)[28] (Xue Feng 1930: 58)

By using a predicative structure "是……的" ("*shi*…*de*"—the two Chinese structural words *shi* and *de* form a structure similar to the English "A+be+B"), a long winding clause was created. The sentence was extremely difficult to articulate for a Chinese tongue as there are long clauses with many Chinese characters between "*shi*" and "*de*". This strategy of maintaining the original linguistic forms was prevalent especially in the Leftists' translation, despite critical voices against such practice.

Contrary to his pungent remarks on Liang, Lu Xun appreciated the Leftist writer Qu Qiubai (1899-1935), who showed interest in his translation of East European literature. Lu

[27] The journal (1923-1931) was published by the *Xinyue* (新月 Crescent Moon) society, a literary group led by the famous poet Xu Zhimo (徐志摩, 1897-1931) and many other leading writers. The society is known to have many debates with the League of the Left-Wing Writers on whether art should be used to serve the purpose of politics. For studies of the Xinyue literary society, See Michel Hockx (2003); Hockx and Kirk A. Denton (2008), Chapter 9)

[28] Original texts of the translations used in this Chapter were in different European languages, including English, French, German, Russian and so on. These translations might not be renditions of texts of their original languages, but retranslations from other foreign languages, an example can be found in Hill (2013: 234). I have not been able to find the original texts, and instead offer here my back translations in English in brackets, in order to show meanings of these texts and how the Chinese sentences went in a Europeanised way.

Xun had their correspondences published in *Shizi jietou* (十字街头 Crossroad) and *Wenxue yuekan* (文学月刊 Literature Monthly), both official organs of the League, in 1931 and 1932. Qu (1931/1985: 504, 506) praised Lu Xun's translation of the Soviet writer Alexander Fadeyev (1901-1956) and criticised the translation of Zhao Jingshen (赵景深 1902-1985),[29] another of Lu Xun's "enemies," who believed "smoothness" and "readability" were more important even if the translator might have to sacrifice the equivalence of meaning. Qu made the argument that one important function of translation was to help create a modern Chinese language, which should carry sufficient weight (or density) to convey strong proletarian ideological connotations. (ibid: 505-506) He thought language could convey class consciousness and advocated that it was time for the Proletariat to lead the reform movement in order to "become political master of its result," even if it was started by the bourgeois intellectuals, such as Hu Shi. (ibid: 507) Zhao's opinion on the smoothness of translation was treated as opposing the proletarian literature, and thus received fierce attacks. Zhao's ideal language for translation, as Qu put it, "a hybrid between that of Liang Qichao and Hu Shi," "half *wenyan* and half *baihua*," "half dead and half alive," was "still not 'smooth' to the masses." (ibid) Qu ardently echoed Lu Xun in condemning Zhao's translation, for serving the "capitalist lord," but on the other hand he disagreed with Lu Xun's idea of "tolerance of not-so-smooth language." Qu believed that the "absolute *baihua*" should be developed by creating both new terms and syntax in accordance with changes of new life style (such as the worker's strike) and by compiling the existing linguistic rules of *baihua*—the new language must be easily understood by the ordinary people. (ibid: 507-509) He further expounded his ideas on "absolute *baihua*" in his reply to Lu Xun's letter, by resetting the centre of the question from "smoothness" to "the ordinary people," or in the proletarian terms, *qunzhong* (群众 the crowd), or *dazhong* (大众 the masses), so that either the general Europeanised language or the neither-classical-nor-vernacular "new *wenyan*" should be condemned. (Qu 1932/1985: 516-517, 520-521)

Qu was not only against Lu Xun's idea of "literal translation," but also the popular writing style that was strongly influenced by foreign languages, such as the following example by the famous writer Mao Dun (茅盾 1896-1981):

[29] Zhao Jingshen, editor of Beixin Bookstore, is known for translating works of Danish writer Hans Andersen (1805-1875) into Chinese in the 1920s.

> 有着两个女儿一个儿子而做着寡妇的她……（She, a widow with two daughters and a son…） (Cited in Gunn 1991: 90)

Saying "this sort of Europeanization when recited aloud is just extremely ugly Chinese without a trace of beauty in it," Qu claimed it was crucial that literature should be delivered with an aesthetics which could be accepted by the masses of common people. However, his own writing was ironically picked up by Xu Xu (徐訏, 1908-1980), an important writer who belonged to the *Analects group*, as the very example of the Europeanised *baihua*.

> "我们现在需要的是彻底的俗话本位的文学革命，没有这一个条件，普罗文学就没有自己的言语，没有和群众共同的言语。" (What we need today is a thoroughly vernacular-based Literary Revolution, for without such a condition, proletarian literature will not have its own language that speaks the tongue of the masses.) (Cited in Qian 2011a: 120)

There was obviously contradiction between Qu's rhetoric on translation and language and his practice. Tak-hung Chan (2001) points out that Qu had a similar "pro-vernacular but anti-Europeanization stance" to that of Hu Shi. Hu's idea of enriching the vernacular through "the importation of dialectal, not foreign, features" (ibid: 207) sounded familiar to Qu's argument when he opposed the translation strategy by Lu Xun. But the difference between Hu and Qu was from a political and ideological content. For the Leftists, what was of primordial importance was the establishment of a set of terms, slogans, and discourses for the Proletarian revolution rather than a language actually in use among the masses. Their promotion of "a language for the masses," with an emphasis on the "revolutionary" and proletarian discourses, did not actually make it more accessible to the masses, but led to a more confusing situation to the development of modern Chinese language.

2.1.3 *Debate on dazhongyu*

In 1934 when the Nanjing Government proposed a "return to the classical culture," including the teaching of *wenyan* and the Confucian classics at school, another language movement burst out. This time the heated debates gathered around a new term—*dazhongyu*

(大众语 language of the masses). In several months, hundreds of articles were published in *Shenbao* (申报) and *Zhonghua Ribao Supplement* (中华日报副刊) discussing *baihua*, *wenyan*, and *dazhongyu*. It marked a different stage of the contentions in the development of modern Chinese, the focus of which lay in the alleged "class nature" of *baihua* and the necessity for the birth of a new language for the mass—"dazhongyu."

Dazhongyu, according to Chen Zizhan (陈子展 1898-1990), ought to be the language that could be spoken, listened to and read by the "ordinary people," which referred to the majority of the national population, including peasants, craftsmen, industrial workers, shopkeepers, shop employees and street hawkers. (Chen 1934: 51) Chen claimed that *baihua* at the time was only used among intellectuals and thus was not a language for the ordinary people. Chen's idea was comparatively moderate since he admitted the importance of literacy of the ordinary people if a language were to be developed for them and even agreed that, when necessary, Europeanisation and *wenyan* could be accepted as long as it was not for the purpose of showing off one's mastery of foreign or classical language. (Chen 1934: 52) Such a mild tone was obviously not satisfactory to quite a few activists such as Bai Xin (白心), Hu Yuzhi (胡愈之, 1896-1986), and Chen Wangdao (陈望道, 1891-1977). Bai (1934: 53-54) argued that *baihua* had been compromising with *wenyan*, which should have become obsolete in the progression of time, and was thus no longer fitted for the ordinary people. Hu (1934: 56-57) further fired at the dominating social class by accusing them of staging a comeback of the old language and the political social system. By polarising two written forms in the Literary Revolution—*baihua* and *wenyan*—as belonging to the common citizens and literati gentry class, Chen Wangdao (1934: 59-60) further divided *baihua* into the spoken tongue for the literati (called *yuluti* 语录体, meaning conversational style) and that for the masses (called *dazhongyu*), emphasising the necessity of learning language through approaching the life of the masses.

Debates on *Dazhongyu* were no less ardent than the Vernacular Language Movement in terms of the activists' eagerness in establishing it. In September, 1934, Chen Wangdao and other Leftist writers launched a new journal *Taibai* (太白 Very Plain, 1934-1935) promoting *dazhongyu*. The style of the articles in *Taibai* was smooth and easy to understand. Yet ironically, it was difficult to tell how it was different as a "language for the mass" from that used by intellectuals like Hu Shi. If the previous movement was about the opposition of the

traditional and the modern, the latter one was about that of the new ruling (capitalist) class and the people according to the ideological jargon of the Leftist camp. With such a highly ideological task, the focus of *Dazhongyu* debates became whose language it was rather than what the language was like. Even though the goal of a reformed language and literature for both Hu Shi and the *dazhongyu* supporters was "that for the ordinary people," "the people" was of different connotations.

This new movement for "the people's language" was nothing new to Hu. As early as in 1919, Li Xinbai (李辛白), a friend of Hu Shi, planned to run a journal called *New Life* (新生活), with an ambition that it would only use "common people's language" and must be understood by the common people (老百姓 *laobaixing*). Li optimistically believed his new journal would only be for the common people rather the educated group. But at the beginning he needed an article from Hu Shi to attract readers. Upon Li's request, Hu wrote a short article on "What is New Life?" (新生活是什么？), which was later selected into the national language textbook for middle school students. However, over a year after that, to Hu's disappointment there was not a single piece of work published in *New Life* which actually used an easy and plain language that was readable by the common people. Li admitted that the only piece of writing that could be understood by the common people was that one contributed by Hu. What was more ironic was that the journal could only be read by middle school students, and could never reach the hands of the real common people. (Hu Shi 1934)

Seeing the trouble of the language in practice in the 1930s, Hu Shi joined in the heated debate by asking "Where is *Dazhongyu*?" (大众语在哪儿 1934), in which he told the above anecdote. Hu pointed out the predicament of those who supported the so-called *dazhongyu* in that they could neither speak nor write in it. As Hu Shi described the situation:

> "They used idioms in the classical texts; they never analysed new terms; they produced half-Chinese and half-Western sentences in a neither-classical-nor-vernacular tone; they translated in a rigid way and wrote in a lazy manner." (Hu 1934: 3)

In this article Hu Shi pointed out the comprehensibility of the language among its users, the common people, especially those who could not read at all. So he suggested that writers

should be considerate and write as though speaking, which was to a certain extent in line with Lin Yutang's idea of proper language. (to be discussed in the next section)

This debate on what kind of "modern Chinese" should be developed involved different intellectual attitudes to *baihua* and the effects of Westernisation/Europeanisation on its formation. Letters to Lu Xun by Qu Qiubai showed the *Dazhongyu* movement was never an isolated, sudden event. On the one hand, all the liberal intellectuals were viewed as "class enemies" by the Leftists in their literary and social activities and thus their language, no matter whether it was more classical or more Europeanised, was criticised; on the other hand, there were also diverging opinions and practices within the Leftist group. Particularly when introducing Soviet theories and literature, their writings and translations were usually slogan-ridden and tortuous.

The question of translation remained a central issue in terms of developing a new kind of "Chinese." Lu Xun (1933: 5) complained that 1933 was the year of the campaign against translation. He defended his "stiff translation" and made the point that it was the reader's responsibility to persevere in reading the translated works, which might not be easily understood at a first sight. When *baihua* was criticised in the *dazhongyu* movement as the language of compradors, Lu Xun even used a penname *Kangbaidu* (康百度 transliteration of comprador) in *Shenbao*, claiming that "There is a necessity rather than sheer curiosity for us to allow the Europeanised grammar to enter Chinese *baihua*. … if a critic wants to express accurately, he has to adopt some foreign syntax, for the existing *baihua* is not sufficient." (Lu 1934: 4) Lu Xun's idea became a guiding principle for the Leftists in their translation. When the proletarian literary fighters were promoting their *dazhongyu*, their translations of the Soviet literature and theories were very rigid, and its consequent Europeanised style, called translationese, remained in vogue throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the traces of which can still be found in some major translation magazines today, such as *Yilin* (译林 Translation, 1979 -now).

The contentious issues on *baihua* and *dazhongyu* were in fact about the question of "what counts as a modern Chinese" to different parties. In the minds of the May-Fourth, or post-May-Fourth generation, what mattered was the thoroughness of their iconoclastic task in social cultural aspects, the first among which was the issue of the national language. The determined, radical idea of introducing the "more advanced" from the West to replace what

had existed in Chinese culture was the main theme, that is why Chinese modernity always needs to be discussed in relation to the West. This is also why the Chinese national identity must be understood in relation to the contentions surrounding the making of a modern Chinese language. In the radical progressive view, regardless of the problem-ridden Europeanised *baihua* and the ill-conceived *dazhongyu*, the resurrection of *wenyan* was certainly against the tide of development and "progress."

At the height of the debate on *dazhongyu*, one of the targets for the Leftists' attacks was another style, the *yuluti* (语录体 conversational style), practiced and promoted through an aesthetics of *xianshi* (闲适 leisure) in Lin Yutang's journals. (Hu Yuzhi 1934: 57) The next section will discuss Lin's ideas on the vernacular language and literary reform, the promotion of *yuluti*, and his discovery of Western magazine literature as a cure to the ills of modern Chinese in the making.

2.2 Lin Yutang's Ideas on Translation, *Yuluti*, and Western magazine literature

The relation between *baihua*, *dazhongyu*, translation, and Europeanisation deserves more scholarly attention, considering its fundamental significance in the development of "modern Chinese." A major work has been done by Edward Gunn (1991), who examines the new grammatical constructions, rhetorical inventions, and sentence cohesion based on a massive collection of texts published in the early 20th century, which demonstrate how those innovative constructions came into forming the modern Chinese language. He records how the May Fourth thinkers bore in mind the task of transforming society with the power of literature, and how writers, such as Lu Xun, Mao Dun, and Xu Zhimo, sought for innovations in literary writing from Euro-Japanese vocabulary[30] and linguistic constructions, which was actually associated with translation, or to be more exact, with literal translation. (see Gunn 1991: 95-107) According to Gunn's research, with the promotion of *baihua* in school education, general publication, and government documents, new linguistic and literary techniques were soon accepted by readers and writers in an irreversible manner when the War of Resistance against Japan broke out in 1937 (Gunn 1991: 118). Lin Yutang's literary ideas, especially his promotion of *yuluti*, in Gunn's term, "quasi-archaic style" (Gunn 1991: 117), was seen as having an archaic mannerism which Lin valued much in traditional Chinese

[30] A large number of neologisms entered Chinese vocabulary before the 1910s from the West. Some of Western terms were firstly translated into Japanese and then brought into Chinese by students who studied at Japan. Thus Euro-Japanese vocabulary. There is a list of the new words with their routes of diffusion in Lydia Liu (1999, Appendix A).

literature. This archaic mannerism was treated as showing a backwardness in terms of developing modern Chinese language and literature. Furthermore, Lin's criticism of the winding and redundant style that was introduced from Euro-Japanese features was said to be following a criterion of economy in his aestheticism of language and literature. (Gunn 1991: 84) If we review the works of Lin, we will find his concerns about the development of language and literature were much more comprehensive than a matter of mere appreciation of the traditional legacy or sheer principle of economy in developing modern Chinese language. As Theodore Huters observes, when discussing the question of modern Chinese language and literature, there is a lack of investigation on the meaning of language reform in the existing academic research. (Huters 2012: 276) Besides discovering what changes had taken place in modern Chinese language and literature, it matters to ask what they meant for China in its modern history.

2.2.1 *Baihua, dazhongyu, and yuluti*

In 1916, when the New Culture Movement was at its height throughout the nation, Lin Yutang began to teach English at Tsinghua College, one of the major centres for the New Culture Movement. As a St. John's graduate with superior mastery of English, he soon became involved in the language reform and published a series of essays on the innovation of Chinese language for *New Youth*. In the same issue where Hu Shi and many others called for constructing a new national language through literary revolution, Lin contributed an article outlining his ideas and hopes for modern Chinese language and literature, commenting that contemporary Western literature, written in the vernacular, can excel in forceful argumentation, passage arrangement and progressive reasoning. To him, the meaning and purpose of literary revolution should go beyond the scope of a mere change of medium, namely, using *baihua* to replace *wenyan*, but rather to the question of literary style. Quite a few advantages in Western literature, for example, "lucidity, perspicuity, cogency of thought, truth and appropriateness of expression," were not yet achieved in Chinese literature. "But such kind of literature, which can be produced by a common college instructor [in the West], is beyond the reach of our official literati. So only when we target at such kind of literature, can we see the enlightenment of our people." (Lin 1918: 367) Besides, Lin also listed different styles for different categories in Western literature, such as "familiar style, conversational style, style of scientific reports, oratorical style, etc." (ibid: 368) Those types and styles he found in Western literature were no less important in his consideration on the

literary revolution. In the 1920s and 1930s he had promoted the familiar style, conversational style, and journalistic writing in his magazines.

During his study abroad in the US, Lin continued to join in the fierce debate on *baihua* between progressives and conservatives. In two of the essays he published in *The Chinese Students Monthly*, he claimed that Chinese literary language was bankrupt, foreign blood was needed to be introduced into Chinese, and a new literary beauty was waiting to be developed in the new vernacular literature. He argued that the traditional Chinese literary ideal was only for the pursuit of rhetorical perfection and that was "far different from the thought of a modern-trained mind." (Lin 1920a: 26) If "literature is to play for us the part of the interpreter of life," then we needed a language that could serve the modern thought, and we should therefore adopt "the vernacular language in our literary productions because it is the most natural, truthful, and forceful reflection of our thoughts and emotions." (Lin 1920a: 28-29)

To take pride merely in one's past glory was "far from being the enlightened attitude to take for patriotism." (Lin 1920b: 37) To Lin, being patriotic was to have a vision for what the country might become and possess. Such an idea was a shared liberal progressive ideal at the time. Lin had more expectations for *baihua* than just being "simple and easy." In facing the attacks from the *baihua* opponents who condemned it as the "language of the 'pork-butcher and the bean-curd-seller,'" Lin retorted that the vernacular language did not have to be slovenly, or "forever remain a slipshod balderdash of the Great Unwashed." (Lin 1920b: 39) Furthermore, the literary beauty should not be cultivated only in terms of "trimness and elegance of form," but rather rely on "an aesthetic sense for ideas," "a sense for logical beauty" and "depth." To Lin, the ideal form of literature in the future should be with "a clear, lucid style, a nicely discriminated and well-chosen vocabulary and an artistic vernacular prose." (Lin 1920b: 40-41)

Lin's own learning experience was quite different from most of his contemporaries, such as Hu Shi and Lu Xun, who received overseas education after local schooling grounded in traditional Chinese learning and good training in the Confucian classics. Lin came from a Chinese Christian family and went through mission school training in which Chinese learning was very much neglected. It was not until after his graduation from St. John's University and coming to Beijing in 1916 that he plunged into self-learning of Chinese classics in the midst of the iconoclastic New Culture Movement. With this learning experience and his later specialty in phonology and philology, he saw the reform of national language as well as

Europeanisation in a different perspective from other reformists. He understood the different nature of languages and appreciated such differences, so he did not see any demand for a Europeanised national language, but at the same time he believed it necessary to develop a vernacular national language. After Lin came back to Beijing with a PhD in Linguistics in 1923, he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the language reform movement and joined the *Yusi* group, in which he particularly admired the essay style by Zhou Zuoren.

The 1920s saw a booming development of various literary schools and styles in vernacular literature, but, *baihua* entered into its big crisis in the 1930s. Once an enthusiastic supporter for *baihua*, Lin loathed the awkward and dogmatic *baihua* in use at the time, especially in the name of translation. "I hate the *wen* (文 floweriness) of *baihua* and like the *bai* (白 clarity) of *wenyan*, so I recommend to you *yuluti*. Simply using this conversational style, one sentence is one and two sentences is two, much better than the prolix *baihua*." (Lin 1933b: 82)

In 1933 and 1934 Lin wrote several articles, such as "Yuluti zhiyong" (语录体之用 On the use of *yuluti*), "Zenyang zuo yuluti wen" (怎样做语录体文 how to write in *yulu* style), and "Yuluti juli" (语录体举例 Examples of *yuluti*), instructing readers how to write in *yuluti* and why it was needed.

> "I am not against the literary revolution. It is definitely a right move to write in *baihua*, but nowadays people cannot use it well. …the *baihua* nowadays is more superficial and unpractical than the old classical style, so using *yuluti* can correct this problem. …It (*yuluti*) is the bridge between *wenyan* and *baihua*." (Lin 1933b: 84)

In condemning the dogmatic *baihua*, Lin quoted the lines from a popular play that was on in Nanjing:

"你若接收你父亲的意见" (If you accepted your father's opinion)

and commented that though the actresses performed very well, their lines were not easy to articulate at all. It is better to say “你若早听你爸爸的话” (If you listened to your dad). (Lin 1933d: 84)

At the beginning of the literary revolution *baihua* and *wenyan* could be described as conversational *vs.* written style, but as *baihua* was actually developed under the influence of foreign languages through translation and practiced by writers in various literary writings, it was becoming more and more formal and writerly in articulation. The suggestion by Lin — “你若早听你爸爸的话” (If you listened to your dad) — was much more colloquial and idiomatic to the Chinese ear. Lin suggested that *yuluti* should suit the familiar style in *wenyan*. For example, the archaic pronoun *ru* (汝 you) belonged to the conversational style, so it sounded more familiar than *xiansheng* (先生 Mister) or *zuxia* (足下 your Honour). (Lin 1933e: 299) In terms of how to write in *yuluti*, Lin taught readers a trick — “You can always use colloquial language in *wenyan* and classical expressions in *baihua.*” (Lin 1933e: 299) For example, he corrected a sentence from a reader’s correspondence from “从一个月的看书和学做的经验” (From my experience of reading and practicing in the past month” to “一月来看书写作” (I read and practiced for a month). (Lin 1933e: 299) After changing the complex Europeanised prepositional structure into the subject-predicate structure which is more common in Chinese, the sentence reads much more fluently and freshly.

But besides such Europeanised phrasal expressions, more awkward cases are the long winding sentences that seem to follow a logically accurate grammar but read extremely convoluted and difficult, such as:

> 美丽如花样的小梅，便在这寂静的空气众目的盼切的视线之下经寄梅介绍于来宾之前。 (Beautiful Xiaomei at blooming age, introduced by Jimei, came onto the front of audience in their quiet, targeting and longing gaze.)
>
> 小梅之母——慧英——像播下了什么不幸的种子一样的忧虑和悲伤。(Huiying, Xiaomei’s mother, was worried and sad as if some seeds of misfortune had been planted.) (Lin 1933d: 84-85)

The commonly seen participles and clauses that demonstrate the highly logical relations in the European sentence, when transplanted into Chinese, make the Chinese sentence verbose and unnatural. Lin points out such lines must have been produced by those who had "ill digestion of foreign influence" (食洋不化 *shiyang buhua*) (Lin 1933d: 85).

Lin's promotion of *yuluti* was an attempt to fix the problematic *baihua*, which was popular at the time. For example, "女人最可恶的物质贪欲和虚荣心她渐渐的都被养成" (The most evil lust for materials and vanity in women was gradually formed in her). (Lin 1934c: 10) The sentence is constructed with obvious Europeanised noun phrases and passive voice, not to mention a highly ideological slogan-like condemnation of the "evil materialism." Lin doubts the goal of *dazhongyu* movement and emphasises the importance of a continuity of tradition in any national language, especially the language for the masses. "I sincerely appreciate *baihua*, and much more than the *dazhongyu* writers who want to abandon it in order to start a new language." (Lin 1934c: 10) When there is an idiomatic expression 欢喜雀跃 (over the moon), why we have to get rid of it and use 欢喜得不得了 (extremely happy) just because it is too "Chinese" and thus not qualified as "mass language"? (Lin 1934c: 11)

Here Lin has clearly pointed out the real destination of *dazhongyu* movement. According to the logic of the *dazhongyu* promoters, since the New Culturalist idea for a vernacular literature is now considered belonging to the petty bourgeois class, it is therefore reactionary. So the idea for a language for the mass is in fact to establish, or totally change the national ideology. Lin criticises that the *dazhongyu* promotors "eliminate the original thinking of the working class, select for them, but disregard the literary works commonly enjoyed by the ordinary people," and only introduce theories from the Soviet Union while claiming the Chinese own national language to be poisonous whenever the working class raise any doubt. (Lin 1934c: 11)

According to Schwarcz (1986: 207-214), the *dazhongyu* movement was considered an attempt to enlighten the people. But in fact the task to develop a national language for the masses went along with a total implantation of the set of proletariat discourses and ideology. In addition, the *dazhongyu* promoters, such as Qu Qiubai, adopted a style that was highly Europeanised. Despite the political concern, this tendency showed a narrow, constricting attitude for the national language to develop. Rather than leading to a revitalised Chinese

language and literature, development in this direction killed many of its connections with its own tradition while making the problem of Europeanisation more acute, especially through translation.

2.2.2 *Europeanisation and translation*

Lin did not get involved in any debate on free *vs.* literal translation with Lu Xun, yet he expressed his ideas on translation in an open lecture series. In terms of the translator's responsibility, Lin's stance was contrary to that of Lu Xun: "It is irresponsible for the translator to demand readers get used to the awkward language after enforced reading." (Lin 1933a:357) Lin does not see superiority in the Western language over Chinese, since he believes that in any linguistic system there are particular expressions for the set of meanings for expression. Though Chinese lacks the exact grammatical structure of those Western languages, there are also many common Chinese expressions that are impossible to translate into other languages. (Lin 1933a:356; also see 1966a: 39)

For the translation technique, he emphasizes "the way of thinking" in translation, since "when the idea is understood, what the translator needs to do is to make the idea in the Western literature translated into Chinese language," so "those who can write a fluent text, will always have the general idea in mind before they write" and then "express it according to the way of thinking in the Chinese language." (Lin 1933a: 328) Accordingly, Lin diagnoses the problem of the translated *baihua* as follows: "When the translator follows too much the way of thinking in the Western language, the translation will not be 'Chinese,' and this kind of non-Chinese should not be disguised under the name of Europeanisation, because the two are not the same." "Any style without the process of domestication cannot be accepted, even under the name of translation. The task of Europeanisation lies most in that of words. It is difficult to Europeanise grammar, and impossible to Europeanise all the sentences." (Lin 1933e: 339) Lin tries to keep a distinction between identities of being foreign and Chinese in his language practice. For instance, he criticizes the following sentence from *Shenbao Ziyoutan* (申报自由谈 *Shenbao* Daily Free Talk) as difficult to read and understand:

> "当市民由进步退为保守，而遂见没落时，当艺术的自由，创作思想的执拗，超然的文学的存在与发展的可能性同离开社会与政治的文学的独立性等等被热烈地主张着与拥护着时……" (When citizens

> retreated from being progressive to conservative, and thus gradually declining, when art's freedom, creative idea's stubbornness, possibilities of the transcendental literature's existence and development, and the independent literature from society and politics were ardently advocated and supported…)

As Lin comments, "if it is a translated essay … the sentence is too clumsy; and if it is not a translation, then as a Chinese, please speak in Chinese." (Lin 1935a: 117) This type of sentence, though popular at the time, already diverges from the expectation of simplicity and clarity of the language reformists. It is also a violation of the criterion of "expressiveness" (达), an essential idea for translation (see Lin 1933a: 327). The redundant clauses are more of a hindrance in understanding than an increase in meaning. In his later years Lin remains unchanged in his stance towards the healthiness of language and maintains that if the sentence is winding and convoluted, it is difficult for it to express the meaning. (Lin 1966a: 39-40) In another case, as Lin recalls, the English-speaking audience were baffled by the famous German writer Thomas Mann when he delivered his speech in English translated from long-winding and logically accurate German. Since when one European language is literally translated into another, similar issues arise, Lin asks, why should those who deliberately speak Europeanised language blame the Chinese grammar for not being logical, accurate, or complex? (Lin 1966b: 54)

2.2.3 *Western magazine literature—a cure for the modern Chinese literature*

In Gunn's discussion, Lin's practice of *yuluti* was interpreted as an attempt of a cultural-relativist at the preservation of the traditional culture. However, Lin identified a connection between *yuluti* (traditional conversational style) and the Western familiar essay, and saw the writing of this style as a treatment of the ills of Europeanised *baihua* caused by translation or imitation of foreign languages. To him, in order to bring in the *yulu* style, the answer still lies in translation—done in a "familiar style" as opposed to the awkward translationese, and this "familiar style" is to be found in Western magazine literature. This was how he articulates his reasoning in his magazines such as *This Human World* and *Cosmic Wind* when he launches the column of "Western magazine literature." Lin (1936: 127) expected the two journals to carry on the tradition of familiar conversational style that had been developed by *Yusi* group, and aimed at developing a literary style urgently needed for the Chinese people and their language, which was yet to be achieved in Chinese periodicals.

> "The real point is that sooner or later when the reading public becomes larger and not confined to a privileged class of scholars, the magazine article must develop a more popular style; we must try to bring philosophy down from heaven to earth and make it digestible to the common people. In my little efforts at magazine editorship, I have constantly worked towards this aim, hoping to bring about a style of journalistic writing that is readable and intelligible to the average man. Simplicity of style may be all very fine, but it has the uncanny virtue of revealing emptiness of content, if one hasn't got the content. It is this reason alone that most writers avoid simple writing."
>
> "Comparatively speaking, the present English style of writing is much closer to the English spoken language than the Chinese style of writing is to the Chinese spoken tongue. One never yet quite dares to write as one speaks in China, and some of the worst offenders are the young, ardent supporters of the vernacular style. In my fight for a simpler style of writing in Chinese, I went to the length of popularizing certain old, classical writers of the *yulu* type that should shame the modern writers in the vernacular style by their simplicity of vocabulary and sentence structure. The fact is, in the old *yulu* style, one could actually write as one talked and not be ashamed of it, while it is possible at the same time to write in the most flowery, decorative, affected and unintelligible style in the modern jargon that styles itself as *paihua*." (Lin 1936a: 158)

Here Lin spelled out three expectations for writing. First was simplicity of style, which should be the first goal of vernacular language reform. When the archaic *wenyan* was denounced because of its unattainability for/inaccessibility to ordinary people, the newly-developed *baihua* was retaining the same problem. Compared with the modern *baihua*, the old *yuluti* was in fact closer to a "vernacular" style, which guaranteed readability among ordinary readers. Though proposed as the most important feature of the vernacular language, being simple is not the only target. In addition, there was the question of succinctness and refinement, a characteristic the *yulu* style could boast. The third expectation was to convey messages by using this kind of simple language. Discourses on big and superficial topics were common in the literary scene, especially in the Chinese periodicals. The articles were full of slogans and phrases that were not concerned with what actually happened at home and abroad, and the use of the jargon-ridden *baihua* just reinforced the phenomenon. It was the writing in touch with real life that was needed in Chinese literature. Lin believed that through promoting journalistic writing, writers began to write what they actually experienced, so that

they could produce articles with rich contents and true feelings, which could be seen as good literature.

Believing in periodicals as a particular medium for educating the public, Lin places his expectations in developing the Western magazine literature in China. It does not refer to a single style, but is "a class of special supplements to the daily papers, devoted to literature, the familiar essay, humour, book reviews, medicine, women's problems, etc., published weekly or fortnightly and therefore belonging strictly to periodical literature." (Lin 1936: 154) In the flourishing magazine publishing scene in the 1930s, all these categories of writing were already seen in the Chinese periodicals. But to Lin the writing of magazine articles was not as developed as that in the West.

Lin's reasons for developing periodical literature come from his observations of contemporary practices of Chinese writers. In China writers enjoy an honoured position and thus they tend to show off their learning in writing rather than expending efforts in collecting real information by their own experience, which is commonly done by a Western journalist or ordinary writer. "The average writer in China being exactly like the average writer in foreign countries, what he can do is to fall back upon quotations from books and plagiarize from foreign-language journals. Actually a writer who discourses glibly on 'A Bird's View of politics in the Near East' has only to steal material from one or two Japanese or English magazines and piece them together and give it out as his own." (Lin 1936: 159) In this way it is impossible for Chinese writers to produce literature with real contents.

To Lin, the practice of seeing writers as members of an honoured profession not only results in their laziness and emptiness of writing, but the lack of ability to write good literature close to the lives of ordinary people. Comparatively speaking, there had been a much longer time of practice in English literature to use vernacular language than literary Chinese had (make it clear, English from the late middle ages). The distinction between literary and colloquial language and that between literati and ordinary people limited the use of vernacular language and the writing of ordinary life in Chinese literature. In this sense the Chinese written language was itself not developed enough.

> "In spite of the literary revolution which came in 1917, the art of writing still remains a mystery looked upon with a sense of awe and proper respect

> by all classes except the writers themselves…. This very desirable state of affairs is due firstly to the comparative simplicity of English writing, so that self-expression in writing or authorship has ceased to be regarded with a sense of mystery…. An ex-convict may, if he really has something to tell and will tell it with some gusto, write the most ungrammatical and yet the most forceful English." (Lin 1936a: 159)

The Chinese vernacular style had not reached such a point despite the promotion of *baihua* at that time. What remained was that writing was still regarded as belonging to a small proportion of "experts." Lin Yutang published his article on "The shortcomings of the Chinese Magazine" in *Cosmic Wind,* which he later used as the inaugural essay for *Xifeng*, which was published in the first issue (Lin Yutang 1936b) In the article he made three points he felt objectionable about the Chinese magazine. First, writers in China were too close to books and too far away from life. They produced doctrines rather than observing reality, made empty talk rather than sharing experience. Second, writers were generally proud of their social status as being a learned scholar. Constrained by conventions and Confucian doctrines, their writing was never with any spirit or taste. They never had personal opinions or refreshing voices. Third, writing became exclusive to those writers. In the West, anyone, a banker, an admiral, an explorer, and even a jailer or prisoner could contribute to magazines, so the range of contents in Western magazines were quite extensive. While it was not that no one had tried to translate Western magazines, the translation was marred with the same problems as Chinese magazines. "I noticed that in those translations of the Western periodicals … they either introduced Western masterpieces or talked about politics and economy, but sneered at and also could not talk about the Western life and society." (ibid: 6-7)

Hence the birth of *Xifeng* magazine. To promote in China the type of literature that was commonly seen in the West, Lin was considering a project of taking away the privilege of those writers and calling for ordinary people to produce sound and good literature. This ideal was to be attained by means of succinct writing style and life-touching writing materials, which was to be achieved in *Xifeng* and ultimately led to its success.

2.3 Writing Modern Chinese in *Xifeng*

Lin Yutang had always wanted to develop writing in Chinese periodicals to the level of Western magazines. To set a few historical examples in Chinese literary history, Lin published in *Xifeng* his own translations of *Mingliaoziyou* (冥寥子游 The Travels of

Mingliaozi) and *Fushengliuji* (浮生六记 Six Chapters of a Floating Life), which he believed to have the same character as those in Western magazine literature. *Xifeng*, however, did not exactly practice the *yulu* style in its translations, but did adhere to the clear and succinct style of writing commonly found in Western magazine literature while guarding against the Europeanised style. It was the smooth translation of articles from Western countries that ensured *Xifeng* its success.

2.3.1 *Xifeng and its fluent style*

As soon as it was published, the magazine was recommended in the American-owned *Huamei wanbao* with the comment: "One strong point of *Xifeng* is that all pieces of translation are fluent and clear to understand. You may rest assured if you have been terrified by those cryptic and riddle-like translations." ("Xifeng zhi chuangkan yiji gebao zhi pipan," 1936: Unpaged) Within half a year it had received more praise from editors of peer periodicals and professors of universities throughout China. Wu Nanxuan, the president of Fudan University, recommended the journal to all the students as a high-valued publication. Xiong Zhengjin (熊正瑾), professor at Xiamen University said he would use *Xifeng* in his courses on English-Chinese Translation and Western Drama. Chen Shuhua (陈叔华), professor at Sichuan University, saw the journal as a really good example for "translating Western magazine articles and introducing European and American life and society." ("Yikoutongsheng zanxifeng," 1937a: unpaged) Readers especially commended the translation style in *Xifeng*: "The translations are all very fluent so that readers can enjoy them without any difficulty. There is no un-digested and convoluted article that reads neither foreign nor Chinese." ("Yikoutongsheng zanxifeng," 1937c: unpaged) Dai Dunfu (戴敦复) from Shanghai said: "Most translation magazines present to the reader highly Europeanised language and piled-up and winding sentences, which are really difficult to understand. It is so rare to get such a journal with readability and freshness as *Xifeng*." ("Yikoutongsheng zanxifeng," 1937d: unpaged)

Soon the appearance of *Xifeng* caught the attention of many important figures, including Chen Zizhan, active promotor of *dazhongyu*. A lot of prominent writers and intellectuals, such as Ye Shengtao (叶圣陶 1894-1988), Bi Shutang (毕树棠 1900-1983), and Zhang Boyu (章伯雨 1909-1974), to name a few, claimed on different occasions the rare reading experience *Xifeng* brought to the reader. (cf. "Yikoutongsheng zanxifeng" 1937a, 1937b, 1937c, 1937d).

The magazine was opening up a new platform for a new kind of translational reading experience which made readers feel as if they were reading directly from the foreign sources.

From readers' responses, we can see that the awkward writing due to translation or direct influence from European languages prevailed in publications, especially translation magazines, but not in *Xifeng*. Rather the magazine was worshiped by readers as a very good case of fighting against the "illness" of *baihua*, in Lin Yutang's (1933b: 83) term, at the time. As a translation magazine initiated by Lin Yutang, did *Xifeng* follow Lin's ideas and ideals of the style of modern *baihua* Chinese? In the sections below I will compare the styles of language as practiced in Lin's own translations, in *Xifeng* and other translation magazines at the time.

Besides his numerous articles criticizing the Europeanized language in both translation and literary writing, Lin also showed in his own bilingual writings his rejection of literal translation from English into Chinese. In his research on the works of Lin Yutang, Qian discovers more than 50 pairs of English and Chinese essays written and published by Lin from 1930 to 1935. Almost all of his Chinese essays came after the English version. Qian believes that Lin was deliberately using the *yuluti* style to translate, or rewrite, his own English works. (Qian 2010) As the author himself, Lin took a free style in translating his own works. He was obviously adopting a different approach from others in his translation—for example, the Leftist translators, who "respected" the source language so much that they followed closely to the original linguistic structure and produced a language difficult to the Chinese ear.

In Lin's Chinese versions, there were no traces of highly inflected and multi-layered English structures or expressions at all. Take the first two paragraphs of his English and Chinese writings of "Kowtow and Hygiene" (Appendix B) for example. He used Chinese antithesis in the beginning of the second paragraph to replace the transitional structure "on the other hand." He also adopted a few archaic/idiomatic expressions such as "古已有之" (having existed since ancient times) and "一艺无能" (be good at one thing but nothing else), and used the four-character structure "吞吞鼻涕，咽咽口涎，擦擦手心，转转眼珠，打哈欠身，与己有益，与人无损" to translate the sentence "hence the great science…with such important details as…" This typical English sentence was broken down and the segments were put in before the headword "the great science" (养生之极), which was synthesized into the last

sentence as "所以养生之极便是'静坐,' 静而后能定, 定而后能安, 而安者, 即安健也," a parody of the typical classical Chinese sentence.[31] The Chinese passage read in an easy and familiar tone, yet with an archaic flavour with the choice of some classical expressions. The Chinese text was highly paratactic with the logical relationships hidden between the lines compared with the English syntax. Lin appreciated this way of writing because it was concise and clear in expressing ideas; what's more, there was a linkage with the existing language resources inherited in the traditional culture. As Qian comments, "writing in *yuluti* offers him [Lin Yutang] a sense of 'style' that is at the same time 'modern' and 'Chinese.'" (Qian 2010: xxvi.)

This style, however, was not exactly promoted in *Xifeng*. When *Xifeng* was launched in 1936, it had been more than ten years since the vernacular language had been taught in schools and promoted nationwide. The majority of its readers were middle school graduates, college students, and young employees who received education at different levels. Many of them received new education and Chinese classical texts were hardly part of it. It was the same with many of the magazine's young contributors. With a comparatively limited education in Chinese classical literature, they had to convert the foreign texts into Chinese by integrating their vernacular expressions and foreign languages. It was clearly announced by the editors in their first editorial: "We will keep a clear and fluent style, try to avoid any rigid, dull or awkward language, and transfer the essence and meaning of the original text." (Bianzhe 1937a: 5) Though clear traces of European grammar and sentence structures could be found in their rendition, translations in *Xifeng* were clear, fluent, and easy to read.

By reviewing the translations in *Xifeng*, the following features can be found.

1) *Writers did not deliberately avoid using colloquial expressions, traditional idioms and associations*. For example：

Example 2.1

Source text:

[31] For example, the famous line in *Liji* (礼记 Book of Rites) goes, "物格而后知至，知至而后意诚，意诚而后心正，心正而后身修，身修而后家齐，家齐而后国治，国治而后天下平。"

The French investigator, Bayles, once examined the rungs of a ladder used by robbers in escaping from a house in which they had killed an occupant. (Robinson, 1936: 24)

法国的研究家白尔斯曾审查过一件案子：有一个强盗抢了东西以后，还把屋主人杀死了，偷偷地从梯子上溜下来，打算神不知鬼不觉地逍遥法外。(Yuan 1938: 134)

The translator used two Chinese idioms "神不知鬼不觉" (literally: without the knowing of Gods and ghosts) and "逍遥法外" (be free from the laws) in translating the idea of "in escaping from," adding to the meaning of the original sentence.

In another sentence we find:

Example 2.2

Source text:

…an American missionary in Bahia, Brazil, happened upon a particularly big, juicy, seedless orange, … (Peattie, 1944: 58)

在巴西的伯耶(Bahia)地方，一个传教士吃到一种特别大，富有汁液，而无核的橘子，…… (Zhu Zunzhu 1945: 158)

Instead of copying the original structure of adjective+noun by the *de* (的) structure, such as "特别大的多汁的无籽的," in translating "a particularly big, juicy, seedless orange," the translator used the verbal structure "富有汁液" (full of juice) and added a conjunctive *and* (而) to make the Chinese sentence sound more idiomatic.

When translating the sentence "If you don't mind my saying so, it's none of your business," (Tutes, 1937: 49), the translator did not follow the trend of introducing new expressions by saying "这不是你的事" (none of your business), but translated it into "这与你一点也不相干" (it has no relation to you) (Huang Zhong 1939: 623). "The general ebb and flow of the tides of life" was also rendered with a traditional expression "一张一弛" (the art of tension and relaxation) (Ogburn 1939: 14; Mo Ming 1940: 235).

2) *Writers made a special effort not to deliver long and winding sentences. They cut*

down long sentences and created breaks and rhythms between sense groups. For example,

Example 2.3

Source text:

Modern criminal investigators acknowledge a feeling of security when they have a bloodstain to work with, for the new science of serology of its origin, identity and the probable manner of its spilling. (Robinson, 1936: 23)

现代一般犯罪学的学者，承认藉着血迹去考察事实，是最靠得住的事。因为有了血清学，就能够把原来的一切问题，藉着这些血迹来解答了。(Yuan 1938: 133)

Example 2.4

Source text:

…but to the happiness which comes when a sorrow has been met squarely and a problem solved in what seems the wisest way. (Carey 1936: 85)

这种快乐，是由正直地去对付不幸的事，用最妥善的办法去解决问题而来的。 (Huang Jiayin 1936b:480)

It can be seen clearly that the translators consciously and deliberately dismissed the typical English post-positional structures, including time adverbial clause “when …,” the clause of cause “for…,” attributive clause “the happiness which…,” the past voice, and prepositional structure “in what seems…,” by breaking down the sentence segments and restructuring into idiomatic Chinese. In addition, commas were used in Chinese sentences to create a structural and rhythmic effect, for example, in the second case, the structure “这种快乐是……的” (the happiness is from …) was divided into three segments by commas.

3) *They chose to follow the Chinese way of expressing ideas, especially in word/sentence order.* For example,

Example 2.5

Source text:

In the Far East probably the most authoritative member of the Allied family is China. Already she has given us seven years of heroic resistance to our common enemy, inspired by a determination and will to survive that have never wavered—even when the battle was fought alone. (Buck 1943: 15)

在远东，同盟国中最有力量的也许就是中国。七年来，它英勇地抵抗我们共同的敌人，就是在孤独作战的时候，中国自存的决心和意志也从未动摇。(Xu Zhongpei 1945: 132)

The original structure "seven years of heroic resistance" was divided into a time adverbial and a verbal structure. The inverted structure of passive voice and the attributive clause were reorganised, and were no longer seen in the Chinese text. The postpositional adverbial clause, commonly seen in English, was moved to the front of the main clause, following the habitual sequence of Chinese. Here are two more examples:

Example 2.6

The source text:

David Fairchild himself has circled the globe again and again, a master plant hunter, an ambassador with a green thumb. (Peattie, 1944: 59)

范而却博士本身也是一个猎取植物的能手，他曾周游全球数次，……(Zhu Zunzhu 1945: 158)

Example 2.7

The source text:

Practically nothing can be told by the color of the stain in question. (Robinson, 1936: 23)

可是，实际上调查的时候我们不能但凭着颜色来武断一切。(Yuan 1938: 133)

As a translation magazine, *Xifeng* indeed showed strong traces of the translating process, with not only the content but also structures of European texts presented in its articles. At the

same time, it showed a refusal to totally accept the Europeanised writing, as practised by the Leftist translators.

By contrast, with a more passionate attitude towards the revolutionary literature from East European countries, which was their source texts, the Leftist translators adopted a loyal strategy in dealing with the language structure. This kind of practice was easily found in translations in the magazine *Yiwen* (译文 Translation, 1934-1937), the official organ of the Left League.

Example 2.8

普式庚那时的反动政治是这么厉害的，甚至像他那样一位带有强烈的贵族倾向的稳重的自由思想者也常被当做革命分子。(In Pushkin's time, the anti-revolutionary political environment was so severe that such a discreet liberalist with strongly noble sense as him was often considered a revolutionary.) (Mao Dun 1934: 4)

Example 2.9

他诗里的伟大的情绪的力量，现代的读者不能不受感动。 (Modern readers cannot help being moved by the great emotional power in his poems.) (Mao 1934: 5)

Example 2.10

普式庚是现在最受人爱读的作家之一，从他的著作的巨大的需要就可以知道。(Pushkin is now one of the most read writers, which can be told from the huge demand of his works. (Mao 1934: 5))

Example 2.11

布尔乔亚及其利润的争逐对于莎士比亚是轻蔑与疾恶的对象，农民与民众——仇视的对象。 (The bourgeoisie and their pursuit of profits is the object of disdain and dislike for Shakespeare, peasants and the masses, that of hostility.) (Ke 1936: 691)

The above examples demonstrate a disregard of the commonly accepted Chinese grammar, such as the notorious Europeanised structure "是这么的……甚至……也"

("*shizhemede… shenzhi…ye*," meaning "so… that"), the piled-up modifiers ending with "的" (*de*, a particle used to construct adjective phrase) to the headword, and the inverted arrangement of sentence segments. Such language was exactly what Lin had criticised. When the Leftists promoted a literature for the Proletariat, it was neither about the ordinary Chinese people nor in the real language spoken by them. Yet with more promotion of such writing, many awkward expressions entered into Chinese language together with revolutionary slogans and ideological jargon.

In his discussion of the modern Chinese translation theory by the May Fourth generation, Chan (2001: 215-216) argues that Europeanisation is irresistible, which has been proved by many facts of modern Chinese influenced by translation. From my point of view, it will require more explanations of the development of modern Chinese in the detailed historical contexts in the decades of the 20th century, including political and cultural atmospheres in Communist China and Taiwan. For example, in the 1970s, famous Taiwan poet Yu Guangzhong (余光中 1928-) (2002a; 2002b) criticised Europeanised translation which contaminated the Chinese language and hindered the development of local creative writing. But looking back at the 1930s China, we may find efforts made by people who engaged in translation to negotiate with the influence by European languages through translation. More than simply language, the strong ideological elements in popular translation at the time also affected Chinese creative writing. The trend of Europeanised translation, represented by the Leftist translators, explained why *Xifeng* was viewed as bringing a breath of fresh air to the periodicals in 1930s China. In addition to its fluent translation style, its success was also attributable to the fact that the magazine introduced Western magazine literature to China and readers took it as a fine example of Chinese periodical literature.

2.3.2 *Xifeng and Western magazine literature*

The New Culture Movement was first of all a Literary Revolution calling for a modern vernacular literature in *baihua* to replace the traditional literature in *wenyan*. To Hu Shi, the problem of *wenyan* lay in that it couldnot express ideas due to too much emphasis on the polish of language and its ornamental function, so a new national language needed to be constructed in order to produce live literature. (Hu 1918a: 292-293) But the construction of a language couldnot be accomplished solely by several linguists, or a few textbooks or dictionaries. On the one hand, *baihua* literature came from the traditional vernacular literature

such as *Shuihuzhuan* (水浒传 Outlaws of the Marsh), *Xiyouji* (西游记 Journey to the West), *Hongloumeng* (红楼梦 Dream of the Red Chamber), and *Rulinwaishi* (儒林外史 The Scholars); on the other hand, contemporary creative writings in *baihua* would provide sources and standards for the development of future national language. "The vernacular language used in the new literature in future China will be our standard national language." (ibid: 294) But it would take time for contemporary writers to create their works in *baihua*. Extra materials were needed. It was generally agreed by the New Culturalists that Western literature was much more developed than Chinese literature in terms of styles and genres. In his answer to the question "how can we acquire some more advanced literary devices?" Hu suggested an urgent need "to translate famous Western literature as our model." (ibid: 303)

As an absolute *baihua* promoter, Lin Yutang had his own vision for the establishment of a new literature. His rediscovery of humorous writings and familiar essays from the traditional culture had a significant influence on the literary circle during the 1920s and 1930s.[32] Lin had the same plan as Hu in developing a literature that was alive, expressing ideas relevant to the living generation. He did not care about fervent progressive theories or doctrines, but about real everyday life in practice. So he found Western periodical literature as a model for Chinese literature to develop.

As discussed in 2.3.3, Lin believed Western journalistic writing to have both interest and literary qualities. Lin believed there was a high degree of literacy in America, so contributors to periodicals could come from ordinary people of various backgrounds. They wrote with their own personal experience. They were also full of passions in their lives. Their writing, which was in a familiar style, was an exact cure for the meaninglessness and numbness of periodical literature in China at the time. Rather than being bound by social conventions, writers should return to their own lives, discover daily interests and express their true feelings and opinions. Lin's idea of developing this kind of writing was enthusiastically promoted by *Xifeng*.

"We want to introduce Western periodical articles to China and then create a new periodical literature," the editors emphasized. (Bianzhe 1946b: 106) This was a reply to a reader in 1946, soon after the press moved back to Shanghai after the surrender of Japan. The

[32] For Lin Yutang's translation of humour, see Qian (2011a: 148-159; 2011b); for Lin's promotion of familiar essay with the Analects School, see Qian (2011a: 76-125).

magazine had successfully retained its publication of interesting and life-related articles since its first issue. Just after the launch of the magazine, readers wrote to the editors and expressed complaints about articles in other popular publications, which they were fed up with at the time, "We have long suffered from the hollow arguments that never reach a point… Features in *Xifeng* are so interesting to read that you feel as if you are in the story." ("Xifeng zhi chuangkan yiji gebao zhi pipan," 1936: unpaged) After a dozen years, a reader of *Xifeng* commented that the reason for *Xifeng*'s popularity was it was never like those popular weekly tabloids in Shanghai that only dealt with publicity stunts. (Cai Demin 1947: 595) With the kaleidoscopic coverage of topics, the magazine performed an important function during and after the War of Resistance. A policeman who experienced a lot during the War said, "*Xifeng* is like a beacon, guiding people to tour the world; while in this poor post-war country, it is like vitamin for patients." (Yin Zhi 1947: 93) Another reader, a military medical worker who joked that he had stolen *Xifeng* and shared it with wounded soldiers, proved how the magazine brought laughter to the men involved in the war. (Wanxiao Zuzong 1947: 93)

When contributing to Lin's earlier magazines, the Huang brothers started to devote themselves to the task of promoting Western periodical articles. In "On Magazine articles" they compared articles in both Western and Chinese magazines, praising that "a healthy aesthetics" was shown in Western journals, with "free and common style," providing opportunities for all sorts of people to express themselves and tell their stories. (Huang Jiade and Huang Jiayin, 1936) *Xifeng* was especially launched to reach their expectations on the development of periodical literature. Attached to the above essay in *Cosmic Wind* was a very short advertisement for *Xifeng*, indicating its feature—popular articles with thoughts, feelings, characters and tastes. (ibid: 395)

Following the idea of Lin's previous magazines, *This Human World* and *Cosmic Wind*, *Xifeng* also claimed to cover various sorts of topics. However, the selection of its contents was not entirely random. In fact, the principle and practices of the editors were consistent with their views on what kind of modern life the modern Chinese should lead. The magazine presented itself as a mouthpiece for the Chinese urban middle-class in their vision of the modern life, even if against the background of national salvation during the war period. Besides translating articles on mental health, science, people, women, children and family life, the magazine supported creative writing in Chinese as well, gradually becoming a "Chinese *Reader's Digest*." ("Shanghai de wenhuajie," 1937: 79) From the 1st to the 13th

issue, only a few Chinese articles by famous writers, such as Lao She, Lin Yutang, Xu Xu, and Feng Zhi (冯至 1905-1993), were published together with the translations. The non-translated works mainly included travel articles, features, overseas correspondence, and book reviews. These columns became regular features from the 20th issue onwards, as the Press had stable contributions from people living or travelling overseas.

Writings from every corner of the world was one but not the only advantage *Xifeng* boasted. The significance of Western-style periodicals was more than showing the West, but helping Chinese writers establish a kind of writing practice. For years Lin Yutang had emphasised the need of narration of facts rather than argumentation in magazine literature, otherwise literature was still irrelevant to society and everyday life. Writing about ordinary and everyday life practices was the most admirable and important feature Lin saw in Western periodicals. (Lin 1936b: 6-7; Lin 1940: 166) His idea was totally supported by the Huang brothers and shown in their editorship of *Xifeng*. In the inaugural issue, echoing Lin's article, there was a book review of *I write as I Please* by Song Yizhong (1936). The author Walter Duranty was a correspondent in Russia for *New York Times*. With years of experience living in Russia, Duranty could produce wonderful pieces based on his real experience and close observation. In addition, he wrote in a fluent and direct style, without any affectation, which was "like having a familiar talk with a very intimate, experienced, interesting old buddy who has not got married yet." (Song 1936: 132)

In the first year only a few established writers were invited to write for *Xifeng*, but soon the magazine encouraged readers to join in writing in the style of Western periodical articles. In issue 19 (1938), 37 (1939), 67(1944), and 82 (1946), the Press held four writing competitions. Below are the topics for each competition:

1938	1) Story of the Madman (疯人的故事) 2) Self-account of an illegitimate child (私生子自述) 3) My Family Problem (我家庭问题) 4) A Retarded Child I know (我所见之低能儿) (Bianzhe, 1938b, Issue 19: 1)

1939	My … (我的……) (any topic related to personal experience) (Bianzhe, 1939, Issue 37: 1)
1944	1) A Dangerous Experience (遇险) 2) The Lesson I learned (我所得的教训) 3) He is a Good Teacher (他是一个好教师) (Bianzhe, 1944, Issue 67: unpaged)
1946	One story in China during the War of Resistance against Japan (抗战中国的一个故事) (Bianzhe, 1946a, Issue 82: unpaged)

It was interesting to find that topics for the first competition were all about people living in marginalised social areas, such as the mad, the illegitimate, and the under-developed. It seemed that these topics were deliberately chosen with the purpose that writers were to write about their true experience in life. "The writing does not have to be too beautiful," said the editors, "but it has to convey true meaning and sound familiar to ears." (Bianzhe, 1938b: 1) After an instant success among readers, the magazine decided to give a topic which covered a wider range so that everybody could write about their personal experience. (Bianzhe, 1939: 1) Topics for the third and fourth competitions were all war-related. The editors called for accounts of the valuable and unforgettable moments during the war time, which was also with an emphasis on writers' real experience. The competitions were all big success and attracted many readers to submit their works. From the 21st issue on altogether 94 winning articles were published in *Xifeng*, and dozens more in *West Wind Supplement*. It was from the second competition that many young writers started to get involved, including Zhang Ailing, who made her debut on the literary scene by winning an honorary prize and later became one of the most famous writers in the modern Chinese literary world. ("Dejiang mingdan" 1940:111; also see Chen 2012: 82).

It is interesting to read the foreword by the editors when they released the result of the second competition.

> "We received altogether 685 articles. The contributors are housewives, male and female students, fathers, wives, dancing girls, soldiers, concubines, government and commercial employees, officers, apprentices, professors, teachers, the unemployed, journalists, patients, church and charity workers, wanderers, prisoners and so on … people from different levels, from all walks of life, of various kinds, have submitted their works, so it is not only the writers and scholars who have the ability and willingness to write. It also shows that the 'West Wind' has gradually entered every area of society." (Bianzhe 1940a: 110)

It could be told from this wide range of reader-contributors that the editors were trying to adopt an all-inclusive policy, meaning to encourage contributors from all walks of life, disregarding their educational or social background. It was exactly what Lin described earlier about the writing by ordinary people in the West. The competition was a success as many young people were encouraged to start writing their own experiences and true feelings. As Wang (2008:58) comments, the short pieces of writing by young women in the magazine formed a new literary phenomenon and boosted sales. More importantly, a few young writers found the very beginning of their remarkable career, such as Zhang Ailing, and Lu Qiao 鹿桥 (penname of Wu Nesun 吴讷孙, or Nelson Ikon Wu, 1919-2002), who later won his fame as a popular novelist in Taiwan. (Chen 2012: 92)

Zhang Ailing won a third place of the honorary reward in the second Writing Competition. It was the first literary reward she won, but she was obviously not satisfied with the result and even had a grudge about it over more than three decades, by claiming her article was affected because of the word limit (Chen 2012: 83). The truth was that Zhang misunderstood the word limit of 5,000 and squeezed her "Tiancaimeng" (天才梦 Dream of a Talent) into 500 characters. In her later years, Zhang wrote "In Memory of the *West Wind*" (忆《西风》, 1994), in which she revealed her discontent again about the results, including why a 3000-word long account of a poor couple's marriage life should win the first prize. Though never said so, Zhang would probably concur with the comment by the critic Chen Zishan: "to be honest, the first winner 'Duanle de qinxian' (断了的琴弦 Broken Strings) is only a mediocre narration with emotions in it, while [Zhang's] 'Tiancaimeng' is full of talent and imagination, with marvellous passages..." (Chen 2012: 94) Without the 500-word limit, Zhang might have produced a more brilliant piece of

work. But Chen's comment overlooked the effort of the *Xifeng* editors at the time in popularising a kind of literature that was about and directly from the everyday life of ordinary people. "When we reviewed these articles, we made our decision by considering their contents, ideas, topics, language, style, expressiveness, reflections, coherence, and structure." (Bianzhe 1940a: 110) The first-prize winner "Duanle de qinxian" was about a man's dead wife. The author wrote the article 20 days after she died. In the article he recorded many scenes of their married life, and revealed the virtues of his wife, the untold sadness and regret of the husband. The twelve works that ranked above Zhang's contribution were all about people they knew, stories they met, and the personal accounts they had, which, to the editors' standard, were works they better appreciated.

The second competition, with the open topic "My …," attracted the interest of so many readers that it was continued immediately with more substantiated topics: 1) My career life (我的职业生活); 2) My protest to the current educational system (对现教育制度的抗议); 3) My … (我的……); ("Xifeng jixu zhengwen qishi,"1940: 415) and 4) If I were … (如果我是……) (added in "Xifeng jixu zhengwen," 1940: 574). It lasted for a long time, even continuing after the third competition was launched. The continuous submissions and financial support from readers who wanted to prolong this competition showed their interest in this activity. With more and more readers involved, Lin Yutang's ideal of magazine literature gradually developed.

Xifeng promoted various writing modes among readers and possible contributors. In the 14th issue the Xifeng Mailbox was launched. From then on in each issue readers were able to raise their questions with the editors. In the 18th issue a column called Free Forum was launched, in which readers could discuss over previously raised topics or events and give their comments and suggestions. In the 17th issue, which was a special issue on the topic of psychology and education, experts were invited to contribute their specialised knowledge on related topics. In the early years, the magazine had mainly published translated articles (there were only a couple of articles that were not translated). After 1946, more creative writings appeared in the magazine. Instead of being listed under the column "special contributions," they appeared in columns such as Family and Psychology, which previously had only contained translations. The editorial emphasis on personal experiences of the writer could be represented by the beginning of a feature article on a leprosy hospital in China:

> "I paid a special visit with Mr. Huang Jiade, the editor of *Xifeng*, to the leprosy hospital. We are both laymen in medicine, but we believe it to be of special significance to make a detailed investigation and report on such a serious yet often neglected disease as leprosy. It is at least more worthy than writing an empty article with 'inspiration' by sitting in one's room." (Li 1940: 247)

Xifeng magazine started out as a translation magazine with its translation of Western magazine literature. As time went on, it also promoted the familiar writing style by supporting creative writing in modern Chinese, and particularly encouraged beginners in practising this literary style. Mind-sets, lives and values of ordinary people were incarnated in the periodical literature. Compared with the revolutionary literature promoted by the Leftist writers, the Western magazine literature placed more emphasis on the individual's well-being. It was proposed that a peaceful and positive attitude to life should be taken, and individual value should not be consumed in the totalizing discourse of the nation and society.

2.4 Conclusion

The project carried out by Lin Yutang and *Xifeng* editors participated in the making of the modern Chinese language through translating Western magazine literature. Translation contributed to the development of a new style of literature in periodical publication, and also the style of modern Chinese language itself. The periodical articles, written in a developed and revised modern *baihua*, became the most prominent feature of this magazine. As a translation magazine which consciously avoided producing highly Europeanised language, *Xifeng* demonstrated a modern Chinese subjectivity in its translation of Western modern life and culture. Rather than showing a colonial mentality indoctrinated by a seemingly Westernised environment (Lin, the Huang brothers, and many contributors were from St. John's College or educated and travelling throughout the European countries), the magazine provided a model of how Western modernity could be transferred and mediated into Chinese cultural scene and in Chinese language. Without winding and verbose Europeanized Chinese, or articles full of political slogans, the uniqueness of *Xifeng* in both style and content brought it popularity. In the late 1930s and 1940s, when Lin Yutang moved to the US and focused on introducing Chinese culture to American audience, *Xifeng* continued to introduce modern life

and knowledge from the West, fulfilling and realizing his ideals on the reform of modern Chinese language and literature.

Chapter 3. The Modern Chinese Citizen: Both Nationalist and Cosmopolitan

The national identity of China was a modern construct. The ancient Chinese believed China was the centre of the world and "all under heaven" (*tianxia* 天下) belonged to the Chinese emperor (Fairbank 1968: 2). Their concept of the world order was constructed upon a universal kinship, supported by a set of Confucian criteria of higher culture, which separated them from the rest of the world, that of the "barbarians." (Schwartz 1968: 277-282) It was from the first encounters of the Chinese with foreign nations that the Chinese learned to distinguish themselves from other nations and formed their national self-consciousness.[33] The experience was full of humiliation and frustration, after a series of failures including the Opium Wars, the Sino-Japanese War, and the later acceptance of unfair terms in the Versailles Treaty which triggered the outbreak the May Fourth Movement. In the post-Opium War period, especially after China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, the conceptual construction of being a nation called "China" became especially urgent to the Chinese intellectuals. Leading intellectuals, such as Kang Youwei (康有为 1858-1927) and Liang Qichao (梁启超 1873-1929), made significant efforts in reconceptualising the Chinese world order and calling for the rise of nationalism in China. Liang believed it was of critical importance that nationalism rose during the formation of China as a nation-state. In his argument on what the concept of nation was, he stated four aspects, namely, the personal self, the imperial court, the foreign nationalities and the world, and emphasised that fundamentally a nation couldnot be recognised without the existence of other nations in the world. (Liang 1902/1996: 68-69). The Chinese nationalism[34] in the beginning was conceptualised in a self-

[33] For a review of the beginning of the concept of China's national identity in the Qing Dynasty, see Kim and Dittmer (1993: 245-257). Lin Yu-sheng (1979: 62) also gives a brief account on the different growth of nation identity in China from that in Europe, that instead of emerging from internal historical evolution, the Chinese national consciousness was forced upon the nation from the outside.

[34] Nationalism is a broad concept discussed in various contexts and disciplines. Basically, it is centred on a self-consciousness of one's nation. It became popular in the 19th century to discuss what happened to the nation-states in Europe, which was often related to the concept of modernity. Chinese nationalism rose in a different historical context and carries different meanings. Based on a popular definition of the "nation" by Benedict Anderson (2006: 6), "an imagined community," one may see Chinese nationalism as conceived in "a popular imagination" (Lee 1999: 45, 61), as China was not a nation as a political reality in the early 20th century. It is where this chapter departs. In this thesis, I discuss nationalism as an ideology or sentiment shared by Chinese people during the nation's transformation toward modernity, especially when it was being invaded and calling for national strengthening and hatred towards the enemy. For an essay on the rise of Chinese nationalism in the war, see Lin (1939).

other relationship and was integrated with a modernised conception of the world order and the reconfiguration of *tianxia*, the Chinese traditional cosmopolitanism.[35]

The countless defeats and humiliation China received from its encounter with the world resulted in many issues that have confined our understanding of the Chinese modern, especially the psychological burdens behind a set of notions, like nationalism[36], cosmopolitanism, and racism. Nationalism was developed in China together with the introduction of racial consciousness in the late 19th century, so was cosmopolitanism.[37] These ideas had been seriously pondered by Chinese intellectuals since then and became much relevant to people's cultural and political life in the upper 20th century. Ever since the first batch of Chinese students sent to Eruope and the US, it had become a trend for financially-supported young people to study and travel abroad. These students, when coming back to China, brought to the country the new knowledge, culture, and languages that they acquired in the foreign countries. When the May Fourth Movement broke out, they readily accepted its anti-traditional agenda and answered to the call for a total Westernisation. But with anti-imperialism as the other agenda of the movement, the May Fourth generation faced a tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism[38]. This tension was deeply rooted in the dual mission of defending their nation and reaching out to the world by taking a stance as the world citizen. It appeared to be a notable feature in periodicals from the 1920s into 1940s, as shown in studies by Xu Xiaoqun (2014) and Shuang Shen (2009).

The psychological issues in modern Chinese identity were rooted in an inferiority and superiority complex which dated back to the 19th century. In works of important intellectuals since the late Qing period, there have been a constant anxiety among Chinese intellectuals caused by feeling inferior to the West. Senses of shame, humiliation, and failure have supported and explained their different kinds of responses to Western modernity, even till

[35] Chinese traditional cosmopolitanism was based on the concept that China was the only culture in the world. Cosmopolitanism in its modern sense was defined with the acknowledgement that China was a part of the general world. (Levenson 1971: 2-3)

[36] As a defining element in Chinese modern experience, Chinese nationalism has been discussed in a large amount of scholarly works on Chinese modernity, such as in Liu (1995); Tang (1996); Lee (1999); Shih (2001); Tsu (2005); Fung (2010); Qian (2011a), etc.

[37] To be discussed in following sections of this chapter.

[38] Cosmopolitanism is also a broad concept and bears different meanings in East and West contexts. I find the definition by Shih Shu-mei (2001: 97) that cosmopolitanism "implies that intellectuals have an expansive knowledge constituted primarily by their understanding of the world (read: the West)" applies to this study. In her study of the Anglophone print culture in Shanghai, Shuang Shen (2009) distinguishes a cosmopolitan culture in early Republican period by studying a few English-language periodicals. Shen identifies the cosmopolitan identity of writers to be "citizens of the world" (ibid: 14) and use English as their medium. In this study, the nature of translation, the national identities of *Xifeng*'s contributors, and its contents all demand reading from a cosmopolitan perspective.

today. At the same time, a sense of superiority, which was generated from a history of thousands of years, remained deep in the nation's mind and formed a complex feeling which affected the reactions and practices of the early generations of the modern Chinese.

The discussion of Chinese national identity in relation to an inferiority and superiority complex has been an ongoing issue in Chinese intellectual discourses since the 19th century. It became more acute in the historical context of the 1930s and 1940s, when the full-fledged Japanese invasion brought more humiliation and sense of shame to Chinese intellectuals and her people. Against such a background, in what way did the Chinese intellectuals continue their nationalistic construction? How did they promote a modern Chinese national identity facing the threat of Japanese occupation and devastating warfare? How did they tackle their anxiety in viewing their identity as Chinese as well as world citizens? This chapter examines these questions in *Xifeng* magazine by discussing what attitude was taken and how self-confidence was built in the national self-recognition, how the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism was adjusted, and how the idea of racial equality was promoted among the magazine's contributors and readers.

3.1 Modern Chinese Identity in the Inferiority and Superiority Complex

It seems paradoxical to find a Chinese identity in a magazine whose mission was "translating select articles from Western journals and introducing European and American life and society." But indeed the magazine featured quite a few articles discussing Chinese issues, including its people and national character. In the first issue, immediately after the inaugural essay came its first article entitled "Yangguizi yanzhong de zhongguoren" (Chinese People in the Eyes of the Foreigners), originally written by French author Henri Michaux in *La Nouvelle Critique*, translated by the chief editor Huang Jiade (1936a). In the following ten or so issues it published a series of translated articles about how the Chinese nation and people were perceived by foreign authors and the comparisons between the Chinese and foreign peoples. (A list of these articles are provided in Appendix C.) These articles revealed a firm stance of the magazine, namely, it was not only very concerned with the identity of China and Chinese people, but also aimed to help its readers establish self-confidence by absorbing both encouraging and critical comments on the Chinese from the foreigners. However, the legitimacy of these authors to be "authorised" commentators remained a problem at the time, which was directly relevant to an inferiority and superiority complex and revealed a deep anxiety among Chinese intellectuals. In this section I will discuss the sense of shame and the

complex mentality rooted in the mind of Chinese intellectuals and how *Xifeng* magazine treated the issue by promoting a moderate and confident attitude during the 1930s and 1940s.

3.1.1 From "know thy shame" to the complex mentality

In Issue 2, Hong Hu (1936: 146-147) wrote an article for *Xifeng* entitled "Tiedani shangde guochi" (A National Shame on Titanic), based on a feature story he read in *Harper's* about the tragic sinking of the giant boat Titanic in 1912. The report captured many heroic moments when passengers or crew members gave the chance of life to women and children, before they waited for death in a decent manner. But there was an ugly scene—when panicking passengers tried to follow an order to get on to the lifeboats, four Chinese managed to sneak on first and hid in the bottom of a lifeboat. Hong (ibid: 147) claimed, "It was such a burning shame. …Another national shame for China!" The claim of "national shame" was probably made by the author himself, not written in the original article. Apparently the author was so sensitive in seeing the immoral deed of his countrymen that he quickly made a national self-introspection, considering it a "national shame." The sense of shame was the keenest sentiment that was sticking to the modern Chinese whenever they were viewed or viewing themselves. This sentiment was so strong that it formed the basis of the construction of modern Chinese national identity.

For almost a century China had been bullied and defeated by Western imperialism, which made shame and humiliation a central theme of modernity to Chinese intellectuals. China suffered from a disastrous defeat in her first military confrontation with the West in the Opium War of 1840, which is viewed by many as the beginning of her modern era.[39] Yet what really shook the confidence of the Chinese scholar-gentry was the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, which proved a failure of the Self-strengthening Movement by the Qing imperial officials which had run for more than 30 years. It was at such a critical moment that Zhang Zhidong (张之洞 1837-1909), one of the most influential scholar-officials and supporters of the Movement, published his *Quanxue pian* (劝学篇 Exhortation to Learning, 1898), in which he explicated the discourse of "*zhongti xiyong*" (中体西用 Chinese learning as foundation and Western knowledge as application) with serious considerations on the challenges China faced at that moment. He began his work with an important idea from

[39] In the historical textbooks and scholarly works in the People's Republic of China, the year 1840 is generally viewed as the beginning of China's modern history.

Confucianism—"know thy shame"(*zhichi* 知耻)—as the first thing Chinese needed to stick to in order to preserve the Chinese nation and traditional culture. The idea came from the Confucian classics: "Confucius says: 'Know thy shame, thou shall have courage.' Mencius says: 'If you are not shamed of being inferior to others, how can you achieve what others have achieved?'" (Zhang 1898, quoted in Qian 2011a: 30) The sense of shame became a key word in the modern Chinese national discourse, which generated a long-term mentality of inferiority among the Chinese intellectuals.

The theory of "*zhongti xiyong*" was the most important formula for the revitalisation and strengthening of China in the late Qing period, but it failed to rescue the nation from its doomed fate. Under successive encroachments of Western imperialism and China's internal riots, the Qing Empire came to an end in 1911. Yet the sense of shame continued to be deeply rooted in the mind of a generation of intellectuals, who radically called for a formula from the West in the New Culture and May Fourth Movement. Compared to their predecessors such as Zhang Zhidong, they asked for not only Western technology as tools but all-round social and cultural Westernisation, and they took an iconoclastic stance against Confucianism. In their eagerness to replace the "old" tradition with the latest advanced knowledge from the West there was a constant anxiety of being inferior to the West. This anxiety generated a kind of mentality which was completely taken over by the Western elements, and reinforced the inferiority complex, especially among the educated class. It should be noted that it was exactly the Confucian doctrine on shame that had driven them into the overthrow of their Confucian tradition, so the New Culture activists could never really get rid of their cultural root in their attempt to receive a Western modernity, and thus there has always been an anxiety due to a lack of subjectivity in the discourses of Chinese modernity.[40]

The sense of shame generated a sense of inferiority among intellectuals not only in their attitude and treatment of their cultural identity, but more fundamentally in their discourses on racial identity. By absorbing the prevailing Western theories on racial hierarchy and differences, for a certain period of time the Chinese had attempted to enhance a sense of self-esteem by downgrading some other non-white races, such as the Black and Indian races. (Dikötter 1990: 423-426, the issue of racial identity will be further discussed in 3.4) In this

[40] Qian Suoqiao (2011a: 25-31) considers the lack of subjectivity as one *problematique* of Chinese modernity. He points out there was a lack of subjectivity in the theory of "*zhongti xiyong*" by Zhang Zhidong, which became a characteristic of the Chinese modernity at its very beginning. He (ibid: 31-37; 53-55) also discusss the discursive and literary practices made by important intellectuals, such as Liang Qichao and Lu Xun, to find a subject for Chinese modernity.

sense, there was actually a combination of inferiority and superiority, which was clearly held by considerable Chinese from the late 19th century into the 1930s. The inferiority and superiority complex among Chinese was identified by a new generation who had a more liberal and tolerant mind to Chinese and Western cultures.

Frederick Hung (Hong Fu 洪紱 1906 -?), a geologist who had studied in France, contributed an article entitled "Racial Superiority and Inferiority Complex" to *The China Critic*, an important English-language weekly edited by a group of foreign-educated Chinese in Shanghai.[41] He noted a strange phenomenon among Chinese who had encounters with foreigners: "He constantly persuades himself of his unexplainable superiority over the foreigner, but frequently has to rationalize in order to disperse the inferiority complex." (Hung 1930: 29) What Hung recorded was a racial arrogance that had been common among the Chinese since thousands years ago. Interestingly, by observing the different attitude of the Chinese to other races, Hung found a solution to the "unnecessary anxiety" of being inferior. He categorised most people into three kinds: those who insisted on the superiority of the Chinese race despite its own backwardness, those who thought the Chinese a "hopelessly weak race incapable of another revival," and those who paid equal respect to both Chinese and European cultures. And he found the last group "relieved of an unjustified pride or an unnecessary anxiety." (ibid: 29-30) In the article Hung criticised both the racial snobs and pessimists with an analysis of Chinese and European social, technological, and cultural development, in which geographic difference might have been the reason for a temporary backwardness in China, but not racial difference itself. He used the terms "racial snob" and "racial pessimist" to argue that neither group were entirely confident about their claims.

Pearl S. Buck (赛珍珠 1892-1972), the Pulitzer and Nobel Prize winner who grew up in and wrote about China, was also keenly concerned about the development of young China. (She used the term "young China" to refer to a modern China.) Her two articles entitled "The New Patriotism" were published by *The China Critic* in 1931 and 1933, and another piece on "China and the Foreign Chinese" for *Yale Review* in 1932 was translated by Huang Jiade and published in *Xifeng* (Issue 2, 1936). In these articles, Buck described two types of sentiments among the young Chinese, particularly those who received foreign education. She found some

[41] The journal featured its editorial board of a group of liberal intellectuals in China (Shen 2012; Qian 2012), which were closely related to the Analect group. For an introduction and a collection of studies on the journal, see the special issue on *The China Critic* of *China Heritage Quarterly*, June/September 2012, at http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/index.php?archiveyear=2012.

Chinese got irritated at any comments from the West on China, seeing them all as with evil intentions, and pointed out this kind of "patriotism" was in fact out of a shame of their country rather than love. (Buck 1931: 562) Buck was an acute observer. She commented:

> "They come back feeling that China is in a shameful state. Some of them are in an agony of impatience to change everything. They cannot. Their impatience turns into a hostility, a sense of inferiority, and they satisfy themselves by trying to hide what they cannot change." (Buck 1931: 563)

In "China and the Foreign Chinese," she presented another group who gave the highest praise of their country (mainly their profound culture such as Confucianism and Buddhism) when they were abroad, but in fact lead a totally "Westernised" way of life when in China. She pointed out that these people were not true representatives of the Chinese culture. They shared the similar illness with those "new patriots." In Buck's criticisms I find again the inferiority and superiority complex in the self-identity of those modern Chinese. Their distorted presentation and attitudes to their own culture and people, especially under the name of "patriotism," showed a weakness when they constructed their modern identity.

Buck's comments posed a real problem in the young Chinese mentality when they viewed their own identity. She was given considerable importance in *Xifeng*. Her works on the Chinese and comparative critiques on the Chinese and Americans were selected and translated in the magazine. But Buck's cultural activities received different reactions in China. Before a further discussion on Buck's reception in China, I will briefly review the topic of "the Chinese viewed by the Westerners."

3.1.2 Chinese identity in the Western gaze

In Hu Ying's study of the translation of *Niehaihua* (孽海花 Flower in a Sea of Retribution) in the Qing Dynasty, she introduces a narrative position from which she calls a "vis-a-vis perspective: constantly looking at the West (the other) looking at China (the Self), a disturbing, disorienting perspective that is self-consciously adopted ..." (Hu 2000: 25) Such a perspective exposed an anxiety caused in the sudden encounter with the West, and was reinforced by the author's deep concern of the Chinese being "the Sickman of East Asia" (*dongya bingfu* 东亚病夫). The term prevailed in the late Qing period to refer to China and

had driven many intellectuals since then to seek for a cure to the illness of their country.[42] Their shame pushed them to admit the title, but at the same time they had to struggle with it as a label to their country. They had a complex feeling towards Westerners, but they could not examine themselves without the burden of the Western gaze.

Another burden imposed on the Chinese, which was closely linked with its national identity, was its national character (*guomin xing* 国民性). It was ironic that the discourse of Chinese national character was a Western product. It began with the 19th century missionary discourse which was created with the purpose of justifying and supporting a colonial expansion. The most famous and influential work was the *Chinese Characteristics* (1894) by Arthur Smith (1845-1932), in which he placed terms like the love of face, ignorance, inaccuracy, indifference, etc. onto the Chinese people, which have been sticking to them for more than a century. The discourse by Smith lingered on in the minds of many Chinese intellectuals and particularly caught the attention of Lu Xun, who then began a lifelong task of questioning and transforming the Chinese national character.[43] His *Ah Q zhengzhuan* (True Story of Ah Q 阿 Q 正传, 1921) epitomised the weakest and most pathetic Chinese national character, and he chose the way of self-chastisement in his writing in order to waken his countrymen and improve their national character. Though Lu Xun himself was so much influenced by the missionary discourse, he gave a negative comment on Buck, in responding to his friend Yao Ke (姚克 1905-1991), who had just published an article criticising two books about China written by American authors.[44] He said,

> "Only when Chinese are doing [writing about] Chinese things can the truth be revealed. Take Mrs. Buck for example, she received a big welcome in Shanghai, and she also claims that she regards China as her fatherland. But when you read her works, you can see hers is after all the position of an American female missionary who happened to grow up in China. …as what she touches upon is merely the superficial. Only when we write about Chinese things can one see the truth." (Lu 1933/1981: 272-273, the translation is cited from Qian 2005: 158)

[42] One famous case is the writer Lu Xun, who firstly learned medicine in Japan and then devoted himself into literary writing in order to find a mental cure for his countrymen.
[43] For a brief review of the discourse of national character in Republican China and discussions on the relationship between Lu Xun's literary practice and Arthur Smith's *Chinese Characteristics*, see Liu 1995: 45-75.
[44] Yao Ke published his "Meiguoren muzhong de zhongguo" (美国人目中的中国 China in the Eyes of Americans) in *Shenbao*, 11 November, 1933. (Lu 1933/1981: 273)

Lu Xun was now obviously taking a nationalist attitude toward the legitimacy of Buck to be a China agent. Although his reaction to Buck seemed to be contrary to his previous obsession with the Western missionary discourse, he was in line with a few others at the time.[45] They were most keenly aware of judgement from the West, and reacted sensitively to the discursive construction of their national character. In their attempts to construct a Chinese subject they were always struggling with their position under the gaze of the West. They faced the problem of the crisis of national identity which was caused by an unsolved anxiety.

Though Buck's significance was so dismissed by Lu Xun, leader of the Left-wing literary circle at the time, her works were particularly valued and translated in *Xifeng*, together with a brief biography.[46] In addition to Buck's, the many articles on Chinese people and its national character contributed by foreigners demonstrated a different attitude from Lu Xun or Yao Ke. It seemed that the *Xifeng* editors were constructing a forum and inviting "external" reviewers to give China some comments. Moreover, they also invited many Chinese contributors as "internal" reviewers to write about themselves. The magazine's practices showed an attitude that they were dealing with the long-time troubled mentality and tried to fulfil the task of self-recognition. Next, I will discuss how Chinese national identity was constructed in *Xifeng*, with works by Buck and several other authors, including both foreigners and Chinese.

3.1.3 The Chinese people and Chinese national character: who could speak for China?

In 1936 and 1937, four articles by Buck, which she published from 1932 to 1934, were translated and published in *Xifeng*, Issue 2, 3, 10, and 12.[47] Another on "China's Gift to Tomorrow" appeared in Issue 74, 1945. These articles fully represented Buck's consistent promotion of the Chinese people and culture, with the merits of the Chinese nation and its contribution to the modern world.

[45] Yao Ke's article should not be the only work of criticism on the writings of China by foreigners. For example, Qian (2005: 157) recorded the criticism to Buck by a Chinese graduate student at the University of Chicago, accusing her of an Orientalist attitude in her novel *The Good Earth*, which was against "the task of transforming China into a modern nation."
[46] Lin Rusi (1939a; 1939b) translated *A Biographic Sketch of Pearl S. Buck* (1936) written by Richard John Walsh and published her translation in *Xifeng*.
[47] Buck's writing on "Americans and Chinese" was published in *The Journal of the University of Nanking* in 1932 and translated by Zhang Boyu (1937b). The source of this journal is not available, so I cannot find the original article.

The first piece was her "China and the Foreign Chinese." Buck introduced her subject the "foreign men" through the mouth of an old Chinese lady. When Buck tried to redefine this group as being "modern," she was negated by the lady, who claimed there were only two types of peoples in the world, Chinese and foreigners, and the group of "foreign men" were definitely "not Chinese." (Buck 1932a: 540) This revealled a predicament of these "modern" Chinese. It was not only that they were denied the identity of being Chinese, but they themselves denied anything "Chinese" by building a "foreign house" in China, placing foreign-style furniture, wearing foreign-style clothes, and speaking foreign languages with their children. Buck shared the same sentiment about these people as the Chinese lady, and was concerned that in the younger generation "the true quality, the peculiar temper, of the Chinese" might be changed. (ibid: 542)

Rather than simply introducing a Western gaze, the translation presented a double gaze from both a Chinese and a foreigner. When translated by Huang Jiade, the work was already more than a piece by the foreigner, but a co-authored practice to establish the Chinese character. Born in a missionary family and having spent her childhood and junior years with the poorest Chinese peasants, Buck tended to cherish the virtues and beauty of Chinese from the lowest level, which were expressed in her novels and many articles. In "China and the Foreign Chinese," she also used many examples to prove the glory of the Chinese people, inherited from their long civilisation, which was not exactly identical with the high Confucianism boasted by those "foreign Chinese" when they were in the West. Huang Jiade largely condensed the article when he translated it. His translation did not elaborate on Buck's criticism of Confucianism itself, but mainly focused on a rediscovery of the Chinese characteristics, for example, their healthy attitude and truthfulness (Huang Jiade 1936: 144). His translation deliberately "used" the observation from a foreigner to engage in reconstructing a discourse on the Chinese national character in the magazine.

Buck's second article on "The Creative Spirit in Modern China" was a long critical one, firstly serialised in *Asia* in 1934, and then in *Tide and Tide* (London) in 1935. The translator Huang Jiayin provided an interesting note in front of the translation:

> "The author has a profound understanding of things in China. Though differences exist, there are unique points in her observation. Here we provide

> the translation of some excerpts of her article, hoping it can provoke reflections of open-minded readers." (Huang Jiayin 1936a: 276)

This article followed the theme of Buck's criticism on the "new patriotism" in China. She argued that if the Chinese could appreciate their own country as their ancient generations did, they could also create beautiful artwork as their ancestors did. (Buck 1934a: 528-529) But possibly out of a purpose of provoking reflections, Huang mainly translated the second part of the article where she listed the explanations from young persons from different fields, the iconoclast from a Confucian family, young socialist, Harvard PhD, young doctor, and young merchant, to discuss why the Chinese were not as creative as in the past. It could be told from the excerpts that the translator wished the content to be critical. He needed affirmative praises to build up confidence, but he also embraced important topics of the modern time, which were relevant to the revitalisation of the Chinese spirit.

Zhang Boyu[48] translated the next two articles by Buck, in which the author compared the Chinese people with Americans. In these articles Buck particularly appreciated the tranquillity and sincerity in the spirit of the East, which she believed to be lacking in the American people. (See Buck 1932b; Zhang 1937a, 1937b) Rather than being criticised or seen as exotic, the Chinese character was depicted as having a curing power for Western countries. Translations of Buck's works in *Xifeng* formed a new discourse on the Chinese character viewed by the Westerner (especially one with missionary background). Instead of revealing a sense of anxiety, they presented a much more confident attitude in articulating the Chinese identity in the much-troubled formation of Chinese modernity.

To highlight the importance on the question of "Chinese in the eyes of the foreigners," the magazine had made it a continuing theme after the first two years. In 1941, the editors launched a special issue for the fifth anniversary of *Xifeng*, inviting seven prestigious foreigners who had worked and established themselves in China to share their opinions on "What I like and dislike about China." (Editors, Issue 61, 1941: 5) Different from the early generation represented by Arthur Smith, who had only been in touch with a small group of Chinese during their missionary work, or Western philosophers such as Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), who wrote about "Chinese character" after a single trip to China[49], the seven

[48] Zhang Boyu graduated from the University of Nanking in 1936, majoring in agriculture. He later became a professor of agriculture at the University of Nanking.
[49] Russell's *Problem of China* was published in 1922 after his trip to China in 1920.

contributors had intimate living experience in China and represented different fields in society. They were John Ferguson (1866-1945), former Chinese government consultant; Bishop W. P. Roberts from the Diocese of Kiangsu of the Anglican Church of China; Donald Roberts, professor of history from St. John's University in Shanghai; John S. Barr, chief editor of *The Chinese Recorder*;[50] John Ahlers, economist and editor of *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*; Lee Huizenga, Dean of Shanghai Pulmonary Hospital and Shanghai Leprosy Hospital; and Frederick Opper, Chief editor and contributor of *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*.

It is unknown whether these articles were originally written in Chinese or translated (if they were translated, the translators' names were not stated in the magazine). It might be a deliberate action to present their works in this way, and all the contributors had both English and Chinese names. The authors gave their comments on the characteristics of the Chinese that they liked or disliked. They contributed some new observations on the Chinese to the already existing discourses, such as "iconoclastic traditionalism," "intolerant tolerance," and "timid courage" by Ferguson (1941: 6-7). These seemed to be developed from the old observations, and many of the familiar phrases like "love of face" or "lack of accuracy" remained. (Roberts, W. & Roberts, D. 1941: 8; Barr 1941: 10) Most of the authors lived in Shanghai, quite untypical of China at the time as a metropolitan city which enjoyed fast development of modern industry and commerce and nurtured a large group of new urban citizens. They also observed the sense of humour, the splendid achievements of art, and the great talent in business and finance among the Chinese people. (Barr 1941: 9; Ahlers 1941: 11) Noticeably, Opper (1941: 14-15) gave a pertinent comment by saying it was difficult to generalise a people with a certain character, especially for the Chinese who dispersed widely in such a huge country as China.

This special issue was a representative of the works on Chinese national character, and there were more of the same type in other issues. What is most interesting to note is the attitude revealed in the publication of these articles. The intention and attitude by the editors were clearly stated in the "Editorial" of Issue 61:

[50] *The Chinese Recorder* was a missionary journal based in Shanghai. It started in 1867 and ceased publication in 1941 because of the Japanese interference.

> "With the topic 'The Chinese I have Met,' we invited them [the seven celebrities] to write about 'What I like and dislike about China' [originally in English]. Merits or shortcomings, these sober criticisms can give us a chance to review ourselves. We should think about these frank opinions with appreciation and composed mind. For the weak points they pointed out, we should hold the attitude of 'correcting them if they are true, improving them if not.'" (Editors, Issue 61, 1941:5)

The attitude of "correcting the points if they are true, improving them if not" was a mild and positive one. There was neither irritation nor humiliation found in the sentiment of the editors when dealing with the "weakness." The "Editorial" was calling for a matured stance toward comments from the foreigners. To become open-minded, one had to be firstly exposed of the various opinions and comments from outside. The editors of *Xifeng* must have had this idea so that they presented to the readers more works on the images, characters and lives of different peoples in the world. In these articles, I find the same attitude among *Xifeng* contributors when they presented the images of the old and modern Chinese.

3.1.4 *Chinese images and the "Westernised" Chinese*

Besides Chinese national character, depictions of Chinese images could also be found in the articles in this magazine. The images could be in sharp contrast to each other—there was a poor filthy Chinaman in 19th century New York and there was also a decently-dressed healthy old man in modern China. (Zhou 1937; Ling 1937) Mark Twain in his "John Chinaman in New York" portrayed a Chinese who was hired in a tea shop and was "scanned" by curious passers-by every day because of his unique appearance:

> "…his quaint Chinese hat, with peaked roof and ball on top; and his long queue dangling down his back; his short silken blouse, curiously frogged and figured (and, like the rest of his raiment, rusty, dilapidated, and awkwardly put on); his blue cotton, tight-legged pants tied close around the ankles, and his clumsy, blunt-toed shoes with thick cork soles; …" (Twain 1901: 304-305)

The article, which was written between 1865 and 1874, was chosen to be published in the Column called "Sober Observation" (*lengyan pangguan* 冷眼旁观) in Issue 8, 1937. Its content obviously could not offer to boost self-esteem among Chinese readers. Nor did the

editor want it to be anything that could stir a sense of national humiliation. The translator truthfully and vividly represented the above image of the Chinese in his translation, rather than hiding or beautifying any description. (Zhou 1937: 139) He provided a translator's note claiming that the article came to his mind when he read in the newspaper about a Japanese fashion shop hiring beauties to be dressed and walk around the shop, and another shop in London hiring fat people sleeping inside their windows with the beautiful clothes on as a way of advertisement. (ibid: 138) Mark Twain viewed the case as one of racial inequality, but it became just a method of advertising in the 20th century, not necessarily a type of prejudice. This was the message conveyed by the translator and also the magazine. Being confident and self-esteemed involved not only self-appreciation, but also a sober head in facing narrations of one's many negative aspects.

The magazine collected not only old stereotyped images of the "Chinaman," but also modern ones. In "Chinese in the eyes of the foreigners," there were talented craftsmen, chivalrous bandits, and sharp-witted women in love. (Huang Jiade 1936b: 8-9) In "A Chinese Who Rubbed Walnuts," there was a noble gentleman dressed in Shantung pongee silk, who demonstrated to the author a very traditional method of rubbing walnuts in his hands to relax himself. (Ling 1937: 544-547) In "Frank Opinions," there were well-educated modern women who were active, capable and strongly interested in public lives. (Barr 1941: 10) The modern Chinese were a combination of the traditional culture and new education and social life. But among the modern Chinese, there was another significant type, which was the "Westernised" Chinese, as mentioned in Buck's article, an especially controversial topic in the 1930s.

The 1930s began with heated debates in all circles in society about the relation between Westernisation and modernisation. Many newly educated Chinese tried to transform themselves into "modern" by welcoming a total Westernised way of life.[51] Buck's article provided a typical image of them, who lived in "Western-styled house with Western-styled furniture, and dressed theWestern-styled clothes." (Huang Jiade 1936c: 143) "They are Chinese citizens. But they talk about foreign books, play foreign music, and discuss how to make a fortune by teaching English." (ibid.) In Buck's article they were denied the identity of being Chinese, and in another article entitled "A Foreign Lady Living in Interior China" in Issue 9, 1937, their identity of being "Westernised" was again challenged. The article was contributed by Chao Ren (penname), introducing an old Western lady who did missionary

[51] For the debates on total Westernisation, see a collection of articles on Westernisation in the 1930s by Lü Xuehai (1934).

work in the interior China. The author depicted many life details of this lady—she was always amiable and easy to approach; she dressed plain, but fine clothes on proper occasions; she lived in abackward area but could lead a pleasant life without any complaint; she spent much of her spare time helping locals to learn English. (Chao 1937: 291-293) After establishing the example of a real Western lady, he made comparison with a group of "Western" women (*yang nüren* 洋女人) living in the big cities. They "dressed in Western-styled clothes, used Western products, spoke in Western languages, and often made remarks on 'Foreign moons are rounder than the Chinese moon.'" (ibid: 293) But deep in the nature of these Westernised women, they could not be compared to the foreign lady living in an interior place. It was like "painting a Western picture on the ancient vase yet the rotten water remained in it." (ibid) Obviously for a group of Chinese their being Westernised was lopsided on their way to modernisation. Their "total Westernisation" could not possibly be "total," since their understanding of "the West" was only a superficial one.

When young Chinese were debating about whether Chinese people should be totally "Westernised," it was the initial task of *Xifeng* magazine to define and describe what the "West" was. With the title *West Wind*, the magazine had constantly carried out the task to transfer a "West" to its readers. In Lin Yutang's inaugural article of *Xifeng*, he criticised those who showed contempt at "the bitterness of Western people's life, vicissitudes of their customs, family life, and the dark side of their society." (Lin 1936b: 7) His remark showed an attitude of viewing the West in a reasonable way. The West, like the East, had its advantages and problems. It was definitely not the attitude taken by *Xifeng* magazine to view and depict the West as a flawless model, constructed mainly with its material development. It was also criticised if one perceived the West only from superficial aspects, especially with the aim of simple imitation.

To give a balanced and all-round view on both Chinese and Westerners, in the first two years the editors not only introduced writings on the Chinese written by French, German and American authors, but also invited writers with cross-cultural experience to write about foreigners, such as the British people by Lao She (1936), Japanese national character by Lin Yutang (1937a), foreigners in Nanjing by Yao Ying[52] (1937). Besides the Chinese national character, the magazine also provided works on other nations, such as "France and French

[52] Yao Ying (姚颖 life time unknown) was a talented female writer in Republican period. She also contributed to a column to *Lunyu* in the 1930s.

People" by the French diplomat Robert Valeur in Issue 4, 1936. In the same issue there appeared another article "The Westerners in the Eyes of the Japanese," which expressed various contrasts between the Japanese and American life styles. At the end of it, to a comment by an American—"the Japanese is really a weird people"—the author replied in a polite manner: "Yes. So are you." (Zhang 1936: 428) The author Kimpei Sheba was a Japanese journalist and newspaper editor who often contributed to Western periodicals. Despite the fact that Japan was already part of the West in terms of modernisation, it belonged to the Eastern culture. When facing negative comments from the Westerner, the author was neither worried nor irritated, simply taking them as a result of cultural differences. Such an attitude in front of the negative comments from the Westerner was exactly what a modern Chinese should have, as suggested by this article.

It would take an open and cosmopolitan mind for the Chinese to form a moderate attitude in viewing themselves and the world. It should also be noted that 1936 to 1937 was a period when China had already been losing territories to Japan and was facing a nationwide war against the Japanese troops. Given the urgency to struggle for their national survival, the publication of those articles was of particular significance, as it would lead to a proper recognition of Modern China and its relation with other nations in the world. In the next section, I will discuss how the magazine contributed to a nationalistic construction from a cosmopolitan stance in the crisis of national survival, and how it treated the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism which became more acute at the time.

3.2 Chinese nationalism and cosmopolitanism

As one of the long-lived periodicals in Republican era, *Xifeng* magazine survived the Resistance War against Japan, the biggest threat to national survival in modern Chinese history. But it is worth asking: for such a period when throughout the country the nationalistic sentiment was extremely bolstered, as a magazine aiming at providing an outlook of the West, how did it make itself a popular reading choice among the readers whose national survival was at stake? The magazine absolutely featured a cosmopolitan orientation with its abundant introductions of other nations of the world, including those from and about Japan. It also placed high importance on the war situation in China, as a full-scale war was raging at the beginning of its publication in 1937. How the magazine dealt with the sentiments of nationalism and cosmopolitanism was important to our examination of its construction of the national identity during the period. Like nationalism, the notion of cosmopolitanism was also

a modern construct, though in the beginning it evolved from the traditional Confucian world view. In this section, I will give a brief review on how the early intellectuals developed a cosmopolitan discourse out of Chinese traditional ideas and how an extreme mentality was reflected in the process. I will then introduce the contention between nationalism and cosmopolitanism as a dilemma of Chinese modernity during the 1930s. Then, based on my research of *Xifeng*, I will argue that an inclusive attitude had been promoted for its readers in handling their nationalistic and cosmopolitan identities, especially during a turbulent war period. Finally, I will demonstrate how the magazine contributed to a positive relationship between the patriotic nationalistic sentiment and the cosmopolitan aspiration in building the modern Chinese identity through translating the actual living experiences in the West.

3.2.1 The re-conceptualised world order and the problem concerning nationalism and cosmopolitanism

In Issue 39 of *Xifeng*, Huang Jiayin translated the article "Federal Union Now" by the Marquess of Lothian, UK ambassador to the United States, with the title "*Datong shijie*" (大同世界 Cosmopolitan World). (Huang 1939: 243) The term *datong* (unity of all under heaven or cosmopolitanism) was actually a Chinese concept from the Confucian doctrines and developed by Kang Youwei at the end of the 19th century, originally meaning "an ideal state of society and of human nature." (Thompson 1958: 29) It was also Kang who at an earlier time used the term *datong* to refer to the League of Nations in 1919. (see Luo 2007: 200) Huang conveniently used the term in his translation of "a federal Union" of the world nations proposed by the author. One may wonder what connotation the readers would receive when reading this term, which sounded very "Chinese" and traditional. In the 1930s and 1940s, when appearing in *Xifeng*, the term was already used to translate the concept of Utopia, as in Lin Yijin (1939: 450), and the United Nations, meaning a united world in which nations enjoy equality and mutual benefit, as in Ye Qun (1948: 321). The term *datong* was an important part of the Chinese enlightenment ideals, and the conceptual change of the world order, together with more and more contacts with the outside world, led to the development of a kind of cosmopolitanism, as a defining feature of Chinese modernity.

Kang's idea was an early development of the notion of cosmopolitanism in China. In Thompson's translation of Kang's *datong* philosophy, he refers to the varied choices of English terms in delivering the meaning of this Chinese notion, including "cosmopolitan

society" and "cosmopolitanism." (Thompson 1958: 29-30)[53] The term cosmopolitanism in the Chinese context actually also involves the notion of *tianxia* (all under heaven), another Chinese traditional concept which often appears together with *datong*, as in *tianxia datong*, meaning all under heaven belonged to the same unity. In the Qing dynasty *tianxia* usually refered to the geopolitical territories of China, or the Qing Empire. But the notion was gradually challenged with more geographic recognition of the world in the 19th century. (Hu 2000: 22-23) Finally in a reconceptualised world order *tianxia* became the world, and China, no longer the (centre of) the world, but a part of it.[54] The changing notion of the world went together with the development of nationalism in China. Liang Qichao, student of Kang, devoted great effort to promoting the formation of nationalism in China. The "world," as an important concept in relation to the "nation," frequently appeared in his works. In 1899, Liang already used the term *shijie zhuyi* (世界主义 cosmopolitanism) to discuss Chinese traditional concept on *tianxia*, and in 1901 when introducing Kang's philosophy he identified the concept of *datong* with *shijie zhuyi.* (see Luo 2007: 197) But it did not mean that this Chinese cosmopolitanism had modern meanings such as "global," "common," and "equal." When terms such as *shijie* (世界 the world) and *shijie zhuyi* became popular in the early 20th century, they referred to an exclusive realm consisting of the big (Western) powers. Behind it was an eagerness for China to re-enter the World (centre) as a strong nation. (ibid: 201-202).

Though in the early 20th century the concept of world order in China was still changing, the discourses on cosmopolitanism and nationalism had already been accepted and were soon promoted by the Chinese who were more than ready to embrace a new theory to save their nation from the troubled times. Lu Xun might have been the first to notice the problem between the two as they were in the antithetical position among his countrymen.

> "Based on the nature and names of all these ideas held by Chinese today, I can conclude that they can be divided into two types. One claims that 'you should choose to be a nationalist,' while the other 'you should be a cosmopolitan.' The former threatens that 'if not our nation will be doomed and our race extinct,' and the latter threatens that 'if not you run counter to the human civilisation.' When I trace their theoretical ground, though I don't see any reasonable claims, I find they both eliminate the subjectivity of men, making them totally ignorant and dare not have any different opinions from

[53] Thompson provides a list of translations of *datong* in his book, see Appendix D.
[54] For a critical review on the changes of the late Qing intellectuals' conceptions of *tianxia* and the world, see Luo (2007).

> others, and letting individual character extinguish among the collective group." (Lu 1908/1981: 26)

Lu Xun's critique aimed to highlight the freedom of individuals, pointing to the nature of "destroying human subjectivity" of the two types of propositions. In the "cosmopolitan" proposition, "one should use the same language (as the world/West), discard one's nation or government, and promote the same criteria among nations, otherwise one could not survive the 20th century." (ibid) Regarding Lu Xun's criticism, Luo Zhitian (2007: 202) points out that the "civilisation" in the passage was actually not the one China had, but the one "on the opposite side of China," which "left not much for China to choose." He means that China would have to abandon their own culture and choose to follow the same criteria (eg. language and tradition) as the West. In this sense, the Chinese cosmopolitanism at its beginning was extreme and exclusive, which could not serve in any sense the purpose of enlightenment.

Lu Xun's article to a certain extent explains the overwhelming and exclusive cosmopolitanism in the later New Culture and May Fourth Movement when the iconoclastic intellectuals took a fervent interest in the West. As Qian (2011a: 49) concludes, "as the defining feature of the New Culture and May Fourth Movement, cosmopolitanism means the all-out and wholesale adoption and engagement with Western knowledge on the part of a new generation of post-Civil-Examination intellectuals educated abroad, mostly in Japan and the West." The significance of the Movement was that it was undeniably a patriotic movement with an absolute task of anti-imperialism to achieve the aim of national salvation. So in the modern Chinese context this generation of intellectuals were both cosmopolitan and nationalist. The national crisis resulting from imperialist oppression brought about the collaboration of nationalists and enlightenment intellectuals during the Movement, but as it deepened, ideas on both nationalism and cosmopolitanism (with an infusion of the Communist internationalism) became extreme. Qian argues, "both the nationalist discourse and the cosmopolitan discourse became rigid and exclusive, forsaking the very liberal principles the Enlightenment movement intended to bring about." (ibid: 51) In the rigid and exclusive discourses, the individual freedom that Lu Xun emphasised was excluded, sidelined or dismissed. National salvation became a totalitarian claim for both exclusive nationalism and exclusive cosmopolitanism, which since the late 1920s had been represented by the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists. Facing a more serious crisis of Japanese invasion, the slogan of national salvation became more than ever overwhelming.

3.2.2 *For the purpose of saving the nation: in face of the Japanese invasion*

Early at the beginning of the 1930s, China was already losing territory to Japan. The invasion stirred an upsurge of nationalist sentiment, directly related to discourses of *jiuguo* (救国 save the nation) and *jiuwang* (救亡 save the nation from extinction). Along with these words or slogans was a wave of patriotic agitation among all walks of life throughout the country. Before and after Shanghai was occupied by the Japanese troops during the war, Chinese intellectuals, including writers, scholars, journalists and professors, played a vital role in leading social and cultural campaigns to unite the nation and save the country.[55] It was a tradition from imperial China that the gentry-class, or literary men, shouldered the social responsibilities when there was a need from the nation. (cf. Levenson 1971: 38; Xu 2001: 54) So intellectuals in China were naturally given the mission of saving the country, to which a moral imperative was closely attached. Critiques on the cultural practices of these intellectuals during the time of national crisis also involved moral attitudes.

In his book on intellectuals' activities in occupied Shanghai between 1937 and 1945, Poshek Fu (1993: xv) discusses a moral dilemma among intellectuals through three modalities, namely, passivity, resistance, and collaboration, in describing their intellectual responses to the Japanese occupation.[56] Fu highlights the three modalities to correct "the rigid moralism of the post-war Chinese stereotype," but his argument itself is still based on a moral judgement which contrasts the stance of pursuing personal interests and that of achieving national survival. This way of thinking is influenced by a dominant discourse approaching the topic of national salvation. In the sacred cause of national survival, the only reference is the attitude of national hatred and fighting against the Japanese. This exclusive manner of excluding any personal or social factors other than national salvation was a dominant phenomenon at the time. But it was far from a healthy manner and mentality for China, which made *Xifeng* magazine an important and special case for our critical examination.

Fu (1993: 2-16) describes how there prevailed in the whole city a high spirit of the "national salvation movement." He records how the intellectuals and writers in Shanghai took the leadership on various platforms—national salvation unions, literary societies, and service groups—to carry out a wide range of propaganda campaigns. Slogans on national salvation

[55] See, for example, Xu Xiaoqun's (2001) study on how professors in Shanghai led the cultural campaign on national salvation in the 1930s.
[56] For a historical account of the gradual occupation of Shanghai, see Fu (1993: xi-xiii).

such as “in the face of Japanese aggression, China is at a critical juncture of life and death” (*shengsi cunwang de zuihou guantou*) dominated in both the Communist and the Nationalist camps. (ibid: 12) But this high spirit was set back by the complicated situation. According to Fu, in 1937 Chinese intellectuals in Shanghai were caught by a deep sense of embitterment and anxiety. On the one hand, those in Shanghai found themselves “having no access to save the nation” (*jiuguo wuwang*); on the other hand, those in the war zone were forced to leave the front and enter the safe foreign concessions, which strengthened such a feeling. (Fu 1993: 13-14)

> “Zou Taofen […] exclaimed: ‘Now a lot of people have nothing to eat and nothing to do; and they have no idea whatsoever how to work to save the country … It has almost become a common outcry today that people are desperate for [national salvation] work.’ […] Hu Sheng, on the other hand, voiced the feeling of some intellectuals by claiming with a touch of self-pity that ‘once the war began, culture became useless.’ Underlying this frustration was the intellectuals’ loss of confidence in themselves as the spiritual leaders of the national Resistance.” (ibid: 14)

In Fu’s account, the moral imperative and sense of responsibility had driven the intellectuals into the pit of frustration. It seemed that the all-pervasive atmosphere of national salvation had deepened their frustration and left them in a desperate state. But questions arise: in the occupied area, was it the only way for intellectuals to play a leading role in the task of national salvation? In time of national crisis, what was needed by the country and its people from the intellectuals? Lastly, was culture really useless to people during the war? In terms of the three modalities: passivity, resistance, and collaboration, did an individual have to struggle in a dilemma of choosing between personal survival and patriotic ideal? Couldn’t a Chinese be an individual whose own welfare needed to be pursued and a patriotic national citizen whose country needed to be defended at the same time? From my reading of *Xifeng*, I find the coexistence of the two kinds of appeal which together contributed to the construction of a modern identity of the Chinese during the period of time.

3.2.3 Liberal cosmopolitan at war: be a citizen of the world and patriotic nationalist

As mentioned at the end of 3.2.1, when the mainstream discourse of both nationalism and cosmopolitanism became more and more exclusive, the enlightenment spirit such as the

individual freedom was dismissed. As Qian (2011a: 51) states, Chinese modernity was confronted with the contention between revolutionary nationalism (represented by the Nationalists) and revolutionary cosmopolitanism (represented by the Chinese Communists), which developed as illiberal nationalism and illiberal cosmopolitanism. Viewing it as a dilemma of Chinese modernity, Qian (ibid) proposes that there was a liberal cosmopolitanism, "which would include liberal nationalist concerns yet go beyond it," as an alternative to the two illiberal dispositions. Qian defines the nature of this liberal cosmopolitanism from his study of Lin Yutang's literary and cultural practices, which featured the integration of Chinese and Western cultures. Qian sees this kind of cosmopolitan attitude "a sign of the beginning of maturity for Chinese modernity." (ibid: 112) But to him it was not the dominant ethos in the mid-1930s—on the one hand there was the extreme manner of imitating Western culture, and on the other hand the "fervent, or even morbid, nationalism" that related everything to national salvation. (ibid: 112-113) From reading *Xifeng*, I discover a well-balanced attitude toward the nationalist and cosmopolitan identity, which was promoted by its editors and main contributors.

The liberal intellectuals in Shanghai, represented by Lin Yutang, made an effort to promote a liberal cosmopolitanism in the 1930s. In 1930, the editors of *The China Critic* proposed to establish a "liberal cosmopolitan club" in Shanghai, which was desired to be "a club of men who can think, or are willing to make an effort to think, over and above the merely nationalistic lines." ("Proposal for a Liberal Cosmopolitan Club in Shanghai," 1930: 1085) As was further explained in the proposal, it should be a club for the men "afflicted with common human malady of searching and thinking and doubting and to understand," and who were also "citizens of the world," who faced problems of mankind as a whole. (ibid: 1086) The proposal clearly defined what they perceived to be a liberal cosmopolitan desirable in Shanghai. Though it was said that they expected to think "above the merely nationalistic lines," "more in the common problems of modern life than in any patriotic propaganda" (ibid), it did not mean the group were not concerned about a nationalistic agenda by which they would defend their country. On the contrary, they were deeply concerned and politically active in participating in their national affairs. For example, by examining *T'ien Hsia* (天下, 1935-1941) and *The China Critic*, Shen (2009) has discussed how the liberal writers performed a cosmopolitan anti-imperialism in the 1930s Shanghai.

Being a cosmopolitan himself, Lin Yutang repeatedly expressed his liberal nationalistic ideal in his magazines in relation to the task of national salvation. In an article published in *Cosmic Wind*, he criticised the employment of literature for the purpose of politics, calling this type of literature "unhumanistic literature" (*bujin renqing* 不近人情). (Lin 1935c: 53) "When literature doesn't care about human value and dignity, will men care? When men don't care about their own life, what have you to save the nation?" In another article he published in *This Human World*, he wrote, "Words of national salvation are commonly seen in Chinese writing, but China's national affairs are nastier than any other country; …China's citizens suffer much more than other peoples." (Lin 1935b: 38) Lin's claims expressed his concerns about the nation and its people from a different perspective rather than merely an empty slogan of "national salvation." To him, there were much more severe problems in society concerning the people and the nation.

Xifeng, which was the last of Lin's magazines, followed Lin's literary and cultural ideas, by giving much attention to citizens, not only in China, but also in the whole world. It was also why the magazine paid so much attention to describing different nations, which had contributed in a unique way to the construction of modern Chinese identity. Against the background of the war, the magazine's concerns on viewing the Chinese as modern world citizens were even more emphasised, which, nevertheless, went along with the nationalistic concerns in upholding patriotism for its own country.

In Issue 7, 1937, the editors published their first editorial as a conclusion to their previous publication and a prospectus in the future.[57] The editors claimed that after their observation of the current situations, they deeply believed such a journal as *Xifeng* which would introduce the West was needed for China. (Bianzhe 1937a: 4) Following the many works on different national images and characters in the first two years, the magazine continued its effort to create a cosmopolitan view during its period of publication for more than a decade. The world was presented in *Xifeng* not only through the translated magazine literature, but also through original descriptions of foreign countries in numerous travel accounts, diaries, and essays contributed by Chinese students and scholars who had studied and travelled around the world.

[57] There was no particular "Editorial" in the magazine until Issue 21, 1938. From then on each issue began with a "Bianzhe dehua" (编者的话 Editorial) till the last.

In Section 3.1 I have discussed how the magazine in its early issues focused on Chinese national self-recognition with articles on national character and national image written by the Westerners as well as Chinese. This focus continued in a considerable amount of works contributed by cosmopolitan Chinese authors. With depictions of what they saw and experienced in person, their works introduced the various differences between nations and peoples in the world, in which they often referred back to their own nation and people, leading to self-retrospections and promoting self-esteem at the same time. Their participation in the lives of foreign countries and close observation of foreign peoples made them credible commentators on both Westerners and themselves. These contributors included dozens of famous and important artists, writers and scholars at the time, who introduced to the readers of *Xifeng* what the world was like and how the Chinese lived and experienced in this world. Two representatives who wrote their experiences in Europe and America respectively are Xu Xu and Shen Youqian.

Xu Xu, editor of *This Human World* in 1934, went to Europe to study and spent one year in France from 1936 to 1937. When the Resistance War broke out in 1937, he ended his study and returned to China, becoming a prolific and established writer in Shanghai. From 1937 to 1941, he contributed 25 times to *Xifeng*, writing about the Eastern and Western cultural fusion and collision based on his experiences in Europe. His famous stories *Jibusai de youhuo* (吉布赛的诱惑 Lure of the Gypsy), *Yinglun de wu* (伦敦的雾 Fogs in London) and *Jingshenbing huanzhe de beige* (精神病患者之歌 Elegy of the Psychotic) were serialised in his "Romance in Europe" series in *Xifeng* from 1939 to 1941.

Xu was one of the earliest overseas correspondents for *Xifeng*, and he wrote two articles for the magazine in 1936. One of them, published in Issue 8, targeted a popular phrase at the time: "the Chinese (moon) is not as good as the foreign" (中国的(月亮)不及外国的) (Xu 1937: 150) The phrase was frequently quoted to ridicule those young Chinese who admired the West so much that they always claimed that foreign things were better than the Chinese. Xu on the contrary defended the idea by pointing out that the same moon might look different in Shanghai and Beijing, when viewed against different scenery. Not to mention when he appreciated the beautiful moon in the city of Venice, set off by the sculptures on the roof of the Roman-styled architecture and the reflections in the water, he really agreed that the moon in Venice was more impressive. (ibid: 151-152)

Xu's argument, however, was not actually a defence for the phrase or the idea. He intended to point out that the question was not about whether the foreign was "better" than the Chinese. Many Chinese overseas students simply identified Western civilisation with its material development and thus looked down upon their own culture without enough understanding. Xu (ibid: 156-157) believed it was this kind of naive thinking that lead to the "lopsided condition" of Chinese society, worshiping the West and neglecting anything that was Chinese. He further pointed out the meaninglessness for Chinese scholars to discuss whether China should be Westernised or retain its traditional culture, for most of them had no clear idea of what civilisation really meaned. (ibid: 158) Xu's own educational background provided him with good appreciation of both Western and Chinese cultures, and to him the backwardness of the material and social development of China could not deny its own civilisation, for example the importance of its social rituals and ancient literature.

In the article Xu made a comparison between Chinese and Western art, architecture and poetry, commenting on the various differences deeply rooted in the different cultures. After he returned to Shanghai, he continued to write several articles comparing the two cultures in terms of religion, aesthetics of line in art, and appreciation of natural scenery. (see Xu 1939a, 1939b, 1939c) He directly refuted the ideas of cultural chauvinism and *zhongti xiyong*, claiming that when modern civilisation arrived in the West, the European countries preserved their characteristics, so "why should China imitate other countries instead of receiving the arrival of modernity itself?" (Xu 1939a: 448) As he put it, "China should confidently accept the civilisation of the modern time which had been in the West and was yet to arrive in China." (ibid: 455) The line was quoted by the editor and highlighted beside the article title on its first page, which demonstrated not only the writer's opinion, but also the magazine's attitude.

Xu's essays provided penetrating insights in discussing art and aesthetics from the angle of Chinese and Western philosophies and thoughts, while his stories depicted different views on love, marriage, and family relationships among Chinese and Westerners. His protagonists lived in Western countries, made friends with Westerners and even entered marriage with them (Xu 1938b; 1940a; 1940b), but they faced a lot of challenges to accept a different culture, or to choose between the two cultures, which revealed the transforming process of the cosmopolitan Chinese in the cultural conflicts between China and the West. He demonstrated how overseas Chinese reacted in the face of those differences, with both losses and gains, and

how they remained Chinese while being influenced and changed by Western culture. From another perspective, Xu's stories expressed the modern experience of the cosmopolitan Chinese in their encounters with the West. It was no coincidence that Xu soon established himself as a popular writer in Shanghai with these works contributed to *Xifeng* magazine.

Another author Shen Youqian was from a different background. Having raduated from Tsinghua University, Shen was among the last group of overseas students in the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program and studied at Stanford University. After graduation he returned as a leading logician, psychologist, and statistician in China. Shen was an active contributor to *Xinyue* and *Lunyu* in the 1920s and 1930s. He was also one of the principal supporters of *Xifeng*, contributing 21 essays for the magazine, most of which were later published in his famous collection *Xiyou huiyilu* (西游回忆录 Memoir of a Journey to the West, 1941).

Brought up at the end of the Qing dynasty, like previous intellectuals Shen was also much concerned about the modern development of China. He contributed two articles to *Xifeng* about Chinese and Western cultures in 1937. Critical of either cultural chauvinism or total Westernisation, the two prevailing propositions at the time, in a short essay he humorously rebutted both with logic he had learned in the US, and supported the formula of *zhongti xiyong* as the best solution. (Shen 1937a: 417) Yet he also claimed the interpretation of *ti* (foundation) and *yong* (application) would not be exclusive. (ibid: 418) Shen's ideas on cultural difference were expressed in his second essay, which he translated from an English speech he gave at a banquet of the "Cosmopolitan Club" in Stanford University in 1925. (Shen 1937b: 47) Entitled "The Differences and Similarities between the Chinese and American Cultures," he began by pointing out that conflicts started in one common psychology shared by the two parties—everyone believed oneself to be right and the other to be abnormal. (ibid: 48) He further gave a few examples of the incredible and absurd comments on Westerners made by Chinese because of their ignorance. With a comparison between the two cultures, Shen was telling his readers, as well as his audience in America, that sticking to one's existing knowledge and opinions without broadening one's mind was the biggest obstacle between nations and peoples. This article was published in a special issue after the Japanese occupation of Shanghai in November, 1937, following an essay introducing Japanese bathhouses by Zhou Zuoren (1937). These works demonstrated the importance placed by the editors on the need to open up one's mind and know more about other cultures.

Ignorance would go with narrow-mindedness and misunderstanding. The magazine had pointedly emphasised its task of cultivating among modern Chinese an identity which qualified them as world citizens, even in the most critical point during the war.

It was also the constant effort by the editors that made available Shen's reminiscent essays, serialised in *Xifeng* and entitled "Xiyouji" (西游记 Journey to the West) from 1938 to 1941. (Editors, Issue 24, 1938: 526) They were the accounts he made of his travel and study experiences in America. Shen's writing had been praised as fresh and incisive (ibid), but his accounts offered more to the readers with his original and unique observations during his trip. The author starts his account with a "cultural conflict" regarding its title. He jokes that his writing about America was actually a wind from the East, according to the traditional Chinese geographical concept, but now the commonly acknowledged world centre has shifted and the magazine even calls itself the "West Wind," so he has to change his title into "Journey to the West." (She 1938: 536) Like many of the other works in *Xifeng*, though having the word "West" in its title, Shen's work contributed a lot to the conversations concerning the Chinese in the world. In his essays, Shen provided abundant narratives of what he saw and met in America, in which he recorded some particular scenes with his countrymen. In one passage entitled "Treatment," Shen noted one phenomenon, that the Chinese students were obsessed with the attitude to them taken by Americans in universities. For example, once in a banquet when the organiser invited Japanese guest to give a speech but not Chinese, it caused great anger among the Chinese students. Possibly as compensation, another time, the organiser invited only the Chinese but no Japanese to speak. The author commented that the banquet was for the purpose of communication, but it turned out to set a barrier between peoples (due to the anger of the Chinese students), and the organiser's compensating action was actually a "further mistake." (Shen 1939: 589) Obviously he saw a serious problem in the "morbid" mentality shown among many Chinese overseas. This mentality of the overseas Chinese found by Shen was a different type from that in Xu Xu's article (Xu 1937). Yet the two kinds of phemomena resulted in negative images of the Chinese in the West. Both records by Shen and Xu reflected their concerns about a healthy mind and proper mentality of the Chinese in their interaction with the West.

As I have discussed earlier, both Shen and Xu emphasised the importance of keeping an open mind and broadening their knowledge of the "foreign" in dealing with different cultures. Translations about Western countries and continuous correspondence from overseas in *Xifeng*

had served this purpose well. After Lin Yutang brought his whole family to the US, his two daughters, Lin Rusi (林如斯) and Lin Wushuang (林无双) also became frequent contributors to *Xifeng*, with their translations and travel accounts of Europe and America. In Issue 32 an excerpt from the sisters' book *Our Family* (published in New York) was translated and published with the title "Waiguoren wenwo dehua" (外国人问我的话 Questions from the Foreigners). With many absurd questions such as "Do Chinese eat bird nests taken from trees?" and "Do Chinese catch a cold?" their work revealed how ignorant the Americans were of China and Chinese people. (Lin Wushuang 1939) The editor commented: "On the one hand we lament how little the foreigners know about us and the deep barrier between peoples; on the other hand we think it imperative for us to enhance reciprocal understanding between nations and improve communication between China and the West." (Editors, Issue 32, 1939: 108)

If *Xifeng* magazine belonged to the "cosmopolitan Chinese fringe" in the 1930s in Levenson's term, his conclusions on the Chinese cosmopolitan must not apply to its contributors. (Levenson 1971: 30) To Levenson, the educated elites in republican China had received "a new education, western or western-inspired," which might make them "rootless cosmopolitans," and thus being charged as being "de-nationalized." (ibid: 38) Yet the cultural practices of *Xifeng*'s many contributors demonstrated their keenest nationalistic concerns when they dealt with their cosmopolitan experience and sentiment. They were never "detached from China," in Levenson's term. (ibid: 35) Whether they stayed in China or other places in the world, they always expressed their care about their own nation. In their cosmopolitan disposition, there remained a strong patriotic commitment, which was shown not only in their promoting national confidence in cultural communication, but also in their close concern for the war situations in which China was involved.

In 1937, the publication of the magazine was interrupted by the Battle of Shanghai (also known as the Battle of Songhu), the biggest and fiercest battle China fought against the Japanese army at the time. When resumed, the press published a special issue (Issue 13), showing its allegiance in every sense to the nationalist stance in the Resistance War. This issue started with the Chinese version of Lin Yutang's "Can China Stop Japan in her Asiatic March?" in *New York Times*. Lin (1937b: 110) argued that Chinese nationalism, synonymous to anti-Nipponism, would support China with the "finest fighting morale any nation can hope for" in her defence against Japan. In this article Lin praised a new Chinese nationalism, which

was growing out of the "penetration of modern ideas" and was "constructive" for China to become a modern country, proven in the astonishing progress made in the country. (ibid.) The same active, living, and constructive Chinese nationalism was demonstrated in three articles which followed, which were translated from the *New York Times*, *China Critic* and *South China Morning Post*, all important English language journals at the time. They were given the Chinese titles "Dare China Fight against Japan? Of course Yes!" (Kong 1937), "The Spirit of the Chinese in Fighting against Japan" (Huang Jiade 1937), and "Will the Big Powers Support China?" (Luo 1937). These headlines were illustrated with a photo of a fist in the inner cover page, meaning "make a tight fist and fight till the end." A roaring atmosphere of the war and close attention to the nation's destiny were shown in the continuing reports of the war situation in its following issues, such as in Liang Shaogang (1937).

However, the new modern Chinese nationalism in *Xifeng* was not exclusive. In the same issue, it published several reports translated from foreign publications discussing the war situation in the UK, Soviet Russia, and the South East Asia. (see Ou 1937; Hu 1937; Huang Jiayin 1937; Wu 1937) The magazine situated the Resistance War against the background of wars in Europe, and revealed to its readers the Japanese military deployment in and outside China, creating a global vision on this vicious military movement which was affecting many nations in the world. *Xifeng* showed that the experience of being threatened and invaded was shared by other nations in the same situation, which was depicted in the many articles published from 1937 to 1945. In Issue 23, for example, Bo Ren (1938) introduced how Liechtenstein, the smallest country in the world, defended its territorial integrity and people's freedom. The editor commented: "it is really admirable, in such a politically and militarily tense situation in the world, that this government and people are so determined to defend their nation's independence and freedom." (Editors, Issue 23, 1938: 422) The magazine provided many positive examples for China to strengthen itself in the period of war. For example, Yu Xin'en (1943) wrote about how Switzerland, surrounded by big powers, managed to develop its industry and protect the nation. The editor hoped the readers could be encouraged by the case that a small European country would still fight with great vigour in the difficult situation. (Editors, Issue 65, 1943: 433) This was how a patriotic nationalistic Chinese constructed a healthy and positive relationship with his cosmopolitan experience.

A healthy and positive relationship was also constructed in the magazine in dealing with the national hatred between China and Japan. Regarding the confrontations between the

Chinese and Japanese armies, the magazine supported a tit-for-tat response. In Issue 13, Meng Gu (1937: 33) revealed a big mistake made in the Japanese propaganda. The Japanese spokesman repeatedly told foreign journalists that the Chinese army was stranded in financial crisis, simply based on the information on a slip left by a Chinese military man. But it turned out that they misinterpreted the meaning due to a poor understanding of the Chinese language. Thus the author ridiculed this foolish mistake that Japan made in front of international journalists. With this attitude, however, it was not an aim of the magazine to create and promote hostility between the two nations even during their military confrontations. In the same issue, it published Zhou Zuoren's essay discussing the bathing culture in Japan and its relationship with Chinese tradition. (Zhou 1937) Zhou's essay was followed by Shen Youqian's, which aimed at promoting more understanding of the cultural differences, as mentioned previously. (Shen 1937b)

In keeping an open-minded and understanding attitude, the magazine even paid respect to the modern development in Japan, for example, their highly-institutionalised and humanistic jail system (Shi 1937a) and their advanced press and newspaper industry (Shi 1937b). The positive attitude was also revealed in two articles contributed by Xie Bingying, one of which appeared in Issue 13. Xie was a famous revolutionary writer who studied and lived in Japan from 1935 to 1937. In her reminiscent essays about staying in a lodging house in Japan and her experience of being arrested by the Japanese government, she depicted several images of the common Japanese people, who showed respect, sympathy, and trust to her, in spite of the hostile relationship between the two nations. (Xie 1937a; 1937b) It was demonstrated that though the two countries were at war, it was not that the two peoples should become enemies. It was also a cosmopolitan mentality that made the mutual understanding and equal respect available among different peoples, who were all modern citizens of the world.

3.3 Chinese racial identity and the promotion of racial equality

In his essay "Can China Stop Japan in her Asiatic March?" Lin Yutang conceived China's old nationalism to be simply racial pride. (Lin 1937: 110) But Chinese racial consciousness was also a modern product which did not appear until the 19th century. According to Dikötter's study, the racial issue was an essential part in Chinese national identity construction from the Late Qing period to the Republican era. He also observes a

superiority and inferiority complex of the Chinese about their racial identity when facing the West. (Dikötter 1990: 429).

The idea of race in China came into being in the 19th century and became predominant in the first half of the 20th century (Dikötter 1990). It caught attention from leading intellectuals such as Yan Fu, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao as an important supporting element in their enlightenment and revolutionary agendas. Racial discourses were widely promoted in the importation of popular Western theories by overseas returned scholars in the New Culture and May Fourth Movement, and even prevailed, for example, with the theory of eugenics, for decades until the end of the Republican period.[58] The concept of race was adopted to promote a national unity against foreign aggreassion. (Dikötter 2014: 359-360) Closely related to the inferiority and superiority complex, racial identity was an essential element in the construction of Chinese national identity.

The section examines the racial topics in *Xifeng* magazine and argues that the previous eagerness to prove the Chinese as a "superior" race gave way to a notion of racial equality, which was demonstrated in the clear attitude shown towards racial issues in the West, especially in America. The eagerness and anxiety behind the earlier racial discourses and theories were also replaced by a moderate attitude in the magazine. The adjusted recognition of racial identity came from a better understanding of the world (the West) and a well-balanced mentality towards the foreign.

3.3.1 *Chinese racial nationalism and racial identity*

"Is the black race really inferior? If a white man holding this prejudice were accidentally born as a black (which is possible), what would he think then? Regarding the question of race, maybe only we Chinese, being a coloured race, are more likely to provide a correct opinion." (Editors, Issue 90, 1946: 513) This comment made by the editor of *Xifeng* in Issue 90 revealed three messages concerning the racial issue in the mind of the Chinese. First, the Chinese were concerned about the question of racial inferiority and superiority, which was relevant to them as they also belonged to the coloured race (as they were not white people). Second, the idea of

[58] Frank Dikötter (1990; 1992; 1995; 1997; 1998; 2014) contribute to the field of Chinese history with a large body of writings on the discourse of race in China. For a brief trace of the Chinese racial discourse, see Dikötter (1990; 1997). For a detailed discussion of race in the Republican era, see Dikötter (1992: 126-190). For the development of eugenic discourse in Republican China, see Dikötter (1998: 64-118).

viewing a race as inferior was a kind of prejudice. Third, the Chinese stood in a special position to give a justified opinion toward racial prejudice.

From the late 19th century to the first half of the 20th century, the concept of race in the mind of the Chinese went through multiple changes. Dikötter (1990) traced the history of the Chinese views on race (种 *zhong*, seed, species, race), in the transition from a cultural universalism (Sino-centrism) to racial exclusiveness that lasted from the middle of the 19th century till the 1920s. Chinese consciousness of race emerged at the beginning of the 19th century when their traditional world view was questioned when they confronted Westerners who were of different physical presence. Then an increasing recognition of the group identity of Chinese was formed as the Qing officials had more contact with foreigners. (ibid: 420-421) China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 triggered the rapid acceptance and promotion of Darwinism in a surge of Western social theories. Yan Fu, the most influential proponent of Darwinism, advocated a new world view based on racial differences. To him, among the four main races in the world, the yellow, the white, the brown and the black, "the black race is the lowest." (Dikötter 1990: 423) Yan's statement was for the purpose of emphasising the theory of survival of the fittest and giving a warning to the Chinese nation. His idea was soon adopted by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, who absorbed the racial concept in their nationalist theories.

Kang incorporated the idea of race in his theory of *datong*. (Thompson 158: 140-148) Entitled "abolishing racial boundaries," Kang's racial discourse was actually not based on the concept of equality, but a concept of inequality which evolves from the ancient Chinese worldview, which reveals an eagerness of the Chinese nation (race) to re-enter the world centre. In Kang's differentiation of races in the world, "the strength of the white race is assuredly superior, while the yellow race is more numerous and also wiser." (ibid: 141) Based on this judgment he drew up a plan of racial amalgamation, in which the yellow race "would gradually become white." He recommended the interracial marriage between the two races, so then after two or three generations the yellow race would become white. Yet the brown and black races could not amalgamate due to their "being so distant [in colour] from the white race." (ibid)

Liang's racial discourse was also based on racial inequality. He developed Yan Fu's idea on racial classification by adding "the red" to the other four races, and described the five races

with a series of coupled terms, such as "noble" (*guizhong*) and "low" (*jianzhong*), "superior" (*youzhong*) and "inferior" (*liezhong*), "historical" (*you lishi de*) and "ahistorical." (Dikötter 1990: 424-425) Dikötter (ibid) points out that out of a psychology of "compensation" the Chinese intellectuals tried to lift their collective self-esteem by downgrading the coloured races (the red, the brown and the black). This mentality was perpetuated by new discourses, supported by modern science, during the Republican period, which was, in Dikötter's term, "an age of anxiety." (ibid: 429)

Such practices as giving depreciative descriptions of coloured people continued during the 1920s and 1930s.[59] After the May Fourth and New Culture Movement, science became the new authority in judging the levels of races. (Dikötter 1997: 19) Supported by studies such as biology and anthropology that they learned in the West, returned scholars and professors tried to establish Chinese racial identity by constructing new racial discourses in China. A few of their works still described the black people as an inferior race (*liedeng minzu*) in terms of intellectual, cultural and natural development. (ibid: 20-21) Though they also suffered from strong racial discrimination when they lived in the West, they even reinforced their ideas on racial differences in their promotion of the new theories. (ibid: 22-24)

Dikötter's study focuses on Chinese racial arrogance, revitalised in Sino-centrism and provoked by a sense of inferiority and superiority complex, in the intellectuals' construction of Chinese racial identity. Though most of his observations are drawn from the 1920s and 1930s, his conclusion covers the whole Republican period. Based on my study of the *Xifeng* magazine, as I discussed in 3.1 and 3.2, the mentality of anxiety has been alleviated with the promotion of confidence and self-esteem, mainly through broadening knowledge and understanding differences. In the translation and introduction of Western studies, there was no discussion of the superiority or inferiority of any race. On the contrary, there were a few works against racial prejudice in the West, which will be discussed in 3.3.2.

Dikötter also discusses how eugenic theories became increasingly popular among the Chinese educated class in the late 1920s and early 1930s. As he records, "degeneration" and "racial hygiene" were the catch phrases of the day. There was even official propaganda for the marriage between superior people for the regeneration of the race. (ibid: 25) Eugenics was a set of theories on the improvement of physical and intellectual qualities of human race,

[59] For a detailed narration of the prevailing discourses on race during the Republican period, see Dikötter (1992: 126-163).

prevailing in the West during the 1920s. Tsu (2005) discusses how eugenics was involved in the intellectuals' effort for a racial survival, assimilated in the task of national survival in the 1930s.[60]

In her study Tsu focuses on how the sense of failure contributes to the construction of modern Chinese identity. She identifies a consciousness of failure as revealed in the promotion of racial improvement by scientific theories and practices at the time. "Chinese eugenics at its inception was propelled by the perceived threat of racial extinction under the pressure of Western domination." (Tsu 2005: 99) Tsu discusses the eagerness of the Chinese to find an "illness" in themselves and thus a solution to revitalise their nation, during which eugenics was promoted by intellectuals to save the nation from extinction. (cf. ibid: 100-105) She particularly discusses the eugenic discourses constructed by Pan Guangdan (Quentin Pan 潘光旦 1899-1967), who was viewed as the most influential proponent of eugenics in China.[61] Pan had devoted himself to a large-scale social campaign of saving the nation from racial deterioration. In Tsu's argument, the Chinese identity was promoted with an insistence on defect, which "protects the primacy of the Chinese consciousness in the search for a remedy." (ibid: 114) The Chinese had been obsessed with finding defects and failure in their own race, which was supported by the prevalence of eugenics. The anxiety and the eagerness of self-inquiry behind their obsession was the same as that behind their self-criticism of their national character.

3.3.2 *Modern world citizens: for racial equality in the world*

There are altogether two articles on eugenics published in *Xifeng*. (Qin 1940; Zhang 1940). It might be because the promotion of eugenics in finding defects was gradually waning in the 1930s[62] and the magazine did not totally support the idea of scrutinising one's own nation for defects in order to take them as an urgent target for improvement. Rather, it called for a proper attitude to view people with defects. Its coverage on children with birth defects in Issue 1 and 4 (two translated articles on the treatment of mentally defective children, see Huang Jiayin 1936b; 1936c), and its writing composition on the topic of "A Subnormal Child I know" in Issue 25, showed a sympathetic and encouraging attitude facing the particular

[60] For a discussion of racial improvement in the 1930s, see Tsu 2005, chapter 4.
[61] Jing Tsu (2005: 113) points out the idea of race could no longer appeal to the nation at war when discussing the promotion of eugenics by Pan Guangdan in the 1930s.
[62] Several articles about artificial insemination were published in *Xifeng*. The editor commented: "The development of artificial insemination in eugenics cannot be ignored." (Editors, Issue 81, 1945: 261).

group. (Ji Zhenhuai 1938) Such attitudes did not go against the development of public health and hygienic knowledge, but it revealed an undisturbed and peaceful mind behind the magazine's approach to modernity.

In the article by Qin Daojian (1940), based on excerpts of several issues of newspapers in 1934 and other scholarly works, he introduced the government policies on eugenics in Germany and America. Both countries had in recent two decades carried out strict policies to forbid reproduction among the underdeveloped group of people. Qin further introduced the new method of ligation, and the benefit of it for those who wanted to avoid child birth. (ibid. 266) By the end of the article, however, the author raised a question regarding whether a law as carried out in Germany or America should be enforced in China, in order to control the number of those intellectually or physically underdeveloped, or mentally-ill people. The author was open-ended to the answer and felt it should be left for the readers themselves to judge. (ibid: 267)

On the one hand, the magazine showed a mild attitude toward the urgent need of improving Chinese race recorded in Dikötter's study, and on the other hand, it expressed its condemnation of the problem of racial inequality in the Western countries, especially America. A few articles discussing racial inequality and discrimination were published between 1946 and 1949, the period after the end of WWII, which began with the question raised at the beginning of Section 3.3—"Is the black race really inferior?"

The question was answered with the translation from Diedrich Westermann's (1875-1956) book by Gu Qiyuan (1946). The article revealed how white people thought the black to be stupid was in fact due to a lack of proper communication. (ibid: 576) The black people, according to the author, had high intelligence and sense of morality. They were smart, cultured, and talented. They were also self-respecting and struggled for their own rights when treated unfairly. The conclusion is thought-provoking:

> "After all the future of the black people is in their own hands. They should decide for themselves the right way to go. Though white men can affect the black's action, the result still depends on the latter's own effort. […] If the black and the white can communicate freely, both of them must benefit. Though peoples in the world have different physical appearance, they have totally the same human nature." (ibid: 578)

This conclusion was highlighted by the editors. It demonstrated the racial opinion of the magazine, which was completely different from the exclusive and prejudiced racial theories that dominated the intellectual scene in the earlier period according to Dikötter. It was also the magazine's task to broadcast the idea of racial equality to its readers, as in Fan Cunheng's "Meiguo de heiren" (The Black People in America). Fan's (1947) correspondence from the US introduced the conditions of the black people in America: "The black are not as black or savage as what the Chinese have imagined. […] From now on we (Chinese) should learn more about the black people, because the future world belongs to all mankind, and the barriers between races should be eliminated." (ibid: 415) So it was demonstrated by the magazine that a modern Chinese identity should be constructed with mutual respect to other nations and races, rather than upon simple worship of the strong powers.

As belonging to the "coloured races" themselves, the Chinese would need to think about their own position between the white and the black races. When Wu Zhen (吴桢, 1911-) visited America during 1946 and 1947, he contributed two articles to *Xifeng* recording his personal experience in the US. (Wu 1946; 1947) In his first correspondence the author recorded his witness of discrimination the coloured people suffered in public areas. (Wu 1946: 517) He described his awkward feeling at a cinema, when having to choose to sit with the black or the white, for the two groups sat separated by a partition in the middle. He finally sat with the white group, but felt very uncomfortable. The author said, "I was too sensitive, and maybe with an "Inferiority Complex" (the phrase was originally in English)." (ibid) In his second article, Wu targeted racial prejudice against black people in America. Again he showed a concern about the Chinese race in between the white and the black races. Because the yellow race was also the object of racial discrimination in America, when the Chinese suffered from it, they felt they had no solution but to transfer the same discrimination onto the black people. Wu (1947: 10) criticised this "shallow form of compensation" as both ridiculous and pathetic. On the one hand these Chinese suffered from discrimination by the white race, on the other hand they tried to obtain psychological balance by discriminating against other coloured races. This action of compensation observed by Wu in 1947 was the same as the construction of unequal racial discourses by earlier Chinese intellectuals. Rather than depending on the idea of racial hierarchy, now, in *Xifeng* magazine, I find a different voice

calling for racial equality and understanding, out of which it was possible to construct a modern Chinese identity based on self-confidence and mutual respect toward other nations.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how the magazine promoted a moderate attitude in its construction of modern Chinese identity through cultivating confidence in the recognition of Chinese national self, the coexistence of patriotic nationalism and cosmopolitanism, and the idea of race and racial equality. In every corner of China's modern experience lingered a deep sense of anxiety, whether the Chinese were observing their own character, image and racial strength, or reacting in front of observation by Westerners. It was true that China's experience of failure and humiliation in its modern time underlay this sense of anxiety, which to a large extent affected the formation of modern Chinese identity. But in the 1930s and 1940s there were different responses to modernity among Chinese intellectuals. Within them were the group who took a liberal cosmopolitan view in pursuing their nationalist agenda. As an outstanding publication of the liberal cosmopolitan group, represented by Lin Yutang, *Xifeng* magazine contributed to the construction of modern Chinese national identity based on broadened knowledge of the world and promoted self-esteem. In this magazine it was demonstrated that, with an inclusive nationalist and cosmopolitan identity constructed, the deep anxiety was coped with through the cultivation of an attitude which was moderate, confident, and undisturbed by the negative aspects in China's modern experience.

Chapter 4. New Woman, *Modeng* Woman and Modern Woman through Education

Along with the rise of nationalism in the late 19th century and the Republican period, the issue of Modern Woman was also a key concern in the formation of modern Chinese identity. During the period a cluster of new phrases, such as *jindai nüzi* (近代女子), *xinshi funü* (新式妇女), *xin nüxing* (新女性), *shidai nüxing* (时代女性), *modeng nülang* (摩登女郎), *xiandai nüxing* (现代女性), all different expressions of Modern Woman, came into being and played prevalent roles in discourses of femininity, nation, and modernity. Among these phrases, *shidai* 时代 means "time" and "epoch", *xin* 新 (*xinshi* 新式) means "new" ("new style"), *jindai* 近代, *modeng* 摩登 and *xiandai* 现代 are all translations of "modern" (*modeng* is the transliteration of modern), and *nüzi* 女子, *nülang* 女郎, *funü* 妇女 and *nüxing* 女性 are all expressions of "woman."[63] From her emancipation from foot-binding in the late 19th century, to her quest of freedom from feudal family and tradition in the New Culture and May Fourth Movement, the Modern Woman has been an icon and symbol as the most progressive power in the Chinese pursuit of modernity.[64] A number of scholars have argued that, the construction of "Modern Woman" was always an integral part of nation-building/strengthening and national salvation, a central issue in the project of Chinese modernity. (Chan 1993; Hong 1997; Edwards 2000; Stevens 2003; Yen 2005; Judge 2008)

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the images of modern women became more complicated and disputable with the appearance of *modeng* woman, a product of the development of commodification and commercialisation in Shanghai. In response to *modeng* woman, there appeared competing models of the New Woman portrayed by the Left-wing playwrights and the New Woman fostered in Nationalist campaigns such as the New Life Movement. It was against such a background that *Xifeng* magazine participated in the construction of Modern Woman, which showed a distinctive character of its own.

[63] For the emergence of the "new woman" in modern China, see Hu Ying (2000: 1-19); for the convergence of gendered discourse and nationalism in the late Qing and early Republican period, see Dooling (2005: 35-49) and Judge (2008: 7-8); for discussions of the modern woman (modern girl) phenomenon and debates on what modern woman should be in the 1930s, see Zhang Yingjin (1994), Harris (1995), Edwards (2000), Stevens (2003), and Sang (2008; 2016).

[64] For studies of the physical liberation of women from foot-binding in modern China, see Ono (1989: 23-46) and Hong (1997); for an introduction of intellectuals' articulation on female emancipation during the May Fourth New Culture Movement, see Gilmartin (1999).

This chapter examines the construction of Modern Woman in *Xifeng* magazine through its translation practices involving translating the images of Western women and interactive communications among editors, contributors and readers. By situating *Xifeng*'s construction of modern woman in the context of women's emancipation in the May Fourth Movement and the debate on Modern Woman in the 1930s, I argue that, by way of showing what Western woman was like through translation, the magazine uncovered multiple possibilities for modern woman to its reader, in addition to the radical and stereotypical images of women that were constructed in the 1920s and 1930s. By demonstrating that both Western women and Chinese women were faced with and were wrestling with conflicts of modernity, the magazine opened up discussions on how to be a modern woman while emphasising the importance of women's education in enabling them to deal with their troubles with the "self" in a transitional period to modernity. By means of translations, Chinese women's own writings, and interactions among editors, contributors, and readers, *Xifeng* devoted great effort to call forth a modern woman who was educated, cultivated, and elevated with an open, healthy, and intellectual mind.

4.1 Constructing the Modern Woman in Republican China

4.1.1 *The emergence of New Woman*

The identity formation of modern woman in China was very much a product of Western influence. The concept of "New Woman" emerged at the end of the 19th century, though the term itself (*xin nüxing* 新女性 or *xin funü* 新妇女) did not appear until the end of the 1910s. (Hu 2000: 4)[65] According to Hu Ying's study, soon after "women's place" was raised by Western missionaries in late Qing China as a standard of measuring whether a nation was civilised or not, a project of reconfiguring women was carried out among Chinese intellectuals in their political programmes of strengthening the nation, during which New Woman, "an ideal yet to be articulated," entered the modern Chinese historical scene. (ibid: 2-6)

Influenced by missionary discourses, Chinese reformist intellectuals, such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, began to consider issue of women as an important part of their reconstruction of a modern identity for Chinese. Kang Youwei in his *Datongshu* called for the

[65] Hu Ying (2000: 208) identifies the first use of *xin funü* by Hu Shi in 1918. But Hu Shi uses *xin funü* as the translation of "New Woman" in America, representing a radical, new-style woman, not exactly the New Woman discussed in this chapter.

abolishment of sex boundaries. (Thompson 1958: 149-168) Liang Qichao incorporated the figure of woman in his *xinmin* (新民) agenda, meaning "making new citizenry out of the traditional Chinese." For example, he called for women to receive education, join in the workforce and shoulder financial responsibilities, just as their Western counterparts did. (Liang 1998: 155-156) More fundamentally, Liang's effort in promoting women's education was influential not only in theory but through a set of specific reform measures. In his re-rendition of the Confucian doctrine, he re-defined the role of women as lying in "helping their husbands and educating their sons," which would significantly influence future generations of Chinese women. (Hu 2000: 164-165) It was recorded that with a purpose of building "a prosperous nation and an intelligent people," under the promotion of Kang and Liang, women's schools gradually emerged around the turn of the century, with the support of reformists, enlightened businessmen, and officials. (Wang 1999: 172-173) During this period there also emerged new identities of women, such as "*nü xuesheng*" (女学生 female students) and "*guomin zhi mu*" (国民之母 mother of citizens). (Judge 2008: 10-11)

With an anxiety in the urgent need for China to resume its status as an acknowledged civilisation and a strong nation, reformist intellectuals in the late Qing placed a significant role on women in their nationalistic agenda to lead China to modernity. In their views, the backwardness of Chinese women was the fundamental reason for the weakness of the nation. Many of the traditional features of Chinese women, such as foot-binding, indulgence in make-ups and clothes, superstition, and being reserved in public, became a centre of condemnation of their backwardness. (Xu Yanlian 2014: 5) In the early 20th century the rigid negation of tradition became a salient feature of the discourses on the construction of modern women. (ibid: 5-6)

Such negation of Chinese tradition and the correlation of China's backwardness with the backwardness of women were inherited by the May Fourth intellectuals, who echoed intellectuals of the earlier generation in calling for women's education, independence, and political rights. The May Fourth generation also put the issue of women at the forefront of their project for social and political modernisation. In pushing for the birth of a New Woman (and thus a new nation), they took a more radical approach than the earlier generation of reformists and totally denied the traditional values imposed on women. "In the popular May Fourth parlance," Lee speculates, "to be 'modern' means above all to be 'new.'" (Lee 1990:

110) And this "newness" came from translations of the West in *New Youth*—the flagship journal for the New Culture and May Fourth Movement. (Zhang 2013: 58-66)

In *New Youth*, these intellectuals addressed vigorously issues of women and gender. In his "The Way of Confucius and Modern Life" (*Xinqingnian*, Vol. 2 Issue 4, 1916), leading intellectual Chen Duxiu condemned the subordinate position of Chinese women in the Confucian familial norms as "incompatible with a modern way of life." (Gilmartin 1999: xiii) In 1917, a column entitled "Nüzi wenti" (女子问题 Questions of Women) was added in the journal, which specifically addressed a range of topics such as women's education, family, occupation and political rights. For instance, Tao Lügong (1918: 15-19), one of the contributors to the column, clearly linked the backwardness of women to the nation's weakness in comparison with Western countries in terms of economy, education, and new ideas. The May Fourth intellectuals' critiques on issue of women soon joined in the radical rhetoric that denounced anything traditional and embraces all knowledge, ideas and practices from the West. Many of Chinese traditional features of women, such as *xianqi liangmu* (贤妻良母 virtuous wife and good mother), became target of their criticisms.

Hu Shi, another leading intellectual of the New Culture and May Fourth Movement, found a model for Chinese women in American women. In 1918, Hu Shi gave a speech at Peking Women's Normal School, later published in *New Youth*, entitled "Meiguo de furen" (美国的妇人 Women in America). In this speech Hu presented a "spirit" that he identified among American women, a view of life that surpassed the role of a virtuous wife and good mother. (Hu Shi 1918c: 213) American women, according to Hu, had "independence" as their life goal, while women in some traditional countries only aimed to be virtuous wives and good mothers. Hu defined "independence" as being able to develop one's own talent and ability, so as to be independent from others, live on one's own, and contribute to society as workforce. (ibid.) In Hu's opinion, the only way for Chinese women to become "real citizens" of China was to learn from American women.

When giving examples of women's life "surpassing the role of virtuous wife and good mother," Hu Shi introduced the New Woman in America:

> "New Woman" is a new word, and it designates a new kind of woman [*xin pai de funu*], who is extremely intense in her actions, who doesn't believe in religion or adhere to rule of conduct [*lifa*], yet who is an extremely good thinker and has extremely high morals. […] Although there aren't many [true New Woman] in America, they best express one of the recent directions for American women." (Hu Shi 1918c: 222; quoted in Harris 1995: 64)

Hu Shi's exemplary praise for this type of New Woman was quite indicative of the fervent atmosphere of the May Fourth period, in terms of achieving individual liberation (getting rid of the shackles of family) and overturning religious and traditional conventions (*lifa* 礼法). Hu's advocacy of the independent American women was a call of the time, as "Learning from the West" was a trademark slogan in the May Fourth discourse. The New Woman soon became an eye-catching model among the May Fourth generation.

From the late 1910s to early 1920s, thanks to the rapid expansion of the periodical press, there were intense discussions on women's emancipation, including condemnation of arranged marriage, rejection of women's chastity as an ideal, and the call for equal sexual mores between men and women. (Gilmartin 1999: xiii-xiv) A number of slogans such as "freedom of marriage," "freedom of love," "financial independence," and "getting rid of the shackles of family," represented the social and cultural mood in China at the time. (Zhang 2013: 59-66) Among these discussions, family was blamed as the source of women's problems. (Lan and Fong 1999: 1-4)[66] Soon the call for the awakening of Chinese women was reified in the actual promotion of radical activities, such as women's leaving their home as a practice of their independence.

Translation played a major role in the May Fourth advocacy of learning from the West. In this trend the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) received a rapturous reception, with Nora, his female protagonist in *A Doll's House*, becoming a model for the new woman that perfectly suited the May Fourth spirit.[67] *A Doll's House* told the story of Nora, a wife and mother, leaving her home to seek her Self, in the context of a 19th century bourgeois family and society. Ibsen's Nora was herself a contested figure who had experienced a complicated psychological transformation and her leaving home was controversial as she

[66] A collection of writings on issues of women in the May Fourth period can be found in *Women in Republican China: A Sourcebook* (1999), ed. Lan and Fong.
[67] Chang (2004: 25-38) has given a recount of the translation of Nora into a symbol of "new woman" in China.

abandons not only her husband, but also her three children. But when she was introduced to China by radical and progressive reformers, what was highlighted for emulation centred on her sudden self-awakening, her doubts about her marriage, and her courage to abandon her family, while complexities of the human nature such as her inner crisis were largely ignored. (Chang 2004: 38)

In China, the Ibsenist new woman was portrayed as an emancipated, courageous rebel who fought against her family, as her first step of fighting against repressive social conventions. The Ibsenist new woman exerted tremendous influence over the entire May Fourth generation. Her radical behaviour aroused heated debates between camps of different ideologies, normally represented by progressive reformers and their antagonists who defended Confucian traditions. (ibid.) In any case, this New Woman obviously became a role model for a large group of progressive young women during the May Fourth and its ensuing period.[68]

4.1.2 *Modeng Woman and its counter-models*

In the late 1920s and 1930s, a new image of the Modern Woman, or the *modeng* woman, entered the popular parlance in Shanghai.[69] In 1927, the term *modeng*, a transliteration of the English "Modern" was already used in a poem composed by a Chinese poet. (Shih 2001: 97) It soon entered the popular cultural vocabulary.[70] A product of the development of consumerism and commodification in Shanghai, the images of *modeng* women frequented the calendar posters, magazine covers and commercial advertisements. (Lee 1999; Dal Lago 2000; Barlow 2005; He Nan 2010) She was commonly seen as a "'Chinese flapper'—a young woman 'dressed in semi-foreign style with bobbed hair… short skirt...and powdered face'." (Lee 1999: 198) She was also regarded as "a romantic, hedonistic persona highly visible in public," or "a pleasure-seeking libertine" who "squander all their time frolicking." (Sang 2008: 180) Though mainly appearing in a fashionable style, the *modeng* woman possessed many traits in accordance with the May Fourth liberation project. They were Westernised (in

[68] Though Lu Xun (1981) raised the question about what would happen to Nora after she left home, the image of Nora was obviously more impressive and appealing to educated women who longed for a progression of both the society and their own status. In 1930s and 1940s, wishes to act as a Nora were still expressed by readers of *Xifeng* magazine.

[69] The appearance of *modeng* woman in China is identified by many scholars as one part of the global modern girl phenomenon in the 1920s and 1930s. (Harris 1995: 65; Stevens 2003: 90; Barlow, et. al. 2005). These scholars generally use the term "modern" for discussion, but I use *modeng* to refer to this particular representation of Chinese modernity, as there were many more types of modern women than the stereotyped *modeng* woman during the time. I must also point out that in the 1920s and 1930s, *xiandai*, *jindai* or *shidai* were also used interchangeably as the synonyms of *modeng* in different contexts.

[70] It was a fashion during the time to use transliteration when new concepts were brought into the nation, such as *modeng guo'er* (modern girl) (Stevens 2003: 82). Sang (2008: 181, footnote 4) uses "Modern Girl" in her study. In Japan, the phrase "modern girl" also appeared in its phonetic spelling, *modan garu*, in 1923. (ibid: 181)

their appearance and often with competence of one or more foreign languages), sexually free (among a group of new-style women), and independent (as they could make a living by themselves in society).

Although she was a popular figure favoured and highlighted by commercial companies, the reception of the *modeng* woman in both social comments and cultural creations was far from positive. For example, in his essay "Modeng nüzi bian" (摩登女子辯 In Defense of *Modeng* Girls) (1935e), Lin Yutang actually referred to those "modern girls" as gold-diggers (Lin Yutang 1935f). In literary writings, the *modeng* woman was often depicted as a *femme fatale*, who had a corrupting power on modern men, and was seen as a disillusion of the urban material modernity. (Lee 1999: 190-231; Shih 2000: 292-301) In her study of the film industry and social reactions to the "modern woman," Harris (1995: 72) concludes that in the 1930s, the term "more often carried additional negative connotations of superficial Westernization, hedonism, even avarice."[71]

Popular features of the *modeng* woman triggered discontent among intellectuals from different political and ideological backgrounds, so that the question of "What modern woman should be like" became a centre of contention in the 1930s. Bearing more influence of commercial modernity and less nationalistic devotion, this figure of *modeng* woman obviously precipitated anxieties among intellectuals and writers who, caught in ideological and political conflicts of the time, feared it negative and even dangerous effects. (Edwards: 122-123; Stevens 2003: 82-83; Sang 2008: 184-185) The definition of the real modern woman became a bone of contention, arousing fervent debates among those with different ideological backgrounds. There was first a protracted discussion in print media over the characteristics a real modern woman should possess, as observed by Edwards (2000). Externally, women's clothing was under close scrutiny as it was taken as the criteria to judge whether or not a woman was a superficial "pseudo-modern woman," while internally, a modern woman ought to be "politically correct" by negating traditional Confucianism. (ibid: 128-142) In the film industry, Left-wing playwrights produced a series of movies on the theme of the New Woman, in which a female proletarian figure was presented as the authentic

[71] According to Sang (2008: 180), there were some conspicuous traits commonly shared by the Modern Girl, and as well some other qualities that "were nonetheless presented in some real-life modern girls" yet unadmitted by the public. The Modern Girl "may have been a much maligned figure, her multifaceted identity frequently reduced to a one-dimensional stereotype in the public imagination." (ibid.) Sang has also argued that the modeng woman was made a "failed Modern girl," who was partially represented, in the construction by the social, cultural and political elites. (ibid: 188)

modern woman, the only suitable woman to fulfil the revolutionary cause. (Zhang Yingjing 1994; Harris 1995). In face of the Japanese military threat in the 1930s, the Chinese intellectuals' concerns over the fate of the nation overshadowed the debates on the role of modern women. The *modeng* woman became a target of criticism by both the Communists and the Nationalists. While both camps condemned the superficial life-style and the moral decay of the *modeng* woman, they offered their own role models for the modern woman.

Left-wing filmmakers had been redefining and politicising images of modern woman in the 1930s' film industry. (Zhang Yingjin 1994: 619) In contrast to several types of "New Women" that had emerged since the May Fourth ideal, the Leftists projected a New Woman who was often a proletarian labourer liberated by class consciousness, or an awakened and transformed bourgeois youth, or a revolutionist. (Zhang Yingjin 1994, 2002; Harris 1995) Both Zhang and Harris have discussed how the image of modern woman was transformed according to the proletarian politics and revolutionary rationality. Zhang Yinjing (1994: 613) analyses a leftist-ideological film in which the proletarian type of modern girl was portrayed as outshining all other images of modern women. Such kind of portrait became a stereotype in the leftist cultural creation. In fact, in Zhang Yingjin's study (2002: 284), there were several major types of modern women in modern Chinese cinema: "the aspiring career woman, the pleasure-seeking bourgeois lady, the ascetic factory worker, and the androgynous revolutionary cadre." When the discourse of class struggle was introduced by leftist filmmakers, however, all other images of modern women were found to be defective. The career woman was classified as "the petty-bourgeoisie." Her career success was not a sign of her pursuit of liberation and independence, but on the contrary, "it brings calamity and death." (ibid: 285) Her fate depended entirely on whether or not she would "join the urban proletariat and identify herself with nationalism." (ibid) In commenting on the Leftist image of the "educated factory worker," Zhang summarizes the common features of the Leftist New Woman as being intellectually liberated and absolutely independent (from her family and male partner), who was less "a gender-specific human figure" than "a de-gendered, desexualized ideal." (ibid: 286)[72]

At the same time when Leftist cultural workers were promoting their ideology of class struggle, the Nanjing government tried all means to mobilise the whole nation in a political

[72] The stereotype of the dedicated revolutionary New Woman, generally portrayed by the leftist, continued to exist in more works in the 1950s and 1960s, as mentioned by Stevens (2003: 100).

campaign to unify the nation on the ideological front. (Dirlik 1975) In 1934 the Nationalist leader Chiang Kaishek launched the New Life Movement in Jiangxi province, later spread to most regions of the nation, with the slogan of reviving traditional morality (Confucianism) and saving China from both material and spiritual degeneration. In this nationwide social and political campaign, women's external appearance (both their dressing and body) and inner morality were strictly "regulated" by top-down policies and propaganda. (Yen 2005; Gao 2006) The *modeng* woman, wearing "flamboyant Western clothes," and often "a social butterfly," was viewed as a symbol of all the vices of modernity which would jeopardise the national morality and the task of national salvation, thus a direct target in the Movement. (Yen 2005: 165-166, 171) Many of the traits of the *modeng* woman, including their role of urban consumers and their luxurious life-style became targets of attack. Women's clothing (exposure of body), health (sports, hygiene and beauty), and femininity (dress and hair style) were regulated with the traditional moral standards in a series of policy guidelines and stipulations, as the revival of female virtues was assumed to be linked with the nation's survival. (Yen 2005; Gao 2006)

4.2 Western Woman as a Reference for Modern Woman

4.2.1 *Targeting a crisis of the modern woman in the 1930s*

In 1936, the Xifeng Press published an anthology entitled *Xin nüxing* (新女型 *The New Woman*). It was a collection of articles by Huang Jiade published in *Furen huabao* (妇人画报 Lady's Pictorial, 1927-1936)[73] and *Renjianshi* in 1934 and 1935. These articles included Huang's own reflections on gender questions of the modern time—"a transitional period between the old and new times"—and a few pieces he translated from the Western popular magazines. (Huang Jiade 1936a: 1) In this book, Huang challenged several popular views that were commonly held by the alleged Modern Women at the time. To him, those popular slogans of the May Fourth Movement, such as intellectual women's negation of marriage, denouncement of women's role in a family, and the misunderstanding of the sexual freedom in the West, were all manifestations of extreme and rigid practices of modernisation. (ibid: 4, 17, 22, 52)

[73] This magazine was published by *Liangyou* Publishing Company in Shanghai. The company contributed considerably to the construction of the new-style woman in the 1930s Shanghai. See Lee (1999: 86-92).

Such opinions sounded particularly regressive compared with the slogans of women's liberation which prevailed in the May Fourth period. Many issues raised in the May Fourth, such as women's liberation from family, freedom of love, and women's devotion to one's nation, initiated a fundamental change among Chinese women in terms of their minds and daily practices, especially among educated women. Many women accepted the new thoughts and were eager to "modernise" themselves by following the new thoughts and deeds allegedly practiced by women in the West.

Huang identified this phenomenon as a new danger for the "modern" women in China. He believed some "new" women were trapped in disasters due to their "new ideas." Because of these ideas the "modern" women were confronted by many tricky problems that arose between the conflicts of traditional doctrines and new ideas. (ibid: 1) In Huang's view, the post-May Fourth new women, including both revolutionary women and *modeng* women, were troubled because they did not receive the new ideas properly and had been emulating the partially represented Western woman.

With a purpose of revealing "real" examples of modern woman, Huang translated a few articles about female college students and career women from America, Britain, Soviet Union, Germany, and France. These articles provided not only various types of New Woman appearing in different Western countries, but also up-to-date stories on them, as showing a dynamic representation of models of Western woman. American college girls in 1934, for example, had changed their image from leading a luxurious and care-free campus life to taking part in more social activities and dressed plainly and casually. (ibid: 161-166) The previously portrayed image of luxurious merry-making college girls was exactly one of the models for the *modeng* woman in Shanghai.

When *Xifeng* was launched in 1936, Huang made his concern on issues of women one of the priorities of the magazine (Bianzhe 1937a: 4-5). Making issues of women an important portion of the magazine followed a trend of the periodical press at the time. According to a survey in 1937, among the 320 periodicals published in Shanghai, there were 13 with the character *nü* (女 woman) in their title. Topics of women, love, marriage and family were popular among most magazines at the time. (Xu Min 1999: 179-188) But *Xifeng* demonstrated its distinction by showing different emphasis from other popular periodicals, on the same topics and issues they addressed.

Translating images of Western woman and her life was nothing new in the 1930s magazines. Topics of women in the West largely appeared in a number of women's magazines[74] such as *Funü zazhi* (妇女杂志 Laday's Journal, 1915-1931) and *Linglong*, and magazines of general interest such as *Liangyou* and *Furen huabao.* These magazines retained particular features, which made *Xifeng* something special though in the same trend. Demonstrating strong sense of consumerism, *Liangyou* and *Linglong* often used photos of famous film stars to show an image of the modern woman (Lee 1999: 86), which *Xifeng* seldom used. To construct a new model for modern housewife, or *xianqi liangmu*, *Liangyou* and *Shenbao* had much coverage of material conditions of a modern woman's everyday life. (Lee 1999: 74; Tsai 2010: 101) To educate and cultivate women for a modern family and way of life, *Funü zazhi*, *Liangyou* and *Furen huabao* constructed a new knowledge system mainly equipped with natural science, such as household germs and human biological features (Bailey 2004: 231; Lei 2013: 118-119) *Xifeng* on the other hand placed much emphasis on the psychological and mental aspect of women's model role, both at home and society. More importantly, *Xifeng* went along with a general trend, by carrying a small amount of advertisements for popular commodities, such as perfume or cigarattes, with images of fashionable women, or providing articles discussing women's sexuality and marriage, but at the same time it has distinguished itself by trying to incorporate all sorts of women in the West instead of keeping a certain type of popularity (or ideology).

The magazine featured itself as a translation journal which provided everything from the West. On issues of women, it was not the newness but the West that was emphasised. Like what Huang Jiade had done when he was a contributor to *This Human World*, *Xifeng* continued to choose articles concerning women's daily experiences in the West from major Western journals, such as *Reader's Digest*, *Harper's*, *Parade*, and *Your Life*. These journals were representative as being the most circulated periodicals of general interest in America. Besides, *Xifeng* had been able to look for articles from a long list of women's magazines in America and Britain, including *Lady's Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Redbook*, *Parents*, *Britannia and Eve*, *Chatelaine Magazine*, and *The Lady*.[75] Among them, *Lady's Home Journal*, *McCall's*, and *Redbook* had the biggest circulations in America, boasting a subscription

[74] Here I use "women's magazine" to refer to the mass-circulation magazines for women, a definition by Nancy Walker. (Walker 1998: v)

[75] There are more women's magazines which were very popular in America and other countries. A complete list of magazines is provided in Appendix A.

number up to eight million. (Walker 1998: vi, 1-2) The sources of articles made available "what is about women" that were written and read in the West. The selection criteria remained the same as in their initial "Call for Article"—to be close to human life and true feelings, so the magazine tended to present to its reader what Western women were actually doing in their real life, as a reference of the Modern Woman. In addition, a large amount of overseas students and scholars during the 1930s and 1940s provided first-hand reports about what they saw in different countries. Their articles were written in a personal, also foreign perspective, which gave not only authenticity, but also diversity to the images of Western woman.

By largely translating articles about woman from the West, the magazine not only addressed Huang's concern on the rigid understanding of new ideas and practices by modern women in China, but built up images of the Western Woman that were closer to their representation in the West, who were often facing the same complex daily experiences as women in China at the time.

4.2.2 *Constructing the multi-faceted Western Woman in Xifeng*

When choosing and representing images of the Western Woman, *Xifeng* took a more balanced attitude than using a stereotypical way of promoting the West. The magazine did not negate any of the images that had been established, but at the same time, when translating from the West, it displayed more dimensions and types of Western woman, and more importantly, their role was first and foremost related to family and home.

In *Xifeng* readers may find revolutionary models for women from Soviet Union, women who supported their nation in war time in Britain (Deng Weishuang 1941)[76], and also disciplined women in Germany (Luo Dao'ai 1947). The Soviet New Women had been a favorite topic in American journals, as shown in several articles published in *Xifeng* from 1937 to 1948. (Du You 1937; Ni Shoumin 1937; Sang Zhao 1945; Gu Qiyuan 1947; Wang Hongxi 1948; etc.) In one article published in 1937, for instance, these women were said to

[76] This article went along with a social trend against its historical background. During the war time, the Nationalist government had called for women to join in the army or military services to support the nation. For example, in *Funü xinyun* (妇女新运 New Women's Movement, 1938-1944), which was published under the auspice of the Nationalist government, there were many articles about women's serving in the army and supporting the front, including introduction of American women's wartime services. (Jin Li 2016: 146) I want to point out that it was exactly the feature of *Xifeng* to take an inclusive approach, by incorporating the many images of the modern woman which were needed in China at the time.

have gradually acquired equality with men, by studying the same subjects at school, and by taking more roles in farmlands, factories, government organs, and sport fields, according to a *New York Times* report. (Ni Shoumin 1937) During the 1930s there were a great number of introductory works about the construction and social changes in the Soviet Union, many of them had a strong sense of political propaganda, which *Xifeng* kept away from. (Li Yan 1938) But the magazine never stopped publishing articles about the Soviet Union, in which the Soviet women often appeared. Their new roles in society and new images were so admired by the Americans that the Soviet women were always presented as strong, promising and signifying a social progress.[77]

It is interesting to notice that *Xifeng* presented both New Women in the Soviet Union portrayed by American journals (including women magazines such as *Lady's Home Journal* and *Woman's Home Companion*) and American women written by themselves. They demonstrated totally different life styles. The Soviet women in American journals gave an energetic and prosperous impression when they were mobilised in government organisation. The American women presented in these journals clearly showed more individual character and freedom.

From a large number of articles from the US magazines, American women stood out as the most impressive and representative among Western women. They were presented through biographies of contemporary famous women (such as Pearl S. Buck, Mrs Roosevelt, Helen Keller, and Anne Sullivan), feature articles about famous women's organisation (with images of women who took part in social activities), and also many individual accounts expressing their various personal stories.

In a few issues *Xifeng* provided picture illustrations to show images of American women. In Issue 20, a few pictures of American college girls appeared in its inner cover, with a brief introduction to the Millington Women's College, in Vermont, established in 1932. The college was said to give total freedom to its students in terms of exams, attendances, credits, curfew, etc. Once students acquired a skill or enough knowledge for them to be able to lead an independent life, they could graduate and obtain the degree. Their students were portrayed in the following images.

[77] It is seen in the reporters' positive comments on the marital condition in a survey among the mining workers (Du You 1937), the Soviet women's plain dressing style (Gu Qiyuan 1947: 140), and the Soviet women as work force (Wang Hongxi 1948).

Illustration 4.1
Fieldwork in Child Psychology.
Issue 20 (Inner cover)

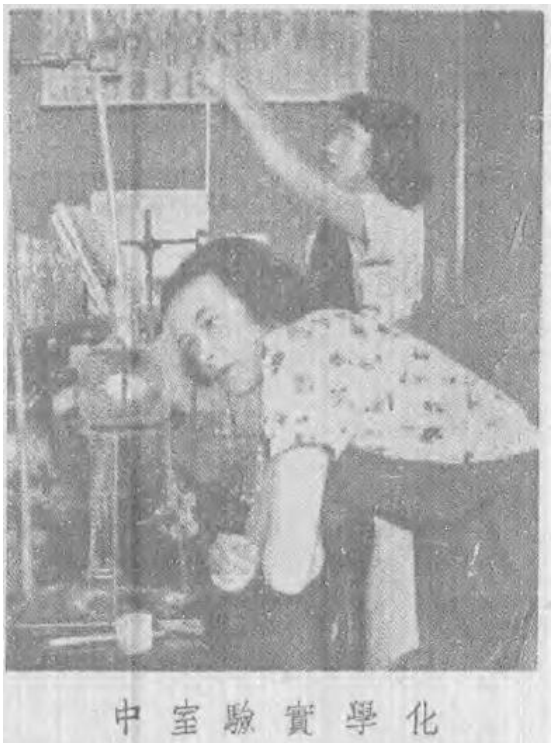

Illustration 4.2
In Chemical Laboratory.
Issue 20 (Inner cover)

Illustration 4.3
In literature class, some students sit on the floor; dress and behave in a casual style.
Issue 20 (Inner cover)

These pictures displayed the interesting daily life, various school activities, and carefree images of American college girls, which provided a direct image of what they were like and what they did at college. These girls, however, were quite different from girls at Smith Women's College, who were described as spending a lot of time in social life and looking for a good marriage. (Xu Yafen 1941: 224) In another article, the writer also described the college girls he saw, in a mixed college, but they were said to be either in hedonic style or bookworm type who were reluctant to communicate with any stranger. (Gu Liang 1945: 565) These different representations demonstrated the various perspectives of observing Western women and their multi-faceted characters.

Besides the Soviet Women and American women images, there were also British, German, French, Japanese, and even Malaysian women. As they lived in different countries, they showed different characters related to their own nations' history, culture, and political system. These women together showed that New Woman might be a global phenomenon across the globe, but women in every nation, especially Western women (as they appear most often in the magazine), were in fact of various types, enjoying happiness and facing problems, similar to their counterparts in China.

When *Xifeng* presented the Western women, it didn't present them in a static way. They were also under change and wrestling with the dominate issues that was brought along by the advance of modernity. From the very first issue, the magazine published a series of articles showing not models but problems of women in the West. They might not be entitled New Woman, but they were actually women who lived and had troubles with their new identities, in the modern time. The biggest issue was about the educated women. A female teacher complained her difficulties to "be a human being," as after she graduated from college and took a job at a school, her life became totally different. She could no longer enjoy the same freedom in various aspects of life as she did in college, and she was classified as "a third sex," as she could not develop social relationships with males, not to mention looking for marriage. (Wang Hongxi 1936: 61-63) In the same issue another article discusses why in American society women had less chance of finding a good husband when the gender proportion was balanced. (Luo Yishan 1936) The reason was exactly what the previous lady had revealed, that after women received education and had careers they had to fight very hard to keep their positions. So they lost the chance of getting in touch with men, and even had to compete with the latter, which made the situation worse. (ibid: 81) More women who had received education would have to struggle with many problems brought by their own gender and society. This social phenomenon was exactly the same in China, as revealed in a few articles in *Xifeng*.

Though these educated professional women suffered very much from the underdeveloped social systems and values, receiving education and becoming independent remained a commonly-accepted direction supported by most Americans. When interviewed, Claudette Colbert, the famous American movie star said, women should have a skill, even if they would not have to raise themselves. Once she met any changes in her marriage, she would know what to do and how to live on her own. (Luo Dao'ai 1948)

The magazine provided a platform of contested voices on what women in the West were like. Those women introduced in *Xifeng* were not particular models for the reader to copy, but served as a reference for the reader to compare and judge. *Xifeng* cultivated an open and liberal atmosphere in its discussions on social issues to foster a moderate and balanced view of life. There was an article about a social survey made by the magazine *Parade* in 1936, calling for discussions on whether women should work. It was interesting to readers in America, as it attracted many famous persons to express their opinions, including the First

Lady Mrs Roosevelt (1884 -1962), famous British writer Herbert George Wells (1866-1946), Bertrand Russell, novelist Sinclair Lewis, female adventurer Rosita Forbes, tennis queen Helen Wills Moody, Jewish female writer Vicky Baum, and American female writer Fannie Hurst. These people gave very different opinions, which showed how complicated the question was, as commented by the translator. (Na Mi 1941: 561)

4.3 Marriage, Family, Occupation, and Sex

Xifeng cultivated an open and liberal atmosphere in its discussions on social issues to foster a moderate and balanced view of life. One of its salient features to achieve this was to problematise popular and progressive ideas by presenting seemingly contradictory views on social issues. In the 1930s, several social issues about the new woman, such as her role in the family, aroused fierce debates among intellectuals holding different views. Huang Jiade, who argued for the importance of family values, and criticized the misleading notion of sexual freedom in his *New Women*, was seen as a conservative moralist, different from progressive intellectuals, according to Edwards (2000: 138). Huang's attitude may be "conservative" if women's issue in Chinese modernity can only be seen in a linear historical teleology. As a matter of fact, Huang had always urged readers to shake off the conventional moralities that strictly confined women's roles, whether under old Confucian schemes or cloaked in new radical ideology. *Xifeng* continued to raise doubts about the radical development in women's emancipation. Through both translation and editors' interactions with the *Xifeng* reader, popular issues on women at the time, including virtuous wife and good mother, freedom of love and marriage, and attitude on female chastity, were featured, challenged, and openly discussed.

4.3.1 *Modernised virtuous wife and good mother*

The traditional role of woman within her household was one of the main targets of the reformist intellectuals. In 1915 Hu Shi wrote in his diary that the women's role as virtuous wife and good mother was outdated:

> "In the past we regard [women's] education as to make them virtuous wife and good mother and prepare them for the family; while not until today do we know the ultimate goal of women's education is to make a kind of free and independent woman. Only when a nation has free and independent

> women can it improve its citizen's morality and personality." (Hu Shi 2006: 161)

In the heyday of the May Fourth Movement, "virtuous wife and good mother" was denounced as an old value which stopped women from their liberation and progression. However, "liberation" and "progress" brought women new problems. As Huang Jiade (1936a: 69) comments in *The New Woman*, when the new tide of the May Fourth demolished all the so-called decadent standards, such as the virtuous wife and good mother, there were no substitutes for those standards.

The actual situation for women at the time was that most of them would choose to build up family with someone in their 20s, otherwise they would have no choice but to remain single, as many actually did. They would encounter the conflicts between family and occupation, just as their Western counterparts had experienced. Cases in both China and the West, such as the stories of educated women who couldn't find a husband and remained single into an old age, appeared in *The New Woman* and several issues of *Xifeng*. (Huang Jiade 1936: 17-23; Luo Yishan 1936b; Wang Hongxi 1936: 63; Shu Li 1937)

But influenced by prevalent ideas among the May Fourth generation, many women, especially educated women, were caught between the "new" ideas that were said to be from the West and the actual situations in their everyday life in China. So as Huang Jiade (1936a: 1) contended, living in a changing society with an overflow of new thoughts, women were put in a very difficult situation.

On the platforms provided by the Xifeng Mailbox and writing competitions, a considerable portion of discussions centred around conflicts of women in their family roles and female readers' concerns in everyday life. Some young women worried about their future, and the conflicts between family role and occupation. Some educated female readers found themselves choked in the burdens at home with their traditional family and household chores. Regarding the situation, *Xifeng* published a series of articles, discussing the similar troubles and experiences among women in the West. These translations about familial and marital relationships in the Western countries demonstrated how the West valued women's role in the family.

Among translated articles from Western popular journals published in *Xifeng* throughout the 1930s and 1940s, it can be found that women's role in a family had been most frequently mentioned, including their relationship with husbands and children, their education of children, and their own enjoyment such as sex. But one concern echoed with the *Xifeng* readers most dearly: the dilemma between household life and occupation. In an article (Issue 3) entitled "Marriage as an Occupation" translated from *Harper's*, the author rebutted the idea that married women were inferior to professional women, by arguing that being housewives was itself a pleasant and important "occupation" for women, as it was of essential significance for the stability of a family. (Luo 1936a) The translator Luo Yishan attached a note warning that the article would surely be opposed by many *modeng* female readers. But he suggested that they read through the article and think calmly, and then they would perhaps agree with the author to a certain extent. (ibid: 333)

The magazine published a series of articles discussing women's role either at home or at work, including "Women and Occupation" (Gu 1941), "Should Wives Work?" (Na 1941), and "Marriage is an Occupation" (Luo 1946). These articles conjured up a more mature vision on women's future role in society and suggested that women's self-development in society should not be contradictory to her own role at home. In "Women and Occupation" the author pointed out that some career women showed interest in various aspects of life, while some housewives who stayed at home every day might not even be able to tidy their house. It was rather the role of government that was important in providing more education and support to women that could better their lives. So women's liberation was not simply a matter of their leaving the family, but a cause that should be supported by the whole social system. Thus a modernised virtuous wife and good mother could also be a liberated woman who could pursue a happy, meaningful life of her own.

In fact, the stance reflected in the above article was representative of the chief emphasis and orientations for women's role in most women's magazines in the West during the 1940s. (Walker 1998: v) In America and European countries, the role of women as "virtuous wife and good mother" was also reaffirmed and emphasised at that time. But there were gaps between the West and the East. The major difference was that the concept of family which

was strongly negated in the May Fourth discourse referred to the traditional big family, while in the West, the big family had already been replaced by the nuclear family.[78]

The pain from this transition was reflected in the personal narration of a *Xifeng* writing competition winner, for instance, and more keenly in a translated article entitled "Confession of a Japanese Wife," originally from *Asia* magazine. (Shu Li 1937) This Japanese wife was a New Woman who had received five-year elite education in America. When she returned to Japan at 27 she found herself older than most married young women, and more seriously, it was difficult for her to find a comfortable position in her relationships with her family and colleagues. She had few choices in marriage and married a poverty-ridden professor with four children. Though she was financially safe with an occupation at a university and satisfied with her new role as wife and mother, she was much tortured by her mother-in-law, who could not accept the concept of social equality that the wife received in the US. In the end this young lady achieved a small success by moving out with her husband from the big house co-habiting with her mother-in-law.

When it came to China, the case of a Chinese female writer recounted a fiercer struggle with her family. Ruo Wei (1938) wrote about how she left her family and led an independent life as a writer, with her two children. Ruo Wei was a typical new woman who was both financially independent and courageous to leave home, a Chinese Nora. She couldn't stay with her husband because of the many conflicts with her mother-in-law. Living alone in a strange city, this woman writer one day burst out:

> "Enough of a housewife! Enough of a mother! Enough of a wife! Enough of a daughter-in-law. I just want to be a simple, free person. I am still young. I want to devote all my energy to the society, to the nation. I will do some meaningful things." (ibid: 525)

It seemed to this lady a more modern way out for a woman was to simply leave everything behind. The same attitude could also be detected in other letters from female readers of *Xifeng*. In Issue 79, a reader expressed her wish to leave her husband and the three kids and run away with another man. She had received good education and participated in

[78] The change of family structure actually happened in China in the 1930s, or at least in Shanghai. The representation appeared in the periodicals at the time. (Lee 1999: 70)

social political protests with other patriotic youth, loves literature, admires freedom of love (with another "progressive" young man), and "is not used to be a virtuous wife and good mother." (Yu 1945: 98) Instead of letting herself decide what to do, as they usually did, the editors offered their own opinions as well. They suggested that as a mother of three young kids, she would better choose to be a virtuous wife and good mother, and not to be so "excited" to think about leaving home for a new life with another man. (Issue 79, 1945: 99)

The conflicted ideas on family and personal achievement appeared not only among these married new women, but also in young girls who were imagining their future. Zhen (1940: 202) was a female student who raised her question in the Mailbox about the meaning of women's school education. She was troubled by the future, as what she had learned suggested that her school education would be useless after she got married. She mentioned a few friends who had devoted themselves to the cause of the nation and decided to remain single for the sake of it. "It must be a sign of the progress of our society," She commented. (ibid.)

These young women had received both modern education and latest ideas. They were capable of developing a career, but they didn't know how to balance the relationship between family (marriage) and work.[79] Moreover, they were influenced by the popular slogan of devoting oneself to the nation. They often took extreme measures when they met an unsolvable conflict. Editors replied to Zhen that more women began to serve the nation and that was of course a sign of social progress, but since men could serve the society as well as enjoy their personal happiness, why couldn't women? All in all women's dilemma was because of the backwardness of the social system and women's lack of proper education. (Xinxiangbu 1940)

In a reply to the enquiry about a girl's engagement and future occupation, the editors believed being devoted mother and wife was an essential responsibility for women inhuman society, and since family was an essential component of human society, family responsibility certainly counted as social responsibility as well. (Xinxiangbu 1948) They also thought that education for women should not disregard their womanly nature. And women's education would also make big difference on a woman when she raised her children. So readers shouldn't think raising children meaned a waste of women's education. Fundamentally, one should not place women's education in opposition with family roles. The editors concluded:

[79] The issue had been raised again and again by readers, also see Yi Ru (1943), Ding Ying (1948), Zhao Shiwen (1948).

> "We object to the idea to drive women back to kitchens and maiden chambers as Hitler did, and we do not agree with the naive tone of those so-called revolutionary new women that being virtuous wife and good mother is outmoded and decadent. The value of a woman as a human being cannot be evaluated by any prejudiced opinion." (ibid: 362)

4.3.2 *Freedom of love and marriage*

In Issue 44, *Xifeng* published another article with a rather ironical tone to the mainstream call for freedom. It was originally from the French magazine *Mademoiselle* in 1939. The narrator, a young woman who would soon enter marriage, wrote a letter to her own mother, accusing the latter of giving her "too much freedom" during the daughter's growing up. (Luo 1940a) This daughter recalled the numerous moments during her girlhood when she needed "regulations" from her mother, when she went out for a party, dated a man, and stayed overnight outside. The girl blamed her mother for having failed to teach her about sex and putting her in dangerous situations. She complained that the kind of freedom offered by her mother was unfeasible out of pseudo-scientific beliefs and a mixture of new and old concepts. The translation of this article was also meant to be a comment on the excessive freedom the new woman in China was experiencing, as Yu Meimei mentioned in 4.3.1, who carelessly chose to live together with her husband (in a fake marriage at the beginning) and produced three kids, and then capriciously wanted to seek for freedom of love with another man.

Xifeng editors showed their concerns about the misunderstood concept of freedom, and also their understanding of the difficulties women had been through. In the "Editorial," the editors commented "Ever since women's liberation, many problems have emerged due to different reasons. People generally either blame that women have abused freedom, or criticise the social system, but few mention education." (Editors, Issue 44, 1940: 109) So the editors hoped to provide guidance for the young people—to modify their misunderstandings of the West and to develop a healthy and balanced attitude toward love and marriage.

In Issue 63, a young man who claimed to be a *Xifeng* fan wrote to the Mailbox to express his opinion on a case revealed in issue 59. It was about a female student asking whether she should accept the love from her elder sister's husband. Her elder sister was a traditional woman who didn't receive any schooling and thus disliked by her husband, a military official.

Then the official somehow "persuaded" his wife to agree to accept his marrying the younger sister. (An Na 1941) In their reply the editors expressed suspicion that the official was probably not a decent man since he forced his wife to accept her sister as part of the family, something like a concubine. (Xinxiangbu 1941) In Issue 63, however, a male reader protested against the Editors' views and advocated for the "love" between the student and the official. He claimed that young people should "break through the shackles of Confucian doctrines," and "learn from the Westerners" to seek their love freely. (Chen 1941: 318) He listed examples of the Duke of Windsor, who married three times, and the 1938 American movie *Holiday*, in which the protagonists, also a younger sister and her brother-in-law, got married. The editors cautioned against any facile link between Confucian doctrine and any real-life problems readers may be involved in. They pointed out that this case might involve more issues such as responsibility, sincerity and truthfulness of love, and one could not only see the ending part of a Western story without thinking about its process. "We don't worship love, and we don't belittle love," the editors said. (Xinxiangbu, Issue 63, 1941: 319-320)

Belonging to a new generation who grew up in the May Fourth emancipation, Huang Jiade and Huang Jiayin were adamant supporters for the freedom of love and marriage. In the Mailbox, they often chose to discuss the appeals from young men and women about their arranged marriages, and showed great sympathy and support for these young people. They sometimes gave suggestions on how to fight against the forced engagements by legal means, and sometimes provided tips on how to negotiate with the parents. But they didn't usually advise the young people to run away from home like Nora, particularly when those young men and women could not support themselves without their big family. The editors hated the cruel tradition to force young people into marriage. For example, in Issue 90, they appealed to parents not to sacrifice their children's happiness of a whole life just because they wanted to maintain authority as parents. (Xinxiangbu 1946) But the real situation might be rather grim for most of the young people, as according to one reader's assessment, more than 80% of the marriages were still arranged by parents in China at the time. (Luo Qifa 1947: 593)

To tackle the controversial social issue about freedom of marriage, Huang Jiayin wrote an article entitled "Arranged Marriage and Freedom of Love," in which he proposed the idea of "conditional freedom of love." (Huang Jiayin 1947: 102-103) In this long article he first criticised the tragic ending for many arranged marriages, which indirectly led to social vices such as gambling, concubinage, prostitution and madness. (ibid: 98-99) But he also found

many defects in the culture of free love in the West, such as lack of experience, blindness, worship of love, and abuse of freedom. So he believed that young people could enjoy happy marriages if they got married at a more mature age with financial independence, if they could develop proper understanding of love relationship and get to know each other better, and if they could benefit from advices and experiences from their parents. (ibid: 104)

4.3.3 *Refusal of doctrine of chastity and safeguard of virginity*

Misunderstanding about the West also lead to misinterpretation to the sexual knowledge and sexual morality among the new women at the time.

Sexual emancipation in China began with the criticism of sex morality that had imposed upon women in traditional Chinese society. In 1918, Zhou Zuoren translated "On Chastity" written by Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), a Japanese poet, critic and social reformer, and published it in *New Youth*. Yosano challenged the traditional view of seeing chastity as the criteria to judge a woman and determine her fate. (Zhou Zuoren 1918: 387-393) She called for the development of new ethical codes suitable to the modern times to replace the current moral standard based on chastity. (ibid.) Instead of treating it as a moral issue, Yosano would rather see chastity as a taste, a faith, or a spiritual cleanliness. (ibid: 394) Zhou's translation was immediately echoed by fellow New Culturalist intellectuals. Hu Shi commented on Chinese traditional view on chastity in an article published later in the same journal. He noticed that when *On Chastity* was published, many cases of *jiefu* (chaste widow) and *liefu* (chaste woman) were reported as events of honor in news and public announcements in influential newspapers. (Hu Shi 1918b: 5) Hu saw this established chastity worship as unfair to women, and as a sign of an uncivilised society. (ibid: 6) He called for an equal treatment on the chastity issue on both men and women. (ibid: 14)

In answer to the call for women's liberation by the New Culturalist intellectuals like Zhou Zuoren and Hu Shi, there was also an awakening of sexual liberation accompanied by the rising consciousness of female subjectivity. An example was Miss Sophie, a *modeng* woman portrayed by female writer Ding Ling in 1927, who opposed suppressing one's sexual desire in love relationships. (Ding Ling 2001: 53)[80] However, when sexual freedom became the new trend, notions of chastity and virginity were condemned as dregs of the old society and had to be discarded in total. Radical proponents of sexual freedom usually referred their

[80] Ding Ling herself was viewed by her contemporaries as leading the life of a Modern Girl. (Sang 2008: 186, footnote 18)

argument to examples in the West. A comment from a female college student in *The New Woman* went like this:

> "Didn't you hear that 99% of girl students in America have lost their virginity? Disregarding the authenticity of this statement, some students living in the cities in our country seem to take it as a model and try to catch up with the trend." (Huang Jiade 1936a: 52)

This concept, according to editors of *Xifeng*, was a result of ignorance of sex education and misunderstanding of the West. Given the fact that the traditional notion of chastity and misleading notions of sex liberation were both popular among majority of people by the 1930s, *Xifeng* devoted a great deal of efforts on promoting sex education. (Xinxiangbu 1938a) The efforts were two fold—to establish correct opinion on chastity and to set up proper attitude toward freedom of sex. The magazine's approach was to talk about sex in a "frank and correct" way. (Editors, Issue 112: 277) Sex issues in *Xifeng* were approached from two perspectives: sexual health and sexual morality, both of which were discussed in translated articles from the West and through interative question-and-answers with *Xifeng* readers.

Possibly with an attempt to correct the wrong opinion on the sex attitude in the West, an article entitled "Sex Liberation Movement in College" was published in Issue 9, introducing the so-called Sex Liberation Movement in an American college. (Zeng 1937: 315-320) What this article reported was that the so-called sex liberation was in fact an incident in which a totally unbridled group of young students, admiring the commune system in Soviet Union, engaged themselves in shocking promiscuous behaviours on campus. No comment was attached to this article, either from the translator or the editors.

Xifeng was a magazine to translate select articles from the West, but it did not mean it endorsed everything in the select articles they published. The West was a source of learning, but it could also be a source of problems for readers to tackle and think over. The situation revealed in the above article, though not being representative, reflected an instance of extreme development of the sex liberation in the US. To follow up on the topic, the magazine published another review article entitled "Sexual Life of the American Youth," a book review in regards to a survey conducted among hundreds of college male and female students in the US. (Lin You 1938: 120-122) The authors of this book found that traditional sexual morality

had changed as females were changing their sexual conduct, indicative of a trend in America of the changing attitude to sex among young people.

The magazine also published an article written by a female college student, from *The Mercury* in 1938. In this article the student frankly expressed her sexual desire and said she believed three quarters of the female college students in America had lost their virginity, and she was one of them. (Huang Zhong 1939: 589) The editors, however, did not encourage such conduct among young students. In the "Editorial," they acknowledged that the student's remark might represent the trend of thought among college-educated group in the US. (Issue 36, 1939: 552) But they also added a long comment entitled "Pre-marital Sex" after this translated article, in which they made their stance clear: "it is definitely not a shameful experience to have pre-marital sex, but we do not think it ought to be something to be proud of, nor do we encourage it." (Editors, Issue 36, 1939: 595) To the editors, sexual desire was a natural human feeling which one need not be ashamed of, but it did not mean they should indulge themselves in sex, whether men or women. The editors also tried to explain why pre-marriage experience was not to be encouraged from psychological and social perspectives.

One special feature of *Xifeng* magazine was its emphasis on selecting articles by well-known experts or specialists in modern social and scientific studies in the West in the 1930s and 1940s. For example, "Sex in Marriage," a piece by the renowned American sex expert, Paul Popenoe (1888 –1979), was published in Issue 56, contending the dangers of pre-marital sex to a marital relationship. In Issue 67, there was an excerpt from *Women's Partnership in the New World*, by Maude Royden (1876-1956), an English suffragist who contributed to the promotion of women's rights. This article discussed the problems of sex and argued for an equal standard of sex morals for both male and female. (Royden 1941: 131-138; Hu 1944)

Regarding sex morals, the most frequently discussed topic is women's chastity, even in the book discussing the situation in England by Maude Royden. In China, despite the prevalence of the idea of sex freedom, more women were still living under the shadow of chastity worship and virginity was seen as important qualification for young women's eligibility for marriage. In the Xifeng Mailbox, many girls wrote about their fears and doubts relating to it. Several revealed their pains for losing virginity. In Issue 27 a woman at 20 wrote to the Mailbox seeking for information about her body. She was raped when she was only 9 or 10, and she discovered many changes in her body but was too ashamed to discuss with others. In addition, her earlier experience made her reluctant to keep a normal relationship with

another young man, which troubled her very much. (You 1938) The editors offered their opinion on the issue of chastity and also solicited medical specialists for physiological explanations. In their reply, they rejected the traditional concept of judging one's chastity by the breaking of hymen and persuaded the girl to conquer her psychological nightmare and set up a new attitude of life to pursue happiness. In Issue 50 and 65, two readers also expressed their fear of losing virginity due to the breaking of hymen during accidents. (Lian 1940; Yu 1943) The editors took a reassuring but cautious attitude in their replies. On the one hand, they tried to discount the narrow link between hymen and women's virginity; on the other hand, they tried to establish a new sexual morality, in which both men and women need to cherish their virginities, but not to be blamed due to out-of-date traditional views. To the editors, the establishment of sound opinions relied on proper education, which they emphasized in almost every aspect of women's life.

4.4 Promoting Educated Modern Woman in *Xifeng*

Since Liang Qichao's promotion of women's education, which he correlated with the strengthening of a nation (Hu Ying 2000: 3), women's education had been paid much attention to by Chinese intellectuals (in print media and publishing Women's journals) and the government (establishing women's schools with special textbooks and curricula for them). But, as commented by Lan and Fong (1999: 117), intellectuals in the 1910s and 1920s were more concerned about how education could support women in social activism, while general school curriculum for girls under the auspices of the government during 1930s and 1940s emphasised practical domestic skills, preparing them for both family and the nation. (Schneider 2011a) In a symposium organised by Chen Hengzhe (陈衡哲 Sophia Chen Zen, 1890-1976)[81] in 1931, a participant Miss Tseng also pointed out that there was a lack of suitable courses particularly designed for women. (Gulliver 2012: 88) Besides, young women usually misunderstood gender equality in education. True equality between two sexes, contended Tseng, meaned that the male and female could develop each "along their own line," but many girls misunderstood its meaning and tried to learn and set the same standard as the male. (ibid.) To *Xifeng* editors, the education women received was far less sufficient than they really needed. For example, Huang Jiade (1936a: 4) believed a real tragedy of the Modern Woman was that women's education in China could not help them adapt to the new

[81] Chen was one of the earliest female students who went to America to study under the sponsorship of The Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program. She later became the first female professor at Peking National University.

family. What *Xifeng* tried to promote was a practical and realistic kind of women's education that could prepare them for everyday problems in regards to their selfhood, their family roles and their social roles.

4.4.1 *Be educated for self and family roles*

Women's Education in *Xifeng* mainly referred to knowledge of one's body, children's psychology, and the relationships between two sexes, parents and children, and husband and wife, in other words, the knowledge for them to better fit in their major roles in life, as young girls, wives, or career women. It meant a set of views supported by modern scientific knowledge in social studies which would enable women to protect themselves, to educate their children, and to build a good family.

Xifeng's emphasis on this kind of women's education did not mean that it was the only kind of education needed for modern women, as the magazine also encouraged women's professional education (see 4.4.2). But this type of women's education had been neglected before, and at the same time it represented the latest trend in the West, that is, to care about issues of women from physiological, psychological and sociological perspectives.

When publishing tragic stories and personal experiences of young women in the West and in China, editors would often offer comments either in "Editorial" or Mailbox to stress the importance of education for teenagers, especially to their parents. (Editors, Issue 20: 211-212; Issue 22: 415-417; Issue 36: 595-597; Issue 40: 325; Issue 56: 111; Issue 112: 277, etc.) To the editors, parents were often the origin of many problems on women if they failed to provide proper education to their children. So parents, especially mothers, must be educated first of all.

The editors mainly provided knowledge to help women in the three roles that they would take in the modern family—as a young girl, a mother, and a wife. The magazine published dozens of translated articles on topics of contraception, abortion, childbirth, and relation of women's age and child birth. These articles informed the reader that these issues were also often discussed in the West and thus deserved attention. For example, Huang Jiayin translated *The Voice of Experience* by the famous psychologist Marion S. Taylor (1889-1942), serialised from Issue 12 to Issue 19, instructing young women on topics such as how to find a Mr. Right. Luo Dao'ai (罗道爱 Huang Jiade's wife, also a translator, dates unknown) also contributed about 40 translated works on women's marriage life and child care. Through these

translations, the family role of women was redefined. They played an essential role in their modern family, as an educated mother who knew how to develop good parental relation with children and a mature wife who understood family relationship better than before.

Next, I will mainly discuss, as an example, how the magazine promoted sexual and childbirth knowledge to young women who could be protected by proper education, as it was an issue readers were most concerned with. The magazine had first published some articles about pregnancy, abortion, contraception (In issue 3 the magazine introduced Mrs. Sanger, the American social activist who was famous for promoting birth control among many poor women), so as to highlight social problems in the West in this regard, but it was a 15-year-old reader who first requested a systematic introduction of sexual knowledge.

When editors decided to launch a new column in *Xifeng* to discuss problems facing young men and women, they suggested several topics, including society, family, occupation, marriage, social relations, psychology, and child education. (Editors, Issue 12, 1937: 150) The column immediately drew attention from young readers who wrote to the Xifeng Press to confide their various troubles. In Issue 20 a letter from a 15-year-old girl was published. The girl was a high school student from a well-off family in Changsha, who declared boldly that she had been troubled by the curiosity for sex knowledge for years, but sex was a forbidden topic in her family. She asked "on behalf of 90% of the young people" whether the editors could introduce basic knowledge about human body and proper sexual life. (Bai Dike 1938: 211) The editors replied sympathetically and promised to recommend more books to this girl in addition to their public replies. (Xinxiangbu, Issue 20, 1938: 211-212) This letter surprisingly aroused numerous responses from young readers, asking the press to introduce more sex knowledge to them.

Echoing the popular demand on knowledge about sex, editors added the topic of sex issues to the original list of special columns. (Editors, Issue 83, 1946: 573) Then the editor published the list of books they suggested to the 15-year-old girl, including books on sexual life, marital attitude, education as parents, women's psychological and physiological development, sexual diseases, and sexual moralities. (Xinxiangbu 1938b) Afterwards the magazine kept publishing more than a dozen articles relating to sex issues. These articles covered sexual education among young children, middle school and college students (Wang Yimou 1940; He Mai 1948; Luo Dao'ai 1947b), social concerns over the sex problems among the American youth and soldier (in the war time) (Lin You 1938; Jin Chun 1943), sex

diseases which became a social problem (Lei Meng 1946), and new findings in psychology that were related to sex (Hu Bei 1948; 1949).

Immediately after they published recommendations for books on sex, the editors added another related issue, the troubles of excessive births due to a lack of education on contraceptive measures. Because a young father of four wrote to asked whether the press could recommend some books on contraceptive measures, as his wife, who used to be an ambitious and aspiring professional woman, had been gradually withering with the burden of more and more kids. (Gu Zhihua 1938: 519)

Besides excessive childbirths, illegitimate childbirths were also a social problem in China at that time. In 1938, a young woman won the writing competition held by *Xifeng* with her essay titled "a Heart-broken Mother" (subsequently published Issue 24), in which she recounted how she got pregnant and had to run away from her home to cohabitate with the child's father without getting married. Her baby then became an illegitimate child, which broke her heart. The essay was chosen as a winner as it expressed cordial sorrow of this mother and revealed her poor experience.

The phenomenon of childbirths out of wedlock was not only a Chinese problem. It was a common often discussed in the West, involving the legitimate social status of these children and the social care about their mothers. (Ling Shuang 1937; Jin Chun 1941) Besides social support, the most foundamental help to women was to educate them with proper knowledge of sex. *Xifeng* then translated two articles, "Unmarried Mothers and Sex Education" (Fang Pu 1939) and "Tragedy of Unmarried Mothers" (Ren Hua 1941), to call readers' attention to the importance of education of young women. Both articles addressed the rising number of children born by young girls who lacked enough knowledge to protect themselves. The article disclosed the troubled situation in American educational system that the topic of sex was often avoided by both school and parents, while young girls were found pregnant and sent to sanctuaries due to a lack of basic knowledge of sex. (Editors, Issue 40, 1939: 325) The latter one, after listing horrible examples of young women who killed their new born babies or got themselves killed, called for due responsibilities of parents to teach sex knowledge to their daughters. "Nowadays as we have more open social contact, this question should be paid close attention to [in our society]," noted the editors. (Issue 56 1941: 111)

In another example in issue 41, an adult woman revealed her experience and sought help through the Xifeng Mailbox. (Yu Yinzi 1938) Because her boyfriend, who was not accepted by her father, had to move to the inland to work for a few years, she "gave her body" to him as a "guarantee" before he left. But soon she found herself pregnant. She panicked as she could not find a good solution, and she didn't have any knowledge or resource to have an abortion. The editors replied bluntly: "We think it a sillist thing you have done. We don't blame you on the ground of traditional values, but merely out of a consideration of the reality." (Issue 41: 552)

4.4.2 *Be educated for social roles*

As mentioned in Section 4.3.1, in response to Zhen's letter, the editors (Xinxiangbu 1940: 204) gave her three comments: 1) The society was not yet developed as to provide a good system for everyone, especially women, to practice his/her role properly; 2) There were defects in modern education; 3) Women were short-sighted and had not put in efforts to improve themselves. They pointed out that only a few women today could be independent on themselves, but it was a sign of social progress, which meant in the near future career women would enjoy economic power by contributing to society. It did not mean, however, women would have to sacrifice their own marriage and family life to achieve occupational development. To illustrate that women could get married and make contribution to society, the editors reminded Zhen of Mrs. Curie, Mrs. Sanger, and Mrs. Roosevelt, who had been introduced in previous issues of *Xifeng*.

Through translating the West and sharing women's experience through creative writings, *Xifeng* demonstrated a broader vision of what women could do by giving a wide range of examples to its reader. Instead of giving pictures of the eye-catching movie stars or celebrities that frequent the popular publications in Shanghai, *Xifeng* focused on introducing images of an educated modern woman involved in a variety of careers.

Xifeng had kept publishing biographies or reports of a dozen famous and influential females, most of whom were active in the 1930s and 1940s. When their stories were published, many of them were already famous and widely introduced in China, such as Madam Curie, Mrs. Sanger and Pearl S. Buck. Mrs. Sanger had been invited to China to promote her plan of birth control during the 1920s and 1930s, and became known to many

Chinese people. The biography of her in *Xifeng* told how she made her way from a nurse to be the famous social activist whose campaigns saved thousands of women's lives.

The icons *Xifeng* found in the West were not limited to the famous figures at the time, such as Madam Curie and her daughter, Helen Keller and her teacher Anne Sullivan, but also some lesser known names in China, like Osa T· Johnson, the female adventurer and hunter, Ethel Florey, who discovered penicillin, and the famous German politician Louise Schroeder. (Zhu Qi 1944; Zhuo Sheng 1948; Ma Muoran 1949) Through these famous figures, *Xifeng* had set up examples of how many achievements women could make. (see Table 4.1)

Besides these big names, *Xifeng* also showcased numerous women who were playing important roles in a lot of fields. (see Table 4.2) The magazine introduced Belle J. Benchley, who was the first woman in the world to run a zoo, three Soviet women fighters who conducted military missions as men, and also American female cops who fulfilled their duty using modern science such as sociology, psychology and criminology. (Zhu Zunzhu 1944; Liu Qiu 1944; Zhu Qi 1944) These articles were not only eye-opener to its reader, but also demonstrated the role of education for women to be independent.

Table 4.1

Issue No.	Name
2, 22	Marie Curie (Madam Curie) (1867-1934)
3, 98	Margaret Sanger (Mrs Sanger) (1879 -1966)
4	Helen Keller (1880 -1968)
7	Irène Joliot-Curie (daughter of Madam Curie) (1897-1956)
8	Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan (1866 -1936)
32, 33	Pearl S. Buck (1892 -1973)
66	Osa T·Johnson (1894 -1953)

66	Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (1884 -1962)
68	Lady Violet Seymour (1885-1978)
68	Belle J. Benchley (1882 -1972)
105	Ethel Florey (1900-1966)
115	Louise Schroeder (1887 -1957)

Table 4. 2

Issue No.	Occupation
1	Teacher
2	Clerk
5	Novelist
8	Stewardess
9	Missionary
11	Professor
14	Reporter
18	Factory worker
39	Tennis player
69	Guerrilla, pilot, and Second Lieutenant
69	Policewoman

74	White House Chief Usher

In *Xifeng*, especially when more writers joined in this magazine in the 1940s, there appeared more educated Chinese women serving as new models. Those women received Western education, and most of them went abroad for study or for work. Some of them wrote to Xifeng Mailbox to share their thoughts, and many became overseas correspondents providing travel accounts, diaries, and feature stories for the magazine. They included Lin Wushuang and Lin Rusi, Tang Sheng, Liu Zhenrui, Yang Hui, Dan Dan, Deng Weishuang. They were research students, writers, reporters, professors, or UN officers, who actually lived in Europe and America. This group of women contributed to a new model for the modern women who were educated and cosmopolitan.

These young women, though representing a large group of educated Chinese women during the time, were still a small proportion compared to those who never left home. In Issue 90, when a young girl living in the remote area of Yunnan, wrote to the editors asking how she could leave her home seeking for independence, they could not offer her a good suggestion. The only solution for women like her was to acquire knowledge and skill through education. This was what *Xifeng* had been persistently promoting until its last issue.

4.5 Conclusion

Edwards (2000: 125) argues that the construction of modern womanhood in China was primarily a trope for the anxiety of intellectuals, a result of the traditional view of linking women with the national fate which led to the natural correlation of "new woman" with national salvation. This character made the modern woman in China different from her counter-parts in other parts of the world. (ibid.) With a more balanced and all-inclusive view to look at modern woman in the West, *Xifeng* has demonstrated a different approach, a less nationalistic and more Western way to construct the modern woman in China. The slogan of national salvation became ever more pressing after the Japanese invasion, which generally added an urgency of constructing a more progressive, patriotic, or revolutionary modern woman to the existing gender figure. During this particular period, the magazine had, on the one hand, portrayed the images of women in the war through both translation and indigenous writings positively for the cause of the liberation of the nation and of modern Chinese women

themselves; on the other hand, the magazine engaged in maintaining priority of women's education and keeping concerns about the mental health of the youth during the war, to ease the ever-present anxieties brought by the advance of modernity. It was demonstrated that modern women could live in the war not just as soldiers or revolutionaries. In fact, they were another kind of women warriors who fought for their Self during the war time, a time of crisis for both the nation and women themselves.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

In 1934, Lin Yutang wrote a short afterword to an article translated by Huang Jiade, which was published in *Renjianshi*. The article was about a woman's daily experience of her first-year marriage, published in *Harper's*. Lin commented:

> "Western magazine articles don't write about pseudo-moralism typically seen among Chinese Confucian scholars. They are all about daily trifles that our scholars disdain to talk about. […] What they discuss are seemingly daily trivialities. The practice drives revolutionary writers crazy, as it shows no concern about political big issues. […] However, Western magazine articles like this one reflect the true side of life. So [Western] people like to read such kind of literature and first-class magazines would like to publish it. Consequently, the life and mind of Western people are gradually influenced by it. With a truer understanding of human life, they think more profoundly, and lead a better daily life. Such kind of literature is beneficial." (Huang Jiade 1936: 47-48)

Xifeng has achieved such a level of success that it has promoted Western magazine literature not only by attracting a multitude of readers, but also turning many of them to writing about their everyday experiences. Furthermore, through publishing translations and fostering creative writings, the magazine achieved the status of a first-class journal, exerting tremendous influence to an emerging middle class who were experiencing and imagining a burgeoning modernity around them in real life or through flourishing print culture in 1930s and 1940s China.

The magazine has cultivated a moderate mentality in the construction of modern Chinese identity through a number of venues, including language, literary writing, national/world citizen, and woman, as investigated and discussed in this thesis. It has promoted through translation a more fluent and idiomatic modern language in response to the rigid Europeanisation in the 1930s. It has also experimented and established an example for the magazine literature on the Chinese literary scene, which not only infused a new style to Chinese literature, but more importantly, promoted a modern way of life by influencing the way Chinese people live and think.

This thesis also addresses the modern Chinese national identity, an important issue which encompassed Chinese intellectuals since the 19th century and became especially acute during the Resistance War. Through translating Western ideas and experiences, the magazine sets up a series of new observations about the West and the self, in an effort to cultivate a more balanced self-esteem and the concept of racial equality, against the long-existing inferiority and superiority complex that lay in the mind of many Chinese.

Finally, this thesis discusses how a modern woman's identity was promoted and constructed in *Xifeng*, through translating the West and communicating with its readers, who would write about themselves and discuss their problems openly, thanks to the promotion of the new literary style. Through translation the magazine had both reconstructed more balanced images of Western woman in response to the rigid stereotypical images of modern women popular at the time, and highlighted the importance of education in nurturing an educated, cultivated and independent modern woman.

All in all, the thesis demonstrates that translation in *Xifeng* has functioned as an active agent in the formation of modern Chinese identity by negotiating with the Western modern and the Chinese context. Starting out as a translation magazine and expanding to publish indigenous periodical literature along the way, *Xifeng* contributed to the shaping of a modern Chinese identity that involved a praxis of the modern Chinese language and literature, searching for a modern national identity, and a new realisation for being modern women, which was done through promoting and cultivating a moderate attitude and approach to Chinese modernity.

The cultural effort made by *Xifeng* can be understood, to a certain extent, as a "cultural imaginary" (Lee 1999: 63) for a cosmopolitan modernity, which was waiting to be realised through the practice of Chinese people (readers). Historically, however, after 1949 when *Xifeng* was suddenly forced to close (as there was no sign of closing when the Press published Issue 118 and no resumption of publication after that), the nation entered into another mode of modernisation, and the modern imagined in *Xifeng* had been subverted and abandoned. It was not until 1981, when *Duzhe wenzhai* (读者文摘 Reader' Digest, 1981-now)[82] was published in Gansu, did the same type of magazine appear again in Chinese. *Duzhe wenzhai*, which is of

[82] The magazine changed its title into *Duzhe* (读者 The Reader) in 1993, due to a copyright conflict with the American *Reader's Digest*.

the similar content and style to the American *Reader's Digest*, became extremely popular in millions of households in China in the 1980s and 1990s. In the back cover of its first issue is the portrait of two Western girls by French painter Pierre-Auguste Renoir (*A Box at the Opera*, 1880), a sign of a new round of "West Wind." The magazine also attracts readers through publishing many translations from popular readings in the West, for example, the American *Reader's Digest*. It could be seen as a resurgence of *Xifeng* in the 1980s.

In Even-Zohar's theory of Polysystems, translated literature will take the central position of the target literary system, when there is a literary "vacuum" of the literature. The theory suits the case of *Xifeng* if we look at magazine literature in both 1930s and 1980s. In the 1930s the Western magazine literature did not exist in the Chinese context and thus was translated and soon acquired its position as a popular genre. In the 1980s it had to acquire its position again through translation as the kind of literature had been repressed and forgotten for decades. But with a different context, when Chinese national language had developed for another 50 years, especially after the development of modern Chinese literature after Mao Zedong's Talks at the Yanan Conference on Literature and Art, what kind of norms were applied and generated remain to be unravelled.

This study has discussed how Western magazine literature as the translated literature took the central position of the literary system in the 1930s cultural and literary scene in China. "Central" here means the translation literature can "be identified with major events in literary history" (Even-Zohar 1978/1990: 46), not necessarily a central position among other types of literature in the system. Zohar puts a note here explaining that the new literature, in his term, "innovatory forces" may include both "original" and "translated" writings. (ibid) While in the Chinese context it needs a distinction between "original" and "translated," as an indigenous writing practice of Western magazine literature established through translation is afforded with a shaping power in the construction of a modern Chinese identity.

In addition, there are nuances in terms of translation contexts in the 1930s and the 1980s. Though both translation practices took place along with the call for "Westernisation" in China's modernity project, the introduction of Western magazine literature in the 1930s was against a more complicated background, an important period in the development of Chinese modernity, as discussed in this thesis.

This thesis has also discussed how new sets of concepts, attitudes, practices of being a modern Chinese began to shape new norms in China through translation, which contributed to the construction of a modern Chinese identity. *Xifeng* is an all-inclusive magazine which covers a number of issues relating to a modern way of life. In this thesis I mainly focus on three of them, and there are still other issues which deserve further scrutiny, for example, the magazine's emphasis on honing a healthy mentality from psychological perspectives, and its generating power for the production of translation and creative writings. By way of opening up for further future study, I will here elaborate one more aspect of the magazine: its promotion of science.

Through my study I find the magazine made a considerable effort in contributing to a scientific mentality among its reader. This is not surprising as "Mr. Science" was one of two signature slogans (the other being "Mr. Democracy") of the New Culture and May Fourth Movement. Particularly after the so-called "Science vs. Metaphysics" debate in the early 1920s, this issue became an important element in the formation of a modern Chinese identity, namely, how to be a scientific modern Chinese.[83] Under the influence of the May Fourth Movement, science was promoted and introduced to China, largely through translation. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed a surge of translating modern scientific studies. In a vision for the "modern," terms such as "science" and "scientific" appeared frequently in the 1930s' publications.

Comparatively, *Xifeng* was not in a jargon-laden style. Though full of key modern expressions, such as the term *xiandai* and *kexue* (科学 science), it treated science in a cautious manner. Despite the magazine's patchwork style of content arrangement, it could be demonstrated that the dilemma of Western modernity in relation to science was treated seriously and the magazine apparently cultivated an attitude toward whether science could constitute the basis of a view of life in reference to the "science vs. metaphysics" debate.

Through investigating how both natural and human sciences were introduced in this magazine, I find the translation and application of modern psychology was of particular emphasis, by means of which a moderate attitude to modern science was taken. I notice that rather than establishing a modern discipline and applying it to regulate human life, the

[83] For a study of the development of scientism in China, see Kwok (1965).

magazine tries to cultivate a more open-minded and sophisticated mentality in dealing with scientific knowledge, especially the knowledge about human-being itself.

Even during the war period the magazine had insisted on its preference to the establishment of modern psychology as a basis for the scientific mentality. It is believed that during the war time it was all the more necessary to equip Chinese with modern scientific knowledge while adopting a scientific and democratic attitude towards life so as to achieve unification between one's mind and emotion.

It was the collaborative effort of intellectuals, writers and translators that ushered China into a project of modernity that is still very much ongoing today. How translation participated in such an epistemic change can be seen in the persistent effort made in *West Wind*, in which a systematic modern knowledge of human mind, life and society was conveyed to its readers by means of translation.

Appendix A

Sources of *Xifeng* (Journals and Magazines)

Note: Most of the original texts for *Xifeng* magazine were chosen from magazines published in America, Europe, and other regions in the world (a few English journals were published in China). Sources of some articles, such as excerpts from books or speeches, are not included in this list. There are also a few journals untraceable due to a lack of information, thus not included here.

United States:

Adventure

American Mercury

Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry

Better English

Better Homes and Gardens

Coronet

Country Gentleman

Cue

Current Digest

Current History and Forum

Everybody's Magazine

Fact Digest

Fortune

Globe: The International Magazine

G-man Magazine

Harper's Magazine (also called Harper's)

Hygeia; the Health Magazine of the American Medical Association

Ladies' Home Journal

Life

Literary Digest

Literary Lapses

Littell's Living Age

Magazine Digest

McCall's

Modern Monthly

New York Times Magazine

Pageant

Parade

Parents

Photoplay

Physical Culture

Popular Science (PopSci)

Reader's Digest

Redbook

Science

Science Digest

Scientific American

Scribner's Commentator

Scribner's Magazine

Self-Help Psychology

Survey Graphic

The Adventure

The American

The Atlantic (also The Atlantic Monthly)

The Christian Science Monitor

The Forum

The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology

The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease

The Kiwanis Magazine

The National Weekly

The New Masses

The New York World-Telegram

The New Yorker

The North American Review (NAR)

The Saturday Evening Post

The World Digest

The Yale Review

This Week Magazine

Vanity Fair

Woman's Home Companion

Your Life

United Kingdom:

Aero Digest

Answers

Blackwood's Magazine

Britannia and Eve

Chatelaine Magazine

Lilliput

Nash's Magazine

Punch, or *the London Charivari*

Service in Life and Work

The Graphic

The Humourist

The Lady

The London Mercury

The Saturday Review of politics, literature, science, and art

The Sphere

The Times

Time and Tide

France:

Bevue Des Deux Mondes

Candide

Grengoire

Je Suis Partout

La Science et la Vie

Le mois

Les Annales

L'Illustration

Lu

Mademoiselle

Marianne

Miroir du Monde

Vendredi

Voilà

Vu

Germany:

Berliner Morgenpost

Der Uhu

The Berliner Morgen-Zeitung

Austria:

Neues Wiener Journal

Holland:

Das Neue Tag-Buch

China:

North China Daily News (字林西报)

Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury (大美晚报)

The China Critic (中国评论周报)

The China Press (大陆报)

Appendix B

An example of comparative texts by Lin Yutang. (Chapter 2)

The first two paragraphs from Lin Yutang's English article "On the Calisthenic Value of Kowtowing," published in *The China Critic*, 1935. (cited in Qian 2010: 225)

As I have pointed out elsewhere, the Chinese word for "Hygiene" must be taken in an entirely different sense from its usual acceptation in English. It, too, may be defined as "anything except sport," which, according to the Chinese, is a gratuitous waste of energy. I think my readers will take for granted the truism that the over-exertion and over-development of bodily organs involved in Western athletics is detrimental to one's health. It is all right for a man to be able to swing a golf-stick and walk a few miles a day, but when a man breaks a hundred yards sprint record, it is a dead certainty—admitting exceptions, of course—that he won't be good for anything else. And there are things like "athlete's heart," etc.

Chinese hygiene, on the other hand, throws its entire emphasis on conservation of energy, and whatever forms of sports are prescribed or recommended, the great principle is always that of moderation. … hence the great science known as "sitting still", or séance, with such important details as keeping a straight bodily posture, rubbing the palms of the hands and the forehead, conscious and systematic swallowing of saliva, regulated respiration and abdominal deep breathing according to a definite number of beats. Such internal regimentation promoting peace of the mind and body is the aim of Chinese hygiene.

The first two paragraphs from Lin's Chinese article "Koutou yu weisheng" (叩头与卫生 Kowtow and Hygiene), published in *Cosmic Wind*, 1936. (cited in Qian 2010: 229)

江小鹅先生曾对我说，叩头是一种极有益卫生的运动，越想越有道理。所谓卫生，不但"古已有之"，抑且中外哲学不同。中国人的卫生哲学和萧伯纳相同，可以定一界说，叫做 anything except sport "凡非运动皆卫生"。西人稍有知识者都

知道在场上跑百米，及一切出于常轨的过度运动，是不合真正卫生之道，而于心脏有害的。壮年人有钱有闲者打打高尔夫，无钱者打打乒乓，再无钱者闲时散步，呼吸新鲜空气，是有益健康的；但是一人能够打破百米纪录，多半已成废物，除了跑腿以外，大概一艺无能了。况且有所谓“运动家的心脏”的危病呢……

西人卫生主张浪费气力，中华卫生主张保养气力，此中外卫生哲学之分野也。咱们中国人凡事总以中和为主，不要为之太甚，或在柳堤上看荷花，或者饭后走四五百步，都是好的，于身心有益的。凡我国文化所谓养生，总是以“王道”“和平”“主静”“主敬”为前提。所谓运动，都是近于和平良善一派，如吞吞鼻涕，咽咽口涎，擦擦手心，转转眼珠，打哈欠身，与己有益，与人无损。其宗旨盖在运用气脉，使循环流畅，而不以过度刺激及作无谓挥舞，以防动气走脉为指归。是故西人言卫生主动，我国人言养生主静；以敬谨之姿势，得胸中之和平，斯得之矣。所以养生之极便是“静坐”，静而后能定，定而后能安，而安者，即安健也。

Appendix C

A list of articles about the images and characters of different nations published in *Xifeng*, with the names of contributors (writers or translators) provided. (Chapter 3)

Issue No.	Contributor	Article Title
Issue 1	Huang Jiade 黄嘉德 (Jiade 嘉德)	Chinese People in the Eyes of the Foreigners 洋鬼子眼中的中国人
Issue 2	Huang Jiade 黄嘉德 (Pingxin 萍心)	The Chinese and the Westernised Chinese 华人与洋化的华人
Issue 3	Huang Jiayin 黄嘉音 (Jiayin 嘉音)	The Creative Spirit of the Chinese People 中国人的创造精神
Issue 4	Zhang Zhesheng 张哲生	The Westerners in the Eyes of the Japanese 东洋人眼中的西洋人
Issue 5	Ling Shuang 凌霜	A Chinese Who Rubbed Walnuts 揉核桃的中国人
Issue 6	Wei Ming 未鸣	The Status of Foreigners in China 外人在华的地位

Issue 7	Lin Yutang 林语堂	The National Characters of the Chinese and Japanese Peoples 中日之国民性
Issue 8	Zhou Junzhang 周骏章	A Chinaman in New York 纽约一华人
Issue 9	Huang Jiade 黄嘉德	The Chinese and the Americans 中国人与美国人
Issue 10	Zhang Boyu 章伯雨	Spirit of the East 东方精神
Issue 12	Zhang Boyu 章伯雨	The Americans and the Chinese 美国人与中国人
Issue 13	Shen Youqian 沈有乾	Differences and Similarities Between Chinese and American Cultures 中美文化之异同
Issue 13	Hong Hu 洪鹄	The Chinese National Character 中国的民族性
Issue 15	Li Jinfa 李金发	The Chinese Goddess of Love 中国人的爱神
Issue 16	Lin Yutang 林语堂	Life Philosophies in Chinese and Western Cultures 中西人生哲学

Appendix D

Thompson collected 13 ways of translating "*datong*" in the translations of Chinese classics:

1. The Great Unity
2. Grand Union, or Grand Course
3. Cosmopolitan society
4. The same social ideal as in Western communism or anarchism
5. The Great Commonwealth
6. The Great Similarity
7. The age of Great Universality
8. Era of world brotherhood
9. The Great Communion
10. Grand Harmony
11. Great Similitude
12. Great Similarity
13. Cosmopolitanism

(Thompson 1958: 29-30)

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