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# Reform, Revolutionary, Political, and Resistance Themes in Chinese Popular Prints, 1900-1940<sup>†</sup>

Ellen Johnston Laing

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, China witnessed a veritable explosion of inexpensive visual images mass-produced for popular consumption, largely as a result of the import of Western print technology and advertising practices. To the existing “popular woodblock prints” (*minjian banhua*), used mostly for religious or decorative purposes, was now added lithographed “journalistic pictorials” (*huabao*) and news sheets, aimed at the Chinese audience. Photography was becoming widespread. Pictorial advertising “calendar posters” (*yuefenpai*) were newcomers to the print media in China, introduced in the late nineteenth century. Known today primarily for their Shanghai-style 1920s and 1930s glamorous women, they actually evolved much earlier and had a range of images. They would add yet another vibrant array of images available to ordinary people.

Although most popular print production was destined for religious, decorative, journalistic, or daily use purposes, a small number of prints were deliberately contrived to convey specific social or political messages, proving that the value of using the popular print idiom for propaganda and political purposes was recognized and used long before the Communists in Yan’an turned to this method of reaching the people. Analysis of these early political prints highlights what sorts of visual images and sym-



Figure 1: *Standing Door Gods*, color woodblock prints from Laijiang, Sichuan, late nineteenth-early twentieth century, 35.6 x 22.2 cm.; from *Nafu yingxiang* 1991: 14-15.

<sup>†</sup> Earlier versions of this paper were presented at "Picturing Politics: A Symposium on the Chinese Creative Woodblock Print Movement," held at the University of Pittsburgh (October 1999), and "Words vs. Meaning: Art and Culture in Twentieth-Century China," a symposium held at SUNY Buffalo (March 2000). I would like to thank Professor Ernest P. Young for his useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> These prints are known today under the misleading rubric "New Year pictures" (*nianhua*), a term entirely too narrow to indicate the full range of subjects and purposes of prints, for it implies that all such prints were produced solely for use at New Year's time, usually to replace old, worn-out images, or those that were burned in ceremonies associated with the New Year. In reality, many prints were used at different times throughout the year, and many served no other purpose than to provide pleasant and colorful decoration. The term "popular woodblock print" more accurately describes these works.

bols were used to promote various social, revolutionary, or political causes and reveals that the world of the popular print business was fluid and multifaceted, indeed, much more complicated and complex than has been assumed. A few of these political prints have lain hidden in museum or private collections of Chinese popular prints; a handful have been published in scattered scholarly studies; but they have never been brought together as a genre worthy of sustained scrutiny. This paper (1) identifies some of these political prints, (2) defines their political or social content, and (3) explains their artistic prototypes. The themes of the political prints introduced here encompass the reform and revolutionary movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the downfall of the Qing imperial house in 1911-1912, and the political uncertainties surrounding the early years of the new Republic, and finally, calls for resistance to Japanese incursions during the 1930s.

Because political prints sometimes recycled traditional images as well as reflected changes wrought by the more modern lithography, it is important to review some of the characteristics of the traditional woodblock prints and the newer lithographed pictures before discussing the political prints.

### **Traditional Woodblock and Lithographed Prints**

The popular woodblock print was a major method of producing multiple copies of images in China. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, commercial print shops specializing in single-sheet woodcut prints were located throughout the country, with those in Shandong Province in the northeast and Sichuan Province in the southwest, along with those in Taohuawu in Suzhou in the south and in Yangliuqing near Tianjin in the north, being the most famous. These shops prospered because they offered customers both traditional, accepted images used for religious and nonreligious purposes and more modern, "up-to-date" subjects, including political themes. Inexpensive and colorful, these prints were easily disseminated throughout the country via long-established distribution systems.<sup>1</sup>

Among the traditional images offered for sale at the print shops were pairs of door gods depicted as armed, fearsome-faced military generals standing in threatening poses, as in an example from Sichuan (fig. 1). Usually presented in strict frontal view, sometimes with small children clustering at their feet, their swelling forms expand to fill nearly the whole sheet of paper. Other door gods, as cavalry officers, charge along (fig. 2); the discrepancy in scale between the gigantic men and their tiny mounts emphasizes the power of the gods as they brandish their weapons above their heads. As is characteristic of door god prints, details are subsumed to overall patterns and designs. Posted on the two leaves of the entrance doors of homes and businesses, these fierce warriors were expected to provide protection by keeping malevolent powers outside the building and benevolent influences inside it. Images of these door gods were renewed at New Year's time. Other sets of images, often of chubby boys, were affixed on interior doors and stressed hopes for a good life, full of health, wealth, happiness, and numerous male offspring. Plump boys, alone or in pairs, hold emblems of the good life. In one print from Yangliuqing (fig. 3), a child holds a carp about to change into a dragon, a metaphor for passing the civil service examinations and being appointed to an official position. Typical of many prints from Yangliuqing, the rendition is sophisticated and the finish is sleek. The figure of the child is correctly proportioned; careful shading of his flesh and of the plants and animals lends form and volume. In another pair of pictures (fig. 4), from an unknown shop, two children are surrounded by an elaborate frame constructed of auspicious symbols, including ingots and coins symbolizing wealth. A lantern is also among the bordering motifs and can be understood to express hopes for more children because the phrase "to light a lantern" (*dian deng*) is phonetically suggestive of *tian ding*, meaning "to add a son [to those one already has]." In the center of the print, one child rides a deer; the deer connotes rank and money, because the pronunciation of the character for "deer" (*lu*) is the same as that for "official salary." Other themes,



Figure 2: *Mounted Door Gods*, color woodblock prints from Fengxiang, Shaanxi, late nineteenth-early twentieth century. 35 x 24 cm.; from *Nafu yingxiang* 1991: 11.



Figure 3: *A Carp Becomes a Dragon*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, late nineteenth/early twentieth century, 33.5 x 58 cm.; from Wang 1985b: fig. 36.



Figure 4: (above): *Virtue Comes to the Wealthy Family* (the cutter's error for what should properly be: *Wealth comes to the Virtuous Family*); (below): *Happiness comes to a Place of Goodness*, colored woodblock prints, 39 x 52 cm.; from *Zhonghua minsu banhua* 1977: 77.

<sup>2</sup>Translation based on that by Rudova (1988: 103).

for pasting on walls, are didactic, some aimed directly at women, such as "The Zhang Family Household Rules" (fig. 5). The inscription at the top reads:

Mister Zhang had ten sons and lived in Henan Province. His ten daughters-in-law were not idle. As soon as the cotton was bought by the family they at once started to clean and spin it. They strictly observe the stringent law of the family. Weaving is a profitable business and brings in big returns. Five of the sons received an education and obtained the *zhuangyuan* [highest] degrees. Concord in the family is natural. Learn from Mister Zhang how to establish proper order in the family, and then it will be easy to acquire wealth.<sup>2</sup>

Women are to stay at home and direct their energies to furthering the wealth of their husband's family through their physical labor and raising children. In the print, women are hard at work at their tasks, surrounded by little children. The text reinforces this message and, for men, urges them to receive an education. The theme of a standard education for boys



Figure 5: *The Zhang Family Household Rules*, color woodblock print, late nineteenth-early twentieth century, 35 x 61 cm. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg; after Rudova 1988: 103.

is explicit and implicit in many traditional prints, because it was hoped that the child would ultimately pass the civil service examinations and obtain a post in the bureaucracy, thereby bringing fame, honor, and wealth to his family. These goals are sometimes expressed visually in pictures of five little boys contending for an official cap, the theme deriving from the story of Mr. Dou's five sons, all of whom became officials.

More recent additions to the traditional inventory were pictures that might be acquired at any time throughout the year and pasted as decoration on the walls of a room; these include pretty women with their children (about which more is said later), illustrations to legends and to operas, landscapes, and prints of vases filled with flowers of each season.

Calendars were another mainstay of the traditional print business, and a wide assortment of pictorial versions were produced. Calendars are included in images of the Kitchen God (fig. 6), which were burned in ceremonies at New Year's time to send him off to make the annual report to heaven that would determine the family's fortune for the next year. In a conventional composition, the Kitchen God always occupies the center of the page. He may be alone, or he may be accompanied by his wife and surrounded by other figures. At the top, a cartouche contains two registers: the upper one lists the long and short months of the lunar calendar, and the lower register contains the coordinates for the twenty-four spans of the solar calendar.<sup>3</sup> The Kitchen God prints, perhaps because they were used in New Year's rites, remained fixed in compositional arrangement, with the calendar invariably located above the image of the Kitchen God. The Spring Ox calendars, however, were less rigid. The main motif is the spring ox and the herd boy, which was borrowed from the almanac. Weather for the coming year was forecast by means of a system of coded elements embodied in the herd boy's attire: if he wears shoes, there will be plenty of rain; if he has bare feet, the year will be dry; if he wears a hat, the year will be sunny; it will be cool if the boy wears his hat on his back.<sup>4</sup> The Spring Ox calendars were often modified. One of several variations



Figure 6: *The Kitchen God and His Wife*, color woodblock print, 1910, 30.4 x 19 cm., Muban Foundation for the Propagation of Chinese Woodblock Printing and Prints, London.

<sup>3</sup> See Po/Johnson (1992: 23–59) for a readily available survey of Kitchen God imagery. For an account of the Kitchen God cult, see Chard (1995: 3–54). Flath (2000: 66–70, 88–89) recounts some legends associated with the Kitchen God, outlines the ritual as it was carried out in the early twentieth century, and discusses political implications of the calendar.

<sup>4</sup> See Palmer 1986: 43. For more about the spring ox picture, see the comprehensive study by Morgan 1980. Flath (2000: 90–95) presents additional information about the spring ox calendar. On the Chinese almanac, see Smith 1991 and 1992.



Figure 7: *May Your Longevity and Happiness Both Be Complete*, Spring Ox calendar, color woodblock print, from Suzhou, 1952 reprint of older block, 31 x 43 cm.; from Yao 1985: 5.

incorporated sets of four large characters spelling out auspicious meanings, such as “May your longevity and happiness both be complete” (*shoufu shuangquan*) seen in a 1952 reprint of an older composition (fig. 7). Here, as is usually the case, the beast and his attendant are located at the center along the lower margin of the picture. Felicitous figures such as the god of wealth, the Hehe brothers (representing harmony), and a host of other auspicious motifs such as basins of jewels fill the sheet. In another variation, the ox and the boy appear in front of a magistrate (reflecting the spring ox ceremony). In most instances, the Spring Ox calendar has a calendar in one of the upper corners of the sheet, and the opposite corner may be filled with important information about auspicious and inauspicious days.

As already mentioned here and as discussed in Christopher Reed’s essay in this journal, lithography was the second medium used for producing popular prints in late nineteenth-century China. The lithographed pictorial *Dianshizhai huabao*, published in Shanghai by Ernest Major (d. 1908)

from 1884 until 1894, spawned a number of Chinese imitations,<sup>5</sup> most notably that published by one of its own artists, Wu Jiayou (Youru, 1840-1894?), who left *Dianshizhai huabao* in 1890 to found his *Feiyongge huabao*.<sup>6</sup> *Feiyongge huabao* was short-lived, publishing only 132 issues between 1890 and 1894; it survived for a few more years under various titles. Most pictures in the *Dianshizhai huabao* and the *Feiyongge huabao* spread over two pages, like some traditional Chinese book illustrations, but differed significantly from the book illustrations in at least two respects. First, *Dianshizhai huabao* consisted primarily of illustrations, usually eight in each issue. A commentary, usually of some length, explaining the scene was often incorporated directly into the picture, the visual result being closer to the small-scale album leaf painting than to the book illustration. Second, the artists of the *Dianshizhai huabao* and *Feiyongge huabao* pictures used Western drawing techniques to describe highly realistic scenes where people, young or old, male or female, relaxing or working, were vividly drawn with telling poses and gestures, and were set in accurately rendered, detailed domestic interiors, crowded urban streets, or remote rural villages, imparting a sense of liveliness and actuality to the scenes.

Parades and processions were an integral part of daily life in Shanghai, with officials moving about the city, or deities being taken to visit other temples with much fanfare and display of religious paraphernalia. Political celebrations also featured lengthy processions including hundreds of participants negotiating their way through lantern-festooned streets lined with crowds of observers. Floats, actors on horseback, men carrying large umbrellas and banners were mandatory for a good spectacle, which routinely was led by the Volunteer Fire Brigade.<sup>7</sup> The greatest celebration of all was the Jubilee marking, on November 17 and 18, 1893, the semicentennial of the founding of the International Settlement. Both Western officials and Chinese merchants participated in this gala event. *Dianshizhai huabao* devoted a whole issue to recording the pageantry in

<sup>5</sup>The most thorough study of *Dianshizhai huabao*, its artists, and the society it reflects is Ye 1991.

<sup>6</sup>For a general introduction to these pictorials, see Zhang 1959.

<sup>7</sup>For the origin of the Volunteer Fire Brigade and its role in Shanghai life, see Pott 1928: 69-71.

a sequence of nine separate sections, each by a different artist. According to F. L. Pott, there were at least two parades for this lavish affair. One was held on Friday, November 17, and it included the Volunteer Fire Brigade and men from the men-of-war in the Shanghai harbor; there was a speech by William Muirhead reviewing the history of the past fifty years, and a fifty-gun salute at noon; there was a banquet at one o'clock followed by a children's festival at two. "The fountain in the Public Garden was illuminated at night and made a very beautiful spectacle" (Pott 1928: 126). Streets were illuminated that night, and there was another procession of the Shanghai Volunteer Fire Brigade, followed by a fireworks display at ten o'clock. The next day it was the turn of the Chinese, and various guilds paraded in the morning; in the afternoon, there was a performance for children by the Amateur Dramatic Club (Pott 1928: 126). The Chinese contributions to this celebration can be glimpsed from the pictures and written descriptions in *Dianshizhai huabao*. The text accompanying the first picture of the Jubilee in *Dianshizhai huabao* says:

In the area between the Bund and Nanjing Road, policemen had set up poles, joined together by rope, on which were hanging all sorts of flags and coloured paper lanterns. Coloured lanterns, vying with each other, were hanging outside the shops along the route. This was to strengthen the friendship between Chinese and foreigners. On that day, early in the morning, the Shanghai Volunteer Corps and English and German and American troops from ships [in the harbour] carrying their rifles and pulling their cannon performed all sorts of military manoeuvres, under the leadership of their officers . . . Mr. William Muirhead, [gave a speech] in which he praised the outstanding achievements in trade over the past fifty years. He related these one by one, as if they were family treasures. Soldiers and sailors, Chinese and Westerners, listened in quiet fascination. (Ye 1991: 104)

After Muirhead's speech, the parade began. It opened with the Fire Brigade with all its firefighting equipment, followed by a marching band of thirty people.

A prominent place in the procession was taken by the Guangdong Association Auspicious Lion, preceded by a huge canopy identifying it. The Guangcheng chang Opium Den, run by Cantonese, was represented by a huge lantern with the Chinese character for 'long life', large enough to hold 48 large candles. There were also 70 to 80 huge fish lanterns in the procession and children dressed as characters in more than ten traditional Chinese plays. (Ye 1991: 123)

In two scenes (figs. 8, 9), the artists have faithfully delineated the Volunteer Fire Brigade, wheeling their hand-operated water pump, topped with a huge effigy of a dragon, plus the various elements of the parade passing masses of spectators lining the street and crowding second-floor balconies. All these interesting details are accurately depicted, imparting a sense of realistic liveliness to the scene.

Both *Dianshizhai huabao* and *Feiyongge huabao* issued colored prints of pretty women during the New Year season (Qian/Wu 1981: 280–281). In addition, the commercial artists who supplied designs for the lithographed *Dianshizhai* and the *Feiyongge* pictorials quickly developed a relationship with the woodblock print houses, and provided drafts for single-sheet woodblock prints. A prime example of this coordination is the set of sophisticated pictures of children playing games created by Wu Youru in Shanghai, which was transferred into woodblock prints with but slight modifications by the Sheng Xing huadian in Yangliuqing near Tianjin.<sup>8</sup>

Around 1900, new compositional arrangements and new subjects began to emerge in woodblock and lithographed prints. One of the new compositions appears with the *yuefenpai* (calendar poster). In Asia, the history of the calendar poster begins in Hong Kong, where they were printed by newspapers.<sup>9</sup> The earliest known example was published in 1854 when the China Mail Office printed its Anglo-Chinese calendar for that year.<sup>10</sup> The central field contains not only the Chinese and Western calendars, but also a host of practical information pertinent to trade and

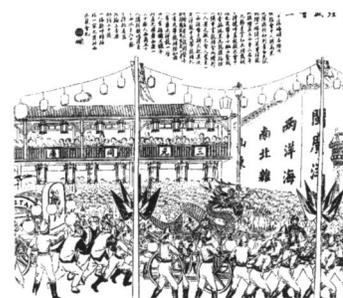


Figure 8: Jin Kui, *Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Foreign Settlements in Shanghai*, section two, 1893, lithograph, 20 x 23.5 cm.; after *Dianshizhai huabao* 1983: mu 57b-58a.



Figure 9: He Mingfu, *Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Foreign Settlements in Shanghai*, section three, 1893, lithograph, 20 x 23.5 cm.; after *Dianshizhai huabao* 1983: mu 58b-59a.

<sup>8</sup>Wu Youru's sketches of boys playing kick ball and tug-of-war are reproduced in Wu 1982: part 1, section 2: 22a and 23b; their color print versions produced at Yangliuqing by the Sheng Xing huadian are reproduced in Wang 1985: no. 108 and Wang 1991b: 2: no.

575, respectively. Wang Shucun believes that the tug-of-war scene urges children to be prepared to fight foreign aggression.

<sup>9</sup>The following information about the Hong Kong calendars is based on Lee 1997. I am grateful to Shen Kuiyi for providing me with a copy of this essay. I am preparing a book-length study of the development of *yuefenpai* from their origins to the height of their popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, including essays on their artists, subjects, and styles, as well as on the relationships between these twentieth-century Chinese advertisement calendars and traditional Chinese and Western advertisements and calendars. My article on artistic aspects of the 1920 and 1930s Chinese calendars, entitled "Art Deco and Modernist Art in Chinese Calendar Posters: Initial Identifications," will appear in Jason C. Kuo, ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai, 1850s-1930s* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, forthcoming).

<sup>10</sup>This calendar is reproduced in Lee 1997: fig. 5.1.

commerce: the arrival and departure schedules of the mail steamer; a table of the exchange in Canton and Shanghai; the Calcutta Opium Sale. There is no representational image, but a delicate filigree border design gives a decorative touch to the poster. In 1882, the *Tsun Wah* newspaper carried an advertisement for a *yuefenpai* that the reader could purchase; this is perhaps the earliest use of the term *yuefenpai*. The calendar was printed by the Zhonghua yinwu zongju, which also published the *Tsun Wah* newspaper. Unfortunately, no copies of this 1882 *yuefenpai* have survived.

The term *yuefenpai* must have quickly entered common parlance, for Wu Youru, the Shanghai artist who died no later than 1894, included a representation of such a calendar in a sketch showing the main room of an ordinary house (fig. 10). Here a rectangle labeled *yuefenpai* is shown pasted in a prominent position: on the wall behind the altar table, which also holds an incense burner, a candlestick, books, and a porcelain jar filled with objects.

In 1889, the *Shenbao* newspaper in Shanghai published a lithographed *yuefenpai* as a gift advertisement calendar for the year. In motifs and organization, it is entirely different from the traditional Kitchen God or Spring Ox calendars. Chinese and Western calendars now occupy the large central field, and the whole is surrounded by small figural vignettes illustrating the Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety (fig. 11). By this time, Western commercial firms, which conducted affairs according to the Western calendar, had established a secure footing in China, and their business was spurred on by pictorial advertising. Because there is nothing akin to the *Shenbao* calendar in the Chinese calendar tradition, it must have been based on something similar to the 1888 calendar advertisement for A. S. Watson and Company, Ltd., Hong Kong, China, and Manila (fig. 12). Other Chinese imitations of this model for the most part retained the centrally placed calendar, but substituted repeats from the traditional Chinese lexicon of auspicious figures, those connoting wealth seeming to dominate: Guan Yu (one of the gods of wealth), the Eight Immortals, the Three Stars

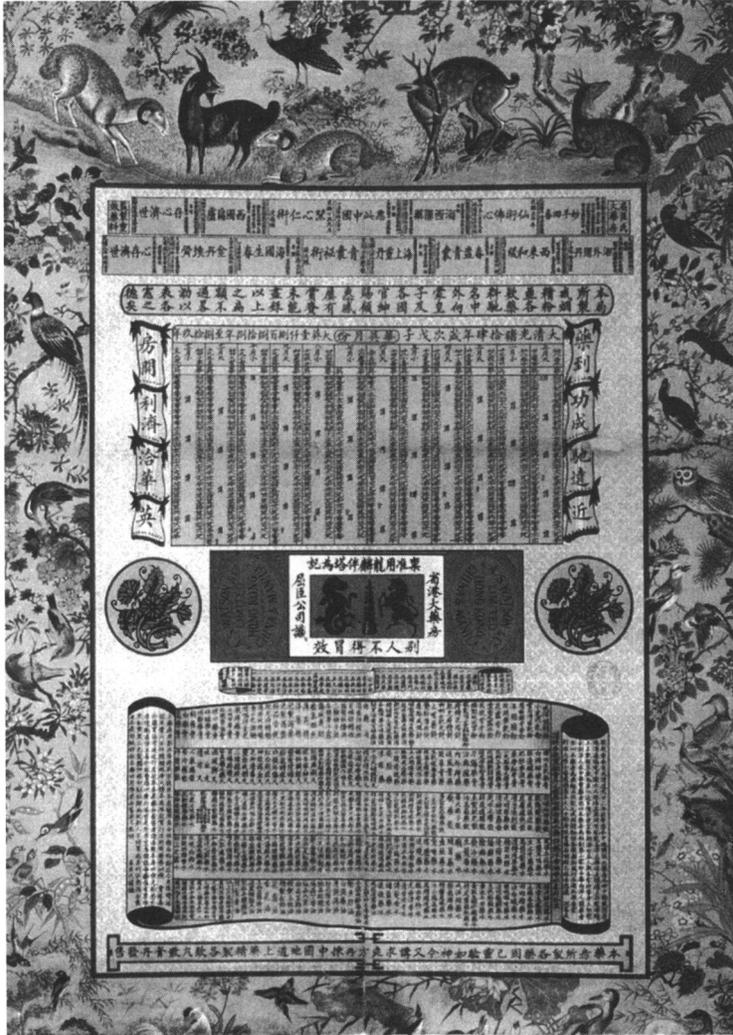


Figure 12: *Calendar Advertisement for A. S. Watson and Company, Ltd. of Hong Kong and Manilla*, chromolithograph, 1888, British Library, London. By permission of The British Library, London (OR ms 5896, 7451:58).



Figure 10: Wu Youru (1840-1894), *Marshal Tianpeng*, detail, lithograph, 18 x 21 cm.; after "Shanghai zhiqitu," in Wu Youru 1983: 1.7: 18b.

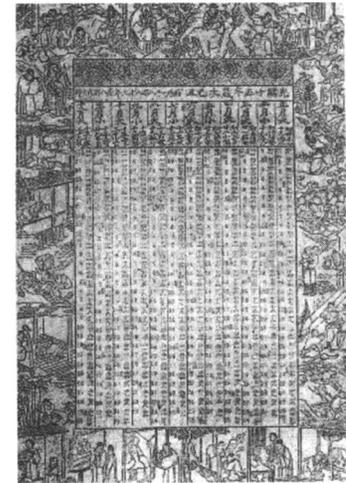


Figure 11: *Calendar Poster with Illustrations of the Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety*, lithograph, 1889, published by the Shenbao newspaper, collection unknown; from Li Chao 1995: 42.

<sup>11</sup> Seven examples of these mixed Chinese-Western calendars, all dating to the year 1898 and all published in Shanghai, are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. I am grateful to Dr. Shun-Chi Wu for allowing me to examine and photograph these rare calendars.

of Happiness, Wealth, and Longevity. A set of characters at the top of these *yuefenpai* proclaim they are “Chinese-English calendars” (*Hua-Ying yuefenpai*) or “Chinese-Western calendars” (*Zhong-Xi yuefenpai*). There might also be additional touches suggesting trade interests, such as a clock face with roman numerals and tide tables.<sup>11</sup> Other forms of *yuefenpai* would develop over the next two decades when pictures of pretty women came to dominate the imagery. These advertising calendars were sometimes given away as gifts by tobacco, insurance, pharmaceutical, and other companies, both Chinese and Western, which aggressively and competitively advertised their wares. Eventually, “hangers,” pictures alone without calendars, were also offered. Carl Crow (1883-1945), an American journalist who headed an advertisement agency in Shanghai and who wrote many books explaining Chinese life to Westerners, observed that the “Chinese buy these hangers as works of art and use them to decorate their homes, and see nothing especially objectionable in the fact that they may advertise a cigarette or a brand of cod liver oil. In Shanghai, and every other large city, there are dealers whose sole stock consists of these advertising calendars and hangers” (1937: 65). Calendar posters were sometimes discarded at the end of the year when the calendars themselves became useless, but just as often were kept because their imagery was so attractive.

With the preceding data as background, the main subject of this study—political prints—can be addressed. The themes of these early twentieth-century political prints are related to the reform movement of the late nineteenth century and the anti-Qing revolution. Politically oriented prints would continue with images expressing jubilation at the founding of the Republic and reflecting the political uncertainties surrounding the early years of the new Republic. In the 1920s, political prints offered support for the Nationalist government, and in the 1930s, under the aegis of both the Communists and the Nationalists, they appealed for resistance to the Japanese invasions of the late 1930s. In designing these political prints, the artists sometimes invested old, traditional Chinese images with new

content, sometimes borrowed schemes from Western sources, and other times created totally new images to articulate their messages.

### Reform (*Gailiang*) Prints

Wang Shucun, the leading modern Chinese expert on popular prints, is especially attuned to political nuances, locating and interpreting many prints that he believes reveal incipient nationalistic feelings, such as depictions of battles between Chinese and foreign forces, or domestic troubles.<sup>12</sup> Prints designated in the Chinese literature as “reform New Year pictures” (*gailiang nianhua*) began to appear around 1900. They are inspirational images urging the social and political changes sought by reformers toward the end of the nineteenth century. How these prints came about is unclear. Even Wang Shucun gives two different accounts. In one essay, he claims that around 1900, the head of the Qi Jianlong print shop at Yangliuqing in Tianjin returned from study abroad to find the country in decline and the populace in poverty, so he hired an artist to design “reform” (*gailiang*) pictures on such themes as the virtues of honesty and proper hospitality and the dangers of opium smoking.<sup>13</sup> Wang’s list of reform prints include Chinese-devised illustrations to *Aesop’s Fables*, which conveyed the ideas of honesty (using the story of the shepherd who so often called wolf when there was none that when a wolf really appeared, no one believed him) and hospitality (the story of the fox who served a crane food in a flat dish from which the crane could not scoop up any nourishment; in return the crane served the fox dinner in a beaker with a narrow neck, into which the fox could not insert his snout; the fox then understood how inhospitable he had been toward the crane).<sup>14</sup> The fables are inscribed in the vernacular language (*baihua*) and, in two instances, punctuated. The use of vernacular is common on the reform prints made around 1900 and reflects the contemporary language reform movement (Tan 1956).

Most often, however, Wang connects reform prints with Peng Yizhong

<sup>12</sup> His “national pride” interpretation of children at tug-of-war is mentioned in note 8; other themes identified and developed by Wang include the many prints of battles between Chinese and foreign forces (1991a: 199-211), domestic disturbances such as the looting of Beijing pawnshops (1988: 97; 1991a: 181-184), a picture of a cottage industry where women are spinning and twisting hemp in what Wang believes represents a new idea of cooperation (1991b: 554). Tanya McIntyre discusses the implications of the pawnshop incident (1997: 215-219) and provides more information about the cottage industry depiction (1999: 69-70).

<sup>13</sup> See Wang 1995: 35. One extant anti-opium print, illustrated in Rudova (1962: 279), consists of a series of picture panels, arranged in rows, like the “serial picture stories” (*lianhuanhua*) so favored by the Chinese Communists. After 1911, the Beijing government of Zhili ordered a lithographed set of reform prints, which, according to Wang, were influenced by the 1900 series; four of these are reproduced in Wang 1998: 2: 8-11. Another group of reform prints appeared in 1915 from the Dai Liangeng shop in Tianjin (Wang 1995: 35-36). Political prints were also used in peep shows; see Flath 2000: 147-151.

<sup>14</sup> There are two versions of the illustration to the fable of the shepherd who cried wolf; see Wang 1991a: fig. 28 and Wang 1991b: 2: 554; for the illustration to the fox and the crane tale, see Wang 1991b: 2: 556.

<sup>15</sup> See Wang 1991a: 17, 90-91, 157. Peng's essay apparently appeared in his newspaper, *Jinghua ribao*, but Wang does not give a full citation.

<sup>16</sup> The following sketch of Peng and his work is based on Liang 1960, Fang 1987, and Fang 1992: 772-776.

(1864-1922), the noted newspaperman and reform advocate. Peng was an outspoken supporter of social, educational, and operatic reforms. He published a statement in which he said that the subjects of popular prints must be changed to accord with changes in society and become a type of educational material, using positive themes and discarding superstitious ones, in order to help change society and promote education.<sup>15</sup> However, Peng's role in the production of these prints remains obscure.

Peng was born into a family of officials in Suzhou.<sup>16</sup> He took the civil service examinations seven times and finally was appointed to the low-level office of assistant subprefect. After his mother's death, he did not resume his official position, and the family moved to Beijing. Here, according to Peng's own account, when the foreign powers occupied Beijing in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion, he was without a means of livelihood and was forced down to the lowest levels of society. He sold flour on the street corners and pulled a water cart, shouldered flour sacks, and opened a fruit stand. Thus, he became intimately acquainted with the bitter life of the lowest class of people in the city. He became an advocate of patriotic self-strengthening and anti-imperialist reforms. Peng held strong views about what was needed to combat the current social and political weaknesses and how to broadcast these ideas among all levels of the populace. For this purpose, with financial backing from a cousin, he founded and managed three publications in Beijing. *Youth Education Pictorial* (Qimeng huabao), published from 1902 until 1904, was to convey practical educational information and knowledge about astronomy, geography, history, mathematics, and the like to youngsters. It used the vernacular of the locality throughout and its woodcut illustrations, designed by Liu Bingtang (who was self-taught in Western realistic depiction), showed everyday circumstances. Peng's *Capital Vernacular Newspaper* (*Jinghua ribao*), which ran from 1904 until 1906, was also written exclusively in the vernacular and was directed at ordinary people. Liu Bingtang was also on its staff, and Liu Fuqing provided the illustrations (Fang 1987: 57). *Jinghua ribao*

reported local and provincial news along with important foreign news. Peng also published a classical language paper, called *China Newspaper* (Zhonghua bao), for the upper classes, but *Jinghua ribao* was the most famous and most influential. In it, Peng outlined a broad program for the improvement of society. On his agenda were opening more factories so people could feed themselves, reforming opera, making more speeches to the masses outlining his goals, increasing the number of vernacular newspapers so ordinary people could understand general affairs, and establishing more schools on a primary level where students would be taught patriotism. He was against opium smoking, superstitions, early marriages, and foot binding for women. Peng's blunt opinions and outspoken views brought him into conflict with the Qing government, and in 1906 he was arrested, forced to close his newspapers, and sent to Xinjiang. When he returned to Beijing in 1913 after the overthrow of the Qing in 1911, he revived *Jinghua ribao*, but again was in trouble with the authorities and the newspaper folded. Peng became ill in 1921 and died in Beijing in 1922.

In his projected reform of opera (a movement that had already begun in the mid-nineteenth century), Peng advocated eliminating ghost stories and superstitions as well as love stories and violent, cruel, and frightening plots. He preferred plots that promulgated educational ideas. A "reformed" opera entitled "Patriotic Women," an adaptation of a Zhou dynasty story redesigned to focus on the challenge posed by Western invasions and interference in China, attracted Peng's attention and he published the entire text of it in *Jinghua ribao*, thus further broadcasting the moral of this opera. In 1907, a print illustrating this opera was published in Yangliuqing. Whether Peng was the motivating force behind this print is unknown.<sup>17</sup>

Several like-minded individuals helped spread Peng's messages; one was Bu Kuanghai. For many years, Bu practiced medicine at the Huiyu Drug Shop located in a *hutong* near the East Four Pailou in Beijing. Next door was a teashop that boasted a storyteller. One day, Bu saw a copy of Peng's *Jinghua ribao* posted on an adjacent wall and he realized that talk-

<sup>17</sup> See Wang 1991a: 210-211. Tanya McIntyre provides more information about the reformed opera depiction (1997: 224-232; 1999: 65-66).

<sup>18</sup> *Dagongbao* (May 15, 1905): 14b; and Li 1992: 66–67.

ing about the *Jinghua ribao* articles was more useful than storytelling. He converted the teashop into the Huiyu jiangbao she, the Huiyu Society for Lecturing on Newspapers.<sup>18</sup> Other similar popular-level places where newspapers could be discussed followed. In 1900, the foreign powers imposed an indemnity of US \$330,900,000 on the Chinese for reparations for the Boxer Uprising, with 4% interest for each year of unpaid balance. Chinese citizens initiated a Rights Recovery Movement designed to arouse the Qing government to resist new foreign incursions and to “buy back China.” In 1905, Peng and another man launched a “citizen’s subscription” campaign. Again, Dr. Bu was instrumental in spreading this idea. Among the reform prints, the “Patriotic Earthenware Bank” is a rare record of this humble crusade (fig. 13). The imagery is clear enough, but there is also a vernacular text informing us that a large earthenware jar was set up outside the front door of the Huiyu Society for Lecturing on Newspapers. The jar bore a label that read “Patriotic Earthenware Bank,” and every day a certain Mr. Zhang Yingshu stood next to it and urged passersby to contribute to the fund.



Figure 13: *Patriotic Earthenware Bank*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, 1905, 34 x 56.2 cm.; from Wang 1991a: 2:557.

Prints relating to widespread efforts to improve education and to provide education for girls are among the most singular in the entire print repertoire. Although there had always been schools for boys, during the two decades of the 1840s to the 1860s, missionary schools for girls were opened in Ningbo, Shanghai, Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Tianjin, Beijing, and Zhefu. With the exception of Chinese language, the course of study was similar to that in contemporary schools in the West: sciences, arithmetic, geography, sometimes needlework and domestic economy, in addition to Bible study and Chinese language. Later, English language, political history, physical culture and hygiene, and study of the Chinese classics were added to the curricula. These schools began to attract girls from respectable gentry families and drew young women out of the home and into the wider world. These influences from the West combined with shifts in traditional attitudes toward education for women to create a new, more positive approach to women and their education. The Reform Movement of 1898, which reevaluated the position of women, was instrumental in realigning attitudes toward women. Vanguard reformers such as Liang Qichao (1873-1929) issued repeated appeals for the comprehensive schooling of women. He felt that national strength required everyone to be a producer, that women, in the interest of fairness and equality, should be better treated, and that they should enjoy economic independence and experience outside the family. In 1897, the first school for girls established and financed by private Chinese opened in Shanghai. After the Empress Dowager issued an edict permitting private girls' schools, their number increased. Between 1901 and 1906, eleven such schools opened in Shanghai alone. But it was not until 1907 that the government itself provided schooling for girls in a system similar to that for boys.<sup>19</sup>

The reform print publishers especially championed education. Peng Yizhong was also an ardent campaigner for improved education, pushing for the use of practical readers rather than study of the Confucian classics, and stressing the need for equality of education for men and women (Liang

<sup>19</sup> See Rankin 1975: 44-45. See chapter nine of Chen Dongyuan (1928) for a survey of the ideas and treatises among the late Qing reformers and the establishment of schools for women. Other statistics and data about private and government schools are based on Lewis (1919: 18-21, 25-26, 28, 39, 84). Despite tremendous advances in promoting education for women and the phenomenal rise in the number of girls attending school after 1911, it was estimated in 1919 that probably fewer than 10 in 1000 girls were attending school.

1960: 114). Whether he was personally responsible for these prints or whether the sympathizers in Yangliuqing were inspired by general calls for new education is unknown. In any case, the Qi Jianlong shop and others in Yangliuqing published several prints urging young boys to study and young girls to go to school. Whereas education for boys had long been an established and accepted theme in traditional woodblock prints, prints advocating education for women were totally new. Both "Girls Seek Education" (fig. 14) and "Girls' Self-Strengthening" (fig. 15) come from the Qi Jianlong print shop in Yangliuqing. The imagery is not self-explanatory, because the pictures merely seem to represent family gatherings. But the long inscriptions in punctuated vernacular convey messages stressing the importance of schooling for girls. The statement urging girls to go to school says:

In old China it was customary that everyone honored boys and slighted girls. Everyone knows where this fault comes from. Girls live deep in the women's quarters, they know very little, just a trifling. They don't do anything, they don't discuss any ideas. They just sit and eat and dress. They simply are worthless. They don't know the slightest bit about old or recent events, domestic or foreign affairs. They don't want to leave the house. When books or letters are exchanged, they have to rely on others (to read them to them). How can people be taught not to slight girls? Several girls' schools have been recently established. Girls, you should take advantage of this opportunity. Quickly, quickly learn characters, seek out learning. Then slowly men and women will become equal, and girls will no longer be in a lesser position. Girls! Quickly, quickly think! Under no circumstances do we want to return to the former situation.

The text on the "Girls' Self-Strengthening" picture is addressed to boys. It says:

Most Chinese men who have dependents are worn out. Do you all know what has caused this problem? It is not that the men do



Figure 14: *Girls Seek Education*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, ca. 1900, 34.5 x 60 cm, Tianjin Museum of History Collection; from Tianjin Art Museum 1984: 20.



Figure 15: *Girls Self-strengthening*, woodblock print from Yangliuqing, ca. 1900, 36.5 x 54 cm, Wang Shucun Collection; from Wang 1991a: 2: 553.

not earn money; one man can provide for many people. [But] women have two small [bound] feet, so are unable to exert themselves in activities. Women sit around idly, relying on men [in their everyday life], so how can the men not be worn out? In the current circumstances, no matter if you are a man or a woman you must rely on your own labour to eat. Only then can you protect yourself. If you don't quickly think up ways (to work), if women always rely on men, then men will be exhausted and women too will be unable to get a living, [therefore] China will be unable to become strong. The major problem lies in this. If men and women alike work and earn money, would it still be difficult to get by? Fellow compatriots, think this over immediately! (McIntyre 1999: 67-68)

Another remarkable print from Yangliuqing depicts a private, gentry school for girls run by a Madame Meng in Tianjin (fig. 16). In the comfort of a wealthy home filled with beautiful furniture, tubs of flowers, vases filled with costly gewgaws (some being auspicious symbols expressing wishes for a good life), bookcases crammed with books and expensive ornaments, the matron hears a student's lesson as other teenaged girls

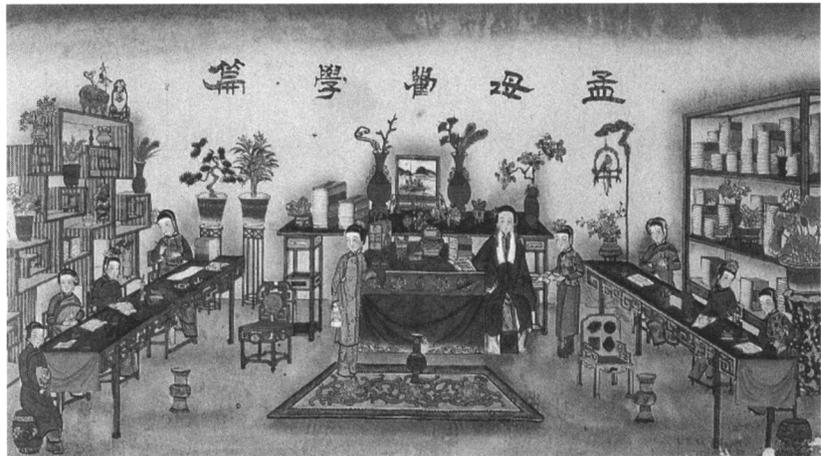


Figure 16: *Madame Meng Encouraging Girls to Study*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, ca. 1900, dimensions unknown; from Li/Wang 1992: 137.



Figure 17: *Self-strengthening School*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, ca. 1900, 60 x 102 cm., National Museum of Asian Ethnographic Art, Moscow; from *Sulian* 1990: 1999.

work more or less attentively at their assignments. A second “self-strengthening” theme was aimed at developing strong bodies through calisthenics. In a print from Yangliuqing, girls imitate their instructor in a weightlifting exercise using dumbbells (fig. 17). The girls have bound feet and wear traditional Chinese dress; they are segregated from the youths who march smartly to the beat of snare drums and the blare of bugles. Some of the boys wear coats and trousers of flowered fabric; others wear tunics and flowered hats over their long queues.

To fully understand how exceptional these images and messages are, it is necessary to digress and to discuss attitudes toward education for women and on the usual images of women in an educational setting in the late nineteenth-century woodblock prints. In traditional China, the idea of education for women was a volatile question and was received by men with mixed feelings. At the discouraging end, men declared that an ignorant woman was a virtuous one. In the middle of the scale were men who condoned a limited literacy for women, believing women could



**Figure 18:** *In the Ladies Quarters Teaching a Son*, woodblock print from Xinfeng, Shanxi, late nineteenth-early twentieth century, 108 x 62 cm., collection unknown; from Wang 1991a: 2: 176.

utilize it for reading the guidebooks to proper womanly behavior and also to introduce their children to the basics of reading and writing. Of the children, of course, the boys were accorded advanced education whenever possible; that of the girls was more problematic. A girl, when a youngster, might be taught the rudiments of reading and writing, initially along with her brothers. Sometime between the ages of seven and ten, however, she was separated from the male siblings, who went on to formal schooling, whereas she, under the direction of female members of the family, learned domestic skills and proper deportment in preparation for her life as a wife, mother, and daughter-in-law. In many upper-class homes, mothers were expected to introduce their preschool toddlers to the rudiments of literacy. At the most liberal end of the spectrum were the men who believed that women should be permitted to discover and expand their creative capabilities. Because only men were admitted into the civil service system, there was no incentive to teach girls book learning beyond the basics, and training in textual research or scholarship, not to mention speculation on metaphysical issues, was generally out of the question.

Two of these attitudes are reflected in the images of women in late nineteenth-century woodblock prints. The first, that ignorance is a virtue, is seen in the print of women working dutifully for the benefit of the husband's family by weaving and bearing children (fig. 5). The second attitude, that a limited education is a plus, for women could teach young boys the basics of reading and writing, underlies a print given the title "In the Ladies' Quarters Teaching a Son" (fig. 18), a generic representation of this custom depicting an ideal young mother and her son. She has everything: a pretty face, an intelligent expression in her eyes, beautiful clothes, a healthy son. Holding a closed fan, she sits in a library with brushes and ink stone on the stand behind her. We can see that she is reading the poem "Spring Dawn" by the Tang poet Meng Haoran:

Sleeping in spring, unaware of the dawn,

Then everywhere I hear birds singing.  
Last night, the sound of wind and the rain—  
Flowers have fallen, I wonder how many.<sup>20</sup>

The lovely mother, it seems, pauses while using the small end of her folded fan to point to characters in the poem as she explains them to her bright, precocious son, preparing him eventually to advance to a formal education, a schooling normally denied girls.

Another print shows a belle standing by a table holding a copy of the *Sanzi jing* (Trimetric classic), an elementary primer (fig. 19). This text, composed in the Song dynasty, existed in many versions in the Ming and Qing. In content, it “blended factual and historical information with strictures on the reciprocal obligations of parents and sons, teachers and students, elders and juniors” (Rawski 1985: 29). It was, then, completely within the parameters of traditional Confucian teachings. But neither of these pictures truly encourages women to get a formal education that would enable them to participate fully in the daily world outside their domiciles. Ideally, home and family were to be the focus of a woman’s life. When they are seen from this perspective, the prints urging women to go to school stand out as unique.

In 1912, after the fall of the imperial state and the establishment of the Republic of China, the Minister of Education issued an order that the country must “develop and encourage women’s education as well as that for men” (Lewis 1919: 29). Schools tended to be concentrated in large cities of the coast provinces, with fewer located inland. Sichuan province was an exception: in 1913, it had the greatest number of government schools for girls and the third largest number of Protestant mission schools for girls (Beahan 1976: 359-360). It is not surprising, then, that a print of a young woman on her way to school comes from remote Sichuan (fig. 20). She is not seen at home tending the children but is on her way to class, her feet are not bound, but of normal size, her hair is bobbed, she wears a skirt and a masculine-looking hat and short jacket, and she carries her fan

<sup>20</sup> Translated by Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T’ang* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981): 86.



Figure 19: *Standing Beauty: Eternal Wealth and Illustriousness*, color woodblock print from Suzhou, ca. 1900, dimensions unknown, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, from Tseng 1977: 117.



Figure 20: *A School Girl*, color woodblock print from Mianzhu, Sichuan, ca. 1910, 54 x 40 cm, Wang Shucun collection; from Gao et al. 1990: 91.



Figure 21: *Tunan Ribao Calendar*, lithograph, 1905, dimensions unknown, collection unknown; from *Pictorial History* 1981: 82.4.

and her textbook. Indeed, images of modern young women seem to have been especially popular in Sichuan. Pert and attractive, the modern school-girl seen here, along with the women students pictured in other early twentieth-century prints, clearly augured a new, dynamic role for Chinese women in the twentieth century.

### Prints Relating to the 1911 Revolution

One early *yuefenpai* calendar was designed to arouse revolutionary fervor. It was issued in 1905 by the *Tunan Ribao*, the China Daily News of Singapore (fig. 21), founded by two merchants, Chen Chu'nan and Zhang Yongfu. Each man had anti-Qing, revolutionary publications to his credit. The first issue of their newspaper was of 1000 copies; it attracted very few subscribers, so they decided to entice readers by offering a complementary color calendar to each new subscriber (Fang 1992: 744-746). It is said that when Sun Yat-sen was in New York City, he saw a copy of this calendar and began to correspond with Chen and Zhang, and so the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia began (*Pictorial* 1981: 1: 81). The calendar conforms to the accepted scheme popular in the last decade of the 1800s. In a banner at the top is the English phrase "Happy New Year 1905." In the center is a large area presenting both Chinese and Western calendars; this is surrounded by a border of flowers and zodiac signs. But more important are the inscriptions and images at the top. Just below the banner is a twenty-character phrase arranged in an arc. It calls upon the Chinese people not to allow their civilization to decline, but to lead the "Chinese" (*Zhongyuan*) heroes in restoring their country. Several expressions, such as *Zhongyuan*, referring to the Central Plain believed to be the heartland of China, are clearly anti-Manchu. In the center is a bell, labeled the Freedom Bell, which is placed above crossed banners, one of which is labeled Independence Flag. The scene on the left is a battle, and the one on the right shows officials bowing before the Emperor. These scenes are within arches filled with characters. There are five characters on each leg

of the arches. These phrases extol the power of the newspaper in spreading revolutionary ideas; one states, "to push the tide of revolution throughout the world." Unfortunately, the *Tunan Ribao* calendar is nowhere reproduced with adequate clarity and although it would, of course, be ideal to be able to understand the complete visual message, there is enough to prove that the calendar print could be a propaganda vehicle, here urging support of the anti-Qing revolutionaries.<sup>21</sup>

As anti-Qing ideas spread in China, students at the Women's Normal School in Tianjin organized a revolutionary group and volunteered to participate on the revolutionary front (Oko 1989: 75). According to Charlotte Beahan, "Around 1907 girls in an unnamed normal school felt that a militarily strong people would provide the means for the Chinese race to survive the international struggle for existence . . . and asked their principal to change their physical education program to one of military drill" (1976: 286). Beahan notes that information about women military units active around 1911 is confusing, partially because of the similar names of the units and also because these women often used multiple names. She suggests that there were some nine to eleven separate groups organized "as a result of the demand of young women activists for an active role in the overthrow of the Ch'ing" (1976: 307). The group known as the Women's Northern Expeditionary Corps took as their role models the Chinese woman-warriors Hua Mulan and Liang Hongyu, along with Joan of Arc, Mme. Roland, and the Chinese female martyr Qiu Jin (1875-1907) (1976: 308). In support of the revolutionary movement, women took part in propaganda, revolutionary education, fund raising, logistics, camouflage, as well as liaison, uprisings, transportation, assassinations, and espionage (Lin 1975: 245-299).

Female military units are commemorated in several prints depicting women drilling or involved in other military activities. One, from the Yangliuqing shop Dai Lianzeng huadian, depicts a squad of eight women led by a woman officer (fig. 22). The officer wears a long skirt, boots, and

<sup>21</sup> Most of the phrases are indistinct in the reproduction of this calendar available to me, but they are transcribed in Fang 1992: 745 and Wang 1989: 72. I am grateful to Professor Jin Feng for her help in translating these anti-Qing sentiments and pointing out their anti-Manchu allusions.



Figure 22: *Military Drill at a Girls School*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, ca. 1905, 57.6 x 106 cm., collection unknown; from Wang 1991a: 2: 555.



Figure 23: *The New Army*, photograph, ca. 1900; from *Jiu Zhongguo lüeying* 1995: 53.

a hat. She holds a long staff with which to give the signal to fire. The eight women participating in the drill stand in two rows. In the front row, the four women have leveled, but not yet aimed, their rifles; the four in the back row hold their rifles at left-shoulder arms. Six of the women wear hats, jackets, and long skirts or full pantaloons, boots, and fedora hats. The two women in the middle of the back row appear to be wearing khaki military uniforms with belted tunics and Stetson-style “Canadian Mountie” or Rough Rider hats. Other girls in this print wear a hat like a boater decorated with flowers, not unlike those sported by the little boys in the calisthenics scene (fig. 17).

Sometime after 1900, the Qing rulers organized a Western-style army, known as the New Army. Photographs of officers and soldiers of this New Army show them wearing the same type of boater hat, but minus the floral decorations (fig. 23). It is impossible to date these woodblock prints precisely, but they were undoubtedly made between 1900 and 1911.<sup>22</sup> A print from the same period depicts a female cavalry unit (fig. 24). The head of the unit carries a long stick; her rifle is on her back and she wears

<sup>22</sup> Wang is uncertain about the date of this print. In one source (1991b, 2: 555), he considers it to be Qing; in another source (1988: 96), he considers it to be of the Republican period.



Figure 24: *Calvary Unit from a Girls School*, color woodblock print, ca. 1900, 53 x 93 cm., British Museum, London. Photo © The British Museum.

a center-opening tunic with pockets. The other members of the squad have their rifles at left-shoulder arms and wear side-opening blouses. All the women have rosettes on their hats.

Prints depicting a row of women executing militia drills but without the elaborate background settings were not uncommon. In one unpublished example formerly in the J.-P. Dubosc collection and now in the British Museum, the women carry bolt-action rifles, each girl in the squad is dressed in a different color uniform, and all have pink peonies on their hats. Other versions of the row of women warriors surfaced in the print shops of Tianjin, of Wujiang in Hebei Province, and of Weixian in Shandong Province (figs. 25, 26). In these renderings, earnest young women officers may hold a long staff and may hold a bugle and wear a sword; the women in the ranks may carry rifles with fixed bayonets. Their military gear contrasts strangely with their flower-decorated, stiff brimmed hats. In most versions, the women are shown with feet of natural size, but, interestingly, in others, the feet are modified to represent tiny, bound feet. These



Figure 25: *Female Military Drill*, color woodblock print from Wujiang, Hebei, ca. 1900, 54 x 116 cm.; from Bo 1990: 91.



Figure 26: *Female Military Drill*, woodblock print from Weixian, Shandong, ca. 1900, 40 x 60 cm. Institute for the Study of Yangjiabu New Year's Pictures Collection, Weixian; from *Weifang* 1996: 182.



Figure 27: *George Bickham the Elder, Postscript to the Post Boy*, published by John King and T. Slater, 1706, "medley print," engraving with etching colored by hand, 42.8 x 28.5 cm. Worcester College, Oxford; from Clayton 1997: 7.

<sup>23</sup> For the medley print, sometimes called a trade card, see Clayton 1997: 5, 35, 275.

<sup>24</sup> The practice continued into the late nineteenth century, as seen in the medley advertisement card published by the Philadelphia printer George S. Harris and Sons around 1890; reproduced in Marzio 1979: fig. 36.

static rows of female military figures have no precedent in the Chinese print tradition.

The depictions of women soldiers are not quaint curiosities. Although the women's military units met with reluctant support from leaders of the revolution, some women actually saw active combat. Women's units helped liberate Hangzhou and fought at Hankou and Nanjing. It is said that when the imperial forces "heard their name . . . their gall turned cold and their color changed" (Beahan 1976: 309).

The progress of the revolution was broadcast through lithographed pictorial news sheets, such as that titled *War Pictorial* (*Zhanshi huabao*), presenting portraits of leaders along with scenes from the battlefield and behind the lines. These sheets were printed in Shanghai and sold for a few pennies. In one rare surviving example now preserved in the British Museum (unpublished), each vignette is enclosed in a differently sized and differently shaped geometric frame—circle, rectangle, oval—often overlapping. Text passages on each picture provide background about the event or the names and titles of people portrayed. This presentation of multiple images mimics a practice common among print dealers and publishers in England and the United States: the engraved medley print used as advertisements of the dealer's stock.<sup>23</sup> Medley prints consisted of a potpourri of subjects: portraits, landscapes, playing cards, harbor scenes, battle scenes, maps, and texts. Each was depicted as if on a separate card or piece of paper and in a different shape—rectangular, oval, or square—and were arranged at random over the surface, usually in overlapping layers (fig. 27).<sup>24</sup>

Twelve incidents relating to the October 10, 1911 revolt at Wuhan and ensuing events that led to negotiations culminating in the downfall of the Qing were pictured in a newsprint sheet titled *The First Pictures of the Events at Wuhan* (*Wuhan dashi tuhua diyiban*), also now preserved in the British Museum (fig. 28). Framed portraits and battle scenes, complete with informational text sections, are again intermixed and overlapped.

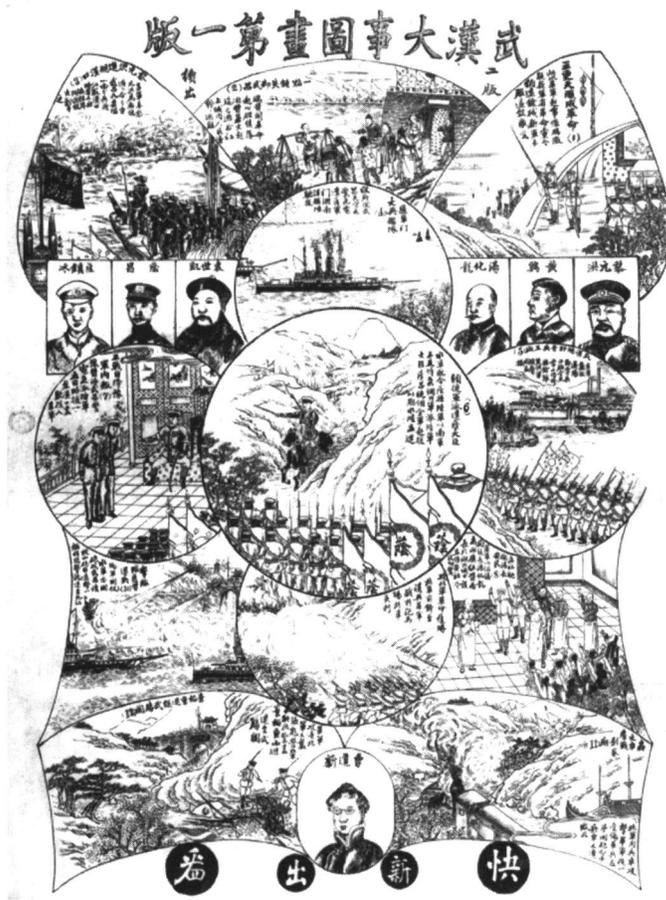


Figure 28: *The First Pictures of the Events at Wuhan*, lithograph, ca. 1911, 63.5 x 55.4 cm. British Museum, London. Photo: © The British Museum.

Among the participants whose portraits are placed in a row near the top of the page are Li Yuanhong (1864-1928), Huang Xing (1873-1916), Tang Hualong (1874-1918), Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), Yin Chang, and Sa Zhenping (1859-1951). A single portrait in an oval frame at the bottom of the sheet is that of the woman Cao Daoxin, dressed in a high-collared jacket and



Figure 29: *Calendar Poster for 1912 and 1913*, color woodcut from Shanghai, 52 x 30 cm., Ethnographic Museum, St. Petersburg; from *Sulian* 1990: 206.

wearing eyeglasses. Cao was a student who requested to join the army and was permitted to organize a female corps (Lin 1975: 287, fn 178).

### Prints Relating to the Establishment of the Republic and Subsequent Events

A calendar poster for the years 1912 and 1913 is full of interesting detail, but it also conveys an awareness of the political uncertainties that prevailed as a consequence of the clash between revolutionary and imperial supporters, who struggled and negotiated for supremacy during the last months of 1911 and the first two months of 1912 (fig. 29). Although the large characters at the top proclaim it is the Calendar of the Chinese Great Han Republic, the central portrait is that of Puyi, named the Chinese Emperor. He is surrounded by (at top left) Sun Yat-sen, as President of the Republic, and (top right) Li Yuanhong, named as a general of the Republic. To the lower left and right are portraits of two women. On the left, according to the inscribed label, is Xu Wuying in civilian dress. Presumably this is Xu Zonghan (1876-1944), noted for having transported pistols and ammunition from Hong Kong in "installments hidden in cans of food-stuffs," and in procuring and distributing ammunition. Xu is perhaps most famous for her actions during the Guangdong uprising. "On the day of the uprising, a pair of red banners announcing a wedding ceremony hung as camouflage on either side of the door leading to the revolutionaries' secret headquarters. With the red banners as a sign to her comrades, Xu successfully carried out the difficult task of passing weaponry hidden in the sedan chair of the 'bride.' Springing into action at the sight of the red banners was the revolutionary Huang Xing. Together with two hundred compatriots, Huang attacked the office of the Governor-general" (Ono 1989: 72-73). Huang and his allies were defeated; Xu, however, obtained some merchants' clothes for Huang and helped him escape to Hong Kong and to get aid for his wounds. At the hospital, Xu had to sign in as Huang's wife, and indeed they did get married.<sup>25</sup> The figure on the right is again

<sup>25</sup> There is a photograph of Xu Zonghan as a member of a bomb team in *Pictorial* 1981: 1: 104.

Cao Daoxin, dressed in military tunic and hat with a banner bearing the character *ling* for “command”; a label next to her portrait ranks her as a “woman marshal” (*nü yuanshua*). Below are troops from Russia, England, and Germany (not all the inscriptions are legible) surrounding a double portrait of Huang Xing (on the right) and Xu Shaochen. After the Wuchang Uprising was well underway in October 1911, Huang hesitated to lend his support to the fight. In early November, he accepted the title of Wartime Commander-in-Chief of the People’s Army, but ultimately his role in this revolt was minimal.<sup>26</sup> Xu Shaochen was the general instrumental in the capture of Nanjing in December of 1911. This calendar woodcut print must have been designed by January 1, 1912, for at that time China had both a republican president, Sun Yat-sen, and a Manchu emperor, Puyi. The impasse was not resolved until February 12, 1912, when Puyi abdicated. And at that moment, at least one of the images in this calendar would have become politically anachronistic.

The portraits in the *Great Events at Wuhan* broadsheet and the 1912 calendar have a distinct quality of portraiture. The visages of Li Yuanhong and Huang Xing in these two prints are remarkably similar and must have been based on the same source. The portrait of Li was most certainly based on a photograph, as was the portrait of Yin Chang in the *Great Events at Wuhan* sheet; both photograph portraits (figs. 30, 31) were available in Shanghai in 1912. The two women’s portraits in these two revolutionary prints, added to the several prints of women’s militia drill, are tributes to the contributions made by women to the revolutionary cause. It is strange, however, that although the portrait of Cao Daoxin appears twice in these pictorial records, so very little is preserved about her in the written record.

In composition, the 1912 ensemble of Chinese military portraits seems to be a blending of the medley print and another type of Western print, the commemorative calendar. One gift calendar from 1899, given away by George A. Blackburn, an English tea merchant, features the oval-framed portraits of four major English military heroes decked out in military

<sup>26</sup> For a detailed account of Huang’s role in the Wuchang revolt, see Esherick 1976: 220-228.



Figure 30: *Li Yuanhong*, photograph, ca. 1911; from Dingle 1912: frontispiece.



Figure 31: *Yin Chang*, photograph, ca. 1911; from Dingle 1912: opp. p. 45.



**Figure 32: Gift Calendar from Geo. A. Blackburn, an English tea merchant, with portraits of Sir H. H. Kitchener (1850-1916), Lord Wolseley (1833-1913), Lord Roberts (1832-1914), and Lord Charles Beresford (1846-1919), lithograph, 1899, dimensions unknown, Robert Opie Collection, Museum of Advertising and Packaging, Gloucester; from Opie 1985: 64.**

finery and surrounded by battleships and flags, each with a name label: Sir H. H. Kitchener (1850-1916), the hero of Khartoum; Lord Wolseley (1833-1913), also a commander in Egypt; Lord Roberts (1832-1914), with the army in India; and Lord Charles Beresford (1846-1919) (fig. 32). In the United States as well, portraits of military heroes and statesmen, presidents and political candidates were commonly in oval frames.

The inconclusive political situation of January–February 1912 is also succinctly reflected in a pictorial calendar printed in Suzhou and entitled the Dragon Flying Calendar (fig. 33). It is an elaborate picture: at the top is a portrait of the child-emperor Puyi surrounded by ranks of officials, and at the bottom more bureaucrats stand to either side of a “basin of wealth,” and below that is the blank space for a calendar. There are many inscriptions, which, taken as a whole, indicate a degree of uncertainty about what is going on. At the top, four characters express wishes for long life for the emperor; a banner below contains the phrase “the xxx year of the Republic” with the year left blank, and then a set of four characters states: “the precious country of the Great Qing dynasty.” A pair of *duilian* (couplet) inscriptions along the sides can be read in two directions, vertically or horizontally, and contain the characters *Xuantong* (Puyi’s reign era name) and *Tongzhi*. The gist of these two inscriptions is that the people support the new government and its reforms. The reference to the Tongzhi era reiterates the hopes for the effectiveness of the new government in bringing peace and prosperity to the country by comparing it to the period of the 1860s, which was looked upon as a model time because the decline of the dynasty was temporarily checked by a reassertion of Confucian principles of civil government, the Taiping Rebellion was finally suppressed, civil administration over wide areas was established, taxes were reduced, and a general effort was made to improve the economy and to select and train men of talent (Teng/Fairbank 1979: 47). So the hope for the new year and the new government is for prosperity and peace like that of the Tongzhi period. It is assumed that this print was designed in 1911.

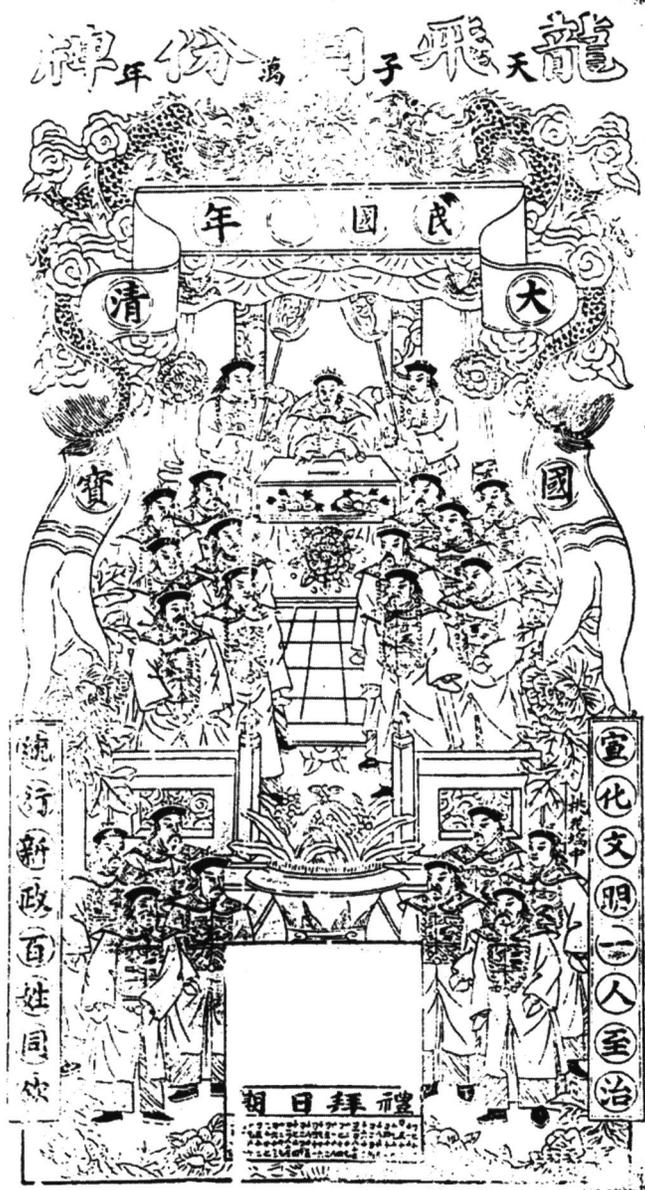


Figure 33: *Dragon Flying Calendar Poster*, woodblock print from Suzhou, ca. 1911, 58 x 35.5 cm, collection unknown; from Wang 1991a: 1: 370.

<sup>27</sup> Another such calendar (unpublished) is in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (accession no. 301007).

<sup>28</sup> The following description is based on that in Wang 1998: 1: 1.

These sorts of political calendars do not seem to have survived beyond 1912.<sup>27</sup> Certainly by the 1920s, the business community in China had claimed the pictorial calendar as their own, and thousands of free or inexpensive pictorial calendar posters, most commonly featuring glamorous women instead of revolutionary heroes and heroines, flooded the market.

An undated woodblock print produced in Suzhou records how Shanghai businesses and industries celebrated Sun Yat-sen's installation in Nanjing as first provisional president of the Republic (fig. 34). This grand, celebratory parade was led by members of the fire brigade marching next to their hand-operated water pump (topped by a dragon effigy), followed by flags and gongs and by two floats.<sup>28</sup> Next were three opera characters on horseback: Zhao Yun, Zhou Yu, and Liu Bei, costumed for "The Yellow Crane Tower" opera. Behind them is a large flag bearing a laudatory inscription of the type bestowed on worthy individuals. And finally, there is a band of musicians, a lion dance, and a dragon lantern. Apparently, the procession, moving through Shanghai streets festooned with lanterns bearing the



Figure 34: *Shanghai's Business Community Wishes Long Life to President Sun*, color woodblock print from Suzhou, 1911, 28 x 47 cm., collection unknown; from Yao 1985: 115.

colors of various nations, was actually much longer than is represented in the print. The print is crammed with a multitude of figures and parade accouterments. The marchers are highly animated figures, and the quartet of spectators in the lower left corner is especially vivid and effective. Here people are seen in half-figure and are presented from different views—back, three-quarters, and profile. Among them, a child points excitedly to the procession as it passes. The overall realistic quality suggests that the artist was an actual witness to this celebration. In reality, however, this picture is an exact duplicate of an image printed some ten years earlier, depicting a merchants' parade in which the leader carries a banner with the character for "command" (*ling*) on it. In the later version, this character was overprinted with the character *Han*.<sup>29</sup> Such a complicated scene could easily have been created by one of the artists who had once worked for the now-defunct lithographic pictorials of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (figs. 8, 9).

In contrast to the Shanghai celebration, a 1911 print from Yangliuqing wishing long life to the newly founded Republic gives new content to a traditional format, to old auspicious motifs, and to well-dressed, happy children (fig. 35). Above the youngsters is the message "The Republic is founded." One boy holds a writing brush, another a scroll inscribed with the legend "Long Live the Republic." In the borders are two bats (at the top), ancient symbols of happiness; on either side, stone chimes for good luck; below, large fans for "good" (the *shan* of "fan" being the same sound as *shan* for "good"); and at the bottom is a gold ingot holding a shining jewel, both symbolizing wealth. The visual form is old, seen in a traditional print (fig. 4), but the message is up-to-date: hopes that the new government will be the agent for a happy and profitable country.

### Prints Relating to Post-1911 Political Events and the Nationalists

Things, however, did not go all so smoothly for the new republic. Yuan Shikai forced Sun Yat-sen to resign and Yuan took over as president of the

<sup>29</sup> A copy of the original version of the merchant parade print was acquired by Berthold Laufer in 1902-1903 and is now in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.



Figure 35: *The Republic is Founded*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, 1911, 40 x 25 cm., collection unknown; after Wang 1992: 142.



Figure 36: *The Restoration of the Republic*, color woodblock print from Yangliuqing, 1916, 42 x 68 cm.; from Tianjin Art Museum 1984: 56.

new republic. He soon decided to establish a new dynasty with himself on the throne, declaring that 1916 would be the first year of his reign. Yuan's imperial ambitions were left unfulfilled, and, in any case, 1916 was also the last year of his life. A print from the Dai Lianzeng shop in Yangliuqing celebrates the restoration of the Republic (fig. 36), employing the traditional, familiar pudgy boy beautifully dressed in silks and satins and holding a symbolic object (fig. 3). Here, with one hand he pushes a lantern on a wooden rod. The phrase for "pushing a lantern" (*tui deng*), is homophonic with "overthrowing the throne" (*tui deng*). In his other hand, the little boy holds the five-barred flag of the Republic of China, symbolizing the union of the five national groups: the red stripe for the Manchus, yellow for the Chinese, blue for the Mongolians, white for the Muhammadans, and black for the Tibetans. The stalk of grain augurs prosperity.

Another print can be dated to the same era by virtue of the striped flag displayed outside a house (fig. 37). The central theme is the arrival of



Figure 37: *Wealth Arrives*, color woodblock print, early 1920s, 51.3 x 90 cm., British Museum, London. Photo: © The British Museum.

wealth as stated in the four-character phrase “get rich and return home” (*facai huanjia*) at the top margin. This is exactly what is represented in this mixture of old and new motifs: the god of wealth arrives in a cart filled with jewels preceded by a horse laden with more jewels. They are greeted at the door by a servant and the man of the house, along with his wife, small son, and the family dog. Traditional symbols of wealth in the form of coins, ingots, and coral branches, along with an artemisia leaf for protection, lie scattered on the ground. In a new twist, the god of wealth is protected by a mounted soldier armed with a rifle; and the striped flag of the Republic of China is attached to the flagpole at the side of the house. The submessage clearly is the need for mutual support: the acquisition of wealth depends upon endorsing the government, which in turn assigns armed guards to ensure that riches arrive intact.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, other types of symbols began to convey political messages. An article published in 1920 described one of the most successful of advertising calendar posters issued by an American company. It “depicted the United States recognizing the Republic of China. This was done by representing ‘Uncle Sam’ as shaking hands with a Chinese, while at the top were draped the American and Chinese flags.” The calendar poster contained Chinese and Western calendars as well as the company’s logo. “This calendar became so popular with the Chinese that the company’s representative declared he never saw such a demand for a calendar before” (Arnold 1920: 392). Unfortunately, copies of this political calendar poster validating Chinese-US friendship seem not to have survived. In the mid-1920s, the Chinese Nationalists endorsed a new emblem: the twelve-pointed white sun on a blue field, a design originally associated with Sun Yat-sen,<sup>30</sup> but only now elevated to national status. It was used in several guises in flags and banners. The national flag with its white sun on a blue field is seen in a memorial “hanger” commemorating the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925 where his simple, bust-length portrait is beneath the flags of the Republic (fig. 38). A representation of

<sup>30</sup>The fact that Sun’s emblem of a white star in a blue field was never used during the 1911 Wuhan revolt was taken as evidence that Sun’s “faction did not have unified control” (Liang 1962: 23).



Figure 38: *Commemorative Portrait of Sun Yat-sen, “hanger,” photo lithograph, 1925, dimensions unknown, present location unknown; author’s photograph.*



Figure 39: *Kitchen God as Arbiter of Fate*, color woodblock print from Chengdu, Sichuan, ca. 1925, 33 x 22 cm., Muban Foundation for the Propagation of Chinese Woodblock Printing and Prints, London.



Figure 40: *Protect the Border District*, color woodblock print, ca. 1940, Bo Songnian collection; after Andrews 1994: 4.

the Kitchen God as the Arbiter of Fate, perhaps from about this same time, also features the two flags (fig. 39). The Kitchen God, in his role as the arbiter of fate, has five children and a jewel basin at his feet. He is dressed in imperial costume and holds a jade tablet in front of his chest. Above his head is a small shrine containing the characters stating that this is the Determining Happiness (Tinggu) Palace. From this ornate structure depend placards bearing phrases inscribed in gold on a red circle. An unusual feature of this print is the inclusion of four-character phrases expressing wishes for wealth and prosperity, traditionally separate calligraphy scrolls hung at either side of the central hall picture. The phrase on the right reads: "stabilize the state"; that on the left: "harmonize the natural powers." Two Republic of China flags flank the nameplate.

### Prints Urging Resistance Against Japanese Aggression

By the late 1930s, China was divided among three political and military forces. Japan's repeated incursions into and bombings of China in the early 1930s escalated into full-scale war in 1937 as the Japanese began to occupy the coastal areas, and the Nationalists were forced to seek refuge in Chongqing in Sichuan. Meanwhile, the Communists, fleeing from the Nationalists, had established their headquarters in Yan'an in Shaanxi Province. The Japanese sought to enlist the populace on their side; the Nationalists and the Communists endeavored to ignite anti-Japanese passions. All three turned to the imagery of the popular print as a means of achieving these goals. Examples from the Japanese side are known only from the Communist reaction to them. In 1940, upon learning that the Japanese were using the door gods and other Chinese popular images in their propaganda, the Communists initiated a propaganda campaign using the same sorts of images to convey their message to the peasant through the medium the country folk best understood. Communist print designers converted the old mounted door guards (fig. 2) into modern border patrols reinforced with the slogan: "Protect the Border District" (fig. 40) (Laing

1988: 14-15; Andrews 1994: 18-19).

Since 1949, the Communists have been very vocal in asserting their claims to have first employed popular imagery as a means of reaching the masses. As revealed in this study, the use of popular prints for propaganda purposes began much earlier. In addition, of course, the Communists would not want to admit that the Nationalists also used this strategy, and the Nationalists themselves, so far as is known, have never gone on public record with such an assertion. However, a pair of prints substantiates the fact that the Nationalists also utilized the popular print imagery to further their efforts against Japanese aggression. A print from Chongqing shows a pair of military door guards (fig. 41). The banners attached to the guard's shoulders proclaim "defeat Japan, revive China," and the discs held by the children state "those who have money should donate money, those who have strength should exert strength." The two guards grasp rifles with fixed bayonets, and hand grenades are at their sides. The Nationalist Party sun emblem is on their chests, and Nationalist flags and banners are in evidence. The display of military men with children is very close to an earlier door guard print from Sichuan (fig. 1), which might well have been its prototype. The new set of prints bears the Nationalist government registration number 8716 and, according to the text printed along the left margin, the government approved of the cartoon character Ox-nose and indicated that these prints were among the new popular prints published by the Popular Publishing House (Minjian chubanshe).

During the 1930s, the popularity of the calendar posters and hangers made them ideal tools for propaganda and political messages. So it is not surprising that in the 1930s, when the Japanese attacked and invaded Shanghai, artists designed calendars and hangers with nationalistic themes. Xie Zhiguang (1900-1976) is remembered for his patriotic scene that praised the Nineteenth Route Army's stand against the Japanese invasion of Zhapei in 1932.<sup>31</sup> Apparently all prints of Xie's picture are lost.

Still surviving, however, are advertising calendar posters depicting the



Figure 41: *Standing Door Gods*, color woodcut prints from Chongqing, Sichuan, late 1930s, 37.5 x 27.5 cm., Muban Foundation for the Propagation of Chinese Woodblock Printing and Prints, London.

<sup>31</sup> See Wang 1989: 74. For Xie Zhiguang, see my study of him, his life, and his art (Laing forthcoming, b).

<sup>32</sup> Mulan also appealed to the emerging “new female citizen” in the early twentieth century, throughout the May Fourth era, and later. Susan Mann (2000) observes that Mulan “becomes an emblem of the new female citizen and a reproach to her contemporary counterparts who have neglected their duty to their country and failed to take advantage of the new opportunities opened to them by their enhanced physical strength.” The new strength was, of course, a result of not binding their feet.



Figure 42: *Mulan as a Frontier Guard*, woodblock print illustration to the book “Feminine Models,” 1590, dimensions unknown; from Fu 1981: 2: 517.

military heroine Hua Mulan. As told in a sixth-century poem, the young Hua Mulan, disguised as a man, took her father’s place in the army, distinguished herself in battle, and after twelve years refused the emperor’s honors and returned home to her parents. She became a role model, and a favorite in the Chinese opera. Louise Edwards asserts that in China, military heroines are attractive because they both threaten the patriarchal power by breaking with the ideal of the meek and mild woman and consolidate existing Confucian social and moral order (Edwards 1995: 231). As noted earlier, women militia during the early part of the twentieth century specified Hua Mulan as a paragon to be emulated.<sup>32</sup> In addition, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Hua Mulan was often the heroine of Chinese spoken dramas written to raise popular patriotic sentiment through their antibarbarian themes, to inspire unity and loyalty, and to provide spiritual strength (Hung 1994: 9, 72–74). According to Hung Chang-tai, during a time of strong anti-Japanese sentiment, perhaps no female warrior better exemplified the spirit of patriotism and resistance than Hua Mulan. Hua Mulan is youthful, sacrificing, loyal, courageous, and filial; she has integrity and exemplifies collective good, devotion to the nation, and love of country. As a patriot, she is a reminder of China’s continuing struggle against invaders (Hung 1994: 72, 74, 76, 77). These same goals undoubtedly also apply to the calendar advertisement pictures of Hua Mulan. The pictorial record of Hua Mulan shows her as directly involved in fighting. She is routinely portrayed as robust and energetic. In a sixteenth-century illustration to a book of “Feminine Models,” she rides on duty as a border guard (fig. 42); in the eighteenth-century collection of pictures of famous women, she is dressed in military gear and tests her bow (fig. 43). This view of her as a thoroughly military type continued into the 1930s. In one anonymous picture from the 1930s, she is seen stringing her bow (a pose recalling that of her eighteenth-century portrait), preparatory to mounting her impatient white horse and taking command of the troops (fig. 44). In two other pictures, she is shown returning home with honors. In one

version, by an unidentified artist, astride her prancing white steed, she triumphantly leads her troops home through the countryside (fig. 45). Her aide carries her banner emblazoned with the large character *Hua*, to be understood as both her surname and China. The message of a victorious China is evident. In a version by Xie Zhiguang, she has returned to her family home and reverts to being a woman (fig. 46). Looking into a mirror, she applies her cosmetics as, in the background, astounded troops gape at her transformation from commander to maiden. Victory and peace at the conclusion of hostilities is again the message conveyed through the imagery.

### Concluding Comments

Political prints must have played a role in molding national pride and political allegiance among ordinary people in China. Had the average



Figure 44: *Mulan Joining the Army*, advertising poster for Hatamen cigarettes, 1930s, photolithograph, 77 x 51 cm., Wei Tewen collection, Taipei.



Figure 45: *Mulan Returns to Her Hometown*, "hanger," photolithograph, 1930s, 72 x 46 cm, Wei Tewen collection, Taipei.



Figure 43: *Mulan Testing Her Bow*, woodblock print illustration to a collection of biographies of famous women, 18th century, dimensions unknown; from Yan 1755: 66.



Figure 46: Xie Zhiguang (1900-1976), *Mulan Returns Home with Honors*, advertisement poster for Huacheng Tobacco Company, photolithograph, 1930s, 76x 49 cm, Wei Tewen collection, Taipei.

individual not purchased such images, they would have been neither printed by the commercially minded presses nor marketed by the retail outlets. Unfortunately, such ephemera as described in this paper have mostly disappeared, and it is impossible to credit all those responsible for the production and marketing of these prints. Who actually proposed a certain subject, or who designed it? How and where was it distributed? Because statistics were never kept, today we cannot know how many copies of each picture were printed, how many sold or given away. And because no one thought to query the audience about their reaction to such prints, the ultimate question of how effective these prints were in communicating ideas of reform, revolution, and resistance remains difficult if not impossible to gauge.

From a more positive viewpoint, this study illuminates some business practices of the print world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. For their political prints, designers and publishers in China used a domestic compositional formula, but also appropriated foreign formulae, such as placing portraits of leaders in oval frames. They used both domestic and foreign symbols to convey ideas, and they recycled old images, giving them new emphases. Sometimes these recycled symbols and images were of some antiquity, but sometimes they were relatively recent, as in the 1912 picture of the parade celebrating the founding of the Republic of China, which borrowed the composition from an existing 1901-1902 print.

In many prints, there is an emphasis on reality, evident in the rendition of actual political events, like the Jubilee celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Shanghai foreign settlements, or Dr. Bu's earthenware bank. Realistic aspirations also extend to the portraits of revolutionary leaders borrowed from photographs of them. An important aspect of this realism is the equal billing given to men and women participants in the revolutionary movement of 1911, not only in the depictions of female military units at drill, but also in the portraits of women revolutionaries in the newspaper broadsheets and in calendar posters, where an otherwise lost female revolutionary celebrity, Cao Daoxin, is preserved. These portraits of women revolutionaries and soldiers are indicative of the changes in attitudes toward women and their role in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society. The pictorial sequence moves from the conservative position that a woman should stay at home, tending her loom and minding her children, a position held concurrently with the slightly less conservative position that a woman might have enough education to introduce a boy to poetry or to teach him the rudiments of reading and writing, to prints of the late nineteenth century encouraging women to attend school, to depictions of such schools as that run by Madame Meng, to the picture of a school girl, with natural-sized feet and mannish dress going off to her class. Paralleling these developments is the narrative of twentieth-century military women, moving from portrayals

of women at military drill, undoubtedly linked to the schoolgirls who demanded that their physical education class be converted into one of military education, leading to the portraits of women revolutionaries, right up there with national political leaders, and finally, the use of almost mythic female warrior archetypes from the distant past who had saved the nation from alien invasion to arouse anti-Japanese sentiment in the troubled 1930s.

The visual record preserved in the inexpensive, mass-produced political prints vividly brings to life the ideas and ideals, the hopes and aspirations, the events and achievements, the leaders and innovators of the late Qing-early Republican era in a forceful and powerful fashion totally unmatched by the written record. This visual record also conveys, as the written record does not, how these ideas and goals could reach even the lowest, grassroots levels of Chinese society.

## Glossary

baihua	白話
Bu Guanghai	卜廣海
Cao Daoxin	曹道新
Chen Chu'nan	陳楚南
Dai Lianzeng huadian	戴廉增畫店
diandeng	點燈
<i>Dianshizhai huabao</i>	點石齋畫報
duilian	對聯
facai huanjia	發財還家
<i>Feiyingge huabao</i>	飛影閣畫報
gailiang	改良
gailang nianhua	改良年畫
Guan Yu	關羽
Han	漢
Hehe brothers	和合
huabao	畫報
Hua Mulan	花木蘭
Hua Ying yuefenpai	華英月份牌
Huang Xing	黃興
Huiyou jiangbao she	會友講報社
<i>Jinghua ribao</i>	京話日報
Li Yuanhong	黎元洪
lianhuanhua	連環畫
Liang Hongyu	梁紅玉
Liang Qichao	梁啟超
Liu Bei	劉備
Liu Bingtang	劉丙堂
Liu Fuqing	劉負青
ling	令
lu (deer)	鹿
lu (official salary)	祿
Meng Haoran	孟浩然
minjian banhua	民間版畫
Minjian chubanshe	民間出版社
nianhua	年畫
nü yuanshuai	女元帥
Peng Yizhong	彭翼仲

Puyi	溥儀
Qi Jianlong huadian	齊建隆畫店
<i>Qimeng huabao</i>	啟蒙畫報
Qiu Jin	秋瑾
Sa Zhenbing	薩鎮冰
<i>Sanzijing</i>	三字經
shan (fan)	扇
shan (good)	善
<i>Shenbao</i>	申報
Sheng Xing huadian	盛興畫店
shoufu shuangquan	壽福雙全
Sun Yat-sen	孫逸仙
Taohuawu	桃花塢
Tang Hualong	唐化龍
Tingfu [Dingfu] Palace	定福宮
tianding	添丁
Tongzhi	統治
Tsun Wah	循環
tuideng (overthrowing the throne)	推登
tuideng (pushing a lantern)	推燈
<i>Tunan Ribao</i>	圖南日報
wenyan	文言
<i>Wuhan dashi tuhua diyiban</i>	武漢大事圖畫第一版
Wu Jiayou (Youru)	吳嘉猷 (友如)
Xie Zhiguang	謝之光
Xu Shaozhen	徐紹楨
Xu Wuying	徐武英
Xu Zonghan	徐宗漢
Xuantong	宣統
Yangliuqing	楊柳青
Yin Chang	蔭昌
Yuan Shikai	袁世凱
yuefenpai	月份牌
<i>Zhanshi huabao</i>	戰事畫報
Zhang Yingshu	張瀛曙
Zhang Yongfu	張永福
zhuangyuan	狀元
Zhao Yun	趙云
<i>Zhonghua bao</i>	中華報

Zhonghua yinwu zongju	中華引務總局
Zhong Xi yuefenpai	中西月份牌
Zhongyuan	中原
Zhou Yu	周瑜

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