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Dianshizhai Pictorial and *Harper's Weekly* in Late 19th Century Media

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By

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Image, Text and Imagination: *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*
in Late 19th Century Media

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My research comparatively examines two illustrated publications from the 19th century ---*Dianshizhai Pictorial* which was published in Shanghai between 1884 and 1898 and *Harper's Weekly* which was published in New York between 1857-1912 --- as cultural artifacts of their time, and reveals their historic dynamics in the late 19th century East-West encounter. Texts and images chosen for analysis from *Harper's Weekly* and *Dianshizai Pictorial* are the primary data of my research. I seek to understand text and images as symbolic phenomena and trace their social role, effects and meanings. These data are to be situated and analyzed in the specific contexts of late 19th century US and China.

For *Dianshizai Pictorial*, my research specifically focuses on the representation of the West and Western peoples and investigates the social-cultural dynamics behind the complex attitudes and sentiments expressed toward China's interaction with the West. For *Harper's Weekly*, my research focuses on China and Chinese-related images and texts. It examines the representation of China and Chinese people in the magazine over a 40-year time period (1860-1900).

The methodology of this dissertation is based upon content analysis as defined by Russell Bernard (1994) as a blend of qualitative and quantitative, positivistic and

interpretative steps. Utilizing ethnographic content analysis as research methodology, my study investigates how the media in China and the US constructed each other's images and how they presented the images to their domestic audience. It explores the relationship between these two linked spaces, particularly in the field of cultural imagery, social representation, and the relationship between modernity and visibility. Through a symmetrical examination of two worlds and a close reading of socio-cultural contexts from a comparative perspective, my research aims to shed light on the various social forces at play in late 19th century media, and to develop a nuanced anthropological understanding of cultural dynamism in the late 19th century media landscape.

This dissertation by Yuanyuan Zeng fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Anthropology approved by Lucy M. Cohen, Ph.D., as Director, and by Jon Anderson, Ph.D., and Marta Hanson, Ph.D., as Readers.

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Figure 6.62 “A Chinese Puzzle,” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 10, 1876: 476.

Figure 6.63 “Every Dog Has His Day,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 8, 1879.

Figure 6.64 “The Civilization of Blaine,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 8, 1879.

Figure 6.65 “The Blaine Language,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 15, 1879: 216.

Figure 6.66 “Ah Sin Was His Name,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 8, 1879: 196.

Figure 6.67 “A Matter of Taste,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 15, 1879: 212.

Figure 6.68 “Difficult Problems Solving Themselves,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 29, 1879: 256.

Figure 6.69 “The Nigger Must Go and the Chinese Must Go,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept. 13, 1879.

Figure 6.70 “Political Capital and Compound Interest,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Jan. 31, 1880: 68.

Figure 6.71 “The Ides of March,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 20, 1880.

Figure 6.72 “Oh! Law They Are Coming Over in Their Own Tea-pots Now!” *Harper’s Weekly*, Oct. 2, 1880: 631.

Figure 6.73 “Another Field of American Industry Invaded by the Chinese,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 14, 1883: 240.

Figure 6.74 “Decorating China,” *Harper’s Weekly*, January 29, 1881: 79.

Figure 6.75 “A Paradox,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 22, 1880: 336.

Figure 6.76 “Celestial,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb.5, 1881: 96.

Figure 6.77 “A Diplomatic (Chinese) Design Presented to U.S.” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 12, 1881: 100.

Figure 6.78 “The Veto,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 15, 1882: 236

Figure 6.79 “Let the Chinese Embrace Civilization, and They May Stay,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 18, 1882: 176.

Figure 6.80 “Except the Chinese,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 1, 1882: 207.

Figure 6.81 “At Last the Democratic Tiger Has Something To Hang On,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 22, 1882: 256.

Figure 6.82 “Now Both Parties Have Something To Hang On,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 20, 1882: 317.

Figure 6.83 “Frozen out,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 20, 1882: 311.

Introduction

In 1798, a young playwright and inventor in Bavaria, Aloys Senefelder (1771-1834) accidentally discovered the lithograph technology for industrial use.¹ The technology enabled fast printing at a low cost, which laid the foundation for public access to information. Lithography technology also made possible the duplication of artistic images while preserving the characteristics of the original. It saved laborious work for the engraver and minimized aesthetic sacrifice in the engraving process. The 19th century also witnessed the vast expansion of reading public in Europe and North America through public education, increased paper manufacturing, and enhanced machine-driven printing. As a result, pictorial journals and lithographed books flourished in the 19th century and became available to families of the social classes that had no access to print products before.

By the mid 19th century, new pictorials such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* from the United States, *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* from Great Britain, *Le Monde Illustré* and *Le Tour du Monde* from France, and *Leipziger Illustrierte Volkszeitung* from Germany, to name a few, had established a stable market among sufficient numbers of subscribers to become profit-making enterprises. These pictorial journals quickly formed a worldwide connection. They shared news and information among themselves, copied each other's illustrations, and cited each

¹ Domenico Prozio et al., *Lithography: 200 Years of Art, History, & Technique* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1983), 23.

other to validate and verify their own reports. As Rudolf Wagner argued, a “global imaginaire” was born, among which images, perspectives, scenes, narratives and readers’ attitudes toward information were increasingly shared. The themes and styles of these illustrated journals reflected publishers’ effort to reach a newly emerging literate class through a combination of images and word. The growing importance of the image as conveyor of information and entertainment eventually reached its culminated expression in movies and the subsequent television, as the popular mode of visual communication.²

Harper’s Weekly, a New York-based news journal, and *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, an illustrated magazine published in Shanghai, are representative products of the lithograph technology and the popularization of the media in the mid to late 19th century. Both publications spent much effort introducing the outside world to their domestic audiences and reporting international events and affairs. In their respective societies, they played significant roles in shaping and reflecting domestic worldviews vis-à-vis the outside world, yet with dramatically different perspectives.

My research compares and examines these two illustrated publications from the late 19th century --- *Harper’s Weekly* and *Dianshizhai Pictorial* --- as cultural artifacts of their time, and reveals their historic dynamics in the late 19th-century sociopolitical reality of East-West encounter. Texts and images chosen for analysis from *Harper’s Weekly* and *Dianshizai Pictorial* are the primary data of my research. I seek to understand

² Rudolf Wagner, “Joining the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai Huabao*,” in *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 105-173.

text and images as cultural representations and examine their social role, effects and meanings. These data are to be situated and analyzed in the broad socio-cultural environment of the late-19th-century US and China.

For *Dianshizai Pictorial*, my research specifically focuses on the representation of the West and Western peoples and investigates the social-cultural dynamics behind the complex attitudes and sentiments expressed toward China's interaction with the West. I have gathered 220 images-plus-commentaries out of the original 4,000 plus pictures from the Pictorial's 15 years of existence (1884-1898), concentrating on the depiction of the West and Westerners as well as Sino-West interactions. The major themes represented in the images include: Sino-Western wars, Sino-Western diplomacy, modern Western weaponry, Western innovation and technology, aviation, Western practice of medicine in China, foreign concessions in Shanghai, Western entertainment in China, and Western schools in China. Based on these images, I will investigate the following research themes: the representation of Sino-Western interaction through Chinese perspectives; the embodiment of social seeing and being seen in the public sphere; the relationship between modernity and visibility in late 19th-century urban China; and the recognition of "other" and "otherness" mediated by commercialized media in the hybrid and tolerant space of modern Shanghai.

For *Harper's Weekly*, my research focuses on China and Chinese-related images and texts, examining the representation of China and Chinese people in the magazine over a 40-year time period (1860-1900). Through a thorough index and content search,

I have gathered 200-plus China and Chinese-related images along with their accompanying texts. Major themes in the data include: Chinese immigrant presence in the US, US-China diplomacy, US-China trade, Sino-French war, Chinese labor issues in the US, missionary and traveler's news and reports from China as well as their depiction of Chinese people and culture. I will address the following research questions: What sentiments do these two different accounts of China and the Chinese reflect respectively? How do they combine and constitute the image of 'Celestial Paradox' to the American domestic audience? What is the interactive relationship between the domestic politics and the media representation in *Harper's Weekly*? A number of historic events were reported and commented in both publications. Through comparison and contrast, these event reports are examined to reveal the wider socio-political pictures behind each publication.

Current scholarship on the Chinese images in *Harper's Weekly* and other major illustrated journals of the time is based on selective use of Chinese caricatures and political cartoons which addressed issues related mostly to Chinese immigrants in America. Historians have used these caricature images to examine the rise of the "Chinese question" in American society and how the ethnicity of Chinese immigrants was culturally interacting with the racialized landscape of American society in late 19th century.³ The poignant nature and strong political messages of these Chinese caricatures

³ D. Murphy, "The Look of a Citizen: Representations of Immigration in Gilded Age Painting and Popular Press Illustration" (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 2007), 394; John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York before Chinatown : Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776-1882* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 385; Jo Ann Early Levin, "The Golden Age

and political cartoons in *Harper's Weekly* make them the most obvious choice for visual representation of Chinese in 19th century American periodicals. Consequently, a misunderstanding may derive from the extant scholarship, that is, the visual representation of Chinese in *Harper's Weekly* is single dimensional, mostly focusing on Chinese immigration and labor issues. As a matter of fact, caricature-based imagery only provides an incomplete picture of the overall visual representation of Chinese in *Harper's Weekly*.

My mining through issues of *Harper's Weekly* uncovers a much wider body of images and texts of which the caricatures and political cartoons are a part. Many of these images and texts have not been noted in current research. A full understating of how China and Chinese were represented visually and textually in *Harper's Weekly* to American readers rests in a thorough reading of these images and texts.

The methodology of this dissertation is based upon content analysis defined by Russell Bernard as a blend of qualitative and quantitative, positivistic and interpretative steps.⁴ According to Krippendorff, content analysis entails “a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matters.”⁵ Some precursors of the systematic analysis of text included the quantitative newspapers analysis around the turn of the 20th

of Illustration: Popular Art in American Magazines, 1850-1925" (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 162; Philip P. Choy, Lorraine Dong and Marlon K. Hom, *Coming Man: 19th Century American Perceptions of the Chinese* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 178.

⁴ Russell Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Lanham: Alta Mira Press, 2002), 476-488.

⁵ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004), 3.

century, sociologists' analysis of public opinions based on survey and polling in the 1930s, propaganda analysis during World War II, to name a few.⁶ In the early practice of content analysis as a method of inquiry, it was mostly defined by the use of mass communications as data for testing hypotheses and for criticizing journalistic practice. Concepts were defined and recognized in data, such as attitudes, styles, stereotypes, political symbols, and values. The umbrella term *content analysis*, including its conceptual and methodological developments, received its first systematic presentation in B. Berelson's *Content Analysis in Communications Research* (1952). This presentation codified the field for years to come. In a later study, Stone and Dunphy document the proliferation of content analysis into other disciplines such as psychology, history, anthropology, education, and linguistics, with journalism and mass communication seen as the historical origin of the technique.⁷

Anthropologists have used content analysis technique in analyzing myths, folktales, dreams, riddles and religious beliefs, with componential analysis of kinship terminology being one of many examples of discipline specific contribution to content

⁶ Delos Wilcox, *The American Newspaper: a study in social psychology* (Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1900); Malcolm Willey, *The Country Newspaper: a study of socialization and newspaper content* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1926); Julian Woodward, "Quantitative Newspaper Analysis as a Technique of Opinion Research," *Social Forces* 12, 4 (1934): 526-537; Alfred McClung Lee, "The Analysis of Propaganda: a clinical summary," *The American Journals of Sociology* 51, 2 (1945): 126-135.

⁷ Philip Stone and Dexter Dunphy, *The General Inquirer: a computer approach to content analysis* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1966).

analysis.⁸ A notable case is Maxine Margolis' ethnohistorical research on the changing images of middle-class urban American women.⁹

David Altheide advocates a fusion of quantitative and qualitative method to create *ethnographic content analysis*. He views appropriate documents as ethnographic materials as long as they are 'products of social interaction'. The 'distinctive characteristics of [ethnographic content analysis] are the reflexive and highly interactive nature of the investigator, concepts, data collection and analysis'. And the process of content analysis is conceptualized as fieldwork.¹⁰ This approach encourages close and contextualized reading of texts and images, with a focus on settings, styles, meanings, and nuances. Thus, texts and images are viewed as "constructions shaped by cultural codes and conventions with material and visual dimensions," and consequently they

⁸ For an analysis of Truk kinship terminology, see W.H. Goodenough, *Property, Kin, and Community on Truk* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 46; 1951); W.H. Goodenough, "Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning," *Language* 32, 1(1956): 195-216. Other examples of anthropological content analysis include: Thomas Gregor, "A Content Analysis of Mehinaku Dreams," *Ethos* 9, 4 (1981): 353-390; James McClenon and Jennifer Nooney, "Anomalous Experiences Reported by Field Anthropologists: Evaluating Theories Regarding Religion," *Anthropology of Consciousness*, 13, 2(2002): 46-60; Clarence Gravlee and Elizabeth Sweet, "Race, Ethnicity, and Racism in Medical Anthropology," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 22, 1 (2008): 27-51.

⁹ Margolis examined the ads of *Ladies Home Journal* from 1889 to 1980, looking for the presence or absence of servants in ads of household products in order to answer a simple question: Do those ads in *Ladies Home Journal* show homemakers or servants using those products? Her discovery indicated the transformation of the middle-class homemaker from an employer of servant to a direct user of household products, partly due to the decline of cheap servant labor at the turn of the 20th century. Maxine Margolis, *Mothers and Such: views of American women and why they changed* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

¹⁰ David L. Altheide, "Ethnographic Content Analysis," in *Qualitative Media Analysis* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996), 13-23.

make meaningful objects of analysis, whose interpretation is dependent upon the “social relations within which they are circulated and read.”¹¹

A common prominent theme in both periodicals is the cultural representation of “otherness” in relation to self-fashionings. There are striking distinctions between these two periodicals in terms of their respective takes on representing the “foreign” and ‘foreign interaction.’ The construction and understanding of the “Other” in relation to the “Self” is embedded in the sociopolitical reality of the late 19th century media. Fabian observes that, “awkward and faddish as it may sound, othering expresses the insight that the Other is never simply given, never just found or encountered, but made. For me, investigations into ‘othering’ are investigations into the production of anthropology’s object.”¹² Both Fabian and Thomas call for historical processes and evidence be integrated into anthropological inquiry as a key approach to “otherness,” giving greater emphasis to critical interpretation of archival, museum and library sources which “situate their object of discussion as outcomes of historical process.”¹³

The texts and images from both periodicals are explored and analyzed to expose the ways in which “otherness” was constituted, communicated and transformed in historical contexts. In examining the social, cultural and political institutions and processes through which “otherness” was constructed in both societies, I aim to

¹¹ Elizabeth Hallam, “Texts, objects and otherness,” in *Cultural Encounters: Representing ‘Otherness’* (London: Routledge, 2000), 269.

¹² Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Work of Anthropology: Critical Essays, 1971-1991* (Philadelphia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991), 208

¹³ Nicholas Thomas, *Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 6-7; Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

investigate issues around cultural encounters that move beyond traditional dichotomy of the “East and West” towards a more hermeneutic, multidimensional and polyphonic perspective. My analysis of cultural representation as content and in context necessitates a close examination of cultural codes, conventions, and practices as well as the sociopolitical relations that sustain or marginalize them. In both societies, the historical complexities of the late 19th century cannot be reduced to simple dichotomies of “self” and “alien other”. Clifford asserts that cultural difference is no longer a stable, exotic ‘otherness’, self-other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence.¹⁴ In the complex formulation of “otherness” in texts and visual images in both periodicals, “self” and “other” are not rigid unitary categories, but shifting and sometimes contradictory constructs. The cultural representations of “otherness” flow in different directions: the representation of “other” is integrally related to the representation of “self”. Therefore, “self” and “other” become mutually constituting categories in media representation.¹⁵

The production of texts and images is always “culturally embedded and historically specific.”¹⁶ The interrogation of both textual and visual forms of representation should attend to the particular sociopolitical relations which configure the relationships among knowledge, perception, text and visual image. Therefore, my investigation of them acknowledges the subjective involvement of editors and artists in

¹⁴ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988): 14.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Hallam and Brian Street, “Introduction” in *Cultural Encounters: Representing ‘Otherness’* (London: Routledge, 2000), 1-10.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Hallam, 267.

the representation of ‘others’ and the historical processes through which representations emerge, namely the structure of the content examined. My investigation also recognizes relations of power and how they operate in the textual and visual representation of ‘otherness’.

In Gramsci’s view, media as a cultural field, is a place of competition between different social forces rather than simply as a channel for the dominant ideology.¹⁷ Culture, according to this view, is seen as the product of a vigorous struggle. Gramsci’s concept informs the analysis of a prevalent theme in *Harper’s Weekly*—that is the growing power of the middle class and its role and representation in politics and economics in 19th-century America. With improved literacy and an increasing consciousness of their place in society, middle class utilized media as a forum to disseminate their values and ideas. Thus cultural representation and meaning were generated out of a complex negotiation of “competing frames of reference, motivation and experience”.¹⁸

Though geographically apart, *Harper’s Weekly* and *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were linked up temporally and technologically into the worldwide aesthetic agenda of illustrated newspapers and “a global exchange on the level of the image” in the late 19th century.¹⁹ My juxtaposed examination of these two publications establishes more diverse and fuller data sets than previous studies have suggested. Through this approach, a

¹⁷ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 261.

¹⁸ Christine Gledhill, “Pleasurable Negotiations,” in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, ed. John Storey (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 239.

¹⁹ Rudolf Wagner, 156.

framework of mutual reference and exploration is constructed to analyze the “broader vistas of representation” in both societies.²⁰

Through an ethnographic content analysis of texts and images and historical contextualization from a comparative perspective, my research aims to shed light on the various social forces at play in late-19th-century media, to explore cultural representation in these two linked places, and in turn to develop a nuanced anthropological understanding of cultural dynamism in the late-19th-century media landscape, particularly in the field of cultural imagery, social perception, and the relationship between modernity and visuality, all in a symmetrical examination of two worlds.

²⁰ George Marcus, “Contemporary Problems of Ethnography in the Modern World System,” in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 177.

Chapter One
Historical Background: *Harper's Weekly* and *Dianshizhai Pictorial*
Harper's Weekly

The dramatic expansion of the magazine industry in the United States occurred in the 1850s, earlier than in China. "The great explosion produced not only an astonishing flood of periodicals but broadened the industry into all kinds of specialization as well as tapping the mass market."¹ Besides a wide spectrum of subjects including medicine, religion, and railroads, many general interest publications also emerged. The most prominent magazines from the Civil War era included *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly*, among others.

A printer and editor in New York City, Fletcher Harper, published the first issue of *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization* on January 3, 1857. In its existence of nearly 60 years (1857-1916), *Harper's Weekly* spanned a remarkable period of American history, simultaneously reporting on it, influencing it, defining it, and making it. Speaking in Victorian tones, it featured a combination of politics, foreign and domestic news, commerce, humor, and literature. *Harper's Weekly* set itself apart from its contemporaries with innovative and extensive use of drawings, sketches, and illustrations, created by famed artists of that time, such as Winslow Homer, Livingston Hopkins, and Thomas Nast. Most of the artists had their hand on the pulse of American sociopolitical life and their works sparkled with humor, wit, and sharp insight.

¹ John Tebbel and Mary Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1991), 8.

China and Chinese-related images and texts constituted an important part of *Harper's Weekly* reporting. The articles were usually written by American diplomats, missionaries, journalists, and travelers in China, often illustrated with drawings and sketches depicting Chinese people, culture and customs in China. There were also images and caricatures of Chinese immigrants in the US, produced by domestic artists with commentaries written by local authors, depicting the “Chinese problem” according to American politics of the late 19th century.²

From the moment Chinese immigrants set foot in the United States in the mid 19th century in significant numbers, they intrigued white American society with their language, customs, and values.³ Americans watched them with interest but also with suspicion. The sentiments towards Chinese immigration became an important part of the political landscape in the last quarter of the 19th century. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was the culmination of xenophobic politics. On the one hand, the presence of Chinese immigrants in the US and their representation in the popular press became a source of the knowledge of China to the American audience. On the other hand, reports and journals sent home by American missionaries, diplomats, travelers and merchants in China formed another source of information. Two parallel accounts were produced from these two sources, one was the extensive reporting on events in China and the American interactions with China, the other was the presence of Chinese immigrants in the United

² For both *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*, the selection of the illustrations and texts is based on subject matter and content, not on individual artists or authors.

³ For a detailed discussion of the social origin of the early Chinese immigrants, see Susie Lan Cassel, *The Chinese in America: a history from Gold Mountain to the new millennium* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002).

States. In *Harper's Weekly*, these two parallel accounts were interwoven yet remained distinct, presenting China and Chinese people to American audience.

Cultural differences generated much American interest in China. In *Harper's Weekly*, such interest was given a political nature and served to empower the “self” identity of the magazine through the contrast of an “alien” people and culture. As part of the mainstream media, *Harper's Weekly* contributed to the construction of American society's views on China and the Chinese. In *Harper's Weekly*, whether it was the depiction of everyday Chinese customs or social critique, China was often viewed as a country that needed to be controlled and drastically reformed.

Dianshizhai Pictorial

Late 19th century Chinese publishers favored lithography for three reasons: the relatively low initial investment, the aesthetic appeal of the texts printed with it, and the limited changes in publishing outlook, particularly with regard to industrialization and textual aesthetics. Lithography's cheap and versatile advantages helped to initiate industrialized print commerce in the Shanghai region, and played an important role in the city's cultural history.⁴ Between 1815 and 1894, there were about 150 “foreign managed, foreign-language newspapers” created in China, along with 70 “foreign-managed Chinese-language newspapers.”⁵

⁴ Christopher Reed, “Janus-faced Pioneers: The Golden Age of Shanghai's Lithographic Printer-Publisher, 1876-1905,” in *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 88-127.

⁵ Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: 'Shibao' and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 19.

Shenbao or *Shanghai Daily* was one of the most prominent “foreign-managed Chinese language” newspapers in Shanghai. In May 1884, Ernest Major, the owner of *Shenbao* and a British business man, published the first issue of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* in Shanghai. The pictorial was published every ten days, three times a month, exclusively consisting of pictures with written comments. It was given to the reader as a supplement to *Shenbao* for the next 15 years. Totally, 528 issues of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were published, with over 4000 drawings. The last issue was published in August 1898.⁶

Dianshizhai literally means ‘Touching the Stone Studio’. The phrase refers to both the process of ‘stone printing’ lithography and the Chinese idiom of ‘*dianshi chengjin*’, which literally means ‘touch a stone and turn it into gold’. The idiom refers to magic transformation of mundane things into extraordinary beings by a wise minds and learned hands. Interestingly, the ‘magical’ touch of the new technology was realized by its ‘realist’ depiction of the empirical world: Magic and reality mutually served each other.⁷ *Dianshizhai Pictorial* took its material from a variety of contemporary sources, both foreign and domestic, illustrated them with drawings, and added commentary. It covered a wide range of topics from China’s foreign wars to treaty-port life, family conflicts, street tales, and particularly, foreign technology. From the detailed work reflected in its paper quality, printing, binding, drawings, and layout as well as cultural orientation, it is obvious that the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was designed to stay close to the existing Chinese market in every possible way, and at the same time, it made a distinction

⁶ Chen Pingyuan; Xia Xiaohong, *Tu Xiang Wan Qing* (Tianjin Shi: Bai hua wen yi chu ban she, 2006), 2.

⁷ Pang Laikwan, “Magic and Modernity in China,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 12, 2 (2004): 299-327.

to represent the modern world by integrating timely news stories with hand-drawn illustrations. Ernest Major announced his three objectives in the opening issue of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*: the first was to usher in the history of illustrated magazine in China; the second was to provide information for people's entertainment; and the third was to make profit.⁸

The editorial team of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was made up of a group of Chinese artists and journalists, many of whom also contributed to *Shenbao*.⁹ A Chinese editorial board, who had a keen sense of the demands and expectations of the educated Chinese readership, decided on the selection of topics, the writing of the comments, and the artistic production. It is clear from the content, style, diction, and calligraphy of the commentaries that their authors were well-educated in classic Chinese.

Though *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was not the earliest illustrated publication in 19th-century China, it established its fame by being the first illustrated news and current events journal.¹⁰ The main significance of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* lies in its quality as a source of visual information. No other contemporary publication provides such a fascinatingly rich panorama of Chinese life and material culture in the late 19th century. The written comments accompanying each picture also constitute a wealth of textual information about society, culture, national and international affairs. Its importance lies in

⁸ Xiong Yuezhi, *Shanghai Tongshi* (Shanghai : Shanghai ren min chu ban she, 1999), 482.

⁹ Among the artists who contributed to the magazine, Wu Youru (吴友如) is generally considered to be the most outstanding. He left *Dianshizhai* in 1890 to start his own magazine, the *Feiyingge Pictorial* (飞影阁画报).

¹⁰ Many foreign missionaries in China used illustrations in their Chinese language publications, such as the Chinese translation of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in 1856. The *Children's Pictorial* published in Shanghai (1875-1915), regularly carried illustrations. These illustrations were Western artistic works and were printed by using the retired equipment from Europe and the United States.

the fact that those narratives not only describe the illustrated topic or event, but also contain moralistic statements, expressing the editor's views and judgments.

The editors and artists were fascinated by the aspects of Western culture they had exposure to in the foreign settlements.¹¹ Soon after its launch, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* became a very successful commercial enterprise, in large part by aiming at "surprising and entertaining" a Chinese audience, which was composed mainly of a middlebrow urban readership, fond of sensational tales; and the depictions of foreigners and foreign matters on Chinese soil were part of this strategy.

As a cultural symbol in the late Qing dynasty, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* introduced "new knowledge" of the West to its readers through rich pictures and textual descriptions, including western customs, people, festivals, medicine, innovations, and technologies. Thousands of drawings and commentaries containing fragmented pieces of opinion and information constitute a completely disorganized and scattered body of visual and textual landscape. However, once ordered and categorized, they come to form a coherent image of the urban middle-class value system in the late 19th-century Jiangnan (Lower Yangtze)

¹¹ The origin of foreign settlements in the treaty ports of China came from the treaty privileges gained by Great Britain, the United States, and France in 1842-1844. Foreigners obtained right of residence in designated areas arranged by the consular officials and local Chinese authorities. These foreign settlements later grew into municipalities exempt from Chinese jurisdiction and completely under foreign control, where Western national maintained their rights of extraterritoriality. See F. L. Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai, being an Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement* (New York: AMS Press, 1973); William Johnstone, "International Relations: The Status of Foreign Concessions and Settlements in the Treaty Ports of China." *The American Political Science Review* 31, no. 5 (Oct., 1937): 942-948; Harold Quigley, "Foreign Concessions in Chinese Hands." *Foreign Affairs* 7, no. 1 (Oct., 1928): 150-155.

region, at the threshold of modernity. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* vividly depicted, in both narrative and illustrational forms, the reactions of the Chinese toward foreign innovations: machines, habits, and practices. Representation of trains, steamships, gunboats, telegraphs, scientific inventions, Western ceremonies, and sports reached thousands of Chinese readers via this magazine. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* presented a multifaceted drama of cultural hybridization at one of the most important treaty ports in the Late Qing period.

The main actors in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were ordinary Chinese who encountered Western innovations and customs and ventured to experiment with new lifestyles (working at Western ventures, seeing Western doctors, wearing Western style clothing and sunglasses, watching horse races, learning to use Western tableware, and funding girl schools). While the Chinese intellectuals were debating the merits of different Western systems and institutions, and seeking a path for China's revitalization, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* entertained people with curious and "marvelous" features of Western material culture.

Most drawings in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were based on local stories or hearsays. The experience of the artistic and editorial staff was limited to what they were truly familiar with --- everyday mundane life in Shanghai. In other words, they became "embedded" representers of local culture, whose closeness and familiarity with Shanghai life gave their work much popular appeal. Their attention was attracted in particular to changes in a transitional society, the new, the foreign, the thrilling, and the sensational. Some stories were based on news from overseas, and the factual information of a

particular story might not be verifiable. *Dianshizhai Pictorial*'s sources also formed a parallel distinction comparable to that seen in *Harper's Weekly*, Westerners and Western things in China observed by the Chinese editors and illustrators, and Westerners in the West as an abstract cultural type or imagination, of which the editors and illustrators presumably had no first-hand experience.

Dianshizhai Pictorial's immense popularity during its existence coincided with the eventful 15 years (1884-1898) in the Late Qing period. The pictorial was both a product and a fascinating reflection of the period when China and the West interacted in many tumultuous and haphazard ways. Exposure to the West through trade, commerce, war, and evangelization brought a tremendous amount of shock, resentment, dismay and awe. *Dianshizhai* vividly captured this cultural clash between China and the West and reflected the complicated sentiments of the Chinese society toward the West in that period of rapid transition. The following three chapters will unfold a detailed examination of the above themes in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.

Chapter Two

Western medicine and Chinese medicine in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*

Dianshizhai Pictorial received little academic attention before 1980s.¹ More interest was generated in the publication since the 1980s. Generally speaking, existing publications on *Dianshizhai Pictorial* are centered on categorization, compilation and interpretation of the images and texts.² Based on researchers' interest, images were selected from *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and compiled into various topics, such as folk custom, religion, women's life, court cases, superstitious tales, etc, accompanied by introductory essays on social life in Late Ching period. These themed groupings of *Dianshizhai* images have laid a good foundation for further investigation of the historic pictorial. In the area of Sino-West interactions, a few articles have been published addressing the influence of Western technology on Chinese society from a single incident's perspective, such as C-section, X-ray machine, etc.³ These short articles, though well analyzed in their specific areas, mostly focus on one aspect of the impact of Western technology/knowledge, without a holistic approach to contextualize these

¹ Only a few publications can be located on *Dianshizhai Pictorial* before the 1980s. Yu Xiangzhu, *Dianshizhai huabao de shishi fengsu hua* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1958); Zheng Wei, *Dianshizhai huabao shishi huaxuan* (Beijing: zhongguo gu dian yishu chubanshe, 1958).

² Representative works include: Chen Pingyuan, *Dianshizhai huabao xuan* (Guiyang: Guanzhou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000); Chen Pingyuan and Xia xiaohong, *Tuxiang wangqing* (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2001); Ye Xiaoqing, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003); Xue Bing, *Wanqing yangxiang baichu* (Nanjing: Jiangshu renmin chubanshe, 2006); Lu Qun, *Wanqing qian baibian* (Nanjing: Jiangshu renmin chubanshe, 2006); Yu Xiaohong, *Wanching guanchang baixiang* (Nanjing: Jiangshu renmin chubanshe, 2006).

³ Wang Ping and Deng Shaogen, "Dianshizhai huabao jizai de zhongguo jindai poufucan shou shu," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 34, 2 (2004): 122-124; Wang Bin and Dai Wusan, "Cong Dianshizhai huabao kan xifang keji zai zhongguo de chuanbo," *Kepu yanjiu*, 3 (2006): 20-28; Dai Wusan, "1897 nian Suzhou boxi yiyuan yingru jianyi X guangji," *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 23, 3(2002): 224-227.

phenomena from historical, sociological, cultural and media perspectives. My analysis in chapter 2, 3 and 4 aims to offer an interpretation that is sufficiently situated in historical context, interactively encompassing Sino-West exchanges in science and technology.

In China in the 1860s, imperial decline, Western invasion and dynastic enervation prompted elites in the Qing government to seek solutions to strengthen the empire against internal rebellions and external enemies. The Yangwu (Foreign Affairs) Movement was ushered in to initiate China's large scale adoption of Western learning for the purpose of "self-strengthening".⁴ Therefore Western knowledge directly related to "empowerment" and "wealth" was introduced to China, such as Western weaponry, machinery, military technologies, mining, and the related technical and natural sciences. There was not much urgent demand for Western medicine, since medicine, unlike military technologies and industry, was less associated with the national desire for self-empowerment and wealth. From the state's perspective, Western medicine was not considered stronger than or superior to Chinese medicine to the point of replacing it.

During the three decades of the Yangwu movement, little attention was given to Western medicine from the Qing government. Though there were a handful of government efforts to open classes teaching Western medicine and translating Western

⁴ The Yangwu Movement was a major, state-directed modernization attempt in the period from the 1860s to 1890s. The term *yangwu* referred to both diplomatic maneuvers and efforts to institutionalize the translation and adoption of Western knowledge, especially technological and scientific knowledge. This was the first industrial modernization project in China. The whole process can be summed up in its emblematic slogan "*zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong*," Chinese learning as the essence, Western learning for utility. See June Grasso et al., "Imperial breakdown and Western invasion" in *Modernization and Revolution in China* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), 34-70.

medical books, such efforts were very limited compared to the attention given to military technology, industry, and science.⁵

The introduction of Western medicine to China was mainly through Western missionaries who opened hospitals in China, trained Chinese students, established medical schools, published Chinese language medical journals, and translated Western medical books. From the early 19th century, Western physicians had begun to open clinics and dispensaries in Macao. Inspired by accounts of the early Western physicians in China, the American physician Peter Parker traveled to China as the first missionary physician and eventually was appointed as the U.S. Commissioner Plenipotentiary. He opened an eye clinic in Guangzhou in 1835 and won the trust of local people with his outstanding medical skills. In a few years, the eye clinic developed into a full-fledged hospital, named Guangzhou Hospital.⁶ In 1856, John Glasgow Kerr, an American Presbyterian physician continued Parker's work and took over Guangzhou Hospital. It was renamed Boji Hospital. For over forty years, John Glasgow Kerr continued to head the institution, treated 740,000 outpatients and 40,000 inpatients. He also conducted 40,000 surgeries at

⁵ Li Jingwei and Yan Liang, *Xi Xue Dong Jian Yu Zhong Guo Jin Dai Yi Xue Si Chao* (Hubei ke xue ji shu chu ban she, 1990), 46-48; Zhao, Hongjun. *Jin Dai Zhong Xi Yi Lun Zheng Shi* (Hefei: Anhui ke xue ji shu chu ban she, 1989) 60-62.

⁶ Quan Hansheng, "Qing Mo Xi Yang Yi Xue Chuan Ru Shi Guo Ren Suo Chi De Tai Du." *Shi Huo Ban Yue Kan* 3, no. 12 (1936): 43-53; Hume Edward, "Peter Parker and the Introduction of Anesthesia into China." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 1, no. 4 (1946): 670-674; "Peter Parker." *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936).

this hospital. The success of Boji hospital earned a good reputation for Western medicine. Foreigners began to build hospitals at the major treaty ports.⁷

In 1838, a group of British and American missionary physicians established in Canton the Medical Missionary Society in China, with Peter Parker as the vice president. In the introduction to the mission statement of the Society, it was noted that,

“The Chinese are nevertheless deficient in medicine and surgery, and acknowledge the deficiency by their conduct, whenever they can avail themselves of the well-directed skill and the superior adroitness of foreigners... The Chinese, exclusive in all their policy... have come in crowds to the ophthalmic institution, submitting to operation and medical treatment with unbounded confidence, and obtaining health and restoration, through the means of the physician, with every mark of the most unfeigned respect and thankfulness.”⁸

The mission of the Society was to “encourage gentlemen of the medical profession to come and practice gratuitously among the Chinese, by affording the usual aid of hospitals, medicine and attendants... introducing among this people not only the healing art... and all the blessing of Christianity.”⁹ By employment of such a Society, the founders believed that “the way will be paved to a higher place in the confidence and esteem of the Chinese, which will tend to put our commerce and all our intercourse with this nation upon a more desirable footing, and to open avenues for the introduction of sciences and that religion, to which we owe our greatness.”¹⁰ When ordinary modes of evangelization failed to attract the regards of the Chinese, the practice of medicine and

⁷ "John Glasgow Kerr." *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936); Li Jingwei, *Zhong Wai Yi Xue Jiao Liu Shi* (Changsha: Hunan jiao yu chu ban she, 1998), 281-282.

⁸ “Medical Missionary Society: regulations and resolutions, adopted at a public meeting held at Canton on the 21st of February, 1838” in *Chinese Repository* VII (1838-1839): 38. For a comprehensive study of Christian missions in China, see Kenneth Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967).

⁹ Ibid, 33, 44.

¹⁰ Ibid, 39.

surgery became one of the few effective means to dispel the Chinese fear and suspicions, and “make known to them the true character and desires of the civilized western nations.”¹¹

By 1850, there were at least ten missionary hospitals in China.¹² With the signing of the *Tianjin Treaty* (1858) and the *Sino-French Convention of Beijing* (1860), missionaries were given access to inland China. Thus, clinics and hospitals further spread to the entire coastal area and certain inland regions. By 1898, there were 61 missionary hospitals and 44 clinics located in 13 cities and provinces.¹³

Western Medicine as “New Knowledge” and “New Practice”

In the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Western medicine is both a thrilling as well as an unsettling experience to the Chinese. In its introduction of Western “new knowledge”, the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* exhibited mostly admiration and approval. These aspects of Western “new knowledge” included various technological innovations from the West, and Western weapons and ships. They also included Western hospitals, schools, and recreational facilities. It was usually through narration of an incident or a story that the Western novelties were introduced. The fame of Western medicine was reported and spread through a series of “stories” and disseminated among the general public. To Chinese in the Late Qing period, Western learning manifested through scalpels was

¹¹ Ibid, 38.

¹² Paul Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 239.

¹³ Zhao Hongjun, *Jin Dai Zhong Xi Yi Lun Zheng Shi* (Hefei: Anhui ke xue ji shu chu ban she, 1989), 31-35.

probably considered the most miraculous kind. Illustrated accounts of such stories were reported in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.

A number of cases in the *Pictorial* recorded how people sought treatment for illness at Western clinics. Western doctors were usually described as kind and hard-working with excellent skills and ethics. Many doctors were noted to be of Christian missionary background, as described in Figure 2. 1:

Western doctor treating patient: A Western doctor has arrived at Duzhongshi Hospital. This is his first time in China, and he does not understand the Chinese language. When he treats a patient, he asks detailed questions before giving a prescription. There is a Western lady who is a kind Christian. She volunteers to be the interpreter for the doctor. They cooperate excellently and the hospital has over 100 patient visits per day. The lady does not complain about the hard work.¹⁴(Figure 2.1)

The sketch depicted a busy scene at a clinic, where Chinese patients of all ages formed a long waiting line sitting on benches. A Western doctor was treating a patient while a couple of his Chinese staff were fetching supply from a medicine cabinet in the background. According to Unschuld, cataract surgery had been introduced to China from India between the Seventh and the Ninth century, but it never became a common practice.¹⁵ Traditionally, people who suffered eye disease had very limited medical help available to them in Chinese medicine. This became an area in which Western surgery offered effective treatment and attracted many patients. For the medical missionaries, curing blindness carried the religious connotation of making the blind see, and of enlightening people. Therefore, the practice of ophthalmic surgery was favored by the

¹⁴ “Western Doctor Treating Patient” (西医治病), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 95.

¹⁵ Paul Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 144-145.

medical missionaries because it could dramatically restore vision and might facilitate conversion.¹⁶ A story in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* detailed an eye surgery case.

Blindness cured: There is no shortage of talented physicians like the legendary Bian Lu¹⁷, who performed wonders. However eye diseases are undertreated. Even there are specialized doctors who can treat eye diseases, but they can only work on eyes with sight, not on eyes that have lost sight. There are two Western doctors at a charity clinic in Fuzhou, who are famed for their medical skills. There was a village craftsman called Wang Yushan who had lost his sight for nine years. One day he went to the clinic to see Dr. Adam. The doctor told Wang: “Human eyes have the structure of an onion, with 32 layers one over another. You have cataract at the fourth layer of your eyes. It can be removed surgically and treated with medicine. After the cataract is removed, your sight will be restored. You are lucky that there is no cataract on the fifth layer which is the important one.” Wang received the surgery and his sight was restored in ten days. Ever since, local people with blindness diseases have been swarming to the clinic seeking help. Would Western medicine offer cure that can fill the deficiency of the Creation?¹⁸(Figure 2.2)

The introduction of Western medicine to China generated a re-conceptualization of the human body and disease. Surgery challenged the concept of the integrity of the human body, which was one of the most fundamental principles of Chinese tradition. The human body was viewed as an integrated and holistic whole.¹⁹ The integrity of the human body was given philosophical and moral significance. The idea of surgically removing part of the body did not fit into the framework of traditional Chinese medicine, and thus received little acceptance. Though in the history of Chinese medicine, there are

¹⁶ Li Shang-Jen, “Miraculous Surgery in a Heathen Land: Medical Missions to Nineteenth-Century China,” (paper presented at the second meeting of the Asian Society for the History of Medicine and Conference on Religion and Healing, Taipei, November 16-19, 2004).

¹⁷ Bian Que (扁鹊), also known as Bian Lu (扁卢), a native of Lu (鲁) region during the Warring States period (circa 475 -221 BC), was one of the most venerated early practitioners of Chinese medicine, with many legends and miracle cures attributed to him. See Zhaoqi Han, *Shi ji jian zheng* (Nanchang shi: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2004), vol. 8, 5240.

¹⁸ “Blindness Cured” (瞽目复明), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 221.

¹⁹ Chen Ping, *History and development of traditional Chinese medicine* (Beijing: Science Press, 1999), 43-104; Ted Kaptchuk, *The web that has no weaver: understanding Chinese medicine* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 2000), 41-141.

documented surgical and anesthesiological practices by legendary physicians like Hua Tuo, such medical practice did not seem to find successors.²⁰ The individual success stories of surgery did not lead the practice into the mainstream Chinese medicine. Instead they were treated as miracle deeds rather than knowledge contributed to medicine.²¹

The complex interaction between Western medical practice and traditional Chinese view are vividly reflected in *Dianshizhai* stories. In *Dianshizhai* accounts, there seem to be three types of patients who resorted to Western medicine: people suffering from surgical disease, who believed in the power of Western surgery; people with incurable diseases whose own doctors failed to cure them; and the indigent who could not pay to receive medical treatment. Despite much cultural reservation about surgery, it usually became many people's last resort when suffering from tumors, deformities, injuries, and difficult childbirth. Many Chinese accepted surgery because of its obvious effectiveness. Western doctors who did miraculous work were compared to the legendary physicians in Chinese history, such as Bian Que and Hua Tuo.²² One 1887 *Dianshizhai* story reported the following case:

Abdominal surgery: 'Bone scraping' is an ancient miracle that is read in text but not witnessed. It is attributed to Bian Que, and perhaps with much imagination. There was a teenage boy call Jia living at Qihua Gate in the Capital. One day he went berserk and punctured his abdomen with a cleaver. His intestines popped out

²⁰ Pierce Salguero also argues that accounts of early anesthesia are parts of magical healing stories of miraculous healers, and without actual evidence to prove their practice. See Pierce Salguero, "The Buddhist Medicine King in Literary Context: Reconsidering an Early Medieval Example of Indian Influence on Chinese Medicine and Surgery." *History of Religion* 48, 3(2009): 183-210. Saburo Miyasita, "A Neglected Source for the Early History of Anesthesia in China and Japan," in *Chinese Science: Explorations of an Ancient Tradition*, ed. Shigeru Nakayama and Nathan Sivin (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973), 273-78.

²¹ Ye Xiaoqing, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003), 132-144.

²² "Western Bianlu" (西国扁卢), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 311.

and he fell in a pool of blood. Family members ran to the British hospital to ask for help. The doctor came and took some cold water and applied it to his abdomen, the intestines started to retract. Then the doctor drank some water and sprayed forcefully on Jia's face. Jia was startled and then the intestines completely retracted back into his abdomen. The doctor took a needle and suture and carefully stitched up Jia's abdomen. Though there was much scare, Jia's life was saved from danger. The family wanted to give the doctor money to thank him, but he declined and left.²³ (Figure 2.3)

There are several stories in *Dianshizhai* about the Tongren Hospital in the American Settlement in Shanghai. People came from other provinces to seek medical treatment at Tongren. In 1885, a woman from Anhui province came to have her giant tumor surgically removed. A female doctor at Tongren Hospital performed successful surgery on her and removed a tumor a quarter of the woman's bodyweight. The commentary referred to the providential relationship between the doctor and the patient: "If the patient had not sought the doctor, her illness would not have been cured; if the doctor had not encountered the patient, her miraculous skills would be unknown. This was the providential destiny between two people. When the Chinese doctors heard this, they could not help clicking their tongues and nodding their heads".²⁴ (Figure 2.4)

In 1895, there was another account of a mother who traveled from Shandong province and sought medical help for her child at Tongren Hospital. Her child had a second head growing on top of his original head. The woman asked for the child's upper head to be cut off. After careful examination of the child, the doctors decided that surgery would be too invasive for the one-month old at that time and asked the woman to wait longer. The woman left sadly. Her travel from Shandong to seek medical help was

²³ "Abdominal Surgery" (收肠入腹), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 120.

²⁴ "Miracle Hand" (著手成春), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1:196.

obviously encouraged by Tongren Hospital's reputation, where "the Western doctors are skilled in the arts of Bian Lu and can cure strange ailments".²⁵(Figure 2.5) In 1895, a similar tumor surgery was reported at Ximen Hospital in Shanghai:

A surgical operation to remove tumor: A man in the western district married a woman six years ago. The woman had a tumor on the chest. The tumor was growing disturbingly. The man sought medical help for his wife in many places to no avail. And the tumor grew so big as to reach the woman's abdomen. The man was worried and heard that a Western woman doctor could treat it and took his wife to see her. The doctor was very surprised to see the size of the tumor, estimating the woman's weight at 240 pounds. After she examined the tumor carefully, she found out that it was not incurable. Then she invited other Western doctors in Shanghai to give their opinions. They put the woman on a mechanical chair and used medicine to make her lose consciousness, and removed the tumor with a sharp knife. Then the doctor sprayed water onto the women's face to wake her up. The women weighted 80 pounds after the surgery and the tumor weighed 150 pounds. Right now the woman has fully recovered. After being relieved of a heavy burden, she can sit, walk and get around and is extremely happy. According to the Western doctors, a tumor of this size has never been seen before. So they preserved the tumor in medicinal water and sent it to a major hospital in the West to be researched.²⁶(Figure 2.6)

Though the artist highly praised the doctor's skill, he most likely did not have Western hospital experience. Therefore the operating room resembled a living room. All the doctors were in formal social attire, including the operating female doctor who was dressed in an evening gown. The scalpel looked like a dagger, and the operating table which was referred to as 'mechanical chair' looked like a Western style reclining chair

²⁵ "Head Tumor" (头上生头), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12:143. Larisaa Heinrich suggests that the woman doctor may have been Elizabeth Reifsnyder, a prominent female surgeon in Shanghai at the time. See Larissa Heinrich, *Afterlife of Images: Translating the Pathological Body between China and the West* (Durham : Duke University Press, 2008), 83-84. Agnes Selin Schoch, "Dr. Elizabeth Reifsnyder: pioneer woman medical missionary to China," *Pennsylvania History* 9, 2 (1942), 151-153.

²⁶ "Tumor Removal" (妙手割瘤), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 6.

with arm rest. However, accuracy for technical details seems insignificant to both the artist and the reader. What matters was the story itself and its outcome.

Another account documented a hernia surgery performed by a British doctor in Shanghai, who used anesthesia and removed a 6-pound abdominal deformity.²⁷ (Figure 2.7) The narrative offers a detailed description of the surgical process from anesthesia to suturing and the patient's recovery afterward, and praised the amazing skills of the British doctor. The drawing captures a dramatic moment when the doctor was putting the removed tumor on a scale while the family members stood aside watching. The doctor's calm demeanor and composure forms an interesting contrast with the family members' awed and frightened reaction to the surgical scene. One of them is even hiding behind the screen, afraid to be close. Though the furniture is Chinese style, the specimen jars and medicine bottles of various sizes and shaped are displayed on the shelf, which indicate the doctor's clinic. Almost all the surgical drawings in *Dianshizhai* contain a neatly organized medicine shelf in the background. Sometimes human skulls and bones are also placed on the medicine shelf. It is obvious that the artists had certain knowledge about the interior settings of Western medical clinics or pharmacy stores, through either direct or indirect experience.

Boji Hospital was mentioned in a *Dianshizhai* story in which a pregnant woman in difficult labor underwent a Caesarean section in 1892. This is believed to be the earliest documentation of a Caesarean section in China.²⁸

²⁷ "Hernia Surgery" (西医治疝), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 192.

²⁸ Wang Ping and Deng Shaogen, "Dianshizhai Hua bao ji zai de zhong guo jin dai pou fu can shou shu," *Zhong Hua Yi Shi Za Zhi* 34, 2 (2004): 122-124.

A surgical operation to remove fetus: Western doctors have miraculous skills in treating people. During the recent years, more and more Chinese start to believe in Western medicine after seeing its efficacy. There was a pregnant woman in Canton. She went into labor for a whole day and whole night and still could not give birth. The midwife could not do anything. And the woman was on the verge of death. Her husband said: This needs to go to a Western doctor. Then he transported her to Boji Hospital in a boat. The female doctor Ms. Fu happened to be out. Seeing the emergency, the male doctor Mr. Guan decided to treat the woman. He said that the fetus was fully descended but was stuck. He said that surgery could possibly offer some hope of survival; if surgery failed, it would be her unfortunate fate. The husband decided to take a chance and agreed to do surgery. Then the doctor gave the woman anesthesia, and cut open her abdomen and removed a crying baby girl. Then he stitched up her abdomen and applied medicine on the wound and told the women to rest. A number of days later, the woman recovered and went home with her baby. Doctors like Mr. Guan are indeed equipped with miraculous skills.²⁹ (Figure 2.8)

In 1896, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reported another Caesarean case entitled “Surgery to remove deformed fetus”. It detailed a story in which a woman was pregnant with Siamese twins. The midwife failed to help at the difficult birth and the woman was sent to Tongren Women’s Hospital for rescue. After a description of the woman’s situation, the report continued:

A female doctor examined her, and said that the only way to remove the fetus was to cut open her abdomen. The husband had no other choice at this moment and followed the doctor’s advice. The female doctor first gave anesthesia and cut open the woman’s abdomen with a knife. The fetus was already dead. It had four arms and four legs, like two people hugging each other. Apart from the head which had been cut off earlier, there was another head, but only one body. The doctor sewed up her abdomen and applied medicine. However, her wound was too deep and her vital energy was depleted. She died in the hospital. The dead fetus was placed in medicinal water and kept at the operation room. It will be sent to a museum for research. Everybody was amazed at this.³⁰ (Figure 2.9)

The drawing showed the female doctor clothed in full aristocratic gown suturing the patient on the operation table. Although the doctor’s clothes were inaccurate, the bed,

²⁹ “Caesarean Section ” (剖腹出儿), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 187

³⁰ “Surgery to Remove Deformed Fetus ” (剖割怪胎), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 13: 16.

the basin and the interior of the clinic seemed plausible. These two Caesarean section stories were reported with vivid textual description and illustration, and became valuable evidence of the introduction of Western Caesarean section practice in China. Related reports around the same period can also be found in *Shenbao* and *China Medical Missionary Journal*, which was the publication of the China Medical Missionary Association, publishing mostly work reports and medical cases at missionary hospitals. When Western medicine was first introduced to China, its most prominent advantage over Chinese medicine was surgery. From the Chinese perspective, the marvelous and spectacular elements of Western surgery easily rendered it almost indistinguishable from magic. With its dramatic and immediate results, surgery persuaded Chinese of its efficacy and gained acceptance and approval for Western medicine among Chinese.

New Instruments and New Techniques

It was through Western medical practice that Chinese people were exposed to a number of new Western medical instruments and techniques, such as the stomach pump, X-ray machines, blood transfusion, anesthesia and vaccination, all of which were depicted in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.

In 1885, *Dianshizhai* reported an opium overdose incident in Canton. The patient's family sought help from a Western doctor. The doctor put a rubber pipe down the man's throat. The pipe had three channels, one for air, one for water infusion, and one for pumping out water and opium from the stomach. When the water from the stomach came out clear, the man's life was saved. The pipe device used by the doctor was

obviously a stomach pump that can empty the stomach in an emergency, as in the case of poisoning.³¹ (Figure 2.10)

After German physicist Roentgen discovered X rays in 1895, the technology was quickly introduced to and applied in various fields, especially in medicine. When Boxi Hospital in Suzhou adopted the X-ray machine in 1897, it was reported in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* in the same year. This is also the earliest known documentation of the introduction of an X-ray machine to China.³²

Magic Mirror: The Western technology is indeed exquisite in the manufacturing of lenses. Telescope can see things far away, and microscope can reveal minute details...now there is even more sophisticated surprise. A Western doctor named Bai Lewen at Boxi Hospital has just purchased at a hefty price a newly invented 'mirror' and shipped it to Shuzhou. This mirror can reflect human internal organs. The mirror is about one *chi* long, in a cylindrical shape. As soon as it is turned on, it can reveal clearly all the human interior. People in Shuzhou are curious and they swarm to see the object. Ever since the doctor obtained this mirror, he makes accurate diagnosis and gives effective treatment to many serious illnesses. People in this region are blessed to have a famed doctor aided by the magic mirror who brings health and well-being. As a saying goes: "Sharpening one's instrument facilitates the work." Western doctors are dedicated to improving their skills and do not rest on their laurels. This contributes to their continuous innovation.³³ (Figure 2.11)

In the illustration, a Westerner is demonstrating the machine to the public. However the artist who made the illustration obviously did not see the X-ray machine himself. He seemed to be using his imagination to depict the X-ray machine without actual knowledge of its appearance. It looked more like an old-fashioned photography device than a real X-ray machine.

³¹ "Opium Overdose" (吞烟遇救), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 299.

³² Deng Shaogen, "Zhongguo di yi tai X guang zhenduan ji de yinjin," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 32, 2 (2002): 99-101; Dai Wusan, "1897 nian suzhou boxi yiyuan yinru jianyi X guang ji," *Zhongguo ke ji shiliao* 23, 3 (2002): 224-227.

³³ "Magic Lens" (宝镜新奇), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 21

Based on information provided by a Chinese traveler to America, one account describes two procedures at an American hospital that amazed the Chinese witness. One is a blood transfusion conducted between a sick woman and a healthy man to cure the woman's "blood depletion". The other is an abdominal surgery under anesthesia to "cleanse intestines" in order to cure stomach pain. Such procedures are hailed as "miraculous".³⁴

Dianshizhai Pictorial also reported on Western medicine's influence on disease prevention. In 1885, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* gave an account of Cen Chuanhua, who was a Chinese doctor working at a Western hospital. After discussing the matter with his Western medical colleagues, he opened a clinic in the British Concession and administered smallpox vaccinations to children free of charge. The sketch shows Chen's clinic filled with women bringing their children to be vaccinated. As the commentary goes: "Since the smallpox inoculation was introduced to China from the West, provincial magistrates have learned its benefits and have designated budgets to set up inoculation clinics for the health of children."³⁵(Figure 2.12)

In 1896, a story entitled "Miraculous cure of epidemic disease" depicts a French doctor treating a student for an epidemic disease in Canton:

Last year, a French doctor named Youxing went to investigate the outbreak of "lump" epidemic in the Canton and Hong Kong area. Youxing discovered that there was contagious "toxic worm" originated from underground. Youxing collected some "toxic worms" and sent them back to another doctor in France named Lushi to be researched in order to find cure. Lushi obtained cure from the "toxic worm" culture and experimented the treatment on animals with no failure. One day, Youxing went to see a pastor and saw a student suffering from the

³⁴ "Western Bianlu" (西国扁卢), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 311.

³⁵ "Protect the young" (诚求保赤), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 220.

disease. The student has painful lumps and was in critical condition. Youxing took out a bottle of pink clear liquid. He gave the student an injection of the liquid to counteract the toxin in his body and sat aside to observe the student. Soon the student lost his consciousness and did not feel any pain. The next day, the student recovered and all his symptoms were gone.³⁶(Figure 2.13)

From the names and incident described, it is certain that Doctor Youxing was the discoverer of the bubonic bacillus, Alexander Emil John Yersin; And Lushi was Emile Roux from the Pasteur Institute. Thus the incident is believed to be one of the first experimental clinical trials of plague vaccine in Canton in 1896.³⁷ Certainly, the influence of Western medicine in disease prevention and public health in late-19th-century China exceeded far beyond such individual anecdotes. As Kerrie Macpherson argues in her examination of the origin of public health in Shanghai (1843-1893), Shanghai's foreign physicians and sanitarians gave permanent shape to the development of the city itself by launching Shanghai's first modern public waterworks, establishing the Chinese Hospital for infectious disease patients, and spearheading many other medical and sanitary initiatives.³⁸

Autopsy as a Spectacle

Although there were records of medical dissection in ancient China, anatomy in China never gained dominance as a way of understanding the body. Anatomical

³⁶ "Epidemic miracle" (医疫奇效), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 13: 219.

³⁷ Zhang Zhijie, "Dian shi zhai hua bao yi yi qi xiao shi jie," *Zhong Guo Ke Ji Shi Za Zhi* 29, 1 (2008): 67-72.

³⁸ Kerrie L. Macpherson, *A wilderness of marshes: the origins of public health in Shanghai, 1843-1893* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1987.).

inspection left only faint impressions on the ancient Chinese conception of the body.³⁹

Traditional Chinese medicine did not perform anatomical dissection. Preserving integrity of the body was the paramount reason for the reluctance toward autopsy. Dissection of corpses was regarded by the Chinese as mutilation of the dead body and violated a great Chinese taboo. Even by the late 19th century, the practice of postmortem examinations was rarely done and not widely accepted by the general public. Therefore, autopsy was a sensational occurrence that tended to arouse strong reactions. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reported an autopsy case with strong revulsion and disapproval. After a foreigner's sudden death, an autopsy was conducted to determine the cause of death. The spectators seemed to be all foreigners including a photographer who was taking picture of the autopsy scene.

The majority of medicine-related sketches in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* show a mixed audience, composed of Chinese and Western, men and women of all ages. The spectatorship reflects a broad spectrum of social curiosity toward the Western medicine practiced in the clinic or people's private homes. These scenes are all indoors. Interestingly, based on the artist's drawing, the autopsy procedure took place on an open ground outside of a church with a cemetery in the background. It is the only illustration that exclusively consists of male Western onlookers dressed in gentlemanly attire. Such difference naturally raises questions: Would the Chinese not be interested in witnessing the scene? Is the autopsy scene restricted access? Or, is the absence of Chinese presence due to the Chinese sensibility against autopsy? The answers to the first two questions

³⁹ Shigehisa Kuriyama, *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine* (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 155-159.

may be elusive. However, the absence of Chinese spectators at the autopsy scene is answered by the commentator's remarks.

A Westerner stayed at Licha hotel in Hongkou district, and was meeting with friends one night when he suddenly felt dizzy. The doctor came and said: "His illness is beyond help." The Westerner died, and according to Western tradition, the doctor came again to open his abdomen and look for cause of death before he was sent to the funeral house. Western law does not allow physical mutilation. Even the felons are not dismembered. However, the practice of dissection has not yet been forbidden. They say that after death, the body becomes a pile of waste not worth being cherished. So they do not attach much importance to the principle of having body and soul rest in peace. Moreover, they claim that by examining the disease of one person, they could discover ways of treating other people with similar diseases. So the corpse is utilized, from crown to heel, in the interests of others...But is this really in accordance with the wishes of the dead? Moreover, some people die from a particular sickness, while others with the same sickness do not; many people die with the same symptoms, but the causes of their illnesses are different...but they use a knife to cut open somebody already dead, and innocent of any crime, to undergo the cruelty of dismemberment. So we can see that their skills are mediocre and their hands are vicious.⁴⁰ (Figure 2.14)

The commentator showed deep disgust and disapproval at this "uncivilized" act. The practice of autopsy and the rationale behind it were completely alien concepts to the Chinese mind. Consequently, the autopsy scene was a taboo site, where the presence of Chinese was unimaginable to the artist. The autopsy story and sketch became one of the most representative accounts in *Dianshizhai* that indicates the clear demarcation between the 'self' as Chinese and the 'other' as Westerners, and underscores the sharp contrast between Chinese and Western perspectives. Traditional beliefs and cultural resistance against post-mortem dissection were so strong that it remained banned in China until

⁴⁰ "Autopsy" (戕尸验病), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 238.

1913 when an official edict was issued to permit dissection in medical schools of the unclaimed bodies in the jails.⁴¹

In late Qing China among members of the educated class, due to different understandings of the role of autopsy, there seemed to be mixed opinions and reactions to it. *Dianshizhai* artists constantly praised Western doctors' superior skills; however they did not connect the contribution of autopsy with the development of Western medicine. In the above story, the artist even confused the autopsy to identify cause of death with punishment on criminals. People who disapproved autopsy opposed it mostly from a philosophical or cultural perspective, and did not associate autopsy with the practice of medicine. People who approved Western medicine considered autopsy an indispensable approach to an understanding of the human body, studying disease and contributing to the advancement of medical knowledge. An article in *Shenbao* made the following comments:

Western medicine has very detailed methodology for treating diseases. It studies the minute details of the human body, covering all internal organs, limbs, bones and orifices with great intensity, in order to observe and discover the origin of illness. Western medicine is a thousand times more detailed than the Chinese medical corpus and knowledge! ...For Chinese medicine, whether there is a cure or not, it is attributed to fate. Western medicine is the opposite, it treats the illness when the patient is alive, and conducts autopsy to examine the cause of death if treatment fails. Therefore, Western medicine thoroughly investigates the origin of all illnesses for instructional purpose and also builds knowledge for posterity.⁴²

It is obvious that among the educated class in Shanghai, there was not only an enthusiastic welcome of Western medicine in its clinical practice, but also a full embrace of its philosophy and methodology. Contestations over autopsy continued to evolve in the

⁴¹ Rockefeller Foundation, China Medical Commission, *Medicine in China* (New York: 1914), 86-87.

⁴² "Yi Lun " (On medicine), *Shenbao*, May 23, 1872.

following decades as Western medical practice and education spread to the rest of China. As Heinrich argues, the content and form of dissection-based anatomy introduced to China by Western medicine had a profound impact on the reconceptualization of the body and the self in late Qing period, and the new anatomical aesthetics also influenced Chinese self-perception and description of the body on the eve of modernity.⁴³

Chinese Medicine in Crisis

When people experienced and witnessed two very different types of medical practices, they began to compare and reflect on each of them. The introduction and success of Western medicine led people to question traditional Chinese medicine and their confidence regarding Chinese medicine was severely challenged. This topic became a special concern among the Chinese intelligentsia. *Dianshizhai Pictorial's* parent newspaper *Shenbao* also published a number of articles commenting on the status quo of traditional Chinese medicine, discussing its difference from Western medicine, questioning Chinese medicine in terms of its practitioner ethics, qualifications, etc. There was no shortage of admiring accounts of Western medicine in *Dianshizhai* and *Shenbao*. As the following commentary goes: “As to surgical work, they are remarkable skills. Even if Hua Tuo were alive, he would barely be a match. The most amazing thing is that male doctors have proficient knowledge of child birth. When there is a difficult labor, male doctors help as well. This is totally different from the Chinese way of surrendering to Nature.”⁴⁴ Comments such as these constantly invoked upon stories of medical

⁴³ Larissa Heinrich, *The Afterlife of Images: Translating the Pathological Body between China and the West* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 113-148.

⁴⁴ “Lun Zhong Xi Yi Xue Zhi Yi (On the difference between Chinese and Western medicine).” *Shenbao*, July 31, 1887.

miracles in antiquity and keenly noted the gender division of medical work in Chinese medicine.

In the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, late-19th-century Shanghai seemed to be a place where swindlers and charlatans abounded, including quack doctors. There were certainly reputable Chinese doctors in Shanghai. For instance, in 1890, the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reported on a learned doctor call Chen Duqing, whose skills were highly praised by the magistrate of Shanghai and laudatory gifts were given to him.⁴⁵ However, it was those scandals by quack doctors that caught the public attention and eroded the confidence in Chinese medicine. As Western medicine became better understood and accepted by the general public, complaints and questions about Chinese medicine also increased. In contrast to Western doctors' skills and professional ethics, the incompetence of many Chinese doctors and their lack of ethics were called into question and revealed through story-telling. There were many unfavorable questions and critiques about Chinese medicine practitioners. There are a number of reports in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* about quack doctors who killed patients. Without exception, they were all Chinese doctors. In 1884, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* had the following report:

Charlatan Doctor Kills : It is said in the *Book of Rites* (礼记): Don't take medicine from somebody who does not have three generations' experience. This shows the seriousness of a treating patient. There was a small shopkeeper in Southern Shanghai. His son was injured and sent to Zhang's clinic in Dongjiadu. Zhang misused needle and knife. The patient bled to death. It is common to seek medical help indiscriminately in desperate situation. However, a doctor treating people's life as a game is intolerable. Just as executioners should have no heir, charlatan doctor should have no heir.⁴⁶(Figure 2.15)

⁴⁵ "Great Reputation" (和缓名高), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 7: 202.

⁴⁶ "Charlatan Doctor Kills" (庸医杀人), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 17.

The illustration shows comparable scenes of violence, an angry crowd storming the doctor's home, smashing furniture, destroying plaques, and gesturing violently, etc. The stories and scathing editorial comments reflected a crisis of public confidence in Chinese medicine. In 1891, the following incident was recorded:

There was a surgeon in Nanjing called Se who thought highly of himself. One day a man called Jing came to seek treatment for a malignant sore on his back. Se demanded several hundred silver dollars and guaranteed to cure Jing's disease... The Jing family paid Se according to his demand. However, days later, Jing was not getting better and was deteriorating instead... Soon Jing died. The next day, in great fury, the entire Jing family came to Se's house for explanation. They smashed the signs and plaques at the clinic, and pulled Se to the street. Charlatan doctor Se was debunked and humiliated. For doctors like Se, who are without proper skills, they have no face in front of people....Se is not the only doctor who treats human life as a child's game.⁴⁷(Figure 2.16)

A similar incident was documented in 1894. A boastful Chinese doctor Jia claimed he knew the art of medicine and offered to treat a sick person. After perfunctory examination of the patient, he gave a prescription. The patient's son was suspicious of the prescription. Jia swore with his life there was no error in the medication. The patient died after taking the medication. The patient's son demanded Jia to pay with his life and tattooed four words on his face: Quack doctor kills. The sharp commentary goes: "There are plenty of quack doctors in the world. If the tattoo knife was spared, then the murderer did not receive his punishment and would continue to cause death repeatedly. The patient's son did a right thing to tattoo the quack doctor's face as a warning for other people."⁴⁸(Figure 2.17)

⁴⁷ "Charlatan Doctor Insulted" (庸医受辱), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 8: 134.

⁴⁸ "Charlatan Doctor Tattooed" (庸医刺面), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 11: 307.

Another commentary noted in 1895: “In recent times, medical practice has been degenerating by the day. Those who have read a few medical prescriptions have been going about bragging boastfully, claiming they can cure disease. However they are not even able to cure one out of a hundred. Occasionally by chance, when they have one success or two, they propagate it widely, claiming extraordinary skills. That is why there are so many laudatory plaques praising them. They do not realize that truly learned people have low regard for them and even snigger behind their backs.”⁴⁹

One *Dianshizhai* account offered a story about a charlatan doctor whose incompetence and ignorance harmed many people. When he himself was sick, a mysterious monk offered him a poisonous recipe of arsenic and tofu stew. The charlatan doctor followed the recipe and lethally poisoned himself. The sarcastic commentary went on to state that “this is the deserved retribution for quack doctors who kill. However, one life cannot compensate hundreds harmed by him. This incident may appear absurd, but it is a cautionary note for those quack doctors.”⁵⁰

The mixed quality of Chinese medicine practitioners seemed to be a major concern reflected in these accounts. Though the notion of standardized education and qualification for Chinese medicine practitioners barely existed in late 19th century, people did realize that insufficient knowledge and lack of professional ethics had grave consequences in medical practice. This is also a source of tension between the doctor and the patient, which explains the strained, even explosive relationship between the two when there was a patient death. There were satirical comments on such reality:

⁴⁹ “Making Medical Reputation” (声震医林), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 13: 6.

⁵⁰ “Charlatan Doctor Commit Suicide” (庸医自杀), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 89.

“Some people claim to be doctors by knowing a few herbal recipes. Those who give prescriptions wantonly and treat human life like a game deserve the punishment of death... They often know the superficial things about illness, but not the root cause of it”⁵¹

“It was said there should be examinations for doctors. Those who are not qualified are forbidden from practicing. Allowing quack doctors to practice is equivalent to assisting the God of Death. Ignorant people must be barred from medical practice.”⁵²

The new concepts introduced by Western medicine to China included not only the modern concept of the human body and illness, but also new notions of doctor/patient relationship, as well as the health care of the indigent and underprivileged. As depicted in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* accounts, the healthcare seeking behavior of the Chinese was family-based and a number of treatments also took place in private residences. A learned gentleman or scholar was expected to be conversant with the works of the medical canon. Based on his medical knowledge, he might give prescriptions for his family members and friends or might participate in a doctor’s diagnosis and prescription.⁵³ Traditionally, doctors were invited to the household and the entire care-giving process was conducted by family members within the family space. Therefore, the introduction of the Western hospital system to China inserted a brand new “public space” among the state, the society and the family, in which the patients were delegated to “strangers” for care. This change was to have wide and far-reaching influence in the modernization of Chinese society.

In 1886, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reported a fire at Jishi hospital run by Americans in Fujian:

⁵¹ “Miracle Hand” (著手成春), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 196.

⁵² “Doctor Qualification” (考验医生), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 151.

⁵³ Volker Scheid, *Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China: Plurality and Synthesis* (Durham,: Duke University Press, 2002), 10-11.

In Tainanzhongshou of Fujian Province, Americans have been running a charity hospital for many years. All the Chinese who are severely ill and cannot be treated by Chinese medicine go there to beseech medical treatment. Many medical miracles have taken place there. One day, the kitchen caught on fire and the fire spread to the ward. While other people were fleeing, dozens of Westerners dashed into the fire and risked their lives to carry all patients, men and women, old and young, out of the building to safety. Then they fetched water to douse the flame.⁵⁴ (Figure 2.18)

The illustrations shows Western staff carrying Chinese patients on their back, rushing to safety. In the background was the dome of a church with a cross on top. The courage behavior of Western medical staff was in sharp contrast with some Chinese doctors' objectionable acts documented in other accounts, such as hunger for fame, superficiality, fraud, reckless practice, demanding expensive charges, etc.⁵⁵ This story offers a totally different picture of doctor/patient relationship. Not only was medical treatment given free of charge to indigent people at Western clinics. Patients were also protected in times of crisis. With such exposure to Western medicine, the learned class in Shanghai naturally began to compare it to Chinese medicine and reflect on the differences between the two:

Doctors who receive monetary compensation from people but cause patients' death, are no different from murderers, and even hundreds of times worse. The 18th level of hell is the place they deserve. How can they feign and claim to be eminent doctors? And I cannot help having faith in Western Medicine. Western medicine is very different from Chinese medicine. It uses knives and saws in treating illness, and uses metal and stone as medicine. During the Daoguang reign, with the removal of the sea injunction, there were occasionally Western doctors visiting China. However Chinese dared not visit them. A British gentleman called He Xing came to Canton and established Hui Ai Hospital. Mr. He was fluent in Chinese. And after much interaction with Mr. He, some Chinese had the courage

⁵⁴ "Hospital Disaster" (医局成灾), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 86.

⁵⁵ "Charlatan Doctor's Lesson" (庸医龟鉴), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 55; "Punish Quack Doctor" (劣医宜办), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 84; "Charlatan Doctor's Chance Encounter" (庸医奇遇), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 11: 61.

to visit him for medical needs. Mr. He said: "Medicine and drug are integrated into each other. There is tremendous amount of knowledge and consequence in practicing them." Without knowledge of human body parts, there will be no discovery of the origin of an illness; without knowledge of origin of illness, there will be no cure. Using harmless drug by accident may not cause big damage; however, if one randomly uses drugs to test the illness, there will be grave consequence. For sheer size of China, there is certainly no shortage of competent doctors, however there are numerous doctors who only go after profits. When I reflect on this reality, I cannot help but feel sorry.... Western doctors have also brought Western medical books to China and made diligent efforts to translate them into Chinese. Unlike the Chinese doctors who are smug at compiling some archaic notes, Western doctors offer their best efforts to benefit China. I particularly admire Western doctor's easy-going manner. When they make house visits, they come in a timely manner with no delay. After they arrive, they carefully and thoroughly look for the cause of illness. When the patients are poor, they offer service and medicine free of charge. They are not repulsed at dirty and bloody situations, unlike the Chinese doctors, who delegate apprentices to work on gangrenes.⁵⁶

As Leung noted, by the Ming and Qing period, the social positions of physicians declined markedly. Doctors often became objects of ridicule or contempt in popular literature. Many Qing literati castigated physicians among their contemporaries as ill-educated, pompous quacks, greedy for gain and unwilling to admit the limitations of their knowledge.⁵⁷ Complaints about Chinese doctors revealed a fact in traditional Chinese medicine, which was the lack of a standardized and established system to educate, examine, qualify and regulate practitioners. Though the Imperial Medical Academy was established in the 7th century to train physicians who served the Imperial Court or the government, the Academy was mostly a medical training and service agency for the bureaucracy; it did not have responsibility for regulating medical practitioners or

⁵⁶ "Yi Shuo" (Essay on medicine), *Shenbao*, August 1, 1887.

⁵⁷ Angela Ki Che Leung, "Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China," *Late Imperial China* Vol. 8, No. 1(1987): 134-166.

standardizing medical knowledge.⁵⁸ In late -9th-century China, there did not exist a state-controlled teaching system that had the authority to effectively define and regulate the form and content of medical practice.⁵⁹ Views of both Chinese and Western medicine in the late Qing period eventually evolved into heated debate over the fate and future of Chinese medicine and efforts to try to standardize medical practice in China. This was to continue throughout the Republican period.⁶⁰

Beyond Medicine

It is interesting to note that Chinese people's curiosity and imagination toward Western medicine and innovation went beyond treating illness and restoring health. The introduction of Western surgery presented the Chinese with a new concept of the body. Convinced and marveled by its success, the Chinese attitude toward Western surgery was of admiration and awe. However, challenges on the concept of human body were stretched further to other dimensions of life. With the magazine's tendency to go after strange tales to satisfy people's interest in sensational things, hearsay, and wild artistic imagination produced three reports in 1888 on how Westerners treated corpses.

The first report discussed an alien technique to shrink the body invented by an American doctor "who manufactures a medicinal water, which can shrink a fresh corpse into a miniature specimen, 1 foot and 5 inches long, 1foot two inches wide, and 1.3inches

⁵⁸ Paul Unschuld, *Medical Ethics in Imperial China: A Study in Historical Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 20-21.

⁵⁹ Volker Scheid, *Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China: Plurality and Synthesis* (Durham,: Duke University Press, 2002), 10.

⁶⁰ Ye Xiaoqing, "Regulating the Medical Profession in China: Health Policies of the Nationalist Government," *Pacific Journal of Oriental Medicine* 18 (2001): 68-76.

thick. The shrunk corpse is hard as a rock and incorruptible.”⁶¹ In the picture, a foreigner was conducting the corpse-shrinking technique. The body was placed in a bathtub-like container; the scientist was pouring medicinal liquid over the body. Another man was standing by solemnly, holding in his arm a small corpse that had already been shrunk. There were three people looking from outside the window with astonishment. One of them was a sobbing middle-aged woman, who looked like the relative of the dead, and the other two appeared to be her young children. The commentator said with humor that such corpse-shrinking technique was even more remarkable than the lithograph printing technology that reduced big books into small books. “The Goddess Nuwa made human beings from dirt, which was the origin of humankind. Thus the original human shape was designed by the Goddess, and the size of a human corpse can be manipulated by Western medicine. With such technique, what else do we fear?”⁶²(Figure 2.19)

The second report was entitled ‘corpse innovation’. It was about a discovery by a British scientist that could manufacture alkaline from human body fat and fertilizer from bones. The right side of the picture shows a workshop in which a group of foreigners were grinding human bones into powder. One of the men was wearing an apron and waving a big shovel, the other man was operating the machine; the left side of the pictures depicts two foreigners cooperating at the stove extracting fat from the human body. A group of women were sitting in the background, making alkali from human fat. As the commentary goes:

⁶¹ “Corpse Shrinking Technique” (缩尸异术), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 141.

⁶² Ibid.

Westerners are fond of innovation, turning waste into treasure. The ultimate innovation is with human corpse: the corpse is processed into oil to produce alkali; the bones are powdered to fertilize the soil. This method was advocated by a British chemist called Grant. In our country, it is unlawful not to bury the deceased since we know the body and soul of the deceased want peace; it is capital crime to raid tombs since we know the grave cruelty of the greedy. These practices are codified to become statecraft. However, can this Westerner's innovation become statecraft? The answer is yes. When the body is destroyed, there is no need for burial; there will be more land for farming. When there is death in a poor family, the corpse can be sold, which saves the burial and makes a profit. We wish that alkali sellers could obtain a good price; farmers enjoy continued harvest, a wealthy country an affluent people thus emerge. This is Westerner's innovation.⁶³(Figure 2.20)

The third report was about an act of suicide by decapitation, which was a typical example of morbid sensationalism. A French man tied his head to a balloon before committing suicide with a sword. His head was carried away by the balloon to two hundred miles away and was tangled in the tree. He left a note claiming his suicide was nobody's responsibility. The picture shows a big balloon was tied to a Westerner's head. The foreigner was sitting on a chair, holding a sword, about to kill himself. As the commentary goes: "For such people with weird ideas, they are certainly willing to turn their body into fertilizer to nourish the soil, or into alkali to wash clothes. Such kind of body mutilation and destruction, in Westerner's eyes, it is not considered abnormal."⁶⁴(Figure 2.21)

These sensational overseas tales published within the same year raised the attention of European and American consulates in China, who protested to the Chinese authority against *Dianshizhai Pictorial's* reports. After several rounds of diplomatic correspondence among the foreign consulates, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (总理衙

⁶³ "Human Remains Innovation" (格致遗骸), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 170.

⁶⁴ "Suicide" (戕尸类志), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 171.

上海)and Shanghai magistrate, *Dianzhizhai* agreed to publish an apology, admitting the unverifiable nature of these accounts, since the “news came from various foreign and domestic source.”⁶⁵ Eventually, the incident subsided quietly with little diplomatic friction.⁶⁶

From this incident, it is interesting to note how newspapers and periodicals were regulated in Shanghai in the late 19th century when there was no press censorship and no designated regulatory agency. The plurality of administration, the Chinese territory and foreign concessions, created multiple authorities and inconsistency regarding regulating press and cross-territory cultural agencies. Under such circumstances, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and its parent newspaper *Shenbao* seemed to enjoy a quite tolerant and permissive publishing environment with little censorship. This also explains that Shanghai had become a prosperous publishing center for newspapers and periodicals in China by the late 19th century.

The introduction and dissemination of Western medicine in China brought new knowledge and new practices to Chinese society. It presented challenges to the traditional Chinese medical practice, and eventually “triggered” fundamental changes in the Chinese medical system. People marveled at the life-saving surgeries performed by Western doctors. The ‘Magic Mirror’ that could see through internal organs and bones held people in awe. However, the practice of autopsy, corpse preservation, and corpse processing for commercial use seemed to be deeply repulsive to the traditional Chinese mind and

⁶⁵ “Correction” (画报更正), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 8. The same correction was also published in *Shenbao* on Feb. 10, 1889.

⁶⁶ Xiong Yuezhi, “Cong Dianshizhai Hua Bao An Kan Wan Qing Shang Hai Yan Lun Zi You,” *Shu Chuang* 2 (2000).

challenged the traditional view of the human body. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reflected Chinese admiration and acceptance of Western medicine at treaty ports such as Shanghai. Exposure to Western medicine generated reflection on the status quo of Chinese medicine, especially among the learned class, from practitioner qualification and self-aggrandizement to medical ethics and efficacy. The introduction of Western medicine triggered a reconceptualization of the human body, disease, and illness in Chinese society, and it questioned the confidence of Chinese public regarding traditional Chinese medicine. And the Western hospitals in China created public spaces in Chinese society that did not exist before.

Chapter Three Modernity under the Gaze: Technological Spectacles

Clocks and Time

The introduction of timepiece from the West to China can be traced back to the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci in the 16th century. Elaborate clocks and watches became signifiers of cultural power for Europeans who traveled to China, whether missionary or ambassador. They had exclusive access to the introduction of both object and technology and used them to gain access to the highest reaches of Chinese society.¹ They were collected and used by the Chinese aristocrats and the wealthy as status symbols and personal adornments and only occasionally served the purpose of time keeping. “In the West the clock soon became an everyday convenience, while in China it long remained a toy.”² It was until much later clocks transitioned from prized objects of exotic fascination from a foreign land to an ordinary household item. A timepiece in public space and people’s household signified a new lifestyle that follows regularity and accepts punctuality based on temporal awareness.

There has been much discussion about the Chinese notion of time and history. Central questions include whether the traditional Chinese concept of time is cyclic, linear or both.³ Traditionally, the mode of time-reckoning in Chinese history was based

¹ Catherine Pagani, *Eastern Magnificence and European Ingenuity: Clocks of Late Imperial China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 1-2; David Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 39.

² Daniel Boorstin, *The Discoverers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 62-64.

³ J. T. Fraser et al., *Time, Science, and Society in China and the West* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986); Huang Junjie and John B. Henderson, *Notions of Time in Chinese Historical Thinking* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2006).

on dynastic order. In Chinese chronologies, time is not counted from a single date, such as the birth of Christ, but from repeated historical beginnings, or the foundation of a dynasty, or a royal reign. Pre-modern Chinese notions of time were particularly concrete. They developed not so much from processes of theoretical abstraction or philosophical reflection as from the lived experience of people in history. Thus time in pre-modern China was not clock time but humanly lived time associated with events and places.⁴ Time counting in daily life in traditional China was based on a 100-*ke* and a 12-*chen* system. The Qing government abandoned the 100-*ke* system and switched to Western 24-hour time in 1670.⁵ But ordinary people continued to rely on the traditional way, and some Qing scholars continued to argue in favor of retaining the old system.⁶ By late Qing China, the traditional time system that had been in use for thousands of years gradually gave way to the new temporal measurement introduced from the West.⁷ The Gregorian calendar began to replace the Chinese lunar calendar and the Christian years were used alongside traditional dynastic years. People started to organize their work and life using Western concept of hours.

Many sketches in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* contain clocks of various design and style. Clocks are pictured in government agencies (aristocratic palace, court), public spaces (hospitals, brothels, and charity organizations), and even ordinary people's homes.

⁴ Huang Junjie and E. Zürcher, *Time and Space in Chinese Culture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 8-10.

⁵ Endymoin Porter Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2000), 198-219.

⁶ Catherine Jami, "Western Devices for Measuring Time and Space," in *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*, ed. Huang Junjie and E. Zürcher (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 169-200.

⁷ Michael Loewe, "World Cultures and Time IV: Cyclical and Linear Concepts of Time in China," in *The Story of Time*, ed. Kristen Lippincott and Umberto Eco (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), 76-79.

All the clocks in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* have Roman numbers on the dial, which indicates Western clocks had entered into ordinary households and had been fully accepted by Shanghai inhabitants in late 19th century. As one account of a public clock tower goes:

Self-chiming clock originated in Western calendar Year 1379...The custom house at Huangputan in the British Concession has been renovated and looks spacious and magnificent. A lofty clock tower has been erected for the custom house. A giant clock was imported from overseas and installed in the clock tower. ..The clock is brightly lit at night and can be seen from afar. Its pleasant and penetrating chiming travels miles far. This is not only a big convenience for the Concession residents, but also greatly beneficial to people on the river and in the surrounding areas.⁸ (Figure 3.1)

Other than being an object of innovation and curiosity, clocks fundamentally impacted the original temporal awareness of the Chinese, and consequently influenced the traditional rhythm of everyday life. Before the arrival of clocks, Chinese used the twelve branches to denote the twelve two-hour periods of the day. The traditional way of denoting time was soon abandoned in Shanghai as clocks entered both public and private life and accurate measurement of time took roots. As Zygmunt Bauman stated that the history of time began with modernity, and modernity is the time when time has a history.⁹ The rise of modernity was accompanied by the full development of urban society open to the West, both ushered in by the Industrial Revolution.¹⁰ As one of the earliest treaty ports with the West, Shanghai of the late 19th century had undoubtedly embraced the modernity process through its interaction with Western commerce and technology, though sometimes passively. Sensitivity and awareness toward time indicates sensitivity

⁸ “New Clock” (巨钟新制), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 209.

⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 110.

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion on the history of modernization and urban society, see Gino Germani, *Modernization, Urbanization and the Urban Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown 1973).

and awareness toward modernity. As a symbol of modernity, the gigantic clock at the custom house in the British Concession is a constant reminder of a new concept of time.

The introduction and dissemination of clocks in China provided people with a new temporal concept and a taste of modernity. Clocks not only offered an indispensable convenience for punctuality, but also become a reminder of temporality to Shanghai residents. Such temporal awareness became an important part of people's everyday life. In many sketches of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, clocks are exhibited at prominent places; they are either mounted on the wall or placed on a table. Almost all brothel and gambling scenes contain a clock at a very visible location (Figure 3.2; 3.3; 3.4). In a literati's studio, the clock is displayed with other collector's ornaments and antique objects (Figure 3.5). At Sino-West diplomatic negotiations, the clock occupies a central place in the background (Figure 3.6). Even in ordinary people's household, clock is a very visible fixture on the wall (Figure 3.7). The public function of a clock is recorded in an account titled "The Sun at Noon":

At the Yangjin Bridge in the French Settlement, wind advisory flags and a time ball were newly installed. Every morning at 10 o'clock, both the ball and flag are raised to report the weather at Wusong Bay. The size of the ball is based on the strength of the wind. Flags of different shapes and colors are displayed to give weather broadcast. Every morning, the time ball rises to half mast at 11:45, and reaches the top of the mast at 11:55, and drops at 12 o'clock. People can determine the precise time according to the movement of the time ball.¹¹ (Figure 3.8)

The drawing depicts a riverside public square where the daily hustle and bustle takes place. The time ball and weather flag were installed right next to a clock house on the public square. A small crowd was watching as the time ball rising and flags

¹¹ "The Sun at Noon" (日之方中), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 189.

changing. The concept of time and being in tune with time and each other had obviously become an embedded part of urban life in Shanghai. Either the clock in the charity house that doles out monthly relief to widows, or the clock in clinics in the British Settlement, or the clock in a private cricket-fight house, they all suggest that the society follows a regular pace and people's everyday life is coordinated by "the clock", namely "time".

Other than accounts of clock towers in Shanghai, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* also reported on giant clocks overseas, such as the chiming clock in New York. The drawing depicts a giant and ornate clock tower on display in a public garden where some Westerners were watching with interest. "The chiming sound of the magnificent clock can be heard hundred of steps away. And the bronze rooster at the top of the clock crows like real. Westerner's amazing ingenuity is unthinkable."¹² (Figure 3.9) An alarm clock made by the American inventor Thomas Edison was recorded in *Dianshizhai*. Other than having a human face façade, the clock chimes with a human-like voice to report time. It was considered "an exceptionally ingenious piece among the clocks." The artist commented that "the more the mind is used, the sharper; the more efforts invested in the machine, the more marvelous it becomes."¹³ (Figure 3.10) The admiration for Western clock technology is apparent in the narrative.

Besides the time-keeping clocks and watches, various other types of Western measurement devices were also reported in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. In one account titled "Use Meter to Measure Integrity", the comment goes:

¹² "Ten Thousand Year Clock" (万年钟), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 11: 119.

¹³ "Ingeniously Made Clock" (电表巧制), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 28.

“Westerners are good at making meters. Meters have different functions. Some can predict weather; some can test physical property of objects. There are also meters to test human strength. Air meter can test lung capacity; Strength meter can test punching power. The needles on the meter dial are set off by blowing or punching. They turn to the corresponding grade to indicate weakness or strength of the person. They are indeed exquisite devices...however, to measure the integrity and character of a person, such devices are useless.”¹⁴ (Figure 3.11)

The sketch portrays a group of Westerners, both adults and children, busy trying different devices to measure their physical strength. Obviously, such measurement devices were not available among the Chinese and were reported as novelties to satisfy people’s curiosity to know new things. Whether it is the accurate measurement of time or physical properties or human strength, these accounts in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* all convey the message that measurement is the very foundation of Western science and technology. The new concept of temporality introduced to the Chinese society through clocks and watches is based on precise and accurate measurement of time. As a hallmark of modernity, temporal awareness is a prominent characteristic of modern urban life based on industrial and commercial activities.

Anthony Giddens considered the separation of time and space the most salient feature of modern social life. He argued that time-reckoning in pre-modern cultures was always linked with place and was usually imprecise and variable.¹⁵

No one could tell the time of day without reference to other socio-spatial markers: “When” was almost universally connected with “where” or identified by regular natural occurrences. The invention of the mechanical clock and its diffusion to virtually all members of the population (a phenomenon which dates at its earliest from the late 18th century) were of key significance in the separation of time from space. The clock expressed a uniform dimension of ‘empty’ time, quantified in such a way as to permit the precise designation of ‘zones’ of the day, (e.g., the

¹⁴ “Use Meter to Measure Integrity” (以表验人), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 63.

¹⁵ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 16-17.

‘working day’). Time was still connected with space until the uniformity of time measurement by the mechanical clock was matched by uniformity in the social organization of time. This shift coincided with the expansion of modernity and was not complete until the current century.¹⁶

In his influential discussion of modernity in Shanghai, Leo Lee treated Shanghai as a cultural site of local/global dualism. He argued that there was a paradigmatic shift toward an understanding of time as being a linear and evolutionary arrangement in which a nativistic past was separated from a present and future heavily influenced by encounters with the Western civilization.¹⁷ The dissemination of the clock in people’s household and public space gradually fostered among ordinary Shanghai residents a new temporal awareness which was different from that in the traditional culture. People were introduced to a new and complex set of concepts about time, space and body, through which a new world view and epistemology became crystallized. *Dianshizhai* artists’ drawings reflected this subtle yet significant aspect of the modernization process in late Qing Shanghai.

Curious Gaze and Spectacles

In examination of the pages of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, one notices that in many sketches, the story itself only occupies a small portion of the space, and the rest of the space is taken by spectators outside of the story. These spectators show up in big or small groups gather around the scene, shaking their fans and stretching their necks, pointing fingers and talking to each other. And the windows in the neighborhood are always open with two or three heads curiously looking out. These onlookers can be a handful, a few

¹⁶ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 17-8.

¹⁷ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999): 43-44.

dozen or even over a hundred (Figure 3.12; 3.13). Their attention is completely focused on the protagonists of the story. The intense spectatorship generates an inviting atmosphere for the reader to participate in the story. Perhaps this is the reason the artists take meticulous effort to create a spectatorship scene. It is the ordinary people's natural curiosity towards novelties and outside stories that contributed to the open horizon of Shanghai modernity.

Though *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was based in Shanghai, it did not limit itself only to the portrayal of Shanghai local life. A large section of the *Pictorial* reported stories from other parts of China and tales from overseas. In *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, the “open windows” and “curious gaze” suggest that people maintain intense curiosity toward the outside world, and they also display strong curiosity toward mundane stories in everyday life. In *Being and Time*, Heidegger referred to a modern obsession with the visual over other sensory faculties. He described this as a privileging of seeing over understanding that contributes to the impoverishment of the senses and a fundamental “distraction”. In contrast to “concern”, “thoughtful perception” or “distraction”, this seeing lends itself to what Heidegger called a “restless” and “curious” gaze.

When curiosity has become free, it takes care to see not in order to understand what it sees, that is, to come to a being toward it, but *only* in order to see. It seeks novelty only to leap from it again to another novelty. The care of seeing is not concerned with comprehending and knowingly being in the truth, but with possibilities of abandoning itself to the world. Thus curiosity is characterized by a specific *not-staying* with what is nearest. Consequently, it also does not seek the leisure of reflective staying, but rather restlessness and excitement form continual novelty and changing encounters. In not-staying, curiosity makes sure of the constant possibility of *distraction*. Curiosity has nothing to do with the contemplation that wonders at being, *thaumazein*, it has no interest in wondering

to the point of not understanding, Rather, it makes sure of knowing, just in order to have known.¹⁸

As Heidegger suggested, the character of “not-staying” points to the relationship between the “curious” and the “distracted” gaze, for both succumb to the restlessness and banality of the merely novel. The two characteristics of such curiosity, *not-staying* and *distractions* by new possibilities, explain why Chinese people in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were constantly attracted by visually different foreign novelties. They wanted to see, to touch, to experience and to know foreign novelties to the extent of satisfying their inquisitiveness. And their attention was constantly distracted by upcoming novelties. Their quickness to be at the scene and their readiness to put anything under their curious gaze generate a spectacle in which the object of gaze attracts attention. This is particularly vivid in *Dianshizhai*’s reporting on Western technology.

When portraying Western innovation, the artists rarely saw the actual images of the objects. They had not traveled overseas either. Their exposure to foreign scenery and landscape was based on limited information from photos and drawings. Without adequate visual source, they had to imagine and speculate based on the available textual description. It is an “imagined fact”. The “iron man” (robot), the “flying vehicle” (aircraft), the “underwater boat” (submarine), the “flying boat” (hydrogen balloon), and the “underwater vehicle” (train in underwater tunnel) are far from the factual truth. Without much external technological assistance such as photography, the artists used imagination to create the “factual presentation” of the Western innovations. Obviously,

¹⁸ Martin Heidegger and Joan Stambaugh, *Being and Time: A Translation of Sein Und Zeit* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 161.

accuracy was not the goal in their minds. Their intention was to satisfy “seeing for the sake of seeing”, and they did not intentionally advocate for the pursuit of a technologically strong China as a political goal, nor did they intend to offer the readers educational information on Western science. As the description of the “Walking Iron Man” goes:

Among the Five Phases, only water and fire have shape but no substance, and the other phases can all be crafted into human shape. Confucius had seen a man made of gold; the first Emperor of Qin made 12 gold puppets; the King of Yue had his sculpture made with gold. Gold has been used to craft puppet for a long time. There are also puppets made of wood and earth, used in funeral and theatre. Copper puppets are used in clinical demonstration, stone puppets are used for burials, and such are the customs. Recently in America there was a beautiful female puppet made of silver. People are amazed at the sight of her. The only regret is that she does not have motion. A Ph.D. researcher in America has invented a new method. He created a human-shaped puppet with iron. The puppet is 6-foot tall, holding a Luzon cigar in his mouth. There is a hidden mechanical furnace in the puppet’s abdomen. When the fire burns in the furnace, the puppet can walk with high speed. He can cover 5 miles in an hour. The puppet has a hat on top, which serves as chimney. Steam comes out from his mouth like smoker’s puff. When people first see this puppet, they take him as a strange person, but he is actually a piece of burning iron. Alas, such technique is just magical.¹⁹ (Figure 3.14)

It is interesting to note that while introducing a real object of scientific invention, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* juxtaposes it with fictitious, imaginary, or even mythological legends, such as Confucius’s gold man, Emperor Qin’s gold men, and King of Yue’s gold sculpture, etc. Citing these fictitious legends and imaginations does not seem to be for stylistic purpose, nor does it seem to be for narrative skill. It actually reflects the Chinese mentality when encountering the presence of a stronger Western culture. The commentary is filled with contrasts between myth and fact, between tradition and

¹⁹ “Walking Iron Man” (铁人善走), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 157.

modernity, between East and West, and between imagination and science. On the one hand, the Chinese pride is reluctant to acknowledge its deficiency by invoking myth and legend and claiming “we have this since ancient times”. On the other hand, there is heartfelt admiration for the “magical” Western technology. These two sentiments are subtly interwoven into the narratives.

There are many similar narratives in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. Anything can be claimed as “we have had it since several thousand years ago”. Sometime, such prideful attitude almost claimed Chinese mythical imagination as the prototype of the Western innovations. In the story of the “flying boat”, an amazing vehicle with feather-like sails was built by ingenious engineers in Chicago. The vehicle can take off with over 200 people on board and can rise to a breathtaking height. The commentary says: “It is recorded in the *Chronicle of Nature* written by Zhang Hua that the people in Qigu Kingdom could make flying vehicles. If vehicles can lift off the ground, why cannot a boat navigate into the sky? Therefore the flying boat appears.”²⁰ (Figure 3.15) The ancestry of the modern flying boat was connected to an ancient Chinese past when people were already making flying vehicles. Such narrative seems to offer a temporary sense of false comfort while admitting one’s own insufficiency in the face of Western technology. Similar sentiments are prevalent in other accounts as well. In the account of “New Balloons”,

‘Man’s ingenuity surpasses that of nature’ has been around a long time as an expression. Now it is fact. In the recent Franco-Prussian War balloons were used for gathering military intelligence. According to report, these balloons were previously made from skin; now they are woven from the finest pure silk and

²⁰ “Flying Boat” (飞舟穷北), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 245.

filled with gas generated by chemicals. A basket was suspended below, with men in it. Afterwards it was feared that the balloon might happen to land in the sea, so the basket was replaced by a boat, the boat being equipped with sails and oars. If it landed in the sea it would still be able to cut through the waves and sail in the wind, and the men on board would not run the risk of drowning. Thus the boat could ride the waves and the balloon could float in the air. One feels about Lie Zi's 'harnessing the wind to travel' that his technique was not quite perfect: these successors have been able to get the better of him.²¹ (Figure 3.16)

The account titled "Boat Sailing in Air" has the following description:

In current day world, there are fast steam engine boats traveling in water and speedy steam engine trains traveling on land. Westerners also made balloons to reach heights that were never possible before. Such innovation and wisdom continued to develop a flying boat that can rise to great height and sail in air. This is such an emulation of Lie Zi's wind-harnessing power. One needs a telescope to see the flying boat, which looks like a giant eagle riding in the wind. Such ingenious device could even match the flying vehicle of the Zhouao Kingdom.²² (Figure 3.17)

The legendary kingdom of Zhouao was mentioned in the *Collections of Mountains and Seas* (山海经) which is a classic mythological text over 2,000 years old. The collection contains fabled geographical and cultural accounts of ancient China. People of Zhouao Kingdom were known for their skills in making vehicles that could travel in the air. This *Dianshizhai* account exudes unfettered imagination for both ancient myths and modern technology. The commentator's connection between modern technology and the flying vehicle of Zhouao Kingdom is subtle yet persistent. It attempts to validate the ancient Chinese myth with modern evidence while asserting a psychological upper-hand with Chinese sensibility. The narrative of the "Ingenious Flying Vehicle" also gives the following story:

²¹ "New Balloon" (新样气球), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 4.

²² "Boat Sailing in Air" (天上行舟), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 7:279.

Westerners are inventive by nature. Their technical skills are very often amazingly ingenious. Nowadays such things as steamships and steam locomotives are more or less accepted as commonplace. Last year when a westerner invented a boat that could fly in the sky, it caused a sensation. The fact is that every new day brings inventions that are more mind-boggling. In the French Academy of Technology there is a Frenchman called Dianlubi whose mind is quick and whose hand is deft: every device he makes is sure to be very fine. Recently he devised a flying vehicle that can maneuver in midair at all heights and in all directions. The machine is shaped like a fan and consists of a hand-operated flying car. Its roof has flat boards and its sides have high boards. Both roof and sides have mechanisms installed, and at the rear there is a rudder. To rise into the air you simply spin the wheel in the roof, and the machine gradually ascends. Then when you turn the mechanism on the sides vigorously and operate the rudder, you can go in any direction you please. Passengers on board experience the buoyant feeling of volatility. Compared with Lie Zi harnessing the wind, isn't that more uplifting and satisfying? Unorthodox history tells of the Jiaoyao Kingdom where people were good at making flying vehicles that could travel in the air. Previously I suspected that of absurdity, but now I hear of this matter I wonder if the Frenchman really learned the secret from them.²³ (Figure 3.18)

It is apparent from the drawing that the artist used imagination to sketch the “flying vehicle” which looked like a prototype of the modern helicopter. The name Lie Zi was mentioned in different accounts. Lie Zi was an ancient thinker in the Taoist intellectual tradition, known for his otherworldly philosophy and loftiness. There are many legends and parables about his life and deeds, including his wind-riding travels to all corners of the land. In these *Dianshizhai* accounts, wind-harnessing Lie Zi was considered the stepping-stone or inspiration of the “flying vehicle”. Although the “flying vehicles” of the Jiaoyao Kingdom was recorded in “unorthodox history”, they were no longer “absurdity” since the Frenchman’s flying vehicle can be used as modern evidence. What is reflected in such narratives is a complicated yet contradictory mentality that

²³ “Ingenious Flying Vehicle” (妙制飞车), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 83.

admires Western innovations and at the same time tries to maintain a sense of Chinese pride.

Pictures of flying machines in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were scenes of captivating curiosity. Various forms of flying vehicles or balloons fascinated the Chinese from all walks of life. In the West, since its invention, balloons were featured in major exhibitions, and ballooning became a popular hobby for those privileged. There are legends about human flight in ancient Chinese texts. Naturally people were receptive of the notion of traveling in the air. It is when they actually saw the flying vehicles, their imagination, fascination and expectation are fully brought together. Those ancient legends are frequently alluded to in the commentaries. There are 16 pictures of balloons and other flying vehicles (real or imagined) in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. The account of “Ballooning Demonstration” gives the following narrative:

The balloon was invented in the West. Its biggest advantage is in the clever deployment of troops. Among us Chinese we have so far only seen the one at the Tianjin Military Academy. In August they finished making a balloon. Once the balloon was filled with oxygen and carbon dioxide, admirals and field marshals, along with the commanders of various garrisons, assembled punctually. The military assembly was magnificent, and people flocked to the scene. Admiral Ding Ruchang and Liu Buchan were the first to step into the car. They gave the order for the balloon to take off. It rose several hundred feet in the air. Soon a bugle was sounded and the balloon landed. Two commanders and other high-ranking officers joined in the car. They rose like eagles soaring into the sky, circling in the wind. What a grand and majestic spectacle it was! All those commanders, pillars of the state, ascended high in the sky and looked into the far distance, in order to be prepared for future contingencies. They truly excel in courage, resourcefulness and vision over other men.²⁴ (Figure 3.19)

The drawing depicts a small excited crowd of Chinese and foreign officials who were standing on the balcony of a building. Some of them are waving at the balloon

²⁴“Ballooning Demonstration” (燃放气球), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 216.

operator in the air; some are using binoculars to watch the balloon. All raise their heads gazing at the flying object in air. The interest in balloon's military potential continues in another account:

Recent talk about destroying the enemy has all been about securing victory by inventing a marvelous device to knock out steel guns and iron ships. But considering that a long time has gone by without us hearing of any new-fashioned weapon, it is obvious that it is not easy to invent such a thing. Now we have seen in the Western-language newspaper that a foreigner called Reynard has manufactured a new-style air balloon which can lift 8,500 pounds, and has an air speed of 25 miles per hour. If the various nations adopt this balloon to launch offensives, then army and navy can be dispensed with. Moreover, if cannons are installed in the balloon they can direct their fire from above, and then such things as steel bridges, steam-powered warships, cannon stations, arsenals, telegraph stations, as well as troops, would all be vulnerable, the balloon would be an excellent means of destroying the enemy.²⁵ (Figure 3.20)

Other than its military purposes, the balloon was also reported to be of great value to rescue missions. As usual, the commentary opens with praise for Western innovation:

In Western technology, practice brings proficiency and excellence. Its innovative power explores mysteries ancient and modern, and can match that of the Creation. Balloons have been built for traveling across mountains and oceans and reaching the cloud. However, Westerner's inquisitive nature does no rest on past achievements, but continues to strive for innovation. Recently people have successfully used a balloon to lift a sunken ship out of water. With some modification, balloon can also be used to lift giant boulders underneath water.²⁶ (Figure 3.21)

The attraction to balloon demonstration was so strong that hundreds of people could be drawn to the scene.²⁷ (Figure 3.22) One story documented a failed balloon experiment where the balloon went out of control and was punctured by a tree branch. Despite the disappointment, the comments went: "Westerners are meticulous in the

²⁵ "Balloons to Rout the Enemy" (气球破敌), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 191.

²⁶ "Smart Use of Balloon" (气球妙用), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 23.

²⁷ "Balloon Spectacle" (气球奇观), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 7: 221.

manufacturing of either big objects such as cannons and ships or small objects such as clocks and watches. The exquisite quality of the manufacturing gives their product a good name. There have been many successful balloon demonstrations; this time might be a rare exception.”²⁸ (Figure 3.23) The drawings depict a heterogeneous crowd gathered at an open space watching the rising balloon. Among them are Chinese and Westerners, men and women, old and young, wealthy and poor. All of them focus their attention on the balloon with various gestures and expressions. The spatial expansion of the scene also suggests an all-embracing power of new technology on people and society. Excitement and satisfaction gained from balloon gazing became a shared experience among both Chinese and Westerners.

While balloons and “flying vehicles” in *Dianshizhai* accounts take the Chinese curiosity to the uncharted air space, another totally different territory also captures the Chinese imagination---water. There are a number of stories about underwater traveling and underwater vehicles. In one account titled “Underwater Boat”, the narrative talks about an American engineer who constructed an oval-shaped boat made of copper with machines and electric bulbs installed inside. The boat has glass windows embedded on all sides for outside view. It is powered by oil and propelled by wheels at the bottom and a tail. The boat can submerge and travel underwater and resurface. Such innovation is considered to “have condensed the mystery of heaven and earth, travel in the ocean as on smooth land.” Again, “when Westerners reach the limit of human capacity, their

²⁸ “Leaky Balloon” (气球洩气), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 259.

innovative thinking reveals a new horizon.”²⁹ (Figure 3.24) With the same admiration and awe, *Dianshizhai* reported the underwater train in England. The commentator marveled at the “unprecedented ingenuity and engineering success” of the tunnel construction and “Westerners’ strong spirit when facing challenge.”³⁰ (Figure 3.25)

Another interesting account offers a story of an underwater vehicle:

A man in New York designed a bicycle that travels in water. The device is not different from ordinary bicycles except the two air pipes attached to both sides. A rider wears a water tight helmet that connects to the air pipes to allow breathing. The button at the front of the bicycle is used to control the movement. It can submerge and resurface in water with great ease, and can also turn in all directions. It is such as a pleasure to ride the bicycle. Such enjoyable innovation, just as the flying balloons, is beyond words.³¹ (Figure 3.26)

From the drawing and description of the story, one can probably guess that this might be one of the earliest diving suit experiments. Obviously the sketch is far from being accurate; it is intended to introduce a novelty that attracts people’s attention.

Scientific accuracy is the last thing on the artist’s mind.

Dianshizhai Pictorial exhibited particular enthusiasm toward Western weaponry and military technology. It praised the magnitude and power of a British cannon ship,³² (Figure 3.27) reported a torpedo exercise of the Chinese military,³³ (Figure 3.28) documented the purchase of foreign cannons by the Chinese government,³⁴ (Figure 3.29) commented on the Sino-British naval encounter at the South China sea,³⁵ (Figure 3.30)

²⁹ “Underwater Boat ” (水底行船), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 3.

³⁰ “Underwater Train” (水底行车), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 29.

³¹ “Bicycle Traveling Underwater ” (车行水底), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 75.

³² “Cannon Ship ” (铁甲巨工), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 321.

³³ “Torpedo Exercise ” (演放水雷), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 5.

³⁴ “Giant Cannon” (边防巨炮), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 245.

³⁵ “Southern Voyage of Naval Ships” (铁甲南行), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 291.

and reported on the Western invention of the bullet-proof vest.³⁶(Figure 3.31)

Introduction of the train, flying machines and Western weaponry demanded that the Chinese reconceptualize distance and space, which were often associated with military aggression. Since the Opium War, China's repeated military defeat by the Western powers forced the intellectual class to reflect on the dynastic decline and come to terms with Western aggression both culturally and psychologically. Acquisition of Western weaponry was given full approval in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and was considered a necessary path to enhance national strength and military preparedness, which was the main objective of the Yangwu Movement. Unlike narratives in some other technological accounts, comments in Western weaponry accounts were straightforward and pragmatic with no allusions to Chinese myth or legends. "Ever since China opened trade with the West, many things are modeled after the Western ways. Defense weaponry are particularly sought after and acquired...Troops can go a hundred years without wars, but cannot be unprepared for even one day." "It is a great blessing to have powerful weaponry in the military." "Current day affairs inform us that being confined to old conventions is unwise and ill-adapted; a country that exhibits military weakness is vulnerable; only the road of self-strengthening can enhance national power and glory." Thus, "a wise statecraft is to have military preparedness." These comments reflected Shanghai literati's acute awareness of the declining dynasty, a lived experience of foreign military invasion as well as the social sentiment of yearning for a technologically and militarily strong China.

³⁶ "Bullet-proof Vest" (制衣御弹), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 122.

Western inventions that brought safety or fun to everyday life were also received warmly in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, such as fire extinguishing chemical and photography. The drawings of fire extinguisher demonstration depict a big crowd of Chinese and Westerners surrounding the fire scene. Among them are men and women, old and young, foreigners of various sorts, Chinese mandarins and commoners, all gazing intensely at the flame and “marveled at the magic effectiveness of the chemical.”³⁷ (Figure 3.32; 3.33)

Photographic technology was particularly noted in several accounts, either for diplomatic occasions or forensic science. “The photographic technique from the West is so accurate; all the minute details of people, plants and architecture can be vividly presented in a few square inches. Westerners optic science is indeed exquisite.”³⁸ (Figure 3.34) The photo scene is often an occasion that attracts curious Chinese bystanders to watch the photo-making process.

Pang Laikwan argues that the major driving force behind China’s print culture in the late 19th century was the ‘realist desire’. Through pictorial illustrations, Chinese readers desired to comprehend the novelties of the new world objectively, and they also subjectively identified with the acts of seeing portrayed in the illustrations, “desiring to see and be seen.” The oscillation between reader’s “desire for objective details” and “subjective identification” gives *Dianshizhai* imagery a rich hermeneutic space.³⁹ This

³⁷ “Magic Chemical to Extinguish Fire” (救火妙药), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 166; “Fire Extinguishing Chemical” (灭火药水), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 38.

³⁸ “Photographic Event” (映照志奇), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 173.

³⁹ Pang Laikwan, “The Pictorial Turn: Realism, Modernity, and China’s Print Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Visual Studies* 20, no. 1 (2005): 16-36.

form of visual representation of social seeing and be seen helped to stabilize the uncertainty and threat of modernity. Through the artist's depiction, people's desire to reach and comprehend the new modern reality is satisfied. Western novelties are made familiar and less threatening, and they gradually merge into the new urban culture. The two most prominent characteristics of this realist desire are the meticulous attention to details, and social seeing and be seen. Jay points out that modernity is mostly achieved through visual means, which serves both as the prime medium of communication and as the privileged site from which to gain symbolic access to the new world order.⁴⁰ Through its depiction of public gazes and visual spectacles, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* symbolizes the close alliance forged between modernity and visuality in the late 19th century. The realist desire of public gaze and spectacle scenes in *Dianshizhai* sketches embodies the complex desire for objective knowing and subjective identification, which supplement each other and constitute both the origin and destination of the realist desire. In late Qing China, novelties and new concepts could not be adequately introduced by written words. Visual imagery became the more acute and direct way to represent and address the new thrills and new threats. *Dianshizhai*'s reporting on railway is such an example. In its very first issue, *Dianshizhai* published an account on the emergence of the railway in China with the following narratives:

Since China opened trade with the West, learning from the West is becoming more and more popular during the recent years. Although not all the misgivings will go away, hopefully they will gradually dispel as people become more open-minded. The 30-Kilometer railroad between Shanghai and Wusong was completed for use during the Tongzhi Reign. Regrettably the railway was condemned by some officials and was eventually destroyed. However, in late

⁴⁰ Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Force Fields: Between Intellectual History and Cultural Critique* (New York: Routledge, 1993): 114-133.

May, news from Tianjin informed that a pilot railroad construction between Tianjin and Dagou was approved by the Imperial government. In June, the Imperial government announced the edict to build railroad between Tianjin and Tongzhou. As to the design of the train, the first car is the engine, and the rest of the cars are for passenger and goods. We hope to see railroads spread to all provinces like electric power lines. This connectivity is greatly beneficial to the society from top to bottom. We are rubbing our eyes and anticipating to see it happen.⁴¹ (Figure 3.35)

The above account contains a noteworthy reference to the abortive Wusong Railway---the first railway in China, built and opened in 1876 by a British company. A Shanghai correspondent of *The Times* reported in May 1876 on the local Chinese's reaction to the railway construction: "Several miles of road have been completely ballasted, and the whole country side is alive with interest. Literally, thousands of people from all the neighboring towns and villages crowd down every day to watch proceedings and criticize every item, from the little engine down to the pebbles of the ballast. All are perfectly good-humored, and evidently intent on a pleasant day's outing. Old men and children, old women and maidens, literati, artisan, and peasants---every class of society is represented."⁴² When the railway officially opened on July 3rd, 1876, reporters from *Shenbao* went for a ride, and wrote the following account: "By 1 pm, the cars were filled with people, men and women, old and young. Even after the train started, crowds of people were still arriving at the scene. They had never seen such a thing and were all eager to experience it."⁴³

The turning point of the Wusong Railway was an accident in which a Chinese man was killed by the train. The attitude of the Qing government against the railway

⁴¹ "Railroad Construction" (兴办铁路), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 103.

⁴² P. H. B. Kent, *Railway Enterprise in China: An Account of Its Origin and Development* (London: E. Arnold. 1907), 12.

⁴³ *Shenbao*, July 4, 1876.

hardened after this accident. Eventually, the Qing government bought the ownership of the railway from the British to prepare for its destruction. Despite the accident, people's enthusiasm for train-riding did not diminish. The train made 7 daily round trips between Shanghai and Wusong. In less than a year, 160,000 people rode the train.⁴⁴ The public opinions were very strong. Over a hundred local gentry and merchants signed petition to persuade the government from demolishing the railway. Eventually, the railroad was torn up after less than a year of operation by conservative local Chinese officials who were driven by cultural xenophobia. After this incident, nobody in China could even talk about railway until 1881.⁴⁵ It was until twenty years later that the second Shanghai-Wusong railway was built.⁴⁶ As *Shenbao* reported, though the railroad was a good thing, "those who are above have different opinions."⁴⁷

The *Dianshizhai* drawing seems to be a technically accurate depiction of an early locomotive. And the favorable comments on the benefits of the railway reflect a renewed hope for technological advancement manifested in modern railroad transportation. More important is the conscious treatment of the rising disparities between the new form of transportation and the old. Coolie laborers carrying baskets and pushing wheelbarrows are conspicuously placed alongside the speeding train with its Chinese passengers and foreign conductors. The background of the drawing is the impressionistic rural scenery drawn from traditional Chinese landscape painting. The linear receding track provides a

⁴⁴ *Shenbao*, September 18, 1877.

⁴⁵ Gao James Zheng, *Meeting Technology's Advance: Social Change in China and Zimbabwe in the Railway Age* (Westport : Greenwood Press, 1997), 15-16.

⁴⁶ Liu Qingfeng, *Min zu zhu yi yu Zhongguo xian dai hua* (Xianggang: Zhong wen da xue chu ban she, 1994), 270.

⁴⁷ *Shenbao*, March 12, 1878.

novel recessional perspective and implies distance that could be conquered by this new technology. Black smoke coming from the train chimney marks a long and persistent trail in the air, signifying power and speed. In the drawing, both people and technology are situated in a shared spatial context. This suggests a relatively benign environment for their coexistence. The distinction between mechanized and manual transport in the drawing suggests the changing social relations that accompanied the arrival of the railway. The developmental disparities are included in a common framework where the landscape seems to absorb and transform such contradictions.

In another report on the train, a fatal accident was used to caution people about railway safety. The drawing shows a traditional Chinese countryside landscape transverse with power lines and a moving train extending into the distance. A crowd reacted to the accident scene with shock and expressive body gestures. “The flying speed and enormous power of the train makes any human physical encounter with it fatal...those who witnessed the tragic accident shall learn from it and use caution”⁴⁸ (Figure 3.36) Vivid facial expressions and gestures of human subjects are juxtaposed with a strong background composed of both indigenous and “alien” elements, namely the quaint native Chinese landscape and the straight power line and train cutting diagonally across the landscape, creating a strange combination of harshness and tension. The abstract depiction of the traditional landscape poses as a sharp contrast to the realist depiction of the train and power line in a framework of Western perspective. And the drawing speaks of a disharmony between the native and the new, implying threat and menace brought by

⁴⁸ “Killed by Train” (毙于车下), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 229.

the new while seeking a compromise between the two. Clearly, the artists understood the nature and potential danger of the technological changes and presented them in vocabularies and visual perspectives that could make sense within their cultural framework.

As railway and train entered the physical landscape in late Qing China, it also entered the socio-cultural landscape. Along with resistance and engagement, suspicion was another important characteristic in the railway experience in late Qing China. One *Dianshizhai* account vividly describes how railway encounters the traditional psyche:

A railway was built outside of Beijing...A Westerner purchased large pieces of land in the Nine Dragon mountain area to build railroad facilities. When the construction was taking place in the heart of Nine Dragon mountain, three giant snakes emerged from the cave, each of them 30 meters long and as thick as a barrel. They spiraled into the air, hovered for a while and eventually disappeared in the wind. People swarmed to watch the scene. According to the local people: Nine Dragon mountain received its name from the nine snakes that dwell within its caves. Now three of them flew away, the geomantic integrity of the land was breached. This may bring catastrophic changes to the land that are hard to imagine. One cannot help feeling sad and heavy about it.⁴⁹ (Figure 3.37)

The drawing depicts a dramatic mountain scene where giant snakes are spiraling out of caves, shrouded in cloud. Not far from the caves, piles of wooden tracks and construction tools are seen. The railway workers are shocked at the sight of the “dragon”, either prostrating on the ground or frantically abandoning their tools and trying to flee. The tension sends an explicit message regarding the fear of railway intrusion and the loss of Fengshui protection for the land. In this account, the railway is portrayed as a foreign force of disturbance. Its encounter with the “native” geomantic power becomes a clash over the peace and future of the land. In the graphic composition, popular superstition

⁴⁹ “Dragon Cave Breached” (龙穴已破), *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 14: 166.

inspires the artist's imagination to unfold a landscape of confrontation and shock between the reality and the supernatural, in which the "native force" is defeated. Coincidentally or not, the meandering snakes and railway tracks bear strong resemblance to each other. Allegorically, railway as Western technology and extension of international capitalism is culturally reproduced in traditional Chinese sensibility as another sort of rival power to the local "dragon".

The dynamic relationship among railway construction, geomantic harmony, local attitudes and national politics continued to be a significant power struggle in the complicated railway development in China well into the 20th century.⁵⁰ As James Flath argued, "No matter how extensively the railways were financed and controlled by foreigners, they were still physically built by Chinese labor, experienced by Chinese passengers, and imagined by Chinese artists in a hermeneutic framework that included "local/global" dichotomies. The worldwide phenomenon of the railway (and its local antitheses) was both produced by local labor and imagined by local artists."⁵¹ In framing cultural encounter, Marshall Sahlins pointed out that the "world is not a physics of proportionate relationship between economic 'impact' and cultural 'reactions.'" Rather the specific effects of the global-material forces depend on the various ways they are mediated in local cultural schemes."⁵² *Dianshizhai* artists obviously had keen awareness

⁵⁰ Arthur John Barry, "Railway Development in China," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* LVII (May, 1909): 541-60; E-Tu Zen Sun, "The Pattern of Railway Development in China," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 14, 2 (Feb., 1955): 179-99.

⁵¹ James Flath, "The Chinese Railroad View: Transportation Themes in Popular Print, 1873-1915," *Cultural Critique* 58 (2004): 168-90.

⁵² Marshall Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of the World System," in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social tTheory*, ed. Nicholas Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994): 412-458.

of the changes introduced by the railway. Their understanding of the impact of railway was mediated by the discourse of the local cultural field. In the railway drawings, the complexity of the changes were revealed through juxtapositions of old and new, slow and fast, modern and traditional, Chinese and foreign, imagined and real. These contradictions of modernity are all positioned in a shared textual-pictorial frame in an attempt to control and resolve the intrinsic conflict while releasing anxiety and tension. In other words, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* presents a distinctively Chinese railroad view.

Shanghai's exposure to Western technology is multidimensional, encompassing all aspects of life. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* carried the knowledge of industrial technology beyond its physical limits, so the concept of a "flying vehicle", "magic lens" or steam engine could be envisioned by people who could not experience them. The consequence was a mosaic picture of mixed reactions and sentiments toward the introduced technology. A new discourse was generated based on society's perception of Western science. In *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Western science and technology became a series of spectacles interwoven with artistic imagination and social sentiment, presented to the pleasure and curiosity of public gaze. The curiosity of the Chinese mind formed a "public gaze" to meet the novel things from the West, while reserving misgivings and suspicions. It is such curiosity, "seeing for the sake of seeing", that led to far more interest displayed toward Western innovation and technology than toward other non-material aspects of Western civilization, since the non-material aspects of Western culture, such as institutions, laws and political systems, were hardly suitable for visual representation.

This explains why the texts and pictures in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were mostly confined to the introduction of Western material culture.

The literary commentaries in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* sometimes maintain an approving stance towards western things, and sometimes exhibit critical tones. Usually great admiration and awe were shown toward new western science and technology, especially medicine. Knowledge of the West and westerners as a whole in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* can be characterized as unstructured, disperse, and discontinuous. Artists and journalists usually reported on western topics that captured their imagination or piqued their curiosity. Except to satisfy their curiosity about western “new knowledge”, there were few intentional efforts to present the Chinese readership a systematic picture of Western society and life. Thus, such unintentional bits and pieces formed a mosaic panorama of continuous discontinuity.

Dianshizhai’s textual-pictorial representation of Western novelty revealed the subtle interior of the Chinese thinking as well as the complicated attitudes of the Chinese in the presence of Western culture in late Qing period. The public gaze and restless curiosity in *Dianshizhai* drawings reflected a peculiar ethos of Shanghai colonial-modernism, a tolerant ethos which was characteristic of Shanghai urban culture.

Chapter Four

Entertainment, Extraterritoriality, and War: Westerners in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*

After Shanghai was officially open for foreign trade in 1843, foreigners moved in to reside and open business. Western countries began to demarcate respective settlements to the north of the city and continued settlement expansion. In 1863, British and American settlements were combined to form the International Settlement.¹ Along with the French Settlement, the International Settlement occupied thousands of acres of land, forming a foreign settlement district with Westerners in charge of municipal administration and shared judiciary responsibility between China and the Western countries.² During the following decades, Shanghai gradually transitioned from “segregation between Chinese and foreigners” to “commingling of Chinese and foreigners”.³ Such social transition had significant influence on local life and culture.

By 1865, according to the statistics of the French Concession, in the International Settlement and the French Settlement combined, there were 2757 foreign residents and 146,052 Chinese residents.⁴ In the 1880s the blending of East and West had become the most significant characteristic of urban Shanghai. The close residential proximity and interaction between the foreigners and the Chinese in Shanghai offered the Chinese direct opportunities to know and understand Westerners and Western civilization. Compared to people in interior China, Shanghai Chinese had more direct experience with Western

¹ John K. Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China, Vol.10: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Pt.1.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 238-39.

² Zhang Chuntian, “Tu Xiang Shang Hai Yu Wan Qing Du Shi Mei Ti De Biao Yi Shi Jian,” *Yue Hai Feng* 1, (2007): 67-73.

³ Li Tiangang, “Cong Zhong Zu Ge Li Dao Hua Yang Za Ju,” *Shu Cheng* 9 (2003): 30-35.

⁴ Tang Zhijun, *Jin Dai Shang Hai Da Shi Ji* (Shanghai ci shu chu ban she, 1989), 214.

technology, customs and culture. Fire hydrants, chiming clocks, telegraph lines, and gas lamps were ubiquitous in Shanghai; however these would have been imagined novelties elsewhere. The everyday life of many Shanghai Chinese was closely associated with Westerners, living with Western neighbors, working at Westerner's banks, seeing a physician at a Western hospitals, reading newspapers run by Westerners, and watching a Western circus and horse race. Besides reporting on Western science, technology and medicine, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* also published many accounts about the entertainment and lifestyle of Westerners in Shanghai.

Entertainment and Celebrations

The horse race was one of the most popular entertainment topics. There are a number of *Dianshizhai* accounts documenting various equestrian events in Shanghai. The narratives vividly described horse races where galloping Western jockeys and a cheering crowd formed a joyous scene.⁵ People were attracted to the excitement of the game as well as the gambling aspect of the sport, “stretching their necks, watching with great anticipation.”⁶ In one horse race sketch, the artist used the technique of perspective to position the spectator crowd as the focus of the picture, with the race course extending into the distant background. The audience was predominantly Chinese, men and women transported to the race course by horse wagon or rickshaw. The artists had to be familiar with the race course to offer a realist depiction of the scene. Details such as the layout of

⁵ “Western Teenager Horse Race” (西童赛马), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 174; “Horse Race Gambling” (西人跑纸), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 252.

⁶ “Fall at Horse Race” (一蹶不振), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 191.

the race track, activities of the crowds, people's attire and parasol, are all included in the panoramic representation of the race course. Some people were standing, some were sitting, while others were watching in a sedan chair or a horse wagon. The drawing includes almost all the available types of transportation vehicles in Shanghai, such as the old style single-wheel cart, the two-wheeled rickshaw introduced from Japan, and horse-drawn wagons of various types, either double-wheel or four-wheel, single-horse or double-horse. As the narrative explains, "when one jockey finished the first, the cheering crowd formed a gauntlet to applaud him. For the winner, it must be an exciting pleasantry. And for the wall of spectators who are not burdened by victory or loss, their enjoyment was even more than the winner's."⁷ (Figure 4.1) Other Western sports activities reported in *Dianshizhai* include running, boat race, bicycle race, ball game, etc.⁸ All the sport activities sketches depict outdoor scenes with Western participants and a mixed spectator crowd of both Chinese and Westerners. Besides offering vivid textual description and realist drawing of the events, artists also liked to make general observations.

Westerners love to be physically active instead of being inactive. Westerners love to be competitive and don't yield easily. Other than skill contests, there are strength contests for both people and animals. Human strength contests include wrestling, jumping, or tug of war. Whoever wins would laugh and clap. Animal strength contests are for ox, goats, dogs, pigs, monkeys and roosters. They use their respective strength to compete, such as sharpness of the claw and beak, hardness of the teeth, or strong muscles, etc. Several days before the horse race, both people and animals would congregate on the race course to carry out the contests, with strong desire to win.⁹ (Figure 4.2)

⁷ "Horse Race" (赛马志盛), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 14.

⁸ "Skill Contest" (西人赛技), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 190; "Bicycle Contest" (赛脚踏车), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 175; "Cycling Game" (跑车角艺), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 106; "Westerner's Boat Race" (西人赛船), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 173; "Ball Game" (西人抛球), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 8: 4; "Running Contest" (力士赛行), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 128.

⁹ "Strength Contests" (力不同科), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 200.

The drawing depicts a busy scene at a race course where multiple contests are taking place at the same time. Ox, roosters, pigs, dogs, and goats are racing and fighting each other while humans are engaged in fencing, running, baseball and tug of war. The artist's opening comments quite accurately point to the most externalized difference between Eastern and Western culture regarding physical activity and competitiveness.

As a colorful cosmopolitan city, Shanghai was not only the paradise for adventurers, but also the city of first choice for overseas entertainers. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* frequently reported the visits of Western entertainers in Shanghai. Among them the most famous group was the G. Chiarini Circus, which made its debut in Shanghai in 1882 and received an enthusiastic welcome.¹⁰ The spectacular performances of the G. Chiarini Circus were documented in multiple *Dianshizhai* accounts. An 1886 sketch depicts the second visit of the G. Chiarini Circus in Shanghai. An elephant was blowing a trumpet with its trunk. The playground was filled to the brim with people. Among the audience, there were Chinese wearing traditional long robes, and Westerners wearing tall hats. The accompanying text explains the various forms of game with exotic animals.¹¹ (Figure 4. 3) In the mean time, *Shenbao* sent reporters to follow the entire itinerary of the G. Chiarini Circus and published a series of 18 features on difference performances.¹² It was the first time for Chinese to see African lions, zebras, rhinos, Ceylon elephants, giant boas, and many other exotic animals and birds. Exoticism and novelty were the two major attractions of the circus, which certainly fit into the social curiosity of Late Qing

¹⁰ Xia Xiaohong, "Trace Down the "G.Chiarini" Circuit in Shanghai," *Root Exploration* 06 (2001): 37.

¹¹ "Western Circus Encore" (西戏重来), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 47.

¹² Xia Xiaohong, 41.

Shanghai. An 1889 sketch presents an intense acrobatic moment of the third visit of the G. Chiarini Circus in Shanghai. Two performers were hanging upside down on a swing, and one of them was trying to catch the third performer released in air from the swing. The drawing shows the entire audience caught in the captivating moment, staring intently at the performers' motion.¹³ (Figure 4.4)

The fame of the G. Chiarini Circus even entered a late Qing novel *Nie hai hua*, in which the protagonist was taken to “see two G. Chiarini Circus shows” when he first arrived in Shanghai. That was considered an admission ticket to the Shanghai cosmopolitan circle.¹⁴ The popularity of the foreign circus came not only from its fantastic performance. More importantly, it created an arena of spectacle where seeing and being seen were interwoven with each other. Other than men, there were also many women in the audience. The advertisement of the G. Chiarini Circus fully utilized the presence of women to promote the event. “Among the audience are many pretty and well-dressed women, thus well-groomed young men flock to the performance” and “tens of thousands of people compete in their best attire”.¹⁵ The circus scene generated both a performance spectacle and a subtle social spectacle which characterized an era desirous of seeing and being seen.

Ceremonies and foreign festival celebrations were also favored topics in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, such as the anniversary of the French Republic, the British Prince's visit, Queen Victoria's 50th and 60th anniversary, and various welcoming

¹³ “Into the Air” (直上干霄), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 91.

¹⁴ Zeng Pu, *Nie hai hua* 孽海花 (Tai bei: Tai wan gu ji, 2004), Chapter 3.

¹⁵ “Arrival of G. Chiarini Circus” (新到枝亚理尼马戏), *Shenbao*, May 30, 1886.

ceremonies for foreign envoys. Such occasions are depicted as joyous entertainment feasts where both foreigners and Chinese shared the spirit of the celebration and enjoyed the visual splendor. The account of the anniversary of the French Republic began with “July 14th in the Western calendar is the anniversary of the establishment of democracy in France. Every year, lanterns and banners are elaborately displayed in the Settlement to mark the celebration.”¹⁶ (Figure 4.5) Then the rest of the long narrative went on to give a detailed description of the celebration scene. The picture shows a crowd convened at the scene to watch the lantern show and fireworks at the French Settlement. Most of the onlookers were Chinese whose predominant presence formed an interesting contrast to the very theme of the celebration. For the Chinese spectators, their impression of “democracy” was far less empirical than that of the various foreign novelties and celebrations. For the Chinese mind in *Dianshizhai*, visual appeal always seemed to attract more curiosity than conceptual ideas. The artist faithfully depicted the tangible aspects of the celebration, including the abbreviation “RF” on the banner that represented the Republic of France. There was little interest in the very concept behind the celebration, either from the artist or from the reader. For the Chinese spectators, their presence at the celebration was more for lively and energetic display of color and excitement than sharing the political or patriotic significance of “democracy”.

The 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria was extravagantly celebrated in Shanghai in 1887. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* published an extensive series of seven accounts in one single issue documenting various celebratory activities in Shanghai, including a cannon

¹⁶ “French Settlement National day” (法界悬灯), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 89.

ceremony, church liturgy, public fireworks, a fire truck parade, a circus show and a lantern show. Each sketch was accompanied by lavish textual description of the celebration. The artists admired the solemn church liturgy, where elegantly uniformed participants “sail like fish in water with order and grace, despite the big watching crowd.”¹⁷(Figure 4.6) They were also amazed at the spectacular visual effects created by colored glass, electric lamps and fountain.¹⁸(Figure 4.7) Before 1890, only a small number of venues in Shanghai had the privilege to use electric lamp. It was until 1890 when an electric company was established in Shanghai to provide power to incandescent lamps, electric lamp began to become prevalent in the city.¹⁹ Therefore, the large scale use of electric lamp in celebratory activities was no doubt a visual feast for the Chinese eyes. Along with the seven celebration activity accounts, *Dianshizhai* also published a portrait of Queen Victoria with a biographical essay to commemorate her 50th anniversary of enthronement.²⁰ This was one of the very few drawings in *Dianshizhai* depicting a head of foreign states. Other than depicting the visual splendor of the scenes, an overwhelming presence of Chinese spectators in the drawings indicated the popularity of such activities in Shanghai.²¹(Figure 4.8; Figure 4.9) Not only did the local Chinese enthusiastically participate in Western celebrations, but foreign entertainment was also

¹⁷ “British Queen’s 50th Anniversary Celebration Picture No. 2” (寓沪英人望祝英君陟位五十载庆典第二图), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 93.

¹⁸ “British Queen’s 50th Anniversary Celebration Picture No.7” (寓沪英人望祝英君陟位五十载庆典第七图), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 98.

¹⁹ Xue Bing, *Wan Qing yang xiang bai chu* (Nanjing: Jiangsu ren min chu ban she, 2005), 103.

²⁰ “Portrait of the British Queen” (英君主像), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 91.

²¹ “British Queen’s 50th Anniversary Celebration Picture No.3” (寓沪英人望祝英君陟位五十载庆典第三图), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 94; “British Queen’s 50th Anniversary Celebration Picture No.4” (寓沪英人望祝英君陟位五十载庆典第四图), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 95.

invited to local Chinese festivals. As one account entitled “Western Music in Goddess Festival” documented:

As far as we see, Westerners use music in everything for self-entertainment, including military exercise, funeral, horse races, and official’s arrival ceremonies. The pace of the music is harmonized with the marching step of the musicians. Recently at the treaty ports, those who are curious and financially capable also hire a Western band. At this year’s Chongyang Festival, Cantonese merchants living in Shanghai attended the welcome ceremony for the Goddess at the Heavenly Queen Temple. Other than the regular banners and musical bands, a Western band was hired to play in the parade. The use of alien liturgy was disparaged since the Spring and Autumn Period. Educated gentlemen would not adopt such practice.²² (Figure 4.10)

Although the commentator disapproved of the use of Western music in a Chinese festival, the incident illuminated the active local reception in Canton and Shanghai of Western culture. Not only were many foreign novelties introduced into China through treaty ports like Shanghai, but the local people’s adoption of Western culture also contributed to the modernity experience of Shanghai.

Dianshizhai’s accounts of Western entertainment and festivals reflected an increasing cultural fascination in Chinese urban society with Western social practice, life-ways and material goods. Such fascination with exotic material culture and life-ways also coexisted with Chinese anxiety about foreign affairs and foreign incursions. Westerners in sports, festivals and celebrations formed the light-hearted side of the foreign presence in Shanghai. There are other depictions of Westerners in Shanghai that constituted the colorful kaleidoscopic experience of the Chinese interaction with Western presence.

²² “Western Music in Goddess Festival” (西乐迎神), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 184.

Westerners and the Extraterritoriality

Other than the Western physicians mentioned in Chapter 2, there were other Western professional groups that the Chinese are familiar with, such as clergymen and foreign police. In *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Chinese experience with these people constituted an important part of their impression of the Westerners in late Qing China.

One *Dianshizhai* account documented an American missionary woman helping a sick Chinese man on the street.²³ In “Embracing the injured”, the Red Cross convened missionary doctors to treat the injured Chinese soldiers of the Sino-Japanese War.

Hundreds of people come for medical treatment everyday. They are missing limbs, bleeding with infested wounds. Some are groaning in tremendous pain. They can only crawl to the clinic for help. The Western doctors attend to every need, with no complain of fatigue. All the sick and injured received recovery. There was concern for insufficient funding. Shanghai missionary Mr. Muirhead was invited to raise fund for this cause. Various churches donated generously to support this righteous cause. Alas, Westerners are humans as well; they have shown their generous nature. However, those Chinese who usually self claim to be righteous are stingy at giving.²⁴ (Figure 4.11)

The Shanghai missionary mentioned in the account was William Muirhead, who was a prominent Protestant missionary from the London Missionary Society.²⁵ In order to open the Chinese population for evangelization in both urban and rural areas, offering free medical care and education and opening relief agencies became the most common approaches of Western missionaries to establish rapport and build trust with the Chinese, especially the needy population. Various types of material aid were offered to the poor and needy to win their conversion to Christianity. These missionary activities obviously

²³ “Mistake Monk for Nun” (误僧为尼), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 222.

²⁴ “Embracing the injured” (痾瘵在抱), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 47.

²⁵ American Presbyterian Mission, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867).

left good impressions with *Dianshizhai* intellectuals. There are a number of interesting accounts in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* about Western missionaries in China.

In the story titled “Fury of a Western Missionary”, two court guards clashed at a store over a dispute. The confrontation escalated into an armed fight among dozens of people. A neighborhood Jesuit missionary stepped out to restore order and captured two suspects and sent them to the county magistrate to be prosecuted. The guards were court martialled. “If it were not for the bravery of the Western missionary, the officials would likely condone the guards hooligan behavior and try to cover up the criminality that should be eliminated.”²⁶ (Figure 4.12) In the sketch, a well-dressed Western man was standing in the middle of a street clash, trying to stop the chaotic fight. The left side of the background was the store where the clash originated. On the right, there was a Western church. The calmness of the Western figure formed a sharp contrast with the Chinese figures around him brandishing swords and sticks. The Western missionary was portrayed as the representation of order and righteousness. While the Chinese mob behavior spoke of lawlessness. The Jesuit missionary obviously had close knowledge of the operation of Qing bureaucracy, and went to the court in person to present the case. It was well known that Qing bureaucrats were afraid of Westerners for fear of diplomatic disputes. So the fury of the Westerner was taken seriously by the magistrate and justice was served through the Jesuit missionary’s intervention. Such a story reflected the social reality of Western missionary influence in China.

²⁶ “Fury of Western Missionary” (西士义愤), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 13: 148.

If the reports on “new knowledge” left a collective impression of Westerners as technologically innovative, medically talented and loving to enjoy life, the stories about local life reflected a less desirable image of Westerners in Shanghai. Foreign settlements in Shanghai were fraught with racial conflicts and complicated colonial experiences. In the complex power relations of the foreign settlements, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*’s reporting style and status became subtle and interesting.

There are a number of stories in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* condemning the behavior of the Westerners in Shanghai. In one story, a rickshaw driver was being bullied by a Westerner. The picture depicted an arrogant Westerner and a despondent rickshaw driver with emotional comments: “Westerners have been acting as bullies for too long, have they ever thought that the laws of heaven cannot be violated without consequence?”²⁷

Another account documented the following incident:

Two Westerners went hunting in the country and killed a villager’s rooster by mistake. The villager demanded compensation. The Westerners refused and beat him up and then threw one dollar at him. They thought the incident would end there. However, the villager followed them to where live. The furious Westerners attacked and injured the villager with a stick. People reported the incident to the police who impartially agreed to inform the consul. A just decision is expected. The villager is innocent and should not suffer such humiliation brought on by the Westerners’ instigation. Such an incident had no benefits to either side. It was all because of the Westerner’s stupidity and insolence.²⁸

Such comments were obviously generated from people’s everyday experience of Westerners’ acts in Shanghai, releasing pent-up emotions over injustice. However, condemnations were limited to the specific person and circumstance involved and did not relate to the broader sociopolitical context such as humiliation of the Qing government at

²⁷ “Hooligan Behavior” (逞凶可恶), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 87.

²⁸ “Westerners’ Wrongdoing” (曲在西人), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 217.

the hands of Western powers, inequality in Sino-West relationship and the legitimacy of extraterritoriality. Coexistence of Chinese and foreigners was an accepted fact in *Dianshizhai* reporting. The stories tend to comment on individual incidents and rarely relate to nationalist sentiment or issues concerning national sovereignty. This is also reflected in the reporting of Westerners' judicial and military activities in Shanghai.

In one *Dianshizhai* account, the chief police officer of the British Settlement Mixed Court took sympathy at the Chinese inmates in custody after knowing they were indigent, and gave them money for food and medicine.²⁹(Figure 4.13) In the picture, the British police chief was seated in the middle of the room giving orders, a Chinese official sat next to him, listening humbly. The inmates were kowtowing and pleading to the police chief. Among the bystanders were inmates' family members and Chinese prison guards, they seemed to be nodding with praise. An 1884 account reported a military exercise of Western troops stationed in Shanghai. The drawing depicted horse-drawn artillery along with marching infantry and cavalry in well-formed phalanx. As the commentary goes: "They came from across the ocean and became expatriates here. Exhibiting one's vulnerability would invite bully. So there must be a reason they had to do this."³⁰ (Figure 4.14) Another account on Western military exercise gave the following narrative:

Western businessmen come from thousands of miles away. For fear of local bullies, each country sends military ship to Shanghai for protection. However, military ships cannot stay forever. In order to prepare for the unexpected, Western businessmen elected among them leaders who know military defense to offer training to the volunteer corps. They are businessmen during peace time, but turn

²⁹ "Westerner Sympathetic with Prisoners" (西人恤囚), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 164.

³⁰ "Western Troop Exercise" (西兵会操), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 210.

into soldiers upon crisis situation. Their mission is to protect life and property of the Western business community. On November 14th, the volunteer corps and the sailors convened on the race course to stage exercises, carrying guns and cannons... There were less than three hundred people. However they staged various amazing formations. The marching was synchronized and the entire exercise was conducted in solemnity. Indeed they must have learned the essence of the art of war.³¹ (Figure 4.15)

Accounts such as “Mixed court” and “Western troop exercise” glaringly underscored the critical changes in Shanghai foreign settlements after 1868. In 1868, “Provisional Rules for the Mixed court” were promulgated by the British Consul to establish the “International Mixed court” (called *Huishen gongxie* in Chinese). According to the regulation, a sub-prefect was established in the International Settlement with the authority to rule together with a foreign assessor in all civil, commercial and criminal cases according to Chinese law in missed cases where Chinese were defendants. In cases involving only Chinese, the sub-prefect would adjudicate cases by himself without interference from the foreign consuls.³² From its inception, the Mixed Court was a constant source of friction between the Chinese authorities and foreign powers. One of the more significant foreign incursions into Qing sovereignty was the effort to expand extraterritoriality and the jurisdiction of the Mixed court.³³ A major point of contention between Qing and foreign authorities in the Mixed Court was the administrative and legal control of the Chinese in the International Settlement. The object of struggle was whether a foreign assessor should be allowed to intervene the proceedings in solely Chinese cases

³¹ “Military Exercise” (会操存真), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 236.

³² Robert T. Bryant, “Extraterritoriality and the Mixed Court in China,” *Virginia Law Review* 13, no. 1 (1926): 27-36.

³³ Par Cassel, “Excavating Extraterritoriality,” *Late Imperial China* 24, no. 2 (2003): 156-182.

in order to protect the interests of the foreign community. And there were constant efforts from the foreign side to renegotiate the agreement to that effect.³⁴

In 1869, the Land Regulations which served the International Settlement as a municipal charter were promulgated to organize for the Settlement an “executive committee or council,” which came to be known as the Shanghai Municipal Council.³⁵ The Council had wide powers such as to levy taxes, to administer public funds, to construct roads, enact building regulations, police both foreign and Chinese residents, and maintain a militia. With the full establishment of the Municipal Council and a standing militia force under its direct control—Shanghai Volunteer Corps(万国商团 Wan Guo Shang Tuan), an entire colonial institution and judiciary system was fully formed above the Qing sovereignty. Through treaties in the 1840s and 1850s, foreigners in China obtained extraterritoriality which gave them the right to be judged by the laws of their own country in criminal cases on Chinese soil. Such extraterritorial rights were further extended in the 1860s through subsequent revision of the treaties.³⁶ Extraterritoriality was to remain at the center of Chinese legal reform until its final abolition in the 1940s.³⁷ In practice, foreign settlements were self-governing enclaves. In addition to the extraterritorial rights and privileges extended to foreigners, the International Settlement

³⁴ Mark Elvin, “The Mixed Court of the International Settlement at Shanghai (Until 1911),” *Papers on China* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1963), vol. 17, 139-141.

³⁵ Manley Hudson, “Rendition of the International Mixed Court at Shanghai,” *The American Journal of International Law* 21, no. 3 (1927): 451-471; For history of the Land Regulations and the Mixed Court, see Anatol M. Kotenev, *Shanghai: Its Mixed Court and Council* (Shanghai: North China Daily News & Herald, Ltd., 1925).

³⁶ George W. Keeton, *The Development of Extraterritoriality in China*, (London: Longmans, Green and co., 1928), vol. 1, 283-343.

³⁷ Frank Dikotter, *Crime, Punishment, and the Prison in Modern China, 1895-1949* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 41-43; V. K. Wellington Koo, *The Status of Aliens in China* (New York: Columbia University, 1912), 179-183.

authorities exercised *de facto* jurisdiction over Chinese residents who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. In the International Settlement, civil or criminal cases between Chinese were tried before the Mixed Court often dominated in practice (not by treaty right) by foreign assessors.³⁸ However, the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* did not seem to be interested in such issues. Just as *Dianshizhai* artists joyously reported the British Prince's Shanghai visit as a spectacular lantern event enjoyed by both Chinese and Westerners,³⁹ instead of a reminder of Shanghai's semi-colonial reality, the intellectual insensitivity of the artists toward Shanghai's colonial existence could also explain why the artist paid attention to the "sympathetic heart" of the British police chief, offered comments such as "exhibiting one's vulnerability would invite bully", and justified foreign military exercise in Shanghai as necessary protection against 'local bullies'.

However, lack of nationalistic or sovereign awareness did not mean the people lacked resistance when their rights were violated. Such resistance was evidenced in the rickshaw drivers' anti-taxation riot in 1897 and the Siming Residence incident in 1898. Both incidents received detailed reporting in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. In the account entitled "Rickshaw Pullers Riot", the story unfolded:

The rickshaw pullers in British and American Settlements went on strike to protest tax increase proposed by the British Municipal Council. The day before yesterday, several thousand of them gathered in front of the headquarter in Huangputan, carrying sticks and bludgeons. They clashed with the police. People's morale was very high, the crowd was expanding. They even removed a foreign bank's iron fence to use as weapons. Westerners at the headquarter telephoned various police stations in panic. All police stations rang alarm to

³⁸John K. Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 12: Republican China, 1912 - 1949, Pt. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 132.

³⁹"British Prince at lantern Festival" (英皇子观灯记), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 7: 47.

convene troops including cavalry and artillery. Artillery protection was set up around the Municipal Council. Alarm sounded on Huangpu River. Troops were being sent ashore.⁴⁰ (Figure 4.16)

A rickshaw pullers riot almost went out of control and mobilized the entire Western police and military force in Shanghai. The drawing depicted an intense scene of struggle in which rickshaw pullers seemed to be overpowering the Westerners. They were brandishing sticks and poles. Western policemen were either trampled to the ground or trying to flee. Two small boats carrying troops from navy ships were approaching from the distant water. In the end, the rickshaw pullers “dispersed like birds.” However the result of the struggle was obvious: “After negotiation of both Chinese and foreign officials, the tax increase was put on hold. And the business resumed normalcy.” The actual development of the incident might not be as simple and satisfactory as reported. The story deliberately chose a moment of victory for the Chinese side to report on. Such selective and biased treatment released accumulated indignation and became “revenge on paper.”⁴¹

Dianshizhai Pictorial reported the incident of forceful occupation and demolition of Siming Gongsuo by French troops in 1898. Siming Gongsuo had been the Ningbo merchants’ business headquarter and burial site for over a hundred years. Thousands of bodies were buried there. The French tried to force the Ningbo merchant clan to move out in order to build a school, a hospital and a slaughterhouse. Eighty armed French soldiers were sent to Siming Gongsuo along with two giant cannons. The soldiers blasted huge holes in the wall surrounding Siming Gongsuo and clashed with the protesting Chinese

⁴⁰ “Rickshaw Pullers Riot” (大闹洋场), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 101.

⁴¹ Zhang Chuntian, “Tuxiang Shanghai yu wanqing dushi meiti de biaoyi shijian,” *Yue Hai Feng* 1, (2007): 67-73.

who “rained bricks and stones on the soldiers.” The commentator particularly emphasized that the “might of French troops” did not work. Instead “due to the strong suppression of the local Chinese officials”, “the French managed to avoid a disaster, and it was their luck.”⁴² (Figure 4.17) As a matter of fact, a follow-up report in *Shenbao* documented that “the French troops opened fire, killed over ten people and injured twenty people, and they finally got what they wanted.”⁴³ However, in the *Dianshizhai* sketch of the scene, it was obvious that the protesting Chinese were having the upper hand. Confronted by the furious uproar of the Chinese, the French troops seemed to be motionless figures, frozen on the ground. The only gesturing French officer appeared weak and pale, trying to fend off the attacking Chinese crowd. Though the French were well-armed and the Chinese protesters were armless, the chaotic scene speaks of the overwhelming strength of bricks and sticks over guns, namely the power of the Chinese indignation over the French injustice. Either in graphic portrayal or in textual comment, the story was not confined by the factual circumstance and was meant to satisfy emotional expression.

The Siming Gongsuo incident continued to evolve. In the same *Dianshizhai* issue, another account documented how the incident developed further.

Since the French demolished the wall of Siming Gongsuo, workers and merchants went on strike with indignation. Among them were laborers, carpenters, and also vagrants with nothing to do, totaling over ten thousand...Hoodlums and scoundrels in the French Settlement took advantage of the situation to cause trouble. They destroyed electric lights and gas lamps and threw the streets into darkness. This angered the French... French troops opened fire and attacked them.

⁴² “Siming Gongsuo Riot” (强夺公所), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 200.

⁴³ “Detailed Account of Siming Gongsuo Post-riot” (详记公所被夺后情形), *Shenbao* 1898, July 22.

Several bystanders were killed indiscriminately. Altogether there were 24 people injured, and 17 people killed in this conflict. Neither of them was involved in the incident, and met with tragic disaster... The cruelty and unreasonableness of the French is shocking.⁴⁴ (Figure 4.18)

In the picture, bodies of several Chinese were lying in front of the French police station, surrounded by an angry Chinese crowd who were up in arms protesting. The French soldiers were hiding behind the gate, seeming to admit the guilt of indiscriminate killing. Despite the ethnic heterogeneity in Shanghai, Westerners who were “not us” still existed as “the others”, which reflected the imbalanced power relationship between China and the West. In the accounts of Siming Gongsuo, such confrontation and power inequality particularly underlined the colonial experience of Shanghai. *Dianshizhai* intellectuals sided with the Chinese sentiment. The artist’s renderings of the riot scene were intended to show Chinese strength and demand for justice despite the actual consequence of the incident. Tension and anxiety were released through such ‘revenge on paper’. In the construction of image of the Chinese public who suffered casualty in the conflict, the French troops were portrayed as enemies, which reinforced the collective identity of the Chinese nation for its individual members.

In his seasoned discussion on the stereotype of the “Other” in colonial discourse, Homi Bhabha argued, “The question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given, never a self-fulfilling prophecy—it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image. The demand of identification – that is, to be for an Other- entails the representation of the subject in the

⁴⁴ “Cruelty of the French” (法人残忍), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 201.

differentiating order of otherness.”⁴⁵ The representation of the Chinese and the Westerners and the construction of the “Other” in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reflected the complex self-identification of newspaper professionals in late Qing Shanghai, and also reflected the dynamic interaction between the media and the urban context.

During *Dianshizhai Pictorial*’s 14 years of existence (1884-1898), China’s national crisis continued to intensify. However, instead of experiencing stagnation, Shanghai went through rapid development: prosperity of commerce, burgeoning media industry, emergence of a cosmopolitan city and certain elements of modern civil society, as well as the structural change of social classes. Shanghai truly marched at the frontline of modernization. A holistic perspective to understand Shanghai should situate it in the historic background of China and the world. Under such perspective, treaty ports and inland China developed even more complex interactive dynamics.⁴⁶ The locality of Shanghai against the globality of late Qing East-West interaction set the tone for *Dianshizhai Pictorial*.

The dynamic relationship between Shanghai and the rest of China contributed to the flexible and pragmatic attitudes of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* on Sino-West relations. Comments were usually offered on the reported events without much allusion to national sentiment. It is because of the experience of economic development and Western technology in the foreign settlements, that the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* would report on

⁴⁵ Homi Bhabha, “Interrogating Identity: Frantz Fanon and the postcolonial prerogative,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 65; “The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 94-120.

⁴⁶ Rhoads Murphey, *The Treaty Ports and China's Modernization: What Went Wrong?* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1970).

Western science and knowledge with great enthusiasm and approval. It is also because of the inequality and violence encountered in colonial experience, the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* offered “revenge on paper” to voice against colonial injustice.

In the symbolic system of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, images of Westerners exhibited multiple dimensions. They could be “innovative and gifted with scientific talent”, or “cruel and insolent”, or “kind and virtuous”. One *Dianshizhai* account reported a Sino-West joint effort in opening a girl’s school in Shanghai. Some local Chinese elites proposed the idea of a girl’s school and invited the wives of Western consuls and attorneys as well as Catholic nuns to attend a conference. “It was a grand get-together with 122 people. More than half of them were Western women.”⁴⁷ *Dianshizhai* intellectuals certainly observed Westerners’ endeavor in advocating education for woman in China and also noticed Western women’s different social status and opportunities.

Westerners value girls more than boys. Women can equally do all the things men do, studying, music, and all other trades. We only see that there are many female talents in the West and often fail to see how this comes into being. Shanghai is a busy treaty port. Many Westerners brought their children to reside here. A couple of years ago, a missionary built a girl’s school outside the boy’s academy on Sanma road. All girls enrolled in the school have an academic specialization. The female teachers of the school are very strict at teaching a rigorous curriculum. Girls work diligently at the school and make progress every day...thus we know why women thrive in the West.⁴⁸

Chapter 3 discussed the entertaining nature of the visual display of Western novelties such as the balloon, flying vehicles and train, as well as the social seeing and being seen at the technological spectacles. Seeing became a powerful act that evokes desire and fear. The visual dynamics in these illustrations is based on direct gaze from

⁴⁷ “Women’s Conference” (裙钗大会), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 43.

⁴⁸ “Girl School” (女塾宏开), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 200.

China to the West or Chinese people's desire to be part of the visualized scene. The desire to see and to be seen is also revealed in more convoluted ways in other *Dianshizhai* accounts, in which Chinese wanted to see how Westerners see and judge traditional Chinese customs and lifestyles. *Dianshizhai* showed strong interest in reporting and visualizing brutal punishments used in Chinese courts and prisons. It seems that the torture employed at a Chinese court carried significance of a museum display. Foreigners visited Chinese courts to witness interrogation and punishment as a tourist attraction.⁴⁹ Several *Dianshizhai* stories introduce readers to the court scene and its brutality through the eyes of foreigners. One account documented the Brazilian prince's visit to a local Chinese court in Shanghai.⁵⁰

When the Brazilian Prince visited Shanghai, he asked to observe Chinese official's court interrogation. The local consulate made arrangement for a tour with a local Chinese magistrate. On August 1st, the Prince went with the consul and an interpreter. The local magistrate treated them with tea before opening the court for business. There were four cases that day. The most severe cases were gang member Li and unfilial son Jiang. Li was given 1,000 floggings and Jiang received 500 floggings. Both were placed in a wooden cage. The charge was respectively conspiracy and an unfilial act. Both were serious offenses that deserve harsh punishment. After the interrogation, the Prince bid farewell and the magistrate sent them off politely. (Figure 4.19)

The issues revealed in the above account are multifold. While Westerners obtained extraterritoriality in China through unequal treaties and the Qing judicial sovereignty was compromised by the establishment of mixed courts in foreign settlements, various flaws in Qing judicial system became more visibly exposed. Harsh interrogation, cruel punishment and judicial torture were the focus of foreign criticism. They became the reasons that the Qing judicial system was held in contempt by the

⁴⁹ Xue Bing, *Wan Qing yang xiang bai chu* (Nanjing: Jiangsu ren min chu ban she, 2005), 159.

⁵⁰ "Court Tour in Shanghai" (游沪观审), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 201.

Western powers. For the Western powers, torture in the Qing judicial and criminal system served as justification against the abolition of extraterritoriality.⁵¹

In *Discipline and Punishment*, Foucault powerfully noted that, in the late 18th and 19th centuries and ever since, public punishment directed at the body was abandoned and a penal system based on incarceration and reform of the criminal soul was established. The latter became a key marker of the temporal boundary of the modern world.⁵² Public execution, mutilation and torture, which had previously been accepted as common practice for the maintenance of proper social and moral order, became to be viewed as relics of a less civilized age.⁵³ The interrogation process at the Qing court was a spectacle designed to exhibit the power of the state and to execute the authority of the cosmic moral order vested in the magistrate by his imperial appointment.⁵⁴ In the above account, the center of the sketch shows one prisoner being flogged and another on his knees, all under the gaze of the foreign visitors. The local magistrate obviously was unaware of the foreign visitors' true purpose and even took pride in demonstrating his authority in applying torture. And the artist seemed to side with the magistrate as well, supporting "harsh punishment" for "severe offenses" such as conspiracy. For the same court proceeding, there was drastic difference between what the Chinese saw and what the foreigners saw. The Chinese saw punishment properly meted out to serve justice and maintain social order. The foreigners saw barbarous judicial practice that belonged to an

⁵¹ Daniel Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2005), 169.

⁵² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: the Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

⁵³ Daniel Botsman, 129.

⁵⁴ Rober Hegal, *Writing and Law in Late Imperial China: Crime, Conflict, and Judgment* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2007), 15.

uncivilized age. In another account, “Using Illegitimate Torture to Convict”, the picture shows a Western officer visiting a Chinese court who was angered by the cruel torture used to extract guilty plea from a suspect.⁵⁵ (Figure 4.20) As Keeton noted, there were constant efforts in the Mixed Court to prevent the Chinese side from using torture to extract confession or evidence and to make the Chinese penal system more humane.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, torture in judicial investigation and harsh punishment of the condemned were prevalent in the rest of the Qing penal system. Some enlightened Qing intelligentsia realized the acuteness of the judicial woes and began to advocate judicial reform. However, it was not until the early 20th century that meaningful efforts were attempted to initiate a long and complex judicial reform in China⁵⁷

In the account entitled “Display Torture Instrument for Review,” the French envoy was visiting Shanghai and requested to see torture devices at a local court. The Shanghai magistrate displayed various torture instruments in front of the envoy for his review and guided him through the tour. The French envoy was “satisfied at the visit and left pleased”.⁵⁸ (Figure 4.21) The gaze of the foreigner implied his Western ethical judgment, which was framed in a complex dynamics of anxiety and desire surrounding the foreign gaze. Foucault viewed the design of Bentham’s Panopticon⁵⁹ as the quintessential disciplinary apparatus of modern society, in which all individuals internalize the effects of perpetual surveillance and are self-disciplined through

⁵⁵ “Using Illegitimate Torture to Convict ” (私刑定讞), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 66.

⁵⁶ George W. Keeton, 349-50.

⁵⁷ Xu Xiaoqun, *Trial of Modernity: Judicial Reform in Early Twentieth-century China, 1901-1937*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

⁵⁸ “Display Torture Instrument for Review” (请观刑具), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 323.

⁵⁹ Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon and other prison writings* (New York: Verso, 1995).

awareness of the inspecting gaze of the ‘other’.⁶⁰ In this *Dianshizhai* account, the foreign envoy can be seen as the authority of modernity’s watchtower. As Foucault points out the scrutiny of the Panopticon gaze is ‘unverifiable’: “The inmate must never know whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so.”⁶¹ Unlike the architectural design of the Panopticon, in which the inmate does not see the guard, the gaze in these *Dianshizhai* pictures is always identifiable. The Chinese were as much the viewed as the viewer. The time of looking along with people looking and being looked at were clearly described in the *Dianshizhai* accounts.

The ‘modern’ gaze of the foreigner connotes clear identification of the origin and the destination of the gaze while representing disciplinary power of the ‘other’. It also reveals the Chinese desire or fantasy of being seen under the foreign gaze, which is a characteristic absent in the Panopticon surveillance. As Pang aptly contends, it is through the mediation of an ‘other’ that the self is realized; the presence of the ‘other’ is always vital in the modernity project that promises self-advancement in both moral and material terms.⁶² In the *Dianshizhai* pictures described above, when the Chinese court opened itself to foreign visitors, the magistrate anticipated possible criticism and condemnation from the outside observers. At the same time, it was also the magistrate’s desire to be empowered through the foreign gaze, which represented the Western power behind it. Thus, the foreign gaze is anchored in the Chinese desires of self-condemnation and self-empowerment paradoxically woven into the same visual framework. And the power of the foreign gaze also carried racial and cultural significance.

⁶⁰ Foucault, 197-209.

⁶¹ Foucault, 201.

⁶² Pang, 32.

In the *Dianshizhai* world, when the arrival of modernity brought anxiety and insecurity, the effect of visualizing and depicting the new reality coupled with people's desire to see and to be seen in the new reality helped to assuage such anxiety through visual means. It reflected the Chinese yearning to explore and come to terms with modernity through a complex confluence of image, text and imagination. The pictorial world in *Dianshizhai* offered a space in which the readers could locate themselves an epistemological and psychological identification in the evolving encounters with modernity, either in the benign interactions with the West or in violent confrontations such as war.

Sino-French War and Diplomacy in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*

The Sino-French War between 1883 and 1885 started with the French invasion of China's tributary state Annam (the Chinese name for Vietnam) and the subsequent encroachment on China. Two years of sporadic fighting took place in northern Annam and China's southeast coast. China suffered heavy losses in manpower, material and funds. During the summer of 1884, the French fleet attacked Fuzhou in southeast China, and quickly sank most of China's southern fleet. They also destroyed the Fuzhou Navy Yard, which France had originally helped China to build. In 1885, the Chinese seemed to gain an upper hand after defeating the French forces at Zhengnanguan on the China-Annam border and went on to capture the important city of Liang-shan. At this moment, the Qing government entered into peace negotiation with France and ended the war with the signing of the Sino-French treaty, which acknowledged Annam as a French

protectorate.⁶³ In addition, French companies were given direct trade access with China's southern provinces and over the next couple of years five treaty ports were to be opened along China's southern border. The Qing government accrued heavy debt by defending Annam along with huge economic losses brought by the war. By almost any modern standard, China lost the Sino-French War.⁶⁴

Much like illustrated publications in the English-speaking world, which focused on graphic image of current events, especially war, travel and exotica, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* offered vivid coverage of the Sino-French War. *Dianshizhai Pictorial's* documentation of the War started with the account of the attack of Beining, which was also the first news report in the opening issue of the pictorial in 1884. Detailed illustrations of war events and peace negotiations were published in subsequent issues. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* joined the other major newspapers such as *Shenbao* and *Shubao* in war reporting and made a significant impact on public opinion through its outreach of readership.⁶⁵ The British Consulate in Shanghai in its 1887 report on trade in Shanghai estimated that *Shenbao's* circulation increased from about 12,000 to 18,000 during the Sino-French War. Copies were also sent inland after being read in Shanghai.⁶⁶ Tens of thousands of readers learned of the war's progress through *Dianshizhai* reporting, just as Americans has learned of the events of the Civil War through *Harper's Weekly*.

⁶³ Denis Twitchett et al., *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 11, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911*, p. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), 251-268.

⁶⁴ Bruce Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989* (London: Routledge, 2001), 82-93.

⁶⁵ Mary Backus Rankin, "Alarming Crises/Enticing Possibilities: Political and Cultural Changes in Late Nineteenth-Century China," *Late Imperial China*, Vol. 29, No.1 (June 2008), 43.

⁶⁶ Ye Xiaoqing, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 9-10.

Dianshizhai artists generated the war illustrations with great enthusiasm, though they themselves did not necessarily have the full and truthful understanding of the evolution of the war. The artists made the war a national patriotic concern, advocated people's strong will to fight the French, exaggerated the battlefield accomplishment of the Chinese troops, overestimated prowess of the Chinese military, and praised Chinese troops courage to fight. While the war was going on between the Chinese and French troops on land and sea, high level peace negotiations between the two countries were taking place.⁶⁷ Thus, *Dianshizhai*'s reporting not only included the battlefield events, but also peace negotiations as well. The narratives for battlefield and peace negotiation are interestingly very different.

Among the battlefield pictures, there are scenes showing victorious advances of the Chinese troops and chaotic defeats of the French forces (Figure 4.22),⁶⁸ or scenes depicting the steadfastness of Chinese fortress in the face of the French attack.⁶⁹ (Figure 4.23) There sketches were accompanied by passionate narratives of the events including generous praise for the Chinese troops and strong condemnation on the French.

Despite the near destruction of China's Southern fleet by the French navy in 1884, *Dianshizhai* presented drawings of the Chinese fleet in its moments of glory, and elaborated on its defense preparedness against the French aggression: "The sophisticated naval formation at the coastal defense is no difference from that of the Western

⁶⁷ Shao Xunzheng, *Zhong Fa Yuenan guan xi shi mo* (Shijiazhuang Shi: Hebei jiao yu chu ban she, 2000), 119, 149.

⁶⁸ "Manifested Divine Will" (天牖其衷), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 11.

⁶⁹ "Attack of Beining" (力攻北宁), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 1.

powers...the strength of our weaponry has surpassed all of the previous dynasties; the country spares no efforts in strengthening and rejuvenating itself.”⁷⁰ (Figure 4.24)

Although none of the *Dianshizhai* artists could possibly have witnessed the fight in person, all the battlefield drawings were produced with a strong obsession for visual details, albeit imagined by the artists. Unlike Western lithographs of the late 19th century that usually tried to imitate the depth and complexity of oil painting, *Dianshizhai* communicated in a typical Chinese visual language. By using mostly line drawings, the artists created a realist tension of the battlefield with which the reader could identify and resonate. The landscape, the sea, fine details of the troop movement and soldiers’ facial expression combined with fire, dust and flame. It was both the artists and readers desire to visualize empirical reality to gain knowledge of the war, and to participate in the nationalist sentiment to resist French aggression. The same desire to visualize details exhibited in the drawing of Sino-French peace negotiations as well. For instance, the depiction of the signing ceremony of the 1885 peace treaty between France and China highlighted the visual impact of the event more than its political implication. The signing ceremony took place in a magnificent hall with opulent decoration. The signing table was situated at a corner of the picture while the rest of the picture displayed two rows of elegantly attired Chinese and foreign dignitaries seated in extravagant settings.⁷¹ (Figure 4.25) Another sketch depicting the ensuing treaty exchange between China and France exhibited the same strong interest in realist details. Richly dressed mandarins and the

⁷⁰ “Circumstance of Wushong” (吴淞形势), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 98.

⁷¹ “Signing the Peace Treaty” (和议画押), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 56.

French envoy's entourage convened in an ornately decorated room to conduct diplomatic protocols.⁷² (Figure 4.26)

Cheng Pingyuan argues that readers were interested in the pictures not only because they depicted major international news involving China, but also because they displayed an exclusive ritual or ceremony, which very few Chinese people would have been able to witness in person.⁷³ The visualization of the ceremony allowed the reader to gain direct knowledge about the ceremony and Sino-Foreign political interactions through a strong sense of visual realism.

Out of nationalist indignation and the need to boost war time morale, *Dianshizhai Pictorial's* depiction of the French force was mostly negative, and the depiction of the Chinese force was very favorable. A number of stories described the defeats of French troops in vivid textual details. "A thousand well-formed Chinese troops confronted the enemy. The French began to collapse, abandoning their flag and cannons. They ran out of their tents, abandoning clothes and hats along the way...their small boats came to the rescue, and about half of them made it back to the ship."⁷⁴ One account described a French troop mutiny, "There was restlessness among the soldiers, and then it suddenly turned into mutiny. When the French officer felt his safety threatened by the crisis, he ordered his guards to fire and killed 12 mutinous soldiers. The ship instantly turned into a battlefield."⁷⁵ French Admiral A. Courbet who commanded the naval operation in the war was described as "cunning and wicked, a constant marauder of the Chinese border with

⁷² "Sino-France Treaty Exchange" (中法换约), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 232.

⁷³ Chen Pingyuan, "Daodu: Wangqingren yanzhong de xixue dongjian" in *Dianshizhai huabao xuan* (Guiyang: Guanzhou jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 26.

⁷⁴ "French Defeat" (法败详闻), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 99.

⁷⁵ "French Ship Mutiny" (法舰兵叛), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 292.

unsurpassed greed and cruelty.”⁷⁶ *Dianshizhai* maintained an impassioned rhetoric against the French aggression and a strong conviction to win the war, while lauding the virtue of the peace treaty with France. The French were depicted as cruel aggressors whose ambition would not stop at Annam and on the other hand, “reconciliation with France are blessings for our country and people.”⁷⁷ “When people in Shanghai heard of the good news of the peace treaty, they were elated and joyously celebrated the burying of the hatchet.”⁷⁸ *Dianshizhai* intellectuals’ conflicting views seemed to reflect the complexity of the Qing government diplomacy.

As a matter of fact, though the Qing government engaged in on-and-off wars with various Western powers, diplomatic etiquette was still observed during the truce period. Diplomatic visits from the West were reported in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* as solemn events. *Dianshizhai* intellectuals seemed to understand well the power relationship between China and the West as well as the significance of diplomatic politics.

All the treaty countries send their envoys to reside in the Capital. This does not interfere with domestic affairs, but offers convenience of proximity for bilateral meetings. This is due to the Westerners’ eager and impatient nature. Initially people considered resident foreigners in the Capital an anomaly. However, there has been over ten years of peaceful coexistence. It is understood that they have no other ulterior motives. Generally, national strength commands respect and obedience, and weakness invites bullying and humiliation.⁷⁹ (Figure 4.27)

The following account documented Prince Chun’s meeting with Western envoys in 1886. It is obvious that among the Qing ruling elites there were people with proficient diplomatic experience.

⁷⁶ “French Commander Courbet” (法酋孤拔), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 144.

⁷⁷ “Agreement on Vietnam” (越事行成), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 18.

⁷⁸ “Signing the Peace Treaty” (和议画押), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 56.

⁷⁹ “Westerners Touring the Capital” (西人游京), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 289.

On July 5th, various Western envoys were given an audience with Prince Chun. After the welcome ceremony, each envoy presented praise to the Prince... Prince Chun gave the following response: “Though languages and customs are different among countries, peoples are the same since the Creation. At the beginning of trade, it was natural to have disharmony. Since the interaction has been long, good relationship is being cultivated. Big countries should treat small countries with benevolence; small countries should treat big countries with respect. Relationships between big countries should be based on sincerity. Therefore big countries would not invade small countries, and small countries would not encroach upon big countries. All are committed to perpetual peace and friendship. Each country should train its own military to guard against domestic insurrection. There should be no war among countries... Such few words of Prince Chun are as powerful as graceful and won admiration from the envoys.”⁸⁰ (Figure 4.28)

In the drawing, the artist intentionally created an atmosphere in which the Western envoys’ attention and admiration were directed at Prince Chun. For the readers, the rich details of the ornate meeting venue, the obedient and respectful look of the envoys, the spatial arrangement of the host/visitors, and the magnanimous mannerism of Prince Chun all conveyed a sense of visual realism that educated the readers in international affairs and invited them to visualize important diplomatic occasions. Among diplomatic interactions reported in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, there were French Admiral A. Courbet’s visit to Shanghai, American envoy John Yong’s arrival in Hankou, the French Consul’s arrival in Shanghai, and Western envoys’ meeting with the Empress.⁸¹ (Figure 4.29; Figure 4.30) All these sketches carried amazing amount of visual details, from the ceremonial guards to the rituals and the physical venues. For the Chinese readers, the political implication of such events seemed to be secondary to their fascinating appearance. The attention of the reader was clearly directed at the spectacularity of such

⁸⁰ “Sino-West Friendly Meeting” (中外好会), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 192.

⁸¹ “American Envoy in Hankou” (美使抵汉), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 43; “French Envoy in Shanghai” (法使抵沪), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 65; “New Consul” (履新盛仪), *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 169.

events, something very few Chinese people would have been able to participate and witness. What emerged out of such obsession with visual details is an urge to see the new and exciting things and a desire to experience the foreign and modern, as if every single detail produces knowledge and indirectly promotes self-empowerment through seeing and knowing.⁸² *Dianshizhai*'s visual realism satisfied readers desire to know through seeing and created a visual framework in which readers could come to terms with the new reality of modernity.

⁸² Pang Laikwan, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 51.

Chapter Five

Life in China---Scenes From *Harper's Weekly*

While *Dianshizhai Pictorial* offered a mosaic representation of the West and Western culture to the Chinese readers in the late 19th century, *Harper's Weekly*, as a major illustrated news journal in the U.S., also reported on China and Chinese related topics with strong interest. Representation of Chinese images in *Harper's Weekly* became an important channel through which American readers understood China. The Chinese images were painted with complicated strokes against the backdrop of American politics and social sentiments. The following chapters will examine the dynamic relationship between the Chinese imagery in *Harper's Weekly* and the sociopolitics of the late 19th century America.

Chinese imagery in decades of *Harper's Weekly* was constructed by multiple sources: accounts sent from China by travelers, reporters, artists, diplomats and missionaries; the observed and imagined life of Chinese immigrants in America; and caricatures and political cartoons of Chinese issues. Chinese imagery in *Harper's Weekly* was multifaceted and fluid, reflecting constantly changing social and political interests. The visual representation of Chinese in *Harper's Weekly* can be put in three categories: the realistic; the exotic and comic; the lowly and grotesque. These three categories of images develop in very different yet interconnected historic subcontexts. Coupled with texts, they interweave into each other in *Harper's Weekly* to paint a complicated picture of visual and textual representation. This chapter focuses on an investigation of the first category of images, the realistic depiction of Chinese life. The next chapter, chapter six,

will examine the Chinese caricatures and political cartoons that portrayed Chinese in very different ways.

The history of American merchants and missionary activities in 19th century China is well documented and researched in scholarship.¹ American merchants who had traveled to Canton sent home memoirs and letters, which helped create the adventurous mystique that surrounded the old China trade. As John Fairbank observed, in the early US-China relationship till mid 19th century, China was mostly seen as a field of adventure and enterprise for private individuals, either trade or evangelization. China was not an object of great national concern at the governmental level.² With the tremendous expansive movement of the United States, multiplication of American interest in China synchronized as well. In *Harper's Weekly*, American interests toward China were in accord with its entrance on to the world stage as an international power in the late 19th century. The massive territorial expansion coupled with accumulation of population and resources propelled the United States into a position of dominance.³ In *Harper's Weekly*, the abundance of images and texts on life in China reflect the strong and varied interests American society had toward China in late 19th century, be it commercial, missionary or political. The images examined in this chapter can be grouped into four aspects of

¹ Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1941); Hugh Deane, *Good Deeds & Gunboats: Two Centuries of American-Chinese Encounters* (San Francisco: China Books, 1990).

² John Fairbank, *Chinese-American Interactions: A Historical Summary* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 28.

³ John M. Belohlavek, "American Expansion, 1800-1867," in *A Companion to 19th-century America*, ed. William Barney (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), 89-103.

Chinese life: politics, modernization technology, military and daily life. There are also abundant sociopolitical commentaries accompanying these images.

Political life in China

There are regular reports in *Harper's Weekly* on the imperial and political affairs in China, topics ranging from war, diplomacy and Christian missions to imperial wedding, etc. News and current affairs from China usually appear as dispatches in the “foreign intelligence” and “home and foreign gossip” section of *Harper's Weekly*. There are also individual reports featuring various specific topics. Chinese Emperors, high-ranking mandarins and elite intellectuals are frequent topics of discussion in *Harper's Weekly*, as well as diplomatic missions and political reforms.

The first portrait of a Chinese emperor published in *Harper's Weekly* is a portrait of Emperor Hien-Fou. The center piece of the drawing shows a fine-looking Chinese ruler clad in elegant royal attire, poised and regal. Surrounding him is the picturesque Chinese landscape from Peking and Nanking (Figure 5.1). The accompanying article gives the following narrative on the Chinese emperor:

The Emperor of China— Hien-Fou—is a man of only twenty-nine years of age, having been born in 1831. He came to the throne ten years ago: his predecessor, contrary to custom, chose him out, and formally introduced him to the Mandarins as their future Emperor some time before his death. He is said to be a man of remarkable energy of character and resolution of purpose. He has never wavered in his hostility to the English...he is determined to wage the present war to the bitter end. His domestic policy has been rigorous; he has never failed to punish cowardly, or to reward brave and skillful officers. He has so little regard for Chinese prejudices that he will not allow any lady with deformed feet to approach the court; and his wife, a fine handsome woman, he treats in every way as an equal. It is said for him that his reign should occur at a period when, seemingly, the recuperation of the Chinese Empire is beyond hope.⁴

⁴ “The Emperor of China and His Capital,” *Harper's Weekly*, Nov.10, 1860: 707.

In 1868, a prominent American minister, Anson Burlingame who had long political experience in China, was appointed by the Qing government to be the ambassador to Courts of all the Treaty Powers.⁵ In March of 1868, Burlingame arrived in the U.S. with the Chinese embassy delegation after negotiating additional articles to the treaty of 1858 between the U.S. and China. The resulting Burlingame Treaty on trade, consuls and emigration guaranteed free immigration and legal protection to Chinese people in America as proof of America's friendship for China, and affirmed the "inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance."⁶ *Harpers' Weekly* reported on the visit and enthusiastic public response to the delegation, including detailed description of the Chinese mandarins' physical appearance (Figure 5.2).

The Embassy proper is composed of Mr. Burlingame and the two Chinese dignitaries who appear in the engraving seated on his right and left. These are *Chih-Tajin* and *Sun-Tajin*, mandarins of the second rank in the Flowery Kingdom. They are called "Mandarins of the Peacock's Feather," from the fact that they are entitled to wear that emblem of nobility. *Chih-Tajin* is of Tartar extraction; a man of about 60 years of age, about five feet eight inches high, and has a pale and somewhat studious cast of countenance. This is increased by a pair of spectacles which his weak eyesight compels him to wear. *Sun-Tajin*, who is a "true blue Chinaman," appears about 50 years of age, is taller and more stoutly framed than his fellow-nobleman. Both are very observant, every thing having the appearance of novelty is simultaneously inquired about and criticised with impartiality. They wear small mustaches, and all the portion of the head in front of the ears is shaved, the rest of the hair is suffered to grow long, and, being plaited tightly, falls nearly to the ground.⁷

The accompanying sketch is based on a photograph. It shows Burlingame standing between two seated Chinese mandarins, and flanked by several other Chinese

⁵ "Minister Burlingame," *Harper's Weekly*, May 30, 1868: 344-346.

⁶ Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Treaties, conventions, international acts, protocols and agreements between the United States of America and other powers 1776-1909*, LexisNexis U.S. Serial Set Digital Collection (Washington, 1909), I, 234-236.

⁷ "The Chinese Embassy," *Harper's Weekly*, June 13, 1868: 377-78.

personages that consisted of the embassy delegation. It is a realistic sketch of dignified looking characters, poised and pensive, typical of the personage portrait of the time. This is the one of first and few drawings in *Harper's Weekly* that features prominent American with Chinese elites at a diplomatic occasion.⁸ There were much curiosity and speculation as to why the Chinese government would select a foreigner to represent itself. Naturally questions were raised: "Why send a single ambassador, and he a foreigner, to travel from state to state, instead of sending a minister to every state that maintained one in China? Or is there some immense secret about tea to be gently broken to mankind? Is the advice of civilization sought upon the subject of queues? Are the Chinese women asserting their right to unlimited feet? Are rats to be discarded for horses as food?"⁹ Despite the sarcastic questions, Burlingame's appointment to the chief of Chinese embassy was viewed as a welcome sign:

It meant the closer intimacy of China with other nations, and a consequent better international understanding...Reluctant Asia begins slowly to wheel into line. Geographical remoteness and obscurity are disappearing. The inventions which China has fostered are destroying the seclusion which seemed almost a Chinese religion. The oldest and most disdainfully exclusive of empires selects a citizen of the young republic to be her messenger to the nations which she has hitherto declined to recognize in the usual manner... meanwhile it is pleasant to know that a countryman of ours, by his ability and courtesy, had so commanded the respect and confidence of the Chinese Government that it selected him for so imposing and probably so important a task.¹⁰

Burlingame's ambassadorial mission generated much anticipation among the intellectuals regarding the future relationship between US and China.

⁸ An earlier drawing featuring a meeting between the United States Minister and the Chinese Commissioner in the city hall of Peking appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on Dec. 10, 1859. (Figure 5.3)

⁹ "Latest from China," *Harper's Weekly*, June 6, 1868: 355.

¹⁰ Ibid.

This means, of course, the same free and familiar intercourse that we have with European nations. It means treaties of commerce and amity. It means an opening of the ports and cities and interior of this great empire, secluded from the beginning of history, to the exploration and study of curiosity and science. It means the unconditional admission into China of all the influences, moral, social, intellectual, and industrial, of the outer civilization which it has always suspected and avoided. If his Celestial Excellency does not too warmly state the truth, his embassy is one of the most remarkable events in history; and we await with the greatest interest the practical propositions which he is authorized to make, by which this extraordinary change in the relations of China and the Western World is to be begun and accomplished.”¹¹

Enthusiastic reporting and comments continued as the Chinese ambassadorial delegation was received in America with warmth, expectation yet suspicion.

It is, as our picture in this issue shows, the youngest nation introducing the oldest to the friendship of Christendom. It is, indeed, strange to hear a Yankee speaking for China, and claiming for her that kind of regard and respect which the world has not been accustomed to feel for the old empire. Despite all that we hear and know of its ancient and elaborate civilization, there is still the feeling that it is the most grotesque of barbarous nations, and that there is wholly wanting that plane of common interest and knowledge and sympathy upon which the nations of Christendom are accustomed to meet. The popular image of China is an enormous country surrounded by a high wall, probably with broken bottles strewn along the top, where the people wear their hair in a long tail, squeeze the feet of the women into deformity, cultivate tea, and eat rats and dogs. The world at large has much the same feeling toward China that the genuine cockney John Bull of eighty years ago had toward France. It was a country in which the people spoke a vile lingo that nobody could understand, wore wooden shoes, and ate frogs.”¹²

As the American public listened to the eloquent speech by Burlingame, it almost generated a sense of wonder in them, since what they encountered was not an “outlandish foreigner, but a familiar public friend of our own, side by side with native Chinese noblemen, yet their official chief.”¹³

We invite you to a more intimate examination of the structure of Chinese civilization; to a better appreciation of the manners of that people, their

¹¹ “The Celestial Embassy,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 18, 1868: 450.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

temperance, their patience, their habits of scholarship, their competitive examinations, their high culture of tea and silk, and we shall ask for them from you modern science, which has taken its great development within the history of man, and the holy doctrine of our Christian faith. It is for the West to say whether it is for a fair and open policy, or for one founded on prejudice and on that assumption of superiority which is justified neither by physical ability nor by moral elevation.”¹⁴

Burlingame’s vision is certainly captured by the 1868 drawing titled “The Youngest Introducing the Oldest” by political cartoonist Thomas Nast. In the picture, Columbia representing the U.S. acts as a good hostess, present a dignified and princely robed Chinese to European heads of state (Figure 5.4).¹⁵ Anson Burlingame is seated behind the mustached Chinese envoy. A caricature of the Pope is dumbfounded at the sight and peaks at the “heathen Chinese” with fear from behind a pillar. The other figures present are identified as Emperor Napoleon III of France, John Bull representing Great Britain, Chancellor Bismarck of Prussia, and Tsar Alexander II of Russia, etc. “Brothers and Sister,” says Columbia, “I am happy to present you the oldest member of the family, who deserve our better acquaintance.” Obviously Nast wanted to endorse Anson Burlingame’s effort to introduce China to join the European nations as an equal member of the club.

Li Hung-Chang, the famed Chinese Secretary of State, was the single Chinese individual that was most portrayed in *Harper’s Weekly* due to his high prestige and diplomatic interactions with foreign powers. Essays with portraits of Li were published frequently to make him one of the few well-known Chinese names to the American public (Figure 5.5). Li’s name was constantly mentioned as the decisive figure in the suppression of Tae-ping rebellion, China’s foreign relations, military reform, industrial development,

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ “The Youngest Introducing The Oldest,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 18, 1868: 460.

etc. As to Li's physical appearance, "in person he is a magnificent specimen of manhood, six feet four inches in stature, and with the carriage of a born ruler of men."¹⁶

Li Hung-Chang, the new commander-in-chief of the Chinese army, is said to have already made himself the actual sovereign of the empire. He was the son of a poor literary man, and during the Tae-ping rebellion offered his services to the government, and has rapidly risen in military rank and imperial favor. He is regarded as the implacable enemy of foreigners, and the leading opponent of progress. He is about fifty-five years of age, and holds his power by a system of nepotism in vogue in China."¹⁷

When General Grant visited China in 1879, Li received him with great cordiality and respect due to him as a soldier and statesman. A portrait featuring both Grant and Li was published in *Harper's Weekly* to illustrate the interview (Figure 5.6). Both men are portrayed seated next to each other in a traditional Chinese hospitality setting. Li's career was compared to General Grant's in their military victory and statesmanship. Li was also said to have a personal admiration toward General Grant.

He is of the same age as the General, and they won their victories at the same time, the Southern rebellion ending in April, the Taeping rebellion in July, 1865. As the Viceroy said to a friend of the *Herald* correspondent, General Grant and I have suppressed the two greatest rebellions known in history.¹⁸

Other than Li's military fame, *Harper's Weekly* spoke of him with high approval as a distinguished statesman by rights of achievement, especially in his handling of foreign affairs and military defense. Li was hailed as the leader of the band of liberals in China and a "marvelously sagacious, far-seeing, and progressive statesman."¹⁹

He has fewer suspicions of America than of any other country. He has given practical proof of his desire for a closer commercial union with us. He bears no grudge towards us as a nation. Many distinguished Americans have been his

¹⁶ "China and the United States," *Harper's Weekly*, May 21, 1892: 485.

¹⁷ "Home and Foreign Gossip," *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 16, 1876: 1018.

¹⁸ "General Grant and the Viceroy of Chih-Li," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 4, 1879: 785.

¹⁹ "The New Chinese Commissioners," *Harper's Weekly*, July 28, 1888: 555.

personal friends... Li's grand claim to recognition is his appreciation of the superiority of American and European enterprise. He has utilized foreigners to educate his own countrymen. He encouraged their commercial activity to teach the Chinese the direction of their best industries. He disliked foreigners, but determined to put them to the best use he could think of... He created a new army on foreign models; he built an iron-clad fleet and organized a splendid system of coast defence; he founded arsenals and ship-yards, military and naval colleges; he laid down railways and telegraph wires—all this against an inertia and bitter conservatism but faintly intelligible to us.²⁰

When Li Hung-Chang in his seventies visited America in 1896, *Harper's Weekly* featured extensive reporting of his tour with great details and copious illustration. Hailed as the “first Grand Old Man” America was ever called upon to entertain, Li received enthusiastic welcome in New York, drew large crowds to catch a glimpse of his presence and conducted high profile diplomatic visits including an interview with President Cleveland (Figure 5.7, 8). The illustrations of Li's New York visit include photographs and sketches based on photographs featuring various celebratory scenes and diplomatic occasions during his tour. *Harper's Weekly* combined sketches that were temporally sequential into one illustration, creating a “telescoping of a sequence of concurrences into a single, instantaneous depiction.”²¹

Not even a demagogical Presidential candidate could draw a bigger crowd to Union Square than that which came to see and be seen by this unemotional silent old man... At first the sight of the yellow jacket and peacock feather excited quiet amusement and interest. As the days went by, and as it became evident that this man was indeed great, it was seen that public respect for him was general and deep-seated. It was the prevailing belief that this visit and trip in some way were momentous for China; that they meant a turning-point in her civilization; that if Li Hung-Chang were twenty-five years younger, China would be born again. In the light of that view one did not find it difficult to see an element of tragedy in the

²⁰ “The Visit of Li Hung-Chang,” *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 29, 1896: 849-850.

²¹ Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The form of news: a history* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 126.

great man's visit. It undoubtedly records the ultimate doom of Chinese civilization... Li Hung-Chang is Bismarck over again.²²

With all his limitations, Li Hung-Chang is the greatest Chinaman since the days of Kublai Khan. Let us welcome and honor him. Where he has sown, others will reap. May the regeneration of China be accomplished without the shattering of the vessel.²³

Li's high profile American tour provoked much public rumination over his success and failures as a statesman. In the American public imagination, he was transformed into a symbolism of hope for the modernization of China and became inextricably connected with the immediate fate and future of the Qing Empire. As the most reported and elevated Chinese in *Harper's Weekly*, Li Hung-Chang continued to be featured until his death in early 1900's. His portraits published in *Harper's Weekly* span a 30-year time period, exhibiting his change from a middle-aged aspiring mandarin to an ailing yet powerful patriarch (Figure 5.9). *Harper's Weekly* extended the same warm tone of coverage to other high ranking Chinese mandarins and intellectuals.

In 1882, when the new Chinese Minister, Chen Tsao Ju, was appointed to the United States, *Harper's Weekly* published his portrait, spoke highly of his achievements and praised the member of the Chinese embassy as "some of the best specimens of the Chinese that ever visited the United States"²⁴ (Figure 5.10). Chen's wife was said to have adopted the Western fashion and showed great interest in the local churches.²⁵ When Chen Tsao Ju was retiring several years later, he was again featured very favorably in *Harper's Weekly* and was considered an accomplished diplomatist with character and ability (Figure

²² "Li Hung-Chang's Visit," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 12, 1896: 907.

²³ "China's Grand Old Man," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 5, 1896: 875-878.

²⁴ "The Chinese Minister," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 14, 1882: 30.

²⁵ "Personal," *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 12, 1882: 755.

5.11). An essay reminiscences several pleasant episodes of personal friendship with the Chinese minister. As the writer comments: "In our ignorance we are very apt to misguide and underrate Oriental statesmen...A worthy associate of such distinguished diplomatist is the gentle and courteous friend to whom I have taken the liberty of paying this brief tribute of respect and esteem; and if my countrymen know him as I do, they would all join in hearty good wishes for his health, happiness, and prosperity."²⁶ Soon, *Harper's Weekly* reported on the arrival of the new Chinese minister in 1886 to replace the retiring Chen Tsao Ju.

We are so apt in America to take novel happenings and remarkable evidences of the world's progress as matters of course that we do not realize that the arrival of a Chinese Minister in the United States is really a very strange thing indeed. Less than thirty years ago Peking was a mystical city even to foreign residents in China, and there were no more evidences of its existence than of that of the kingdom of Prester John. Twenty years ago nothing was more unlikely than that an ambassador should be sent from the Middle Kingdom to the barbarous tribes by whom said Middle Kingdom was popularly supposed to be surrounded, and from whom tribute-bearers were said to come humbly to the feet of its rulers. Yet today the telegraph announces, quite as a matter of course, not only that a Chinese Minister has arrived, but also that he has brought several cases of champagne with him. Truly the world moves!²⁷

Any signs of China's opening to the outside world is noted with approval and encouragement in *Harper's Weekly*. In 1888, *Harper's Weekly* reported with a welcome tone the delegation of Chinese Commissioners who were sent to the US to travel and collect information on industries and science. They were commissioned to conduct thorough examination of the modern mechanical sciences in the US, such as railway, mining machinery, cable-car, levee construction, flood prevention, etc. These visits were viewed as a significant departure of the Chinese from their sense of superiority and

²⁶ "The Retiring Chinese Minister," *Harper's Weekly*, April 17, 1886: 250.

²⁷ "The New Chinese Minister," *Harper's Weekly*, May 1, 1886: 279.

exclusiveness. And they were also symbols of the open-minded liberals gaining ground against the provincialism of the conservatives in Chinese bureaucracy.

It is difficult for persons who have not been in China to realize the degree to which exclusiveness and contempt of the foreigner have permeated the Chinese mind... For years the Chinese rejected with scorn the idea that they could learn anything from outside barbarians. This Commission is the first evidence that wiser councils at last prevail... It is to the influence of these advanced thinkers that the recent new departure of the Chinese is due.²⁸

While *Harper's Weekly* printed plenty of critical comments on China's current state, among these comments, there always existed a sense of anticipation for change and reform that would stem from within due to the Western influence. Such implicit hope was usually placed on the progressive intellectuals in the ruling elites and even the Chinese emperor.

The young Emperor of China, *Kwangsü*, who is at the head of the oldest government in the world, and perhaps rules over more subjects than any other living potentate, is eighteen years old. He is described as a puny youth, with an exceedingly large head and a melancholy countenance—characteristics which hardly foreshadowed the inclination he has developed for taking the reins of government into his own hands, and running things a little out of the rut worn by thousands of years of Confucian precedent.²⁹

In 1898, *Harper's Weekly* published a portrait of the Chinese emperor Kuang Hsu on its front cover. The effeminate looking emperor's portrait was positioned over a sketch of the Forbidden City (Figure 5.12).³⁰ Along with the front cover illustration, there were 8 sketches drawn from photographs featuring places of interest in and about Peking. They included city gate, the city observatory, temples, the residence of Empress Dowager, the market square which was the center of city life and the American

²⁸ "The New Chinese Commissioners," *Harper's Weekly*, July 28, 1888: 555.

²⁹ "Personal," *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 28, 1889: 1031.

³⁰ "The Disturbance in China, Peking the Forbidden City, as seen from the Imperial City," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 22, 1898: 1025.

legation building (Figure 5.13).³¹ As the reporter indicated, these scenes were of “added interest of complete novelty for our readers.” The extensive pictorial representation of Beijing was accompanied by an article featuring analysis of the Kuang Hsu emperor’s political and personal plight in light of the “One Hundred Days of Reform.”³² *Harper’s Weekly* continued to provide news dispatches on the aftermath of the reform from reporters in China. Emperor Kuang Hsu and his fate received much sympathy in these reports. There were even special efforts made to obtain a real photograph of Kuang Hsu to provide to the American readers. “It is a rare treat to have a genuine and authentic picture, taken from life and within the precinct of the Forbidden City in Peking, of the real emperor of China.”³³ The picture shows Kuang Hsu at the age of 14 with his father Prince Ch’un, taken by Prince Ch’un’s private photographer (Figure 5.14). The picture is suggestive not only of the filial reverence as the basis of all Chinese social order, but also of the law of succession to the throne.

No polite lad in China would ever think of sitting while his father was standing. With that propriety so ingrained in the Chinamen from infancy, the father sits on the

³¹ “Peking—Place of Interests in and about China’s Capital,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Oct. 22, 1898: 1028.

³² Influenced by a group of scholar-reformers who advocated innovation for Qing Empire’s survival, the Qing emperor, Kuang Hsu ordered a series of reforms aimed at making sweeping social and institutional changes from June to September, 1898. These innovations were aimed at making drastic institutional and ideological changes. The imperial edicts for reform covered a broad range of subjects, including stamping out corruption and remaking, among other things, the civil-service examination systems, legal system, governmental structure, defense establishment, and postal services. The edicts attempted to modernize agriculture, medicine, and mining and to promote practical studies instead of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. All these changes were to be brought about under a de facto constitutional monarchy. The reform encountered intense opposition among the conservative ruling elite. Empress Dowager engineered a coup on September 21, 1898, forcing the young reform-minded Kuang Hsu into seclusion. The Hundred Days’ Reform ended with the rescindment of the new edicts and the execution of six of the reform’s leading advocates. See Hao Chang, “Intellectual change and the reform movement, 1890–8,” in *Late Ch’ing, 1800–1911*, vol. 11 part 2 of *Cambridge History of China*, ed. Jonh K. Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu (Cambridge University Press, 1980), 59-73.

³³ “Before and Behind China’s Throne,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 4, 1899: 116-117.

richly carved chair, with his cup of tea and fan, properly posed from the man behind the camera, while the boy, even though he be the Son of Heaven himself, stands in the presence of his father.³⁴

Harper's Weekly praised Emperor Kuang Hsu's reform endeavor and portrayed him as a progressive ruler who was open to Western ideas and learning and had a keen understanding of China's imminent national crisis.

The young Emperor has been fond of new ideas, and of the learning derived from Christendom. To the horror of eunuchs, of women who never saw any world outside Peking, and of the ultra-Confucianists, he actually read new books and held interviews with the disciples of the foreign missionaries...the young Emperor has not only been in warm sympathy with Western ideas and methods, but had his eyes fully opened by the horrible official corruption, and by the superiority, both moral and physical, of the Japanese in the war of 1894-5.³⁵

Several other major players in the downfall of the One Hundred Days of Reform were also mentioned in *Harper's Weekly*. One of them is Kang Yu-wei, the chief advisor of Emperor Kuang Hsu, who persuaded the Emperor to initiate the reform and was forced into exile in Hong Kong after the coup. He is considered the "modern sage" of China (Figure 5.15).³⁶ On the opposite end of the palace feud are Empress Dowager and her conservative ruling elite, who are viewed as the obstacles of progress in China. One report in *Harper's Weekly* offers a detailed account of how the Empress of Dowager of China rose from an obscure origin to the virtual ruler of the Qing Empire for 40 years.³⁷ Her complete control of several emperors during her regency and her heavy-handed suppression of either rebellions or reforms made her a frequently mentioned character in *Harper's Weekly*, and

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ "The Chinese Borgia and the Modern Sage," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 5, 1898: 1091.

³⁷ "The Dowager Empress of China," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 29, 1898: 1068.

also a symbol of obstinate backwardness in sharp contrast to the enlightening forces encountered by China interacting with the West.

All this good work, however, has been ruined by the Empress Dowager. She roused the whole united ring of the Manchu clan, and those mandarins who, still blind as bats, cannot see China's danger. The immediate personal agent and go-between, who brought together the Empress and the mandarins discharged by the Emperor for disobedience, was the eunuch Li Pi-Tse. He is another of the unseen powers behind the throne, like that potent sword in the dragon's tail of Oriental mythology. In his typical eunuch's face we see the very incarnation of the conservative spirit of China, opposed as it is to all moral progress... Even the tigress behind the throne cannot stop that tremendous ferment which is going on in China today. Even a dragoness cannot turn back that revolution which was begun long ago by the teachers from Great Britain and the United States who brought the printing-press with them.³⁸

Despite the short-lived ill-fated 100-day reform, reports in *Harper's Weekly* seemed to keep high hopes for change and progress in China while maintaining many speculations and uncertainties regarding the future fate of the country. It is important to note that such discussions took place in a wider context of the aftermath of the 1894 Sino-Japanese War, in which the Chinese navy suffered complete destruction. Political commentaries and news dispatches in *Harper's Weekly* keenly observed the inevitable dynastic decline in China, and noted that Chinese military defeat in the hands of Japan accelerated the downward spiral for the Qing Empire. *Harper's Weekly* portrayed Japan as a rejuvenated and progressive nation with “a people full of national spirit, pride, and ambition, of extraordinary cleverness, and eager to win for their country an honorable and respected position among the nations of the earth”, because Japan opened “all gates to the influences of modern civilization.”³⁹ On the other hand, China posed as a dark contrast to Japan's image, being “ruled by a dynasty of intruders, governed through a decrepit bureaucracy

³⁸ “Before and Behind China's Throne,” *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 4, 1899: 116-117.

³⁹ “Japan and the Powers,” *Harper's Weekly*, May 11, 1895: 432.

moving in the ruts of an antiquated routine, and honeycombed with selfishness and corruption.” Furthermore, there was “nowhere a trace of national feeling or aspiration, everywhere stupid fear of change, and a stubborn repugnance to the progressive influences of the world abroad.”⁴⁰ In such a disintegrated state, the total dissection of China among the Western powers seemed to be imminent.

Heaven speed the dividing up of China! It only seems cruel. It is not really so. The spectacle of the wolves of Europe leaping upon the prostrate old mummy and preparing to tear her to pieces is surprising when one sees it actually under way, even though it has been long expected.⁴¹

Modernity and Technology

While accounts of China’s looming national crisis abound in *Harper’s Weekly*, snippets on signs of modernity in China provide the American readers a very different perspective in looking at a country in the tumultuous times of late 19th century. In 1876, *Harper’s Weekly* noted a Chinese newspaper published in Shanghai. Though the name of the newspaper is not given, from the description it most likely refers to *Shenbao*:

A Chinese newspaper which is published at Shanghai under foreign auspices has now a circulation of nearly six thousand daily. The proprietor is making an effort to reach the lower classes by printing a smaller edition at a very low price.”⁴²

In a subsequent report on the emergence of modern newspapers in China, *Harper’s Weekly* commented on the lack of modern journalism in Chinese society and particularly noted the significance of *Shenbao* in Shanghai as a sign of emerging modernity:

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “The Dissection of China,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Jan. 15, 1898: 62.

⁴² “Home and Foreign Gossip,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 15, 1876: 579.

Until a few years ago advertisements were altogether unknown in Chinese journalism. Such announcements were only to be found at the street corners. Here and there loose leaflets were distributed containing little else than a sensational story of robbery, as the breaking of an armed band into a pawn shop, or an account of the death of a man-eating tiger. Of existing newspapers only one is due to purely Chinese initiative, the so-called *King-pao*, or *Pekin Gazette*, which, solely confined to official decrees, can scarcely be compared with European journals. The *King-pao* is the organ of government, and disdains to concern itself with non-official matters, or anything connected with trade. Advertisements are not to be thought of. On the other hand, it may be regarded as a happy sign of the times that the idea of newspapers in the European sense, or first started by Europeans, is becoming more and more understood and acted on in the coast provinces... The *Shen-pao*, a daily paper, which advocates the progressive interests of the European party, numbers its Chinese subscribers by the ten thousand, and is read not only in Shanghai and the neighborhood, but also here and there in the interior of China, especially in the provincial chief towns and in the treaty ports... There is no doubt that Chinese journalism, still in its infancy, forms a powerful means of furthering European interests; even the anti-progressive *Sin-pao* indicates, by its very existence, an advance, in the fact of its utilizing a Western medium of civilization on the part of this conservative people, and may therefore be regarded as a happy sign.⁴³

Along with foreign-owned newspapers, railway and telegraph were also introduced into China in late 19th century. Though enlightened statesmen and intellectuals were strong advocates of railway development, the foreign technology was treated with suspicion, indifference or fearful rejection. As discussed in Chapter 3, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* documented and illustrated the social sentiments toward railway technology from a native perspective. One major Chinese concern over railway is its disruption of the harmony of the land or trespassing ancestral graves.

From time immemorial the canals and rivers of China have been the principal means of internal transportation, and an industry has grown about them that furnishes subsistence to countless boatmen and their families. The natives not only see in the innovation a loss of employment to a large class of the population, but are influenced by superstitious beliefs besides. One of these is in respect to

⁴³ "Chinese Newspaper," *Harper's Weekly*, May 21, 1881: 335.

graveyards, which, in the vicinity of the cities, it is apparently impossible to build railroads without disturbing.⁴⁴

The construction of modern railway in China was considered a departure for its backward transportation and a march toward modern enterprise and development.

Harper's Weekly had keen observation of the development of railways in China and offered insightful understanding of how such modern technology could gain acceptance in traditional Chinese society.

In 1876, *Harper's Weekly* reported on the opening of the first railroad in China, which was 5 miles long connecting Shanghai to Woo-song.⁴⁵ The purpose of Woo-Sung railway was to stimulate the appetite of the local people for railways. Soon after its completion, it enjoyed a checkered course of popularity, litigation, financial loss and destruction for just six weeks before it was torn up.

Imperial functionary had incited the populace in the province of Shanghai by every private means available to tear up and to destroy the plant of the little railroad from the mouth of the Woo-sung up to the town of Shanghai, on the ground that such a fire-spouting dragon as the engine was both an insult and a menace to the graves and spirits of their ancestors, and the people had promptly carried out the programme by throwing engine, rails, and plant into the river.⁴⁶

The ill fate of the first railway in China was indicative of the dynamic confrontation of different competing political forces and social interests in Chinese society. From a Western perspective, writers of *Harper's Weekly* were very observant to certain social practices that were taken for granted in Chinese society, such as time and social class. And the writers keenly noticed the interesting relationship between railway and the Chinese notion of time.

⁴⁴ "Railways in China," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 11, 1890: 799.

⁴⁵ "Home and Foreign Gossip," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 19, 1876: 675.

⁴⁶ "Around the World," *Harper's Weekly*, June 6, 1896: 562-566.

In a country where time is no object, where punctuality is unknown, and where haste is regarded as a sign of ill-breeding, the introduction of railways seems a superfluous anomaly... The necessity for punctuality also will be galling to men who have always been accustomed to start on their journeys at any hour they please, unfettered by time or time-tables; and the idea of a railway guard starting a train without waiting for a leisurely approaching local magnate would be an unheard-of want of propriety.⁴⁷

In addition to its impact on the Chinese notion of time, another possible social impact of railway was its equalizing effect among social classes, as observed in *Harper's Weekly*.

The levelling tendency of railways will beyond question produce some searchings of heart among the privileged classes. A red-buttoned mandarin whirling through the country in company with a parcel of rich shop-keepers would be in a position as distasteful to himself as embarrassing to his fellow travellers, whose only attitude in the presence of so great a man would at any other time be one of humble prostration.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, the circumstances of the time rendered railway development in China inevitable. As *Harper's Weekly* optimistically commented, "railways will ultimately lead up to greater reforms, and will produce greater advantages in China than in any empire under the sun, they will probably have to encounter a period of probation which will try the patience and tax the resources of the promoters and supporters of their existence."⁴⁹

Harper's Weekly reported on the 1878 telephone debut in China and predicted its wide use among the businessmen in Hong Kong and Shanghai.⁵⁰ As to the Chinese reactions to new technology such as telegraph, the following account was given:

⁴⁷ "Railways in China," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 22, 1884: 799.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ "Waifs and Strays," *Harper's Weekly*, July 2, 1881: 43.

The Chinese have long regarded the wire as a very convenient source of tea-box nails... The Celestials have hitherto shown a peculiar spite against the telegraph, both cable and land line; and it is satisfactory to learn that they are now much better disposed to it, the telephone having opened their eyes to its advantages. The fact is, they did not understand the former telegraphs, and they were unsuited to the Chinese language, which has no alphabet. But now the telephone enables them to converse, and transmits with peculiar fidelity the metallic twang of their monosyllabic language. They are vastly delighted with it, and have just discovered for the first time that it was originally Chinese, having been invented in the year 960 by Kung Fee Whing—an announcement which will satisfy their self-complacency, without disturbing the equanimity of Professor Bell.⁵¹

The imagined connection between “Kung Fee Whing” and telephone reminds one of the *Dianshizai* accounts, in which the Chinese writers complacently found ancient Chinese prototype of the modern Western “flying machine”. It is probably not a coincidence that *Harper’s Weekly* writers noticed the Chinese penchant to attribute the origin of a foreign invention to their own ancestral past and consequently have their pride preserved and extended.

The progressive Chinese statesmen have much to contend with. It was not until 1880, when the Russians were encroaching in the west, that the telegraph system in China was inaugurated. For thirty years the leading men of the government had known of the capabilities of electricity as a means of communication, and had a fair appreciation of its value. But it was only under the strong pressure of military necessity that the wall of conservatism was finally broken through and lines to the frontier erected. The breach once made, the spread of the wires was rapid. They now extend generally wherever there is need of them through-out the empire—a progress that may be prophetic of the growth of railways when it shall have fairly commenced.⁵²

Chinese Military and Foreign Wars

As illustrated in Chapter 3, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* enthusiastically reported on the adoption of Western weaponry in Chinese military and praised the state strategy to modernize military technology. Such weaponry modernization initiatives came after

⁵¹ “The Telegraph in Strange Lands,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 9, 1879: 640.

⁵² “Railways in China,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 22, 1884: 769.

repeated defeats of Chinese military by Western powers. The acute awareness of the declining dynasty and the urgent need to enhance national strength naturally found its place in military modernization. While the efforts were going on in Chinese military to modernize, *Harper's Weekly* writers made their own observation of the status of Chinese military. What was noticed were the various weakness and vices. As one account records:

In personal appearance they appear to be an unfortunate set of wretches, ill fed, badly clothed, and armed chiefly with spears, old native match-locks, and worn-out Enfield rifles, few, if any, being provided with what are technically known as breech-loaders.⁵³ Nor is Chinese military discipline of that strict order that might be expected from so arbitrary a government. It is a frequent occurrence for a man, when his company comes to a halt, to take out a pipe and deliberately indulge himself in a smoke, without receiving a reprimand from his commanding officer.⁵³

The writer continued to depict with amusement a scene of military drill and likened it to an “acrobatic performance”. The engravings of the scene show soldiers making an “advance of the tiger” and acrobatic “rollover” with sword and shield at drum beat (Figure 5.16). Such backward and impractical exercise seemed to convince the writer of the inefficiency of the Chinese military and its inevitable defeat by Western troops.

Two regiments of zouaves and two regiments of chasseurs would suffice to conquer China...The sight of a body of men marching coolly and resolutely up to them is so alien to their nature, so utterly incomprehensible and terrible, that all courage deserts them, and it is ten to one if they do not immediately take to their heels.⁵⁴

One account gave a detailed introduction of the Chinese military degree examination system, noticed how prevalent corruption corroded the system, and pointed out that “Chinese vanity” became the barrier of its military advancement.

⁵³ “Chinese Military Drill,” *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 11, 1876: 922-923.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

National conceit is a quality more highly developed among Chinamen than among any other people, and though thoroughly aware of the superiority of the foreign organization and arms, it not unfrequently happens that the mandarins shrink from publicly acknowledging it in the face of their countrymen. To such an absurd length is this paltry vanity carried that officers commanding drilled troops have been known to reserve the use of rifles for the enclosed barrack-yards, and to review their men in public armed with matchlocks, spears, and bows. A want of appreciation of the importance of being thoroughly well armed and prepared for an enemy can alone account for the existence of such folly, and it will require some very convincing home-thrusts before these national coxcombs will be brought frankly to admit that their continued existence as a nation depends on the thoroughness with which they adopt European arms and tactics. Professedly they are fully alive to the value of an ever-ready standing army, but their convictions never advance beyond the abstract stage of principle; they content themselves with the invention of grandiloquent phrases, and leave the truths they embody to take care of themselves.⁵⁵

The extensively reported and illustrated Sino-French War (1883-1885) in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* also received much attention in *Harper's Weekly*. As discussed in Chapter 4, *Dianshizhai's* coverage on the Sino-French war was situated in a framework of visual imagination and infused with nationalistic sentiments. In *Dianshizhai* intellectuals' rhetoric, French troops were greedy aggressors to be resisted and defeated, while the Sino-French peace treaty seemed to be received with laudatory welcome. *Harper's Weekly* gave quite different treatment to the Sino-French War. A sketch showing the French bombardment of Foo-Chow appeared in 1885. In the picture, the French troops on board a warship were engaged in battle and were firing into the distance (Figure 5.17). The focus of the sketch is entirely on the French side, with no sight of its Chinese enemy, as opposed to *Dianshizhai's* elaborate battlefield scenes encompassing both armies.

Harper's Weekly comments on the War appeared generally analytical in nature.

⁵⁵ "Chinese Military Degrees," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 13, 1894: 970.

The French invasion was viewed as a military and strategic blunder, costly yet fruitless.

The harsh natural environment in Tonquin and Anam worked against the invaders while the Chinese troops seemed to have a natural advantage.

The history of the Panama Railway proves that the Chinese can defy a malaria which sweeps off other men by hundreds, and in a trial of endurance like that pending the European has no chance against the Asiatic.⁵⁶

Harper's Weekly writers understood well the expansion motive behind French military aggression in Tonquin and Anam.

A wit defined England's costly and useless border wars with petty tribes in India as "sending for an elephant to pick up a pin," and the sarcasm is equally applicable to France's Chinese crusade. All the regiments and iron-clads in existence can never make Saigon the successful rival of Singapore, or give to the Frenchman the colonizing powers of the German, the Yankee, or the Englishman.⁵⁷

While critical of French invasion, the comments seemed to maintain a tone of detachment and celebrated the American foreign policy of no entanglement in foreign wars.

The French operations in Madagascar and in Tonquin have neither promised substantial successes nor won France any honor. The most scandalous of all the French exploits is the recent bombardment of Kee-Lung...Kee-Lung is a port in the island of Formosa, which a French squadron appeared before, and without a declaration of war or any notification whatever, went on to bombard, for the purpose, as was explained by the admiral in command, of giving China to understand that France was tired of waiting for the acceptance of the French ultimatum...This act was indefensible and atrocious. If it had been done by China, it would have been condemned everywhere as the act of a barbarous power. But actors are to be judged by their acts, not acts by actors, and the character of this attack is not changed because it was done by a European republic, and not by an Asiatic empire. The consular and diplomatic representatives of Europe and America in the East commonly act together, generally, as appears afterward, as cat's-paws to pull English chestnuts out of the

⁵⁶ "France's Chinese War," *Harper's Weekly*, March, 21, 1885: 186-187.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

fire. In this case, however, the American Minister should be instructed to protest against the action of France, even if he protests alone.⁵⁸

It is the singular good fortune of this country that its situation and its traditions preserve it from the chances of war. It has no entangling foreign alliances. It has no colonial system. It has no army to maintain, and to stimulate the military spirit by active campaigns. No state paper is more precious to us nor of greater influence than *Washington's* farewell address, in which the soldier of the Revolution bids us cultivate peace. There could be no greater misfortune to this country than a spirit of what is called Jingoism, a disposition to a bumptious assertion of Americanism, as if Americanism were a restless and truculent self-assertion. A firm and equable foreign policy, based upon the principle of doing justice to other powers and requiring justice from them, without irritating suspicion or bluster—this is the true American policy. The appearance of any other spirit in an administration would be the just occasion of general anxiety and apprehension.⁵⁹

Interestingly, *Harper's Weekly* took sympathy with French Admiral A. Courbet, who was strongly condemned in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* as a wicked marauder.

Admiral Courbet, of the French squadron in Chinese waters, died most unhappily, as indicated in his own letters to his sister. He was a Catholic, and the republican government mistrusted him. He was opposed to the expedition to China because of insufficient preparations for it, but his objections were unheeded. An officer with high ideals and extraordinary élan, he perished miserably of a broken heart.⁶⁰

An 1894 *Harper's Weekly* account gave a lengthy and detailed analysis of the Chinese military preparation in the second half of 19th century and concluded that the Chinese military was almost entirely in the line of defense and had no ability to carry on a foreign war. The author stated that there was no Chinese army in the modern sense of the term.

Rattan shields are still favorite means of defence. These are often painted with tigers' heads upon them. It is true that these will turn a spear, deaden the force of an arrow shot at long range, and may be useful in a hand-to-hand sword fight. Of the matchlocks, gingals, and clumsy, elongated cannon, bows and arrows, it is not

⁵⁸ "French in the East," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 23, 1884: 545.

⁵⁹ "Foreign Military Movements," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 08, 1884: 732-733.

⁶⁰ "Personal," *Harper's Weekly*, July, 11, 1885: 439-440.

necessary to speak, for these things are worse than useless in modern warfare...Passing by all mention of arsenals, forts, and immovable defences, we may ask whether the Chinese have any army? According to modern ideas, how can a country which has no railroads and no means of transportation, except the most primitive of carts and canal-boats, and no north and south lines of inland water communication, move or supply an army? ⁶¹ (Figure 5.18)

Among the archaically equipped and trained Chinese army, only one exception stood out, that was Li Hung Chang's troops in Tchili province.

Only in the province over which Li Hung Chang has power is there a body of soldiery equipped, drilled, and armed in modern style. Li incarnates the ideas of New China. To his invincible perseverance and powerful will does China owe what preparation she has made for the war which has suddenly broken out...It is only by his determined will and constant perseverance that Li Hung Chang has kept together a really serviceable army. ⁶² (Figure 5.19)

As *Harper's Weekly* writers traveled through China, they witnessed Chinese military drills or heard stories about the Chinese military establishment. This is an area in which they made keen observation. In their opinion, Chinese style military exercise seemed totally useless even bizarre, from the view point of modern warfare. The notion of modern warfare appeared to be a total alien concept to Chinese generals.

The curriculum of military training consists chiefly in the performance of ridiculous antics to frighten the foe, such as throwing somersaults, making grimaces, and uttering weird cries. The higher branches of training include practice in shooting with the bow and arrow and in hurling weights, but this supreme military education is within the reach of very few. Li Hung Chang's European-drilled troops must be exempted from the foregoing strictures, but they never constituted more than a small force. ⁶³

A Chinese general knows very little about modern warfare, has had little experience, and, like men of his class, is too conceited to learn anything from his English or American subordinates. ⁶⁴

⁶¹ "China as a Military Power," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 25, 1894: 808-809.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ "China's Ultimate Downfall," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 17, 1894: 1100-1101.

⁶⁴ "China's Chances," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1894: 1027.

On the other hand, the rise of Japanese military power posed a sharp contrast to its Chinese counterpart. *Harper's Weekly* reported extensively on the 1894 Sino-Japanese War over Korea, in which the Chinese Army was disastrously defeated and the Chinese Navy received near annihilation.⁶⁵ The war was a culmination of the rivalry between the two countries for two decades. Meiji reform had strengthened Japan militarily and technologically. Japan's ambition to extend its power within the Korean peninsular clashed with China's desperate effort to hold on to its oldest and last tributary. European powers watched the war with great interest as it was considered a litmus test for the modernization programs conducted by the two countries in the year before. In *Harper's Weekly*, much compare and contrast was made regarding China and Japan, ranging from national strength, military preparedness, patriotism, political government to racial difference.

We now see in the Japanese a people rejuvenated by a revolution which destroyed a superannuated feudalism without rendering inert the abilities of the old aristocracy, and put in its place a national state with representative institutions, calling into vigorous activity all the popular faculties, and opening wide all gates to the influences of modern civilization; a people full of national spirit, pride, and ambition, of extraordinary cleverness, and eager to win for their country an honorable and respected position among the nations of the earth. On the other hand, we see in the Chinese Empire a conglomeration of heterogeneous popular elements, ruled by a dynasty of intruders, governed through a decrepit bureaucracy moving in the ruts of an antiquated routine, and honeycombed with selfishness and corruption, one part of the country stolidly indifferent to the fate of the other, nowhere a trace of national feeling or aspiration, everywhere stupid fear of change, and a stubborn repugnance to the progressive influences of the world abroad. As the two countries have thus in this conflict revealed themselves, the success of the rejuvenated and progressive nation appears no longer surprising; nor can the sympathies of civilized men, unwarped by special interests, fail to be on its side.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ "The Story of the War in Asia," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 24, 1894: 1119-1120.

⁶⁶ "Japan and the Powers," *Harper's Weekly*, May 11, 1895.

One very prevalent and yet natural misconception is to regard China as one great homogeneous nation. Nothing could be further from the truth. If difference of language, difference of physique, and widely divergent sympathies are any criterion, there are as many nations in China as there are in Europe. Indeed, almost the only points common to the whole empire are the suspicious hatred of foreigners and civilization and the wearing of the pigtail... In China patriotism is a sentiment as uncommon as it is uncomprehended.⁶⁷

As the Chinese were viewed as a “heterogeneous collection of discordances”, their Japanese rivals were considered “an intensely patriotic and warlike race, amiable and ambitious, entirely and sentimentally loyal to its government, and with all the resources of civilization at its command.”⁶⁸ The ragtag Chinese troops were compared with the well-uniformed and well-trained and Japanese troops:

Turning to the purely military aspects of the two races, the contrast is even more sharply defined. The armed strength of China is a military myth, and it is meaningless to speak of the disorganization of her forces, when no organization ever existed. The corruptness of her generals is only surpassed by their colossal incompetence, and owing to the insufferable arrogance of the higher classes, the inferior officers are men who are not only ignorant, but who prefer to remain so. The rank and file have fine physique, and are passably brave if well led, but they have no military enthusiasm or patriotism, and their calling is a despised and discredited one in China...the so-called armies are largely composed of criminals *condemned* to military service. Add to this the fact that they are undrilled, practically unarmed, and invariably ill-treated and unpaid, and one is afforded a spectacle of warlike rottenness such as the world has seldom seen.⁶⁹

Unhappily for China, it cannot be said that her army inspires either admiration or respect. The mandarins are such corrupt knaves that they have for years been keeping heavy lists of salaried soldiers on paper, having only a few actual men, while they drew and pocketed the salaries of the paper soldiers. Being ordered to produce their battalions, they have impressed a lot of coolies, put them into uniforms, and hurried them to the seat of war...Ragtag and bobtail forces of this kind have been shipped from Shanghai in large numbers. They wear Oriental uniforms, having turbans on their heads, and coats of one color heavily bordered with another color. They march like Coxey's army—all over the grass and the roads and the sidewalks, hallooing and jabbering and quarrelling as they go. They

⁶⁷ “China’s Ultimate Downfall,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 17, 1894: 1100-1101.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

carry their muskets in any way that happens, which is to say in every way that can be imagined. Each one carries an oiled-paper umbrella, and puts it up when it rains. When the sun shines he slings his umbrella over his back. From the banners above their heads to the cumbrous shoes on their feet they are a tawdry, shabby, disorderly lot, a terror to whomsoever they pass on the roads, undisciplined, ignorant, ridiculous. To imagine them resisting a solid line of well-trained, well-armed soldiers is like imagining the sun to be a pumpkin.⁷⁰

Scholarly debate over the cause of China's crushing defeat in the Sino-Japanese War is complex and nuanced. The general belief among historians is that structural deficiency of the military coupled with dynastic ineptitude, led to the disastrous defeat of the Chinese in the hands of the Japanese in 1894.⁷¹ A dissenting voice also argues that the strategy and quality of weapons of the Chinese army were not deficient. It was the lack of reforms in the quality of the officer corps, the lack of attention to drilling and training, the and numerical inferiority of combat-ready Chinese soldiers that led to China's defeat.⁷² According to *Harper's Weekly*, the significance of the defeat went beyond military to signify a civilizational divide:

The Chinese are poor sailors, and know little about deep or distant water. The Japanese are born sailors, and know the coasts and deeps to perfection... They have a scientific army, organized on modern principles... The fight is between an athlete and a giant. Japan has, what China has not, a strong central government; China is honeycombed with societies and forces hostile to the reigning dynasty... Furthermore, Japan represents modern civilization; China represents barbarism, or at least a civilization that is hopelessly antiquated. Japan frankly and fully has accepted the laws of nations; China, with occasional outbursts of hollow profession, hopes to maintain the idea of the Middle Kingdom amidst vassal or pupil nations.⁷³

⁷⁰ "War Notes in Japan and China," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 11, 1894: 1076-1077.

⁷¹ Benjamin Elman, "Naval Warfare and the Refraction of China's Self-Strengthening Reform into Scientific and Technological Failure, 1865-1895," *Modern Asian Studies* 38 (2004): 283-326.

⁷² Allen Fung, "Testing the Self-Strengthening: The Chinese Army in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895," *Modern Asian Studies* 30(1996): 1007-1031.

⁷³ "The Chino-Japanese War in Korea," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 11, 1894: 747.

We find the Japanese a united nation standing shoulder to shoulder, and working in harmony for the common good. The Chinese are divided by racial and sectional antipathies. The Japanese army and navy are inspired by love of country and love of glory. The Chinese can see no glory in whipping the Japanese, nor find that their patriotism could be shown in asserting the Manchoo Emperor's supremacy in Korea.⁷⁴

In his assessment of the American press and public opinion of the Sino-Japanese War, historian Jack Hammersmith discovered there were three major groups when it came to the eventual outcome of the War. The first group viewed China's military capacity with contempt and suspicion and their Japanese counterparts with admiration. These newspapers and periodicals were convinced of Japan's victory based on its evident advantage in modernization, military power and national spirit. *Harper's Weekly* obviously joined this group in identifying Japan's progress with Western influence and civilization. The second group was composed of other newspapers and periodicals that based their anticipated victory of China over Japan mostly on China's numerical superiority, vast geography and rich resources. The relatively small third group remained uncertain of what outcome to expect.⁷⁵

While viewing China as an antiquated civilization deep in vanity and arrogance, *Harper's Weekly* nevertheless acknowledged the various modernization efforts of the Qing government, such as the establishment of naval academies, navy-yard and arsenals, purchase of cruisers and arms, telegraph lines, and all other foreign-assisted military training and construction.⁷⁶ A drawing of a gun drill on board a Chinese warship appeared on the front cover of *Harper's Weekly* in September, 1894 (Figure 5.20). It

⁷⁴ "China's Chances," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1894: 1027.

⁷⁵ Jack Hammersmith, "The Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95: American Predictions Reassessed." *Asian Forum* 4 (1972): 48-54.

⁷⁶ "Port Arthur," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1894: 1026.

seemed that the Sino-Japanese War became a litmus test for the effectiveness of China's military modernization. Western speculations and curiosities were anxiously anticipating the outcome of the War.

China has long recognized the necessity of a navy, and her fleet of war-junks was, before the introduction of European-built ships of war, very extensive, but her experience in the "opium war" with Great Britain led her to suspect that possibly these vessels of venerable design were not all that she imagined them to be; but events move slowly in China, and twenty-five years elapsed before that suspicion became a certainty and she could bring herself to believe that her war-junks were worthless... The test of all this new system will come in the present war, for it will be the first time that the men will have fought under educated native officers, and it will show how much of all this scheme is real, or whether China is to add one more to the long list of her defeats.⁷⁷

An 1873 essay gave the following narrative on the Nankin Arsenal:

The subject of the lower illustration on this page is a group of native officers examining a mitrailleuse made in the arsenal. Of late years the Chinese have begun to lay aside many of their absurd prejudices against the inventions of outside barbarians, and show a willingness to adopt many of them in preference to the clumsy contrivances which have been in use in the Celestial Empire for thousands of years. Even in China the world moves."⁷⁸ (Figure 5.21)

However, *Harper's* writers also pointed out that such modernization efforts encountered difficulty with the systemic dynastic inertia, and consequently were rendered much less effective.

But in trying to grow strong in a hurry the Emperor and his advisers left the most essential things out. Men-of-war were bought at great expense, which their admirals don't know how to handle. Guns and other munitions of war were bought, out of which their agents made handsome commissions, but which proved to be antiquated and worthless when put in use. Although well aware that skill counts for more than brute strength in this age of rapid-firing guns, the government of China still requires the lifting of heavy weights and the shooting of arrows in the competitive military examinations.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ "Chinese Navy," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 15, 1894: 870.

⁷⁸ "The Mitrailleuse in China," *Harper's Weekly*, July 19, 1873: 640.

⁷⁹ "China's Chances," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1894: 1027.

Harper's Weekly's reports on Chinese politics, modernization and the military offered the American audience *visual* images and narratives of China as an empire and a political entity that America came to deal with significantly in her global encounter in late 19th century.

Chinese Society and Culture

Throughout the 1870's and the 1880's, author Eugene Lawrence published in *Harper's Weekly* dozens of essays on Chinese society and culture, covering a variety of topics. A literary scholar and historian who published fruitfully on western history and literature, Lawrence was better known for his pedagogic and polemic essays in *Harper's Weekly* on religion, education and Church issues in 19th century American society.⁸⁰ However, Lawrence seemed to be one of the few authors who contributed continuously to *Harper's Weekly* on China related topics. His writings on China exhibited a blending of scholarly interest, personal perception, public opinion and social sentiment. Unlike accounts from travelers and reporters, few of Lawrence's writings was accompanied by illustrations. It is unknown whether Lawrence ever visited China. His knowledge on this subject seemed to be from second hand experience and extensive reading. The content of his writings on China was rich yet fraught with intricacy, tension and contradictions.

In *Harper's Weekly*, Lawrence's essays stood out to reflect a 19th century American intellectual's paradoxical understanding of China. Marco Polo's accounts obviously left a strong impression on Lawrence. He spoke highly of the medieval China

⁸⁰ Thomas Schlereth, "Clumbia, Columbus and Columbianism," *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 3(1992): 937-968; Eugene Provenzo, "Compulsory Schooling and Religion," *Educational Studies* 43, no. 1(2008): 83-84.

and all the historical glories. He contrasted the dark and chaotic medieval Europe to its flourishing contemporary in the East.

In Europe all was savage waste when our record begins. China was the land of toleration and philosophy, poetry and art, when our ancestors were rude barbarians.⁸¹

The Roman Empire fell, the Chinese flourished unchanged. Europe sank into barbarism. China still retained its free schools, its literature, its fine roads, bridges, canals, and splendid cities. Its philosophers still taught their lessons of benevolence, and its people were clothed in silk and furs, when our ancestors were barbarous Gauls and Germans, the children of the forest. The Tartar conquest under Kublai Khan only served to extend and fortify the wonderful empire. The schools were busy, the examinations went on, the great canal was opened, the great wall still existed, the roads were fine, the cities magnificent, when Marco Polo brought the first clear account of China to the Italian republic.⁸²

Being an education advocate, Lawrence was particularly interested in the classical Chinese educational system, which he favorably considered to have contributed significantly to the unity of China as a nation.

Shut up within their mountains, cut off from the rest of their species by natural barriers, the Chinese emperors more than four thousand years ago began to teach their people. They founded their government upon knowledge. It is the purest of despotisms, the most perfect of democracies. No hereditary caste divides the people, and every year the examinations at the public schools create anew the ruling class. The *literati* govern China, and amidst endless political changes, wars, revolutions, fearful disasters, and scenes of unparalleled massacre and bloodshed, the public school has held together this peculiar people, and the literary class preserved the unity of the nation. Imperfect as has always been their system of popular instruction, it has at least made their political institutions almost indestructible... While China was educating its hundreds of millions, Europe left its laboring classes in intense ignorance.⁸³

Though Lawrence saw China as steeped in despotic rule, he seemed to view favorably certain Chinese customs and rites as virtuous by-products of despotism.

⁸¹ "Our Chinese Neighbors," *Harper's Weekly*, May 15, 1886: 315.

⁸² "Chinese Inner Life," *Harper's Weekly*, July 15, 1882: 443.

⁸³ "System of Education," *Harper's Weekly*, May 20, 1882: 310-311.

A national day of thanksgiving to the Source of all has been observed in China for unknown ages. On that glad day in every year the Emperor proceeds in state, clad in Oriental pomp, to an altar near Peking, and offers alone prayers and sacrifices in return for the gifts Heaven has vouchsafed his people. For the moment he becomes the representative of the nation. On the same day, at the same hour, three hundred millions of his subjects bring grateful offerings to their unknown gods. Despotism has produced an unparalleled unity of religious rites. Custom rules the half-civilized Chinese with a rigor unknown to the West. Nowhere else is there so large a portion of the human race united in one cry of gratitude, one universal prayer.⁸⁴

In 1882, *Harper's Weekly* published an essay by Lawrence on a famed Chinese historical figure, Wang anshi (王安石), an 11th century scholarly statesman, who conducted a failed Utopian reform. Wang was considered a “Chinese socialist” and “free-thinker” in a despotic land.⁸⁵ However, Lawrence’s laudatory narratives of the classical China were juxtaposed with his very critical views of China in the 19th century as a nation in stagnation and decay. Lawrence enumerated various causes of China’s decay, especially in its encounter with the West and modernity, such as tyranny, conservatism, fear of free thought and progress, and xenophobia.

It is a mental decay that has chiefly prevented the progress of the Chinese. The conception of freedom and of independent thought has never reached them. Their literature is the servile production of minds that never venture to dispute the supremacy of the Son of Heaven. The poets and philosophers seem always on their knees before their despots. Like the Persian, the Arab, and the Egyptian, the Chinese have never striven to throw off the load of tyranny and be free, and hence their slow decay. They have lost even their own inventions. The China of today is far behind the China of Marco Polo. Its great canal is a ruin, its civil service a source of corruption, its schools the schools of the Middle Ages, its immense population the prey of the adventurous nations of the West.⁸⁶

Still we know little of China. Its inner life is almost a secret to us. But it is plain that China has long been outstripped in the arts of civilization by the European races, and that some secret defect has checked the growth of its inventive power.

⁸⁴ “Thanksgiving, 1783-1883,” *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 1, 1883: 766.

⁸⁵ “A Chinese Socialist,” *Harper's Weekly*, June 3, 1882: 343.

⁸⁶ “China in its Decay,” *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 20, 1884: 624.

Recent researches into its literature and religion have almost revealed the mystery of its decay. A dull conservatism weighs down the inner life of China. Confucianism, the faith of the learned, is a worship of the dead past. The only object of worship to the Chinese is an underworld of spirits... In politics the Chinese thinkers are even more intensely conservative than in religion. They are the slaves of an unchanging despotism. The Son of Heaven rules by divine right; the notion of popular rule would be to the learned Chinaman a dream of madness. Literature in China only repeats the past. The highest political aspiration of Confucius was to revive the golden age of the Emperor Yu... The Chinese have a fear of railways, steamboats, telegraphs, free thought, and progress, that only yields to the touch of necessity.⁸⁷

Shut up in their own land, the Chinese are intensely ignorant and violent. Even to-day they tear up railroad tracks, and look upon a steam-engine as a legion of devils; they are as ready to hunt foreigners out of their borders, to massacre priests and missionaries, burn churches, and sack stores.⁸⁸

China is a land stricken by an extreme conservatism. For centuries it has never changed. Other nations have grown great and intelligent, Europe has sprung up into wonderful activity, America is a centre of progress; but China clings to the past, and is a huge mass of human beings whose exclusiveness and pride have forbidden them to learn anything from the experience of their fellows.⁸⁹

On the other hand, Lawrence saw optimism in China's tumultuous interaction with the West, especially through the introduction of modern science, technology, education and the ubiquitous international commerce. The social changes and progresses in 19th century China were viewed as a result of political awakening by external factors and an interior quality inherent in Chinese society.

A shock has recently aroused China. France has taken from it one of its ancient possessions; England and Russia press it on either side; steam, electricity, the railroad, and the printing-press approach its borders; and the moment either of its revival or of its total decay seems near. Covered with railways, and penetrated by European activity, China would become one of the most fortunate portions of the earth. Its people are said to be not unprepared for the change. Its despotism alone holds it back. As a free and progressive people the Chinese may rise from their

⁸⁷ "Chinese Inner Life," *Harper's Weekly*, July 15, 1882: 443.

⁸⁸ "China and Its People," *Harper's Weekly*, June 1, 1878: 431.

⁸⁹ "Malacca, Indo-China and China," *Harper's Weekly*, April 24, 1875: 349-352.

decay, and their immense territory give a new impulse to the commerce of the world.⁹⁰

While their contemporaries in the earliest ages---Egypt, Persia, Assyria, Rome ---have fallen and their people faded away, the frugal, moral, industrious Chinese still survive, and are still advancing. The enormous mass of human beings who are crowded within the limits of China retain still the principles and the capacity of progress. There are 400,000,000---an empire, a state, before which all others sink into insignificance. And over all this vast population the genius of *Confucius* has thrown the spell of order, the general laws of benevolence and truth.⁹¹

Being a strong advocate for trade between China and U.S., Lawrence viewed the flourishing commercial relationship between the two countries as one which “enriched and cultivated our Western coast.” Naturally, Lawrence positioned America to be the exemplary country to lead in the Pacific region and the country China was to emulate.

China may yet move, and is perhaps already moving. It possesses in its public schools one of the surest instruments of progress. An intelligent minister of education might awaken a new current in Chinese thought. Many excellent traits the Chinese already possess. As our new States spring up flourishing and active along the Pacific, they see on the opposite shore the hundreds of millions of the venerable empire looking to them for instruction.⁹²

Other than social and political commentaries, *Harper's Weekly* published many essays and portrayals of daily life of ordinary Chinese. These individual essays and depictions of life and culture in China scattered across decades of *Harper's Weekly* and formed a mosaic picture of the Chinese society for the curious Western eyes. The next section will examine the accounts that depict daily life in China.

⁹⁰ “China in its Decay,” *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 20, 1884: 624.

⁹¹ “China and Its People,” *Harper's Weekly*, June 1, 1878: 431.

⁹² “Chinese Inner Life,” *Harper's Weekly*, July 15, 1882: 443.

Daily Life in China

“Life in China” is a major theme around which many illustrations were produced and published in *Harper's Weekly*. Ordinary Chinese's everyday life and customs were of great interest and curiosity to Westerners. As Westerners travelled in China, they sent back sketches and accounts depicting various aspects of Chinese life in the city streets, on the river and even on execution grounds. Narratives of these illustrations are usually written in the first person, indicating the eye witness or participant status of the authors. In *Harper's Weekly*, everyday living in the ‘Celestial Empire’ covered a wide range of topics such as marriage arrangements, wedding ceremonies, female foot-binding, folk festivals, recreation, geomancy, folk medicine, divination, civil service examinations, farming, family education, drought and famine, barbers, laborers, beggars, convicts, criminal punishment, and the death penalty. Such accounts offer a kaleidoscopic view of the Chinese society and life to the American audience, who through words and images, came to know China.

The drawing titled “A Chinese Wedding” was published in 1868 with a lengthy description of the matrimonial ceremony taking place in Shanghai between two wealthy families (Figure 5.22).⁹³ A collection of illustrations was published in 1873 depicting a Chinese wedding, a private tutoring, a street stall, a street barber, and Chinese monks.⁹⁴

The narrative stated the reason why Americans were interested in Chinese customs:

The recent marriage of the ruler of the Flowery and Celestial Empire has awakened new interest among outside barbarians in the social manners and customs of that strange country. The ancient civilization of the Chinese, which ages ago reached a certain point of development and there remained stationary, as

⁹³ “A Chinese Wedding,” *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 5, 1868: 574.

⁹⁴ “Life in China,” *Harper's Weekly*, Feb.1, 1873: 92-94

if petrified, is now gradually yielding a little to the influences which are operating so rapidly in Japan. As these influences gain force, the changes will become more radical, and a few years only may elapse before the ways and customs that now excite our curiosity will have become things of the past.⁹⁵(Figure 5.23)

Harper's Weekly's readers had a strong interest in knowing the ways and customs in Chinese life that were drastically different from theirs. The concern of such manners and customs being influenced by external forces further heightened the curiosity of seeing them while they remained relatively unaltered in a "petrified" society. Readers' curiosity not only rested with the ritualized aspects of Chinese life, but also with the domestic and mundane scenes of everyday life. In describing the rest of the illustrations, the 1873 article narrated with great attention to details that almost animated the characters in the illustrations.

Barbers are to be found everywhere in China. No one need be at a loss to have his head shaved in any city or village in the empire. Every day in the year there must be hundreds of acres of Chinese heads shaved, and tails combed out and dressed that, were they united, would produce an Atlantic cable of hair. It is customary for a Chinaman to have his head shaved and dressed by the barber two or three times a month. The paraphernalia of the street barber consists of a small cabinet, which serves as a seat for his customer and a receptacle for his instruments; a round wooden case with a metal basin for water, which is kept hot by a small charcoal furnace beneath; attached to this there is a pole to indicate his profession. When a customer places his head in the barber's hands he has it steamed and rubbed with a hot damp cloth, then shaved; the face is then shaved, including nostrils and ears. The eyelids are then raised and the eyes cleaned, after which the ears are operated upon with small instruments cunningly devised to remove all obstacles from this particular gateway of Celestial knowledge. The spine is then punched and kneaded, to impress it with an acute sense of its functions, and the patient retires, having paid a trifling sum for the tonsorial operations.⁹⁶ (Figure 5.24)

The street stalls, common to all Chinese cities, are a great convenience to the poorer orders of the laboring classes of the community, as they furnish food of all kinds at a much cheaper rate than it could be procured in an inn or restaurant. It is wonderful to see the portability of their cooking arrangements, as an entire soup-

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

kitchen can be carried about from place to place by its owner. Wherever laborers are congregated you will find that their food and amusements follow. If there is a house being built, there will be a soup and meat stall, like the one in the illustration, where one may have a good dinner for about a penny. The cook of our sketch, says the artist, was driving a brisk trade. There was a particular soup for which he was held in high favor. The seats at his *table d'hote* were usually filled, while an eager group of customers were standing round plying their spoons and chopsticks, never talking except with their mouths quite full.⁹⁷ (Figure 5.24)

Portable hand-furnaces, like that represented in the last illustration, are chiefly used in the north of China during the winter months, when the fire, in place of being in the house, as we have it, is carried about the person, beneath the thickly padded cotton garments, or in the hand; at times it is placed beneath the chair on which one is seated. This contrivance, says the artist, was first introduced to our notice when resting at a village in the Fo-kien province, which, before we had investigated the cause, we noted as a place remarkable for the deformity of its inhabitants--old men and women with strange swellings projecting in the most unaccountable places. Our speculations were, however, speedily set at rest and the matter satisfactorily explained by an old gentleman, who removed his great-coat and disclosed a small copper furnace secured round his waist with a band, and neatly covered with basket-work. This artificial mode of heating the body is only resorted to in time of extreme cold, as on ordinary occasions the people deem their thick clothing a sufficient protection during winter.⁹⁸ (Figure 5.24)

Observing a street barber serving a customer, watching street stalls conducting business and discovering an unknown way used by the Chinese to heat the body in winter, these activities were apparently enjoyed by the witness. Sometimes, the author offered critical comments along with observations. In the illustration of a quiet domestic scene where a grandfather patiently instructs his grandchild to prepare for morning school, the author commented pointedly on the civil examination in China and its social significance. The illustration vividly revealed a dynamic aspect of family relationship in Chinese society permeated by civil ambition. The commentary indicated the author's familiarity with the social reality of Chinese civil exams.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

The system of government competitive examinations, which has been in operation in China for many ages, and which throws open to the poorest scholar of the land the way to the highest official appointment, has fostered among the people that reverence for learning and the learned which approaches to a form of worship in the respect they pay to their ancient sages. It also shows itself in the efforts made by parents to obtain for their children a better education than they themselves enjoyed, and the strenuous efforts made by the children in after-life to pass the official examinations--efforts that are frequently never relinquished until the student falls back from the ranks of the *literati*, broken in health, to drag out his life as a village schoolmaster or tutor.⁹⁹

The Chinese civil service is the most remarkable invention of a wonderful people. It covers the whole immense empire. It supplies the place of a national education law, and stimulates every active intellect to laborious study... The Chinese civil service system has outlived the political changes of more than two thousand years. The examinations have gone on regularly; the changes of dynasties and rulers have never checked the course of study. The literary class has always ruled. The whole people are welded together by this unceasing system of study. The defects and advantages of the Chinese civil service are easily discovered. But its novelty and its antiquity cannot be questioned. Europe and America in their competitive examinations sit at the feet of China.¹⁰⁰

Popular Chinese festivals also captured Western traveler's attention. One essay elaborated on the beauty of Lantern Feast and recorded the joyous occasion of a universal celebration. The illustration highlighted an elegant Chinese woman at the front of what seemed to be a lantern parade (Figure 5.25).

Lanterns of all conceivable shapes, representing men and women, gods, goddesses, dragons, devils, fruits, flowers, and fishes, all of the most brilliant, and to the native mind fascinating colors, may be seen about the middle of the first month of the Chinese year, dangling from the rafters and pillars, and displayed at the doorways of the lantern shops in all the cities of the empire... When standing at the end of a bridge we could see a long perspective of these grotesque luminous objects moving through the thick air of the thoroughfare like the weird spirits of a dream, lighting up with their flare the gaudy-colored sign-boards of the shops, and the dusky faces of the crowd of pleasure-seekers that thronged the street. This is a night when married women enjoy a degree of liberty denied them during the other nights of the year, and when they may be seen making the most of it by leaving the strict privacy and seclusion of their homes, and engaging in the sport with

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ "The Chinese Civil Service System," *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 20, 1886: 126.

their children at the doorway, or on a tour of inspection in the streets. It is a time, too, of feasting, revelry, gambling, praying, and offering to the gods.¹⁰¹

A report on Derby-day in Shanghai provided description and illustration full of life and color:

It is proverbial that Englishmen are so passionately fond of horse-racing that wherever they assemble in numbers they are sure to introduce their favorite pastime. China is no exception, and the interest it excites amongst the natives leads one to suppose that it is an amusement suitable to the temperament of the nation... At Shanghai on race-days vast crowds of this dark-haired people, of both sexes and of all ages, stream along the thoroughfares that lead to the race-course. The majority are on foot, some are mounted on scraggy-looking ponies, and many are conveyed on wheelbarrows, while the better-dressed people occupy carriages of various shapes and colors. Interspersed amongst them are to be seen the splendid equipages of Europeans. Lining the roads are venders of all sorts of delicacies, such as sweetmeats, cakes, and fruit, which remind one of the roads to the races at home, only that the characters and surroundings are so very different.¹⁰² (Figure 5.26)

This *Harper's Weekly* illustration certainly reminds one of the *Dianshizhai* *Pictorial* sketch in Chapter 4 where both Chinese and Westerners mingle joyously at derby event (Figure 4.1). Though this *Harper's Weekly* illustration exhibited a more realistic style in its artistic depiction than its *Dianshizhai* counterpart, the spirit conveyed in both sketches are strikingly similar. A race event was a buoyant scene where the crowd was infused with excitement and action. It was an occasion where elements from both East and West blended colorfully with ease.

In a different illustration, Shanghai continued to be the site where intimate East-West encounter took place (Figure 5.27). In the picture, both Chinese and Westerners gathered at the waterfront in Shanghai for a military music ceremony. Among the crowd were well-dressed Chinese men, women and children who wore ornate hair accessories.

¹⁰¹ "Life in China," *Harper's Weekly*, July 26, 1873: 661-662.

¹⁰² "Derby-day at Shanghai," *Harper's Weekly*, June 14, 1879: 468.

They mingled and conversed with Western men and women who were also elegantly attired. Chinese guards and Sikh guards were on watch. The scene appeared formal yet celebratory. It seemed to be an upper class gathering for the privileged.

The Chinese leisure class also caught the attention of *Harper's Weekly* artists. In a 1900 sketch, the artist depicted an exclusive Chinese club in Shanghai which was located in a spacious hall with Western architecture style (Figure 5.28). Richly clad Chinese men, women and children were enjoying meals and social time at the table. Waiters were busy serving their clients. The clients' full face, healthy glow and pleased look indicated their affluence, leisure and social status.

Other than the elites, Western travelers particularly noticed the coolie class in China. Along with the narratives, detailed sketches were provided to offer a realistic image of the coolie class. These images usually depict coolies eking out a meager subsistence living, downtrodden yet tenacious. Their melancholic and gaunt complexion speaks of hardship surviving at the bottom of the society, while reflecting the artist's sympathetic recognition. The coolie's deprivation stood in sharp contrast with the care-free excess of the Chinese elites. It is interesting to note that the coolie images sent from China seemed to have quite different impressions from the Chinese coolie images produced by domestic U.S. media, though they were supposedly the same class of people. The former provide realistic portrayals of a menial labor class, rugged, harsh-looking yet benign (Figure 5.29; 5.30). However, the Chinese coolie images produced by domestic U.S. media come in different styles, which will be examined in the next Chapter.

They are, as a rule, patient and industrious, and always poor, carrying about with them their whole worldly estate and property, which usually consists of a suit of

clothes which has been bought secondhand, a pipe, and a tobacco pouch... This is the class of men who emigrate in large numbers to America and other parts of the world, and whose industry and labor contributed in a marked degree to the completion of the Great Pacific Railway route.¹⁰³

Yet it is still one of the problems of the future whether these hundreds of millions of admirable workmen, who can live upon a few cents a day, may not yet come into competition with the labor of Europe and America, and affect the prices of Lowell and Manchester. It is not probable that the Chinese will ever emigrate in great numbers. Every cooly bargains that he shall return, living or dead, to his ancestral neighborhood. But one cannot help speculating upon the fate of these three hundred millions of people, who are certainly industrious, ingenious, patient, acute, and whose manners and institutions are perhaps older than the Pyramids or the towers of Babylon.”¹⁰⁴

Western travelers also reported on the unique floating population in China--- people live and make their living on waterways in Canton. One illustration provided a vibrant image of a junk village, its trade and the hustle-bustle of everyday life on busy water. It was particularly noted that:

The men in these boats are hardy, bronzed fellows, with strength and daring for anything their manner of life may require. The women are often graced with considerable beauty. Their physical development is much superior to that of the women on shore. Their feet are never distorted and rendered diminutive by tight bandaging, and their life in the open air and their constant exercise—for no boat-woman is ever idle—endow them with vigorous health and strength.¹⁰⁵ (Figure 5.31)

Hong Kong received much coverage in *Harper's Weekly* due to its peculiar history and status as well as its unique mingling of Chinese and European influences.

The Chinese are not behind other races in their love of amusement. They have their theatres and music-halls, their clubs, bowling-alleys, and race-courses. The yearly races at Victoria bring together a motley crowd of characters, representing nearly every nation under the sun. Strangers in the town find the mixture of

¹⁰³ “Life in China,” *Harper's Weekly*, July 26, 1873: 661-662.

¹⁰⁴ “Malacca, Indo-China, and China,” *Harper's Weekly*, April 24, 1875: 349-352.

¹⁰⁵ “A Chinese Junk Village,” *Harper's Weekly*, May 20, 1882: 316.

nationalities and the variety of sports in which they indulge exceedingly diverting.¹⁰⁶ (Figure 5.32)

The illustration shows a group of Chinese men were gambling on the open ground at the Victoria race course. The game attracted many spectators, including European gentlemen, Western soldiers, sailors and Sikh guards. In the background was the grand stand of the race horse.

Harper's Weekly occasionally reported on medicine in China. There was almost no mention of the traditional Chinese medicine that was in practice in Chinese society for thousands of year. Instead, writers' curiosity seem to be captured either by the strange specimen sold at the Chinese apothecary or by the "catalogue of the absurdities perpetrated in case of disease". One report particularly noted that, "the superstitious treatment of disease is an extraordinary feature in Chinese social life...the catalogue of the absurdities perpetrated in cases of disease is of a melancholy length. One of its items is the invitation of the god of medicine to the house... Another pleasant notion entertained by them is that disease is to be ascribed to the enmity of the spirit of a deceased person, and priests are employed to use the formula for dissolving or untying grudges."¹⁰⁷ The report recorded with great detail the divination, propitiation of the gods, and exorcism conducted by the family in the hope of restoring health to a sick person. One essay noted the Chinese penchant for animal parts for their curative power, "deer-horns, are eagerly bought by the Chinese, being esteemed a valuable medicament... The

¹⁰⁶ "Races at Hong Kong," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 19, 1876: 686-687.

¹⁰⁷ "John Chinaman at Home," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 15, 1881: 46.

gall of a bear is valued by the Chinese at its weight in gold.”¹⁰⁸ Another article on Sino-US trade gleefully mentioned the export of dried lizards to China. “113,000 [lizards] are sent annually from Pakhoi to make lizard wine, used as a tonic, and also to cure eye disease... It is not the first time that ignorance and superstition have offered a basis for a profitable commerce.”¹⁰⁹

Starting in 1895, *Harper's Weekly* published a series of reports of the trip around the world taken by the transportation commission of the Field Columbian Museum. China was one of the stops in the global journey. The travel team went up the Grand Canal of China to reach its final destination Peking. En route to Beijing, copious travel notes were made along with photos and sketches of people and landscape. These images include a fleet of Chinese tribute boats on the Grand Canal, coolie boatman towing boat up the river, the gateway leading to the emperor's palace, fishing boats and a donkey rider on the riverbank, Chinese riding a wheelbarrow and sedan chair, the Great Wall garrison, as well as the railroad bridge on the imperial Chinese railway. A special feature was published in 1896 in *Harper's Weekly* to document the travel experience. Between text and picture, the reader received vivid and realistic facets of everyday Chinese life: idyllic country side, poetic river landscape, the Great Wall in “picturesque decay,” the Grand Canal as “a succession of five ill-kept and rather ruinous ditches, the crowded capital of Beijing with “gloomy and pretentious yet weak walls, dark and filthy streets, and accumulated dirt of scores of generations,” and the encouraging appearance of the

¹⁰⁸ “Curative Powers of Animals,” *Harper's Weekly*, July 17, 1869: 462.

¹⁰⁹ “Chinese Foreign Commerce,” *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 5, 1895: 14-15.

new railroad which signified China's awakening and progress. The essay went on to express a sense of urgency for China's future.

What is to be the future of this vast empire, with its teeming population and its apparently almost boundless possibilities of development? The one thing that presses on the mind is the conviction that a change must be imminent. Here is a huge nation living under the shadow of a defunct civilization; its learning useless; its religion a mere superstition, capable of rousing it to outbursts of savagery, indeed, but wholly inoperative in its social life; its government utterly inefficient for any good purpose; its courts of justice and, indeed, every branch of its body politic seamed with vice and absolutely honey-combed with corruption to an extent never known before in any country, and yet a people capable of better things. It is clear that the impulse must come from the outside... Knowledge is what is wanted in China—the knowledge that has been growing in other parts of the world in all the centuries during which the Chinese intelligence has been asleep, and this knowledge can only come by communication between the mass of the people and the outside.¹¹⁰

With a celebratory tone, the essay hailed at construction of new railway in China which symbolized opening “the doors of the great sealed empire to modern knowledge and civilization, and to start the inert mass of 400,000,000 of humanity upon the highway of progress, to which it has been a stranger for thousands of years.” Of particular significance was the published photo of the first locomotive used on the present Chinese railway, which was constructed largely from material saved from destruction of the ill-fated first railway from Shanghai to Woo-sung in 1876.

It was a work of years, and of a patient sagacity which was nothing short of heroic, and it was crowned with final success when the Viceroy, with great pomp, formally sanctioned by his presence the first trip on the iron railroad, constructed of the very rails, fished out of the Woo-sung River, of the original fire-dragon which had shared their fate.¹¹¹

Other than the lighter and ordinary aspects of Chinese life, *Harper's Weekly* showed great interest in reporting the less seen sides and the unsightly places, such as

¹¹⁰ “Around the World, China Today” *Harper's Weekly*, June 6, 1896: 562-566.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

executions, death cages, opium-dens, and gambling houses. Punishment and execution were constant objects of attention for Western eyes. In a series of illustrations published in 1873 on life in China, several scenes depicted Chinese penal practice in very realistic style. One sketch showed a dying prisoner suspended in a wooden cage and left in chaotic public display. A group of Chinese onlookers were watching his suffering with curiosity (Figure 5.29).

Among the many forms of punishment for crime in use in China the cage is perhaps the most to be dreaded by the criminal, as it implies a process of slow strangulation in the wooden collar, the suspense and agony of the sufferer being prolonged and increased by the cruel device of constructing the cage of such a length as to enable him to rest upon his toes to relieve the strain upon his head and neck. He is exposed in the open air in some city thoroughfare, where the passers-by are prohibited, under a severe penalty, from furnishing him with food or a drop of water to quench his thirst. After one or two days in the cage nature comes to the relief of the felon; he loses his reason, and in his mad ravings strangles himself.¹¹²

Another sketch showed several convicted prisoners being carried away with a metal chain in pain and agony (Figure 5.29).

These are Chinese convicts who have been sent adrift in one of the mountain passes in the north of the empire to work out their period of punishment by a life of wandering and begging. They are heavily ironed with chains round the neck and ankles, and are greatly hampered in their movements by having to carry about a heavy crow-bar of iron. The fetters of these men had worn into their ankle joints, and produced loathsome sores.¹¹³

According to Timothy Brook, from early in the 19th century, cruel and degrading forms of treatment of convicts were considered as characteristics of uncivilized society. Chinese punishment and judicial procedures were generally seen as a manifestation of

¹¹² "Life in China," *Harper's Weekly*, July 26, 1873: 661-662.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

Oriental despotism. Chinese torture was cited as signs of the “backward” and “semi-barbarous” nature of a society in which cruelty prevailed.¹¹⁴

To Western travelers, the judicial system of late imperial China was an object of immediate and sometimes intimate knowledge. As onlookers, they observed Chinese punishment firsthand. The details in an 1879 illustration of an execution scene indicated the artist’s close observation of the event. It was the final moment before a convicted criminal was to be executed. He knelt in front of a mandarin mounted on a horse. His hands were bound behind his back and his tail brought forward over his face, so that nothing might impede the stroke of the executioner’s sword. On an open ground outside of the village wall, a makeshift tent was set up for the executioner. A curious crowd of Chinese spectators surrounded the condemned person, gazing or gasping (Figure: 5: 34). The Chinese punishment images in *Harper’s Weekly* were stark and tense. Their visual form elicited strong emotional and aesthetic response of horror and revulsion. As Timothy Brook pointed out, such images and testimonies were used for diverse purposes, “from highbrow to the sensational, shaping the stereotypical images of Chinese cruelty that were broadly disseminated at times of Sino-Western tension.”¹¹⁵ In the second half of the 19th century and beyond, Westerners brought back to the West reports and pictures of executions that remained public in China while public executions were becoming less and less in the West. In 1870, an American naval officer visiting Canton chanced to witness an execution near that city and wrote the following account in *Harper’s Weekly*.

¹¹⁴ Timothy Brook, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008), 152-202.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 154.

The execution-ground consists of a lane outside the city walls, and about two miles from the factories. It is inclosed by the backs of houses, and has a door at each end to keep the mob out. While taking a sketch of this ground from the top of a carpenter's shop, our informant heard a great noise in the street below. A party of Chinese were carrying in people for execution. The prisoners, who had their arms tied behind their backs, and their tails twisted in a knot at the top of their heads, were carried in baskets, pitched out on the ground, and then arranged in four rows kneeling. As soon as the chief mandarin arrived the work of death began, and the four executioners, whose assistants changed their swords at every fourth stroke, cut off the heads of sixty-eight people in four minutes. The heads are thrown into a trough, as a warning to passers-by, but their friends may, if they please, claim the bodies... The number of people executed yearly at Canton is between 2000 and 3000, sometimes as many as 150 are executed at one time.¹¹⁶

An 1895 *Harpers' Weekly* account documented a Westerner's ghastly experience observing Chinese justice system in Canton, including torture and capital punishment. It was particularly noted by the editor that the accompanying photograph was too horrible to be published in the *Weekly*.

To torture animals, to attend and to gloat over executions, and to gaze on human suffering in any form, afford the keenest delight to the Chinese youth... Some four years ago I spent four days in Canton, the metropolis of southern China, on a special mission to investigate Chinese justice, and the results surpassed my most ghastly anticipation... I first inspected the yamens, or police courts, where the dispensing of justice, or rather injustice, originates. Here, amidst surroundings of squalor, and under the direction of an apathetic mandarin, the laws of China were being administered. Of forensic eloquence there was none, but of barbarous cruelty, bribery, and corruption there was abundance... The methods of torture are innumerable, and are eagerly criticised by the crowd, which signifies its approval of the more successful and refined atrocities by grins of delight and exclamations of "i-yah"... Let us move on to the place of execution... It is a filthy yard, long and narrow, like a blind alley, and, singularly enough, it is used as a potter's field when not required for execution... At a nod from the presiding mandarin, and with incredible swiftness, the butchery commences. The assistant seizes the first victim by the shoulders from behind, while the executioner steps up to his left side, armed with an enormously heavy short sword with a broad blade and razor-like edge. Without any compulsion, the victim, still kneeling, bends his head forward, and almost instantaneously it leaps from his body, severed by one swift stroke. The assistant pushes the trunk over forward, and a shrill burst of approving "i-yah" goes up from the crowd... With fearful rapidity

¹¹⁶ "A Chinese Execution," *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 10, 1870: 794.

the slaughter proceeds, and not five seconds elapse between the fall of each head. One unerring stroke ends each life, and the victims are so arranged that each can witness the fate of all those in front of him before his turn comes... The crowd is now in the most jovial humor, and signifies its light-hearted enjoyment by ribald chaff at the expense of the remaining victims, who frequently retort defiantly, and exhibit the most stolid indifference to their fate... Horrible though the sight has been, death has, at any rate, been swift and merciful, but another day the supreme horror of Chinese justice is revealed to us. For certain offenders, notably parricides and women who kill their husbands, the penalty is the “Ling-chee” or a thousand cuts. This is too ghastly for detailed description, but suffice it to say that the victim is first crucified to a low cross, and then slowly sliced to pieces with a knife. So skilful is the executioner that although his victim soon becomes almost unrecognizable as a human being, yet no vital wound is inflicted till perhaps half an hour of this torture has elapsed, when the agony is ended by decapitation.¹¹⁷

The complex event of execution involved many people: the victim, the executioner, the officials whose presence embodies the power of the state, the soldiers who controlled the victim and maintained the crowd, and finally the spectators. The cultural and political context in which the execution was carried out profoundly shaped the interaction of the different elements of execution. Therefore, there was fundamental difference between China and the West in the orchestration and meaning of execution. As Jerome Bourgon argued, European executions involved religious deeds, aesthetic devices and performing arts techniques. Due to the Christian tradition, the spectacle of a painful execution had a redemptive effect on the criminal and attendants as well. However, Chinese executions followed an entirely different conception. They were designed to show that punishment meted out according to the penal code, namely the “ritualized enforcement of the law”. Capital executions in China were not organized as a show nor subject to aesthetic representation, and they had no redemptive function. The absence of

¹¹⁷ “Chinese Cruelty,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 23, 1895: 182-183.

religious background and staging devices at Chinese execution was interpreted as a sign of barbarity and cruelty.¹¹⁸

Such visual and narrative documentations in *Harper's Weekly* painted a grisly image of Chinese penal practice. Admittedly, Western witnesses were shocked by the physical torment and suffering in Chinese judicial procedure, or by the exposure of bloody remnants in public view. They readily condemned the use of torture and infliction of punishment that Western countries had supposedly renounced. However, there was always a sense of fascination behind the irresistible curiosity that pushed Westerners to watch scenes of Chinese cruelty. This interestingly harkens back to the *Dianshizhai* illustration of "Display Torture Instrument for Review" discussed in Chapter 4. On the one hand, torture and cruelty were cited as evidence of the barbaric Chinese penal practice devoid of humanitarianism. On the other hand, fascination drove Westerners to seek Chinese torture scenes, which were documented with sketches and photos, and contemplated with moral repulsion and aesthetic pleasure.

Opium smoking in China earned its infamy in *Harper's Weekly* through artist's vivid rendition of the opium den. "However apathetic the Chinese may be in respect to most things, they will not submit to the withdrawal of their favorite narcotic."¹¹⁹ The commentaries were certainly expressions of disgust and repulsion, just as the effects triggered by the ghastly image of the opium den.

The above engraving is a faithful representation of one of those horrible dens where the Asiatic bewilders his intellect, and eventually destroys both body and soul, by the practice of smoking opium. The mischief that is wrought among

¹¹⁸ Jerome Bourgon, "Chinese Executions: Visualising Their Differences with European Supplices," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 2, 1(2003): 151-182.

¹¹⁹ "Opium Eaters," *Harper's Weekly*, July 24, 1875: 612.

Caucasian nations by alcohol in its various forms is more than equalled by the ruin accomplished in the East by the abuse of this drug. The two vices are, however, so different in some of their principal effects as to render a just comparison exceedingly difficult. The one excites and maddens, the other is tranquillizing and soothing. Ardent spirits are often taken to stimulate to the commission of bloody deeds, but opium is never smoked for such a purpose or with such an effect. The opium smoker or eater has nothing to do with violent passion. He has two states of being—one a delicious dreaminess, in which the world seems full of sweet sensations and fair visions, and the other a condition of restlessness and bodily agony, caused by the passing off of the effect of the drug, and only to be assuaged by further recourse to it.¹²⁰ (Figure 5.35)

Harper's Weekly also had many anecdotal reports on the opium issue in China.

Dr. John G. Kerr, who for thirty years has been director of the Missionary Hospital at Hong-Kong, and during that time has had 700,000 patients, is preparing an essay on the deleterious effects of opium on the Chinese. Almost every Chinaman, he says, eats or smokes the drug to his physical, moral, and financial detriment.¹²¹

D. E. Sassoon, the largest dealer in opium in Hong-Kong, recently arrived in San Francisco. He declares that the culture of opium in China is constantly increasing, and that a few years will see Indian opium driven from the market. The opium habit is gaining ground among the Chinese people, despite the efforts of the government to check it.¹²²

The ubiquitous Chinese habit of opium-smoking was carried around where there was Chinese presence. An 1894 account described the opium-smoking passengers on board a Pacific steamship from Vancouver to Japan.

They smoked opium on a mat-covered upper berth, in plain sight beneath a glass hatchway on the poop. The first-class passengers often went forward to watch them. When one was seen deep under the influence of the drug, with glassy, deathlike eyes fixed in his head, the ladies drew away in horror.¹²³

As noted in other accounts, gambling seemed to be universal in China. An 1873 illustration showed the interior of a gambling-house in the Portuguese settlement of

¹²⁰ "Opium Smoking in China," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1880: 565-566.

¹²¹ "Personal," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 20, 1884: 613-615.

¹²² "Personal," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 6, 1887: 555-557.

¹²³ "A Voyage to Asia's War Scenes," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 13, 1894: 975-977.

Macao, where a group of Chinese were intensely engaged in their game in a smoky and dimly-lit room. Several Europeans were watching with great interest (Figure 5.36).

Harper's Weekly writers considered gambling an enslaving vice, and observed its practice in a variety of circumstances from the most commonplace to most sacred, even among the Chinese laborers on Cuban plantations.

In their temples they toss the prognosticating sticks in the hope to win a good omen from some favorite idol. In the public streets the coster-monger has his gaming-table, which regulates his transactions with his poorest customers. The Chinese gamble themselves out of good society into bad, out of debt and into it, and, when the vice has mastered the most tender feelings of their nature, they gamble their wives and children, and finally themselves, into bondage. On the Cuban plantations, where large numbers of Chinese are employed, the severest measures are insufficient to check this propensity. Every Chinaman detected in gambling is punished by being compelled to wear a chain and ball at his work, his rations are cut down, and his wages diminished; but it would be as easy to prevent his breathing as to keep him from gambling. Three or four will gamble in the dark by holding up hands and betting on the number of fingers raised, the wager being decided by an umpire, who ascertains the number by feeling the hands of the gamblers. The effects of this passion are so demoralizing that the planters use every effort to counteract it.¹²⁴

Gambling is a luxury in which the Chinese of all classes indulge more or less. During the time when gambling houses were under government supervision, they became the open resort of most respectable Chinamen—men whom a foreigner might have taken for patterns of native virtue; and yet they must have acquired their passion for this vice when it was still under the ban of the law... At one time in Hong Kong the passion for gambling that characterizes all Chinese communities received the credit, probably with justice, of being at the root of much of the crime and petty larceny among servants and subordinate office employees. The police were found incompetent to keep the popular vice in check, and, as a consequence, it became more and more in fashion throughout the island.¹²⁵

Like opium-smoking, gambling became a characteristic trait of the Chinese and spread where the Chinese went. The two same traits were also frequently commented on about the Chinese immigrants in America, which will be examined in the next Chapter.

¹²⁴ "Chinese Gambling-House," *Harper's Weekly*, June 14, 1873: 517.

¹²⁵ "Races at Hong Kong," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 19, 1876: 686-687.

This chapter discussed the rich textual and visual accounts of Chinese life and society in *Harper's Weekly*, that were sent from China by Western travelers, reporters, artists, diplomats and missionaries. Visual images from these accounts are all realistic depictions of Chinese society, including political life in China, China's modernization, Chinese military, and daily life in China. There were also abundant sociopolitical commentaries accompanying these images. These accounts, either amateurish or professional, provided a kaleidoscopic picture of late 19th century Chinese society to the distant *Harper's Weekly* readership in America. Interestingly, there were no political cartoons sent from the overseas source, which marked a distinctive difference from the ways Chinese immigrants in the US were portrayed domestically---heavily through cartoons and caricatures. Chapter 6 will turn to examine this different source of representation.

Chapter Six

“The Genie out of the Box”---- Representing “Otherness” in American Society

There are two significant scholarly works on American representations of China and the Chinese: *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* by Stuart Creighton Miller and *New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776-1882* by John Kuo Wei Tchen.¹ Both historians connect the primary historical relevance of these representations with their ability to elucidate the eventual passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Miller states his objective as “trace systematically the evolution of the unfavorable image of the Chinese in nineteenth-century America and to examine the role of this image in the national decision to exclude the Chinese from the melting pot.”²

In his extensive survey of a wide variety of American writers---traders, diplomats, journalists and missionaries, Miller concludes that anti-Chinese sentiment in late 19th century America society resulted from the gradual accumulative effect of disparate and unrelated negative images. Since Miller’s main research purpose was to locate the factors which contributed to the approval of the Exclusion Act, it was quite possible that negative representations were given overwhelming attention to the point of overlooking ones that were innocent, positive, hopeful or admirable. My research on *Harper’s Weekly* has been to demonstrate that representations of China and Chinese are multifaceted, not as overwhelmingly negative as Miller claims. Anti-Chinese views and images, though

¹ Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: the American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776-1882* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

² Stuart Creighton Miller, 1969, ix.

prevalent in *Harper's Weekly*, were always “contested with dissenting voices and failed to monopolize the marketplace of ideas.”³

In *New York before Chinatown*, Tchen takes a different approach in understanding representation not as disparate and unrelated images, but rather as underlined by a consistent theme permeating mainstream American culture---the need of white American to find “otherness” in order to define “who they were and were not.” Tchen asserts that China and Chinese were used symbolically and materially to advance a unique form of American nationalism. The Chinese, were “mimicked, simulated, and reproduced,” for the purpose of “provoking laughter, assuaging fear, and forging solidarity between members of a paying audience by formulating a pan-European occidental identity in juxtaposition to the stereotype of a yellow face.”⁴

As discussed in Chapter 5, Chinese images and reports in *Harper's Weekly* became an important channel through which the American readers understood China. There were two major sources of these images and reports, one from overseas by correspondents, merchants, travelers and missionaries in China, while the other originated domestically in American society based on the presence of Chinese immigrants in America. The latter group of images exhibited strikingly different representation and symbolism. These images were painted with complicated strokes against the backdrop of late 19th century politics. A literature review revealed that the existing scholarship on Chinese imagery in *Harper's Weekly* has paid overwhelming attention to the cartoons and caricatures created domestically and overlooked a subtle yet

³ John Rogers Haddad, *The romance of China: excursions to China in U.S. culture, 1776 to 1876* (New York : Columbia University Press, 2006), 6.

⁴ John Kuo Wei Tchen, 1999, 125.

important fact that there were two parallel lines of depiction of Chinese and Chinese life in *Harper's Weekly*.⁵ The first line of representation is the depiction of Chinese life in America, including the Chinese elites who influenced the relationship between the two countries. Themes reflected in this line of representation were much more extensive, covering diplomacy, culture, commerce, society, and history. The other line of representation is the satirical political cartoons and caricatures mostly focusing on controversial American domestic issues related to Chinese, such as immigration and labor. It is along these two parallel lines of Chinese imagery in *Harper's Weekly* that this chapter unfolds to examine the dynamic relationship between the domestically produced Chinese imagery in *Harper's Weekly* and socio-politics of the late 19th century America.

Chinese in America: Coolie Trade

Chapter 5 discussed the accounts and images of Chinese life sent from China by travelers, reporters and missionaries, which constituted one of two major sources of information for the American audience. This section examines the other source of information: the observed and imagined life of Chinese immigrants in America. In the curious eyes of reporters and illustrators, every aspect of the life of Chinese immigrants remained a constant source of interest to *Harper's Weekly's* readers.

⁵ NajiaAarim-Heriot, *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848-82* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Puran Singh Khalsa, *Thomas Nast and "Harper's Weekly": 1862-1886 (Illustrator, Political Cartoonist)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1984); Jo Ann Early Levin, *The Golden Age of Illustration: Popular Art in American Magazines, 1850-1925*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1980); Deirdre Murphy, *The Look of a Citizen: Representations of Immigration in Gilded Age Painting and Popular Press Illustration*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Minnesota, 2007).

After the Civil War the United States was in the midst of a major social transformation. The end of slavery, the innovations of technology, the victory of the Northern manufacturing system, and the construction of the transcontinental railroad created conditions for an integrating national economy and political culture.⁶ In late 1860's, the discussion of coolie trade arose with the increased immigration of Chinese laborers to the West coast. The controversy over Chinese coolies became a major debate in *Harper's Weekly* in the 1860's. Strong opposition was expressed against the way the Chinese were brought to America. Opponents to Chinese labor ranged from local politicians, military generals, to trade union representatives. The Chinese emigration to America was considered unnatural, dangerous and illicit. Morally, it was not only likened to the African slave trade, but was also used as a warning to alert the Southern states the peril of importing large number of aliens and the danger of a new form of slavery:

Only males are sent, and they generally contract for eight years. The passage is a kind of middle passage of the old African slave-trade, and there are frequent mutinies... Is it desirable that the population of the Southern States of this country should be increased by such accessions? These people are the lowest and in every way the least desirable portion of nations the most alien to us and our civilization. They are not needed as laborers; and their introduction into a section of the country in which the traditions and habits of slavery are still fresh could result only in establishing a new form of slavery, and infinitely perplexing and delaying the natural and desirable consequences of emancipation... It is ridiculous to treat the business of cooly emigration as the free and voluntary passage of foreigners into the country, and if the existing acts are not sufficient to prevent it new acts should be passed. No greater disadvantage to this country can well be conceived than the unnatural addition of hundreds of thousands of the worst kind of Hindoos and Chinese to the population of the Southern States, composed as at present half of newly emancipated slaves and half of a sullen, late slaveholding class, hostile to the Government, despising the freedmen, and the more willing to gratify their habits of absolute control over the laborer if it can be done in a way plainly perilous to the country.⁷

⁶ John Kuo Wei Tchen, 1999, 168.

⁷ "The Cooly Importation," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 31, 1867: 546-547.

At the same time, cheap and seemingly limitless Chinese labor became a highly desirable commodity for post-slavery capitalists. Chinese laborers were recruited to work in mines and agricultural fields in California, to build industrial infrastructure, and to replace American workers on wage strike.⁸ There were voices that recognized and praised the value of Chinese labor. One of these voices was from the Southern plantations. The shortage of labor in the South after the emancipation of slaves compelled the plantation owners to actively seek replenishment of work force.⁹

A Chinese Labor Convention was held in Memphis, Tennessee in July 1869. A large number of prominent men from all parts of the South attended to discuss the possibilities of importing *Chinese* laborers. Plantation owners considered Chinese laborers to be “easily managed, being patient, industrious, docile, tractable and obedient... would soon become successful workers of Southern lands.”¹⁰ By then a limited number of Chinese had already been introduced to the South to work on plantations as indentured labor. Moon-Ho Jung aptly summarized that the Chinese Labor Convention embodied the contradictions of a region and nation in transition, its origins and deliberations shaped by romantic visions of plantation slavery and old ties to the Caribbean as much as grandiose dreams of industrial development and new ties to California and China.¹¹

⁸ Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

⁹ Lucy M. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

¹⁰ “Chinese labor: the Convention at Memphis,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1869.

¹¹ Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and cane: race, labor, and sugar in the age of emancipation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 105-106.

As *Harper's Weekly* reported, "the planters are exceedingly well pleased with them. They are not only patient and faithful workers, but they seem well adapted to the climate and industries of the South."¹² The general impression was that "the Chinese laborer, it appears by conclusive testimony, is industrious, docile, faithful, efficient, and works for small wages, as is to be expected of those who can live at home upon two dollars a year."¹³

The discussion of Chinese labor was intertwined with the issue of slave trade in *Harper's Weekly*. Many contended that the coolie trade was really a slave trade and was characterized by the crimes of the old slave trade, such as kidnapping, fraud and the horrors of the journey. They argued that the country should be closed against slave trade while remain open to normal and natural immigration. There were also reports of Chinese laborers being imported to Cuba, Peru and other Gulf colonies to work under inhuman conditions.¹⁴ One report gave a detailed account of how Chinese coolies were recruited and transported to Cuba as indentured laborers, and how they were treated and sold in Cuba under cruel terms.¹⁵ The circumstances of the coolie trade in these countries became alarming to people in the United States. An 1876 illustration sketched the crowded cabin of the Pacific Mail Steamship "Alaska" occupied by dozens of Chinese men in their native attire (Figure 6.1). It is mealtime. Food is served on the cabin floor with no tables and chairs. Some Chinese men are sitting on the floor consuming rice, with chopsticks and around communal bowls. Some are standing in small groups chatting. Others seem to be

¹² "Domestic Intelligence," *Harper's Weekly*, July 31, 1869: 483.

¹³ "Coolies," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1869: 514-515.

¹⁴ "A Rat Diet not Imminent," *Harper's Weekly*, July 30, 1870: 483.

¹⁵ "Chinese Coolies in Cuba," *Harper's Weekly*, March 23, 1872: 228-229.

doing their chores, such as mending clothes or reading. As the text further describes, the food “consists of bountiful ration of soup, meat and vegetables. Tea is regularly given out...the food if served in large earthen bowls, and as every Chinaman carries his ‘chop-stick,’ neither forks, knives, nor spoons are necessary.”¹⁶ As Judith Huber points out, “in the very act of engaging in one of the basic human activities, that of eating, they emphasize their otherness.”¹⁷

The crowded accommodations, their coarse clothes, and unrefined dining indicated their status as laborers, implying the hardship of the trans-Pacific journey and their unpredictable fate in a new land. The inclusion of two white men at the left corner of the picture seems curious. One seems to be in a managerial position. The other one looks like the cook. They occupy a bright spot of the picture in contrast to the darkness of the rest of scene. Their watch over the Chinese crowd may be read as a message that this mass of immigrants need to be cautioned against.

While there were reports of American agents openly proposing importation of Chinese laborers to work on Southern plantations, grave concerns were raised regarding the “new slave trade” from China. Critics argued that the coolie trade is a form of the Chinese slave trade. Critics drew cautions from the cruelty and suffering of the English colonial coolie trade and argued against the large scale importation of Chinese laborers to work in the U.S.:

The utmost knavery and immense suffering are unavoidable in the transfers across the sea under contract of vast number of the poorest inhabitants of an overpeopled country, to do the hardest work of another country.....But a coolie trade, an

¹⁶ “Chinese Immigration,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 20, 1876: 411.

¹⁷ Judith Huber, *Assimilation or exclusion: the image of the Irish and the Chinese in American popular prints, 1850-1882* (Ph. D. Thesis: University of Virginia, 1996), 143.

importation upon the great scale of laborers by contract into a country in half of which slavery has recently been the universal system of labor, should be plainly seen to be a very grave peril.¹⁸

And the same anti-slavery voice advocated for a more rational and fair handling of the Chinese immigration:

Nothing, indeed, can be more absurd or more characteristic than the resolutions of the Democratic Convention in California virtually denouncing the Chinese laborers who have been brought here; for they are innocent, and the resolutions merely stimulate a local hostility already enough inflamed. Besides, the Chinese movement has begun, and will not be stayed. The wise course is to restrain it within its natural limits by rigidly preventing the opening of a new slave-trade under the name of encouraging emigration.¹⁹

The importation of coolies by contract is no more immigration than the importation of slaves. It is a system by which the worst classes of foreigners would be thrown into this country in the greatest numbers. It would be an unpardonable and unnecessary increases of the difficulties with which the country has to deal.... The Chinese current of population began to flow toward this country in 1848. Between that year and 1868, for twenty years, the yearly average of the immigration was not quite 6000. Last year it was 12,000. That is not an alarming average... This country can annually assimilate a great many more Chinese than 12,000. Let us prohibit any kind of slave trade, and the Crispins need not fear that they will be compelled to eat rats.²⁰

By early 1870's, the value of Chinese labor had been well recognized and appreciated by the agricultural industry. As one report commented, "Chinese labor is called for by planters, as it is said that only African and Chinese laborers can resist the baleful miasmas of the rice swamps."²¹ The Chinese laborers were noted and praised for their diligence, frugality and fast adaptation to new trades such as cigar manufacturing, shoe-making, carpentry, and of course laundry business.

¹⁸ "A New Slave-Trade," *Harper's Weekly*, April 23, 1870: 258.

¹⁹ "Coolies," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1869: 514-515.

²⁰ "A Rat Diet not Imminent," *Harper's Weekly*, July 30, 1870: 483.

²¹ "Home and Foreign Gossip," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 16, 1871: 867.

In spite of the murmurs that have arisen concerning the presence of John Chinaman in our land, much can be said in his favor. In the first place, he is an eminently economical institution. His habits, his tastes, his pleasures, even his vices, are cheap. His frugality is worn into his very bones. He is the representative in the human kingdom of the horse that learned to live upon a straw a day. Naturally, among a certain portion of the population, this virtue is his great crime, and undoubtedly “Chinese cheap labor,” rather than Chinese bad morals, is at the foundation of the hue and cry that has arisen against the melancholy wearers of the pigtail.²²

In 1873 *Harper's* commissioned artists Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tavernier to illustrate scenes of the American West. Many illustrations were produced during the artists' railway expedition across the continent.²³ Among Frenzeny's drawings, there was a double-page centerfold illustration published in 1878 prominently showing Chinese laborers doing wine-presses in a California vineyard. However, with his artistic license, Frenzeny inaccurately showed the Chinese laborers stomping the grapes with their bare feet (Figure 6.2).²⁴ The bare feet stomping technique had long been discarded by the Napa winemakers who prided themselves on their modern and sanitary winemaking process. Somehow the image of Chinese laboring perspiring while stomping dirt into the vintage caused anger and fear among the California winemakers. And the image soon became a rallying point for anti-coolie groups intent on driving Chinese workers out of Napa Valley.²⁵

An 1875 sketch of Chinese fishermen in San Francisco Bay appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, adding to the variety of trades Chinese workers engaged in (Figure 6.3).

²² “Chinese Immigration,” *Harper's Weekly*, May 20, 1876: 411.

²³ Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1953).

²⁴ “The Vintage in California,” *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 5, 1878: 792.

²⁵ Richard Steven Street, *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farm Workers, 1769-1913*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 317-318.

They sometimes venture a mile or two from the shore, wading up to the neck, and making very rich hauls of fish. The water of the bay is very cold all the year round, yet these hardy men do not appear to suffer much from their long exposure to its chilling influence.²⁶

Beginning in 1865, Chinese laborers were actively recruited to build the Western stretch of the Transcontinental Railroad. Many of them died in dangerous mountain explosion or from exposure. By the time the East and West lengths of railroad converged in Utah in 1869, the western span has employed up to 10,000 Chinese at any time.²⁷ After the first Transcontinental Railway was completed, some of the Chinese workers turned to agricultural, fishery and lumber mill labor along the West Coast, some joined the manufacturing industry in urban areas or found employment in domestic service, while some moved to railroad construction to other parts of the States.²⁸ Thus, illustrators began portending huge influx of Chinese heading East. An 1870 sketch depicted a long line of Chinese men, all wearing straw hats and carrying simple belongings on their shoulder poles, miraculously walking across the Missouri river where the bridge had not been built. Their procession on water appeared orderly and calm, unperturbed by obstacles. In the long meandering line they formed, they were like the winding new rail system itself. In a national landscape that was finally connected through a transcontinental rail system, the eastward movement of the Chinese laborers became an “intrusion” despite their quiet appearance (Figure 6.4).

²⁶ “Chinese Fishermen,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 20, 1875: 242.

²⁷ Joseph Rober Conlin, *The American Past: A Survey of American History* (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2009), 439-441. For a thorough discussion of Chinese laborers in American railway construction, see Annian Huang and Juguo Zhang, *The Silent Spikes: Chinese Laborers and the Construction of North American Railroads* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2006); David Haward Bain, *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York, NY: Viking, 1999).

²⁸ Jan Goggans, *The Pacific Region* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004), 131-132.

The Mongolian invasion has begun at last in good earnest, and the advance-guard of the peaceful army has already crossed the Missouri River. On the 26th of December the first detachment of Chinese laborers engaged to work on a railroad now building in Texas, numbering 250 men, arrived opposite Council Bluffs, Iowa... Most of these men were employed in the construction of the Pacific Railroad.²⁹

At the same time, it was keenly noted that the presence of Chinese labor posed a serious threat to the white laborers. Thus conflicting opinions and attitudes appeared in *Harper's Weekly* toward Chinese immigration.

As carpenters, manufacturers of furniture, and workers in all kinds of wood, the Chinese in San Francisco have crowded out an army of white laborers, who would otherwise be employed at high wages. With all the uses of the sewing-machine they have become familiar, and will work at them sometimes for twelve and fourteen hours in succession. In the manufacture of boots and shoes, a trade of which they knew nothing upon landing, they have made such progress that the whites are unable to compete with them, and at present these necessary articles are sold at a lower price in San Francisco than in any other city on the continent. If there is any branch of mechanical industry in especial demand, the Chinaman is sure to be found at work upon it, and, like the mythical laborers in some parts of Europe, who were once described as able to "work for nothing and live upon less," he soon drives the white man, with his expensive wants, off the course. In all departments of servile labor—as house servants, cooks, scullions, gardeners, and porters—the Mongolian slowly but firmly pushes the Caucasian out of his path, and leaves thousands of the latter race unemployed and suffering for the actual necessities of life... But as a laundry-man is the "heathen Chinese" peculiarly successful. Although personal cleanliness is not by any means his distinguishing characteristic, he delights to perform miracles in the way of purifying the soiled linen of other people.³⁰

San Francisco is by no means the only city on the Pacific side of this continent which is troubled with the Chinese problem. Industrious, frugal, and quietly persistent, "John" is to be found wherever there is work of any kind to be done, and is always willing to do it cheaper than Americans or European emigrants. His wants are fewer, his ambition less, than theirs, and he is oftentimes content with quarters and fare at which a well-bred and respectable dog would turn up his nose.³¹

²⁹ "Coolies for Texas," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 22, 1870: 53.

³⁰ "Chinese Immigration," *Harper's Weekly*, May 20, 1876: 411.

³¹ "Chinese in America," *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 29, 1877: 1027.

Conspicuous politicians of both parties expressed their opinion on the Chinese question. Lots of them took an alarmist stance and spoke very strongly against Chinese immigration. Senator John Miller of California contended that the Chinese were unable to become American, since the two civilizations were “of diverse elements and character, both the results of evolution under different conditions, radically antagonistic, and as impossible of amalgamation as the two great races that produced them.” Miller further stressed the static and insular nature of Chinese civilization, which led him to declare Americans and Chinese, like “oil and water,” would never mix.³² Essays in *Harper’s Weekly* often cautioned against such strong sentiments among politicians. Discussions of the Chinese question became a constant debate. Various voices were raised, lay or religious.

In the discussion of the Chinese question, it must not be forgotten that one of the most progressive steps in civilization is the perception of the essential identity of men and races. The tendency of all modern scholarship is to reveal the unity of man, and unquestionably the true tendency of civilization is toward the federation of the world. Merely to denounce Asiatics, therefore, as if to be an Asiatic were to be a kind of monster. Or to disparage the Chinese as pagans, as if an epithet were an argument, is at once to perplex truth in the minds of all who know anything of the actual civilization and moral code of China. Certainly, we do not wish to repeat the follies of that country, not to suppose that, in this time and in this land, any Chinese wall of exclusion can be build. We may trust American sagacity to defend American civilization from obliteration by that of Asia, without supposing it necessary to preach hatred and horror of one of the chief human races, as if every individual of it were a nameless sinner.³³

What to do with the Heathen Chinese on this continent has become a political as well as a religious question. The Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington Territory has embodied its answer in these words: “The true solution is not to oppose the coming of the Chinese to our shores, nor to seek any modification of the *Burlingame* treaty, but to break down by legal restraints and penalties the

³² Lucy Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 15-16.

³³ “Asia and America,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 27, 1870: 546-547.

present contract system of the Chinese companies, and destroy their power to keep those brought here in a state of virtual slavery.³⁴

The agitation of the Chinese question and the bitter controversy brought much attention and interest to these strangers---their custom, habits, religion and life in general. Discovering and portraying Chinese immigrants in America became artists' and writers' explorations with adventure and imagination.

Chinese in America: a distinct people and a peculiar spectacle

By the 1870's, there were frequent reports on the daily life of Chinese immigrants in ethnic enclaves on the West Coast and in New York. An 1877 illustration in *Harper's Weekly* depicts the Chinese quarters in Virginia City, Nevada, and offers the readers a panoramic view of the life and habits of the Chinese inhabitants (Figure 6.5). The drawing pieced together various scenes of everyday mundane life in the Chinese Quarters in Virginia City. It seemed to be a completely isolated Chinese colony onto itself, with no trace of connection with the American society. The montage of vignettes created an overall sense of crowdedness in the Nevada Chinatown. The Chinese inhabitants turned their hands to any kind of work, laundry, cobbler, barber, butcher, and street peddler. The vignette in the upper right corner depicts a Chinese laundry. The small sign reads "Washee, Washee." The use of pidgin English titles becomes a prominent characteristic of Chinese imagery in *Harper's Weekly*. In the vignette of burning joss papers, the artist portrays a religious ritual taking place at night. The dark background in contrast to the burning of incense adds mystery to the scene, seeming to imply "heathen" practice of the Chinese. Another vignette shows a Chinese cooking medicine in a crude

³⁴ "Religious Intelligence," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug, 19, 1876: 679.

pot over an open fire. Allusion of medicine implies illness and disease. As Miller discussed, the Chinese immigrants were strongly associated with both disease and epidemics.³⁵ Various scenes in the Chinatown drawing emphasize the fact that the Chinese were “different” with alien culture and habits. Pointing to such basic differences, such as language, diet and religion, is a mechanism of image creation. The differences all enter into the stereotypic assumptions of Chinese immigrants in the American public perception.

The depiction of ethnic enclave echoed a prevailing theme in the anti-Chinese immigration sentiment--- the Chinese were inclined to maintain the customs, rituals, beliefs, and lifestyle of their homeland, and were perceived to be unable or unwilling to assimilate into American society.³⁶ Opponents of Chinese immigrants commonly argued that the Chinese were biologically incapable of being assimilated into the American way of life, and they would consequently pose a threat to American institutions.³⁷

Artists were sent out on explorations in Chinese quarters to observe and sketch the inhabitants, be they merchants, peddlers, opium-smokers, devotees or gamblers at Chinese joss house. Occasionally, American figures appeared in Chinese quarters for an inquisitive visit. An 1883 sketch shows an American photographer taking pictures of a group of Chinese laundry workers in front of their stereotypical laundry business in New York’s Chinatown (Figure 6.6). They are surrounded by a ring of American spectators, watching curiously. This seems to show that the Chinese were somewhat of a rare scene

³⁵ Stuart Miller, 1969, 160-166.

³⁶ Elmer C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1991), 25-39; Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Holt, 1909).

³⁷ Lucy Salyer, 1995, 11-17.

or oddity. An 1888 sketch of the Chinese quarter in New York featured multiple scenes including shops, restaurants, a shrine, and a busy Chinese kitchen. This is a typical composite sketch of perambulation as the artist walked around the Chinese quarter and gathered visual impressions to construct a multi-dimensional picture. A particular scene in the sketch showed three well-dressed American males surrounding a Chinese man, gazing from a condescending angle (Figure 6.7). Barhurst and Nerone argue that subjectivity takes the position of spectator.³⁸ The gazing Americans onlookers in Chinese scenes establish a spectator subjectivity, which in turn reinforces the peculiarity of the Chinese being watched. The following narrative offers a witness description of Chinese quarters in New York in American eyes.

The almond-eyed children of the Sun are, it is true, scattered all over the city and its suburbs, to the number of more than eight thousand. It is hard to find any neighborhood where there are no Chinese laundries, for they seem to have taken to that business almost exclusively in this part of the country. Nevertheless they have a sort of head-quarters in the neighborhood which they have taken for their own, and here goes on all the traffic-no inconsiderable volume—which they have among themselves. Here are their temples, their gambling-houses, and their opium dens, all under the same roof in some instances. Here are their restaurants, their grocery stores, their society rooms (for every Chinaman belongs to a society), their municipal government (for they have one of their own), their professional people, their artisans, and their bankers.... it is squalid in appearance, rickety, old, and ill-preserved as to its buildings, badly kept as to its streets, and at the first glance seeming like the haunt of despairing poverty. It has, however, two advantages which, to the mind of the Mongolian, outweigh the disadvantages. It is a central location, easy of access by the principal routes of travel from all directions, and the rents are cheaper than they would be likely to get in any other neighborhood equally accessible. The Chinaman does not come to America to spend money, especially in rents. He comes to accumulate.... Some thousands of them are to be found here night and day. No exact statement of numbers is possible, for they are suspicious and secretive, and take refuge in their ignorance, either real or pretended, of the English language, when questioned by the “Melican man.” Moreover, this is the pleasure resort of all those who live and

³⁸ Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News : A History* (New York : Guilford Press, 2001), 125.

work elsewhere. When work is slack, or they feel inclined for a holiday, they seek their companionship and their dissipations in the company of their compatriots. Here, too, they worship, naïvely seeking the aid and comfort of their religion whether they are bent on business or debauchery.³⁹

The accompanying engraving featured a Chinatown street scene where a wedding procession took place (Figure 6.8). People were out watching the horse wagon procession. A few children were playing on the sidewalk. Their features “betray their mingled blood.” In the foreground stood a couple, a Chinese man and his presumably Irish wife holding a baby in her arms.

No Chinese women or girls are ever seen by strangers, for the few who are here are jealously kept in seclusion. Many of the Chinese, however, unable to bring their wives from the Flowery Kingdom, have intermarried with the Irish. Whether they prefer Irish, or are unable to win other women, no outsider can say; but it is a fact that all, or nearly all, the women who have married Chinamen here are Hibernians. It is only about twelve or fifteen years since these marriages began, so that the children are all yet young. What kind of people the hybrids will prove to be is yet an unsolved problem.⁴⁰

An earlier account of a visit in Chinese quarters in New York published in 1874 discovered that, “our artist looked in vain for the wives of the Chinese, who sometimes visit the smoking-rooms, and who are invariably English, Irish, or American girls with some pretensions to prettiness. There has not been a Chinese woman resident in New York for years.”⁴¹

Actually, even as early as in 1857 *Harper's Weekly* reported that 28 Irish women selling apples have “gone the way of matrimony with their elephant-eyed, olive skinned contemporaries.”⁴² These anecdotal reports in *Harper's Weekly* interestingly revealed a

³⁹ “Our Chinese Colony,” *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 22, 1890: 910.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ “Chinese in New York,” *Harper's Weekly*, March 7, 1874: 222.

⁴² “Domestic Intelligence,” *Harper's Weekly*, March 10, 1857: 630-631.

fact about Chinese immigration to America in the 19th century. Due to a combination of factors including distance, expense, social taboo on emigration of women, and later, restrictive immigration law, very few Chinese women emigrated to America, unless they were wives of business men or mandarins, or smuggled-in prostitutes.⁴³ The great majority of Chinese laborers arrived without families. The scarcity of Chinese women rendered Chinese marriage and family formation in America extremely difficult. Then Chinese-white intermarriages took place, in New York, San Francisco and even in southern plantations.⁴⁴ Alfred Trumble, an anti-Chinese immigration California writer in 1880s, noted in his writing that,

The absence of Chinese women in the East has compelled the males to intermarry with the whites. There are in New York at the present time nearly five hundred Chinamen who have white wives. They are mainly Spanish and Irish women, the Mongolians preferring the latter on account of their skill in domestic labor. A young Chino-Celtic generation is springing up out of these alliances and displays all the precocity of the white races in adapting itself to the vices of its fathers.⁴⁵

In the Chinese quarters, festival celebrations became the most eye-catching scene for the artists. The New Year festive was much to the annoyance of the people because of the constant explosion of fire-crackers. Fist fights were reported at the celebration between Americans and the Chinese (Figure 6.9). “Some ardent specimens of Young America are engaged in a hand-to-hand tussle with young heathen Chinese, whose pigtail

⁴³ Sucheng Chan, “The Exclusion of Chinese Women, 1870-1943” in *Chinese Immigrants and American Law*, eds. Charles McClain (New York: Garland Pub., 1994), 2-54.

⁴⁴ Robert Lee, *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 51-82. For a detailed study of Irish-Chinese relations in 19th century New York, see Ronald Bayor and Timothy Meagher, *The New York Irish* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

⁴⁵ Alfred Trumble, *The “Heathen Chinese” at Home and Abroad* (New York: R.K. Fox, 1882), 73-74.

afford a point d'avantage of which the young rascals make full use."⁴⁶ The sketch of joss-house during festival time prominently displays a white American family, a couple and a child in formal attire, present as spectators of the Chinese worship scene (Figure 6.9). Similar to the Nevada Chinatown sketch, the appearance of white Americans in presumably quintessential Chinese occasions as curious onlookers adds to the notion of Chinese being an alien spectacle in American society. Americans' appearance in Chinese quarters may be interpreted as the mainstream society's attempt to capture the bizarre and the different elements of a strange people. An 1877 sketch shows a lantern procession of Chinese children in San Francisco (Figure 6.10). An 1880 report on the Chinese lantern festival in San Francisco gives the following narrative:

The Chinese emigrates, but he does not assimilate. So far as is possible, he preserves in his new home all the manners and customs of the old. Having been born in the "Celestial Empire," whose arrangements he regards as perfect, the strange civilization of the West has no attraction for him, and he will have none of it. Such a scene...has about it nearly all the elements of a holiday celebration in Canton or Peking. The Chinese quarter of San Francisco, lit up and adorned for a festival, might be a strip of a most populous Asiatic city inserted in the midst of a characteristically American town.⁴⁷

An 1883 sketch offered a vivid visual panorama of Chinese theatre in San Francisco (Figure 6.11). Ornate stage, elaborate costume, actor's amazing stunts, and enthralled Chinese audience were all captured in a continuous theatrical motion. The sketch was an exclusively Chinese scene with no sight of an American spectator, not even the artist himself, though the Chinese theatre was introduced as a sensational tourist site.

⁴⁶ "The Chinaman's New Year," *Harper's Weekly*, March 25, 1871: 266.

⁴⁷ "The Chinese in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, March 20, 1880: 182.

A most refreshing sensation awaits the tourist to the Pacific coast at the Chinese theatres in San Francisco. These establishments are two in number, and as the Chinese are assiduous theatre-goers, the houses are crowded every night... The acrobats or tumblers make their entrance *en masse* at about eleven o'clock, and the whole stage is filled with all the members of the troupe. Their feats are wonderful. The great battle scene, an indispensable requisite in a Chinese theatre, then takes place, and a terrific display comes of banging, hammering, screaming, twanging, and tooting... The nasal sing-song and high pitch of the "Cousins of the Moon" will certainly leave untouched the Caucasian ear, but the Mongolian is delighted, and the audience very demonstrative in their approval. This does not hinder them from eating sweetmeats, smoking, and drinking saki, which waiters carry around among the audience. The audience all wear their hats, as it is regarded as a great breach of etiquette for any one not to do so in public.⁴⁸

Another sketch from artist's exploration among the San Francisco Chinese represented a scene in a Chinese theatre (Figure 6.12). It was noted that the Chinese theaters in San Francisco were very popular and were filled to overflowing at every performance. "Large numbers of 'barbarians' frequently attend them, attracted by curiosity."⁴⁹

The Chinese Quarter of San Francisco has been aptly termed a bit of old China. With its shops resplendent with Oriental red and yellow, its pagoda-like restaurants, its narrow, noisome alleys, its underground opium and gambling dens, it furnishes a picture in miniature of the seamy side of life in a Chinese city.⁵⁰

Other than Chinese festival and theatre, two other markers of the Chinese peculiarity seemed to be the Chinese dress and the queue.

A few Chinese Christians have adopted the American dress and discarded the queue, but most of them have not done so. A number, who are very far from being Christians, have also changed their dress and discarded the queue. It has been said that one-half the Chinese in America would be glad to adopt our fashions in dress if a general move could be made in that direction. But if they should do this, on returning to China, custom would compel them to resume the queue and the Chinese dress. Probably the queue stands more in the way of the Chinese becoming Americanized than any other one thing. So long as the queue is

⁴⁸ "Chinese Theatres in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, May 12, 1883: 295.

⁴⁹ "Chinese Sketches," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 25, 1879: 77-78.

⁵⁰ "Chinese Highbinders," *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1886: 103-104.

retained, the Chinese fashion of dress will be retained, and the two things will forever make them a distinct and peculiar people.⁵¹

As Western travelers in China reported the use of tree barks and various animal specimens by Chinese as medicinal remedies, drug-stores in Chinatown became a site of curious discovery for *Harpers' Weekly* artists who ventured to sketch such stories. The health-seeking practice of the Chinese was represented in an 1899 engraving, in which several Chinese were waiting to have their medicine weighed out at a Chinese pharmacy (Figure 6.13).

Pretty much every evil the Chinaman suffers from is ascribed to some particular "devil," and doubtless when the clerk started to fill this prescription by laying out a dried horned toad as the first ingredient the intention was to introduce it into the patient's dyspeptic zone, and let the "devil" and the toad fight it out between them. Perhaps this only typifies the more modern practice of our own physicians—of setting one microbe to destroy another. The toad in this prescription was re-enforced by vegetable compounds in the shape of strips and disks of all sizes and colors, and the patient was instructed to carry it all home and boil it down in water to a semiliquid mass, and "take as ordered." If this did not cure him, of course he had the balance of the three thousand remedies to fall back on.⁵²

In *Harper's Weekly*, opium association was another Chinese trait noted by both overseas and domestic sources. Western travelers in China gave detailed accounts of opium houses, often with detest and condemnation. The habit of opium-smoking traveled with Chinese immigrants to America. One *Harper's Weekly* illustration depicted a scene at the San Francisco Custom house on the arrival of a steamship from China (Figure 6.14). "The immigrants are landed in companies of from seventy-five to one hundred within a space enclosed by a netted railing, where they undergo the most rigid search at the hands of thirty-six Custom-house officers; and it requires no ordinary skill and

⁵¹ "The Chinese in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, March 20, 1880: 182.

⁵² "A Chinese Prescription," *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 9, 1899: 1239.

experience to prevent the wily Celestials from eluding the law. It is a common thing for a Chinaman to have on five or six coats, the lining of which must be thoroughly overhauled in the search for opium.”⁵³ The opium alert among the Chinese immigrants was so heightened that an opium search sketch became the front cover of an issue of *Harper's Weekly* in 1877 (Figure 6.15). The sketch showed a batch of newly arrived immigrant undergoing rigorous search by custom officers. In both opium search drawings, the composition is crowded and the custom-house is full. More immigrants are joining the chaotic and bustling scene. The few customs officers seem to be overwhelmed by and subsumed in the mass of crowd. Beyond them, faces peering from the windows of the boat convey the idea of an unstoppable influx, more yet to come. The visual chaos is explained in the text.

John knows all the tricks that are vain, and is an expert hand at eluding the vigilance of the revenue officers. To get even with them, the Chinamen are put ashore in lots of forty or fifty, men and women together, and are driven, with scant ceremony, into a space inclosed by a stout rope and guarded by policemen. There they are compelled to open their trunks, chests, sacks, and baskets, and display the contents before the inquisitive eyes of the inspectors. Silks, opium, and ivory articles are generally concealed on the person by these crafty fellows, and if suspicion is aroused, they have to disrobe. The search is rigorous, and generally results in a rich harvest for the Custom-house.⁵⁴

The Chinese reputation for deceit and deviousness is made clear in the text. Such reputation followed them and become established in the image of the Chinese in America. As noted in many accounts, opium dens were prevalent in Chinese quarters, just as temples and gambling-houses. One writer described a Chinese club house on Baxter Street in New York. The accompanying sketch prominently situated three sluggish-

⁵³ “Searching for Opium,” *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 7, 1882: 11.

⁵⁴ “Chinamen at the Custom-house, San Francisco,” *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 3, 1877: 91.

looking Chinese opium smokers in the foreground of the picture, with a gambling table, a joss-stick burner and an Itar in the back (Figure 6.16). The co-presence of opium smokers, gamblers and devotees created a queer atmosphere mixed with addictive lethargy, exciting game and reverence to the deity and deceased.

With the quaint faces of the trio of Buddhist gods beaming beneficently upon him from over the altar, with its burning perfumed joss-sticks and its offerings of stuffed birds, our artist sat for hours watching the devotees, the opium-smokers, and the gamblers. The pipes, the dominoes, and “cash” were even brought into the sacred presence of the gods for his enjoyment. . . in the rear of the club-house, is the opium merchant's house and the rooms of the smokers. A wretched place at best, it contains only a few low benches and a dilapidated bed, whereon the landlord and a chance customer are reclining.⁵⁵

An 1888 front cover of *Harper's Weekly* displayed an ear shave scene in the Chinese quarter of New York (Figure 6.17). In the corresponding text, the writer described with amazement the “skill and delicacy” with which a Chinese barber does ear shave and massage. The front of the picture shows an ear shave taking place in an apartment. In the background of the picture is a two-storied bunk, where two customers repose while waiting for their turn. One of them was leisurely holding and smoking an opium pipe. The writer noted, “A narrow passageway leads past the bunks into a series of rear rooms, from which float the odors of Chinese cooking, Canton tobacco, and now and then the unmistakable fumes of opium.”⁵⁶ In the sketch, opium-smoking became part of the mundane lifestyle of the Chinese immigrants. It was as ordinary as getting a shave and massage.

Another 1881 article published a physician's investigation of the opium-smoking world in New York. The sketch was a composite picture of multiple scenes including

⁵⁵ “The Chinese in New York,” *Harper's Weekly*, March 7, 1874: 222.

⁵⁶ “A Chinese Barber in New York,” *Harper's Weekly*, March 10, 1888: 167.

drawings of opium paraphernalia, Chinese gambling house, opium plant and poppy seeds, as well as a smoking room where both Chinese and American opium-smokers were being served (Figure 6.18). In both images and texts, the torporous appearance of the opium smoker and the exotic nature of the opium den were two prominent elements. Such depictions contributed to and reinforced the perception of the Chinese as weak.

Furthermore, another illustration seemed to imply that the Chinese vice of opium-smoking was corrupting white Americans (Figure 6.19). The image shows seven white males reclining in an opium-induced torpor. The dark and smoke-filled room is crowded and shabbily furnished. In the almost hellish background, a Chinese server with coarse features emerges from the doorway, holding a tray of the harmful substance. The light behind him almost gives him a supernatural glow over the head. The artist positioned the Chinese man as the only standing figure in the picture, giving him compositional prominence. The exclusively white smokers served by a Chinese servant constitute a rare image, and yet implies the corrupting effect of this pernicious Chinese vice on white Americans. As Alfred Trumble commented in 1882 on opium-smoking,

The vice was bred in the dark cellars of Chinatown and insensibly disseminated by the adventurous white man who, in search of a new sensation, penetrated the purlieu of the district, took a fatal flyer at the favorite dissipation of its denizens. Now it has waxed to such monstrous proportions that special legislation is necessary to grapple with it, and has spread over the whole land, wherever the followers of Confucius have their abiding places.⁵⁷

A ghastly image of a quarantined Chinese household during the 1900 bubonic plague in San Francisco appeared in *Harper's Weekly* (Figure 6.20). Against very dark background were several Chinese figures whose faces were dimly lit by a cooking fire. It

⁵⁷ Alfred Trumble, 1882, 30.

was a household under confinement during the bubonic epidemic in San Francisco's Chinatown. The unsanitary condition, dilapidated dwelling and people's gaunt appearance conveyed the message of squalor and medical menace. Public health authorities depicted Chinese immigrants as diseased and filthy, as carriers of incurable afflictions such as smallpox and bubonic plague. The subsequent enforcement of sanitary regulation on Chinese people, living quarters and workplace spoke to a troubled history of racial politics and inequality in the urban context of contagion.⁵⁸ As recorded in a *Harper's Weekly* account,

The Chinese of that city[San Francisco] as exceedingly averse to being inoculated with the Haffkine serum as a safeguard against the bubonic plague. No one can blame them. There are 50,000 Chinese, or thereabouts, in San Francisco, and the serum has been prescribed for all of them, but for no one else. The reason is that the health officers declare that there have been six cases of bubonic plague in San Francisco, and all of them in the Chinese quarter. Inasmuch as the Chinese do not come forward cheerfully and take their inoculation with good grace, but put their shutters up and take refuge behind locked doors, it is not likely that the health authorities will attempt a wholesale administration of the serum as yet.⁵⁹

Other than the plague scene, a no less menacing image of the Chinese Quarter would be the hideout of the Chinese highbinders, whose organized gangster activities earned them criminal reputation. An 1886 sketch depicted a dark narrow alley in San Francisco Chinatown that became a haunt of the highbinders, along with the portraits of three notorious headmen and their weapons (Figure 6.21).

Naturally these societies become nests of criminals. The hatchet-men are usually outlaws...the Highbinder is as reckless of human life as the slave-hunting Arab of the Soudan. There have been cases of murder in Chinatown, done for private

⁵⁸ Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2001). See also, Myron Echenberg, "Black Plague Creeps into America: San Francisco, 1900/1901," in *Plague Ports: The Global Urban Impact of Bubonic Plague, 1894-1901* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1970), 213-242.

⁵⁹ "This Busy World," *Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1900: 513-514.

revenge by hired Highbinders, for the small sum of twenty dollars, and the cheapness in which human life is held by these people is a constant marvel. ..The Highbinder is almost entirely beyond the pale of American law. His secret hiding-places defy the ingenuity of the police; he holds an oath in court in contempt; he can get a score of witnesses in his society to swear to anything which he desires; he has been the chief cause of the difficulty in the enforcement of the Restriction Act in San Francisco. The great body of the Chinese in California are peaceful and law-abiding, but the few hundred active Highbinders form a powerful element of unrest, and are a constant menace to public safety.⁶⁰

In 1893, *Harper's Weekly* published a composite sketch of Chinese in San Francisco displayed multiple scenes including a Chinese rookery, interior of a Chinese courtyard, a class of Chinese girls, and an image of a typical Chinese highbinder lurking in the lights and shadows of Chinatown (Figure 6.22). In an investigative report, Hart North, who was appointed United States commissioner of immigration for the states of California and Nevada in 1898, described the Chinese highbinder situation at the time of his appointment.

These tongs spread up and down the Pacific coast, and east to Chicago and New York, but San Francisco was always the principal base. In addition to blackmail, the highbinders took up the control and protection of gambling, which has always been very popular with the Chinese; also the importation of and dealing in Chinese girls, mostly for purposes of prostitution.⁶¹

Thus the name “highbinder” joined the laundry list of various Chinese images in *Harper's Weekly*, along with coolie, opium-den keeper, gambler, etc.

Although the Chinese coolie class was the most visible group of Chinese in American society, American reporters did not fail to notice the Chinese merchant class whose wealth and status separated them from the rest of the Chinese immigrants, despite their small number. The Chinese merchant class in America was considered to be the

⁶⁰ “Chinese Highbinder,” *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1886: 103-104.

⁶¹ Hart North, “Chinese Highbinder Societies in California,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Mar., 1948), 19-20.

enlightened Chinese since they had long been settled in California and were well acquainted with the customs and language of the U.S. *Harper's Weekly* reported two prominent Chinese merchants' visit to Chicago from San Francisco, and raised hope for more US-China trade. The report spoke highly of the speech delivered by one of the merchants:

Choy-Chew, in his speech at Chicago on the 6th of August, admirably expressed the sentiments of the more enlightened among the great merchants in the Chinese empire when he said: "China must brush away the dust of her antiquity, and, looking across the Pacific, behold and profit by the lessons of the New World." That she has already begun to do this is manifest from the facts stated by him that "steamboat lines have been established on our rivers, and the telegraph will soon connect us with this wonderful sovereignty, where the people rule, and where everything proclaims peace and good-will to all."⁶²

In describing a leading Chinese merchant in Chinatown of Victoria, Canada, the following text portrayed an image of status and grace.

The merchants and rich men of the colony are proudly and often exquisitely dressed, and a glance at their faces shows that they are not of the same element represented by the coolie Chinamen—almost the only kind that we see in the East... He was just as distinctly a refined and honorable man. In his face he possessed the beauty of a young Hebrew girl. It was round, and without a care mark; its complexion was a rich blending of the olive with the rose; his nose and mouth were exquisitely shaped, and his eyes were large and dark and soft. He was very richly dressed. For a hat he wore a skull-cap of lilac silk shaped like half a ball. His coat was a wide-sleeved, voluminous garment of purple with red trimmings and buttons; his trousers were of the hue of his cap, and on his feet were beautiful embroidered shoes.⁶³

Contrary to the decay and degeneration found in opium dens and gambling houses where Chinese laborers frequented, Chinese merchant's exchange spoke of class and order (Figure 6.23).

⁶² "Our Chinese Visitors," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1869: 574.

⁶³ "A Day with a Chinaman," *Harper's Weekly*, May 27, 1893: 506-507.

The Exchange is neatly fitted up to suit the wants of the Chinese merchants of San Francisco. It is supplied with newspapers and commercial reports, has a fine refreshment-room, and a general hall where the merchants meet to discuss their affairs and interchange views on business matters. Visitors are received with perfect politeness, and everything wears the aspect of refinement and good breeding. No greater contrast can be imagined than that presented by a concourse of Chinese merchants in this elegant structure and a gathering of “hoodlums” in a grog-shop to rave and howl against these “barbarians.”⁶⁴

A double-page engraving from 1877 depicted the interior of a first-class Chinese restaurant in San Francisco where a wealthy Chinese merchant offered entertainment to his friends (Figure 6.24). Music, singing, recitations, and a sumptuous banquet formed the attractions. With an amusing tone, the writer left the following description:

[the interior of the restaurant] is richly decorated with carvings in wood, gorgeously painted and gilded; Chinese lamps depend from the ceiling; quaint paintings and inscriptions adorn the walls; and a stranger might almost fancy himself transported to the Celestial Empire...The table in the corner is set with a luxurious feast of such dishes as suit the Chinese taste...nothing in the shape of dog, cat, or rat is in the bill of fare. The host stands in the middle of the room, enjoying his pipe and seeing that his guests have a pleasant time.⁶⁵

The mass of Chinese in *Harper's Weekly* were nameless figures. Named portraits were usually given to prominent or notorious people. When a “Chinese Buddhist missionary” arrived in New York to deliver a speech, this certainly prompted a feature on him in *Harper's Weekly* with a full-length sketch, showing Chinese intellectual Woo Ching Foo as a cultured gentleman (Figure 6.25)

Great interest was excited in this country some weeks ago by the announcement that a missionary from China had come among us for the purpose of preaching the religion of Buddha. This was partly a mistake. Mr. Wong Ching Foo disclaims the character of a missionary, and says he has come only for the purpose of explaining away certain misapprehensions concerning his country and people

⁶⁴ “A Chinese Merchant's Exchange,” *Harper's Weekly*, March 18, 1882: 174.

⁶⁵ “A Chinese Reception,” *Harper's Weekly*, June 9, 1877: 446.

which prevail among Americans. He is an intelligent, cultured gentleman, speaks English with ease and vivacity, and has the power of interesting his audiences.⁶⁶

Wong Ching Foo as reported above was educated as a teenager in the United States under Christian missionary sponsorship in late 1860s. He returned to China after completion of his studies, but was forced into exile back to the United States in 1873 because of his political activism. For the next twenty years, Wong became a journalist, a writer and an activist, spent his time writing and speaking publicly about Chinese culture and the plight of Chinese in America. Wong also published articles in prominent journals such as the *North American Review*, *Cosmopolitan* and *Atlantic Monthly*.⁶⁷ Considered an educated and rather Westernized “John Confucius,” Wong was credited with the establishment of a weekly newspaper called the *Chinese American* in 1883, speaking to the needs of ordinary Chinese workers and merchants.⁶⁸

Similarly, a group portrait of the Chinese ambassador and his suite was published in 1878 during their U.S. visit to discuss the conditions and treatment of Chinese in America (Figure 6.26). The portrait was based on a photograph, combining realistic detail and artistic touch to bring out the dignified and benign images of the mandarins. This style was quite different from the lowly or even sometime grotesque portrayal of the nameless Chinese laborers.

Chinese immigrants’ religious practices were also observed and recorded in *Harper’s Weekly*. Such practices include burning the prayers, praying boxes, ancestor’s

⁶⁶ “Wong Ching Foo,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 26, 1877: 405.

⁶⁷ For more on the life and career of Wong Ching Foo, see Qingsong Zhang, “The Origins of the Chinese Americanization Movement: Wong Chin Foo and the Chinese Equal Rights Leagues,” in *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities during the Exclusion Era*, eds. Sucheng Chan and K. Scott Wong (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 41-63.

⁶⁸ John Kuo Wei Tchen, 2001, 260-283.

post, etc. Ancestral worship of the Chinese immigrants definitely caught the attentions of Americans. There were details accounts of the philosophy and practices of sacrificial offerings to ancestral spirits. "The Chinese have imported into San Francisco, where they have erected a large temple, or Joss-house, many of the heathenish observances and superstitions of their native land."⁶⁹ An 1882 illustration gave a realistic representation of a busy Chinese burial in San Francisco (Figure 6.27). The writer observed that,

The Chinese have a profound reverence for the dead, and the worship of ancestors is one of the most solemn rites of their religion. They carry the custom into foreign lands, and pay great attention to the graves where their dead find a temporary resting-place previous to removal to their native land... Their funerals are gala excursions. Hacks and coaches are at a premium. The procession is headed by musicians with gongs and other musical instruments, followed by friends of the deceased and hired mourners. The latter, dressed in white, chant the praises of the dead in discordant strains.⁷⁰

Sacrificial food offering to the dead was represented in a sketch titled "Chinese feeding the dead" (Figure 6.28). At a burial ground, a Chinese man was burning paper for the dead and raking the pieces to make them burn thoroughly. Others stood around him, smoking pipes in silence. When the ceremony was over, the author observed,

The Chinese packed up their tea-cups and such provisions as were of any use, and carried them away, leaving the dead only a little rice, a few cakes, etc., which no living person would care to steal. San Francisco boys used to linger about the burying-ground on such occasions, and "convey," after the ceremony, all the roast pig and other delicacies provided for the dead, and the frugal Chinamen now take away every thing of value when they depart. Perhaps they have themselves a shrewd idea that the buried people can get along without them.⁷¹

A stylized sketch from 1873 shows the interior of a richly decorated Chinese

⁶⁹ "Burning the Prayers," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 23, 1873.

⁷⁰ "A Chinese Burial," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 28, 1882: 62.

⁷¹ "Chinese Sketches," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 25, 1879: 77.

shrine with ornately carved wooden altar and a deity niche (Figure 6.29). A Chinese man in an elaborate robe offers incense to the altar. Behind him are several servant-like Chinese male burning papers and kowtowing before the idol. Similar to the burial sketches, this illustration is permeated with gloom and darkness despite its ornate décor. The only light comes from the burning of incense, casting an ominous shadow on everything else. Puffs of smoke twisting and turning in the air add to the surreal ambience of the worship scene. Artistic imagination in the sketch almost evokes a fear of Chinese heathenism and superstitious practice, which are deemed alien to the mainstream American society.

There were reports of Christian missions among the Chinese immigrants in San Francisco by various congregations such as the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists. Mission schools were established to offer education in English language.⁷² Christian missions seemed to do more outreach to the Chinese immigration populations than any other groups. There were reports of various mission schools set up to instruct the Chinese in English language and Christianity in the big cities.⁷³ A sketch of the China Methodist Mission School in New York was published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1879, representing a classroom scene where a group of Chinese men were given English language instruction by American teachers (Figure 6.30).

In 1883, *Harper's Weekly* reported with a cheerful tone the successful Sunday School picnic hosted by a Chinese man and attended by 150 Chinese adults and children

⁷² "Religious Intelligence," *Harper's Weekly*, July 8, 1876: 555.

⁷³ "The Chinese School," *Harper's Weekly*, July 19, 1879: 573-574.

from several Baptist and Presbyterian churches in New York as well as the 300 white American teachers or teachers' friends. Though reports by American spectators at Chinese festival gatherings were abundant, the American artists and writers went there to observe and record. They seldom mentioned their interaction with the Chinese audience. Their purpose was to collect stories to entertain the American readers. Sunday-school picnic seemed to be a rare occasion of mingling between the Chinese and Americans. The report praised the diligent performance of Chinese students, which gained them the respects of their American teachers.

John has been to the Sunday-school teacher an object of esteem and often of affection. He is docile, attentive, grateful, appreciative; and he is generous...

It must be confessed that some of the instructors who had been honored with invitations refused to go. They did not relish the idea of entering into social relations with the Chinese, much though they desired to save their souls. They feared the attacks of "hoodlums," which almost any gathering of Chinamen is apt to tempt. They distrusted John's capacity for organizing a picnic, especially a Sunday-school picnic.⁷⁴

A Chinatown Sunday afternoon engraving appeared on the front cover of *Harper's Weekly* in 1894 (Figure 6.31). The following narrative gave a detailed account of the Sunday afternoon Christian worship among the Chinese in Los Angeles Chinatown.

A stroll through the Chinese quarter will reward the searcher for the unusual and interesting on any week-day, but on Sunday afternoons perhaps one of the strangest sights of all may greet the eye. On the corner of one of the little side streets, whose every flavor is of the flowery Celestial Empire, amidst the strange signs and gayly-colored lanterns, may be seen a group of somberly clad Chinamen, standing about a comrade who diligently pedals a cheap melodeon. Their shrilly pitched tones rise together singing Christian hymns in their comical English, and as if to add further strangeness to the scene, sweet-voiced American girls are grouped with them, joining in the out-door service of song. Most of the worshippers, or, rather, singers, amongst the Chinese appear to be of the poorer

⁷⁴ "Sunday School Chinamen on a Picnic," *Harper's Weekly*, June 23, 1883: 395.

class. The wealthy men are usually merchants or proprietors of some business. They never mingle with the crowd, but clad in silken blouse and flowing trousers, pass by without glancing even at their countrymen. Prominent church members of various denominations are banded together in an effort to convert and better the condition of the Chinese in California. But it is slow work.⁷⁵

The Church venue became a mitigating social ground where mutual understanding was negotiated and reinterpreted under the overall political climate of discrimination and exclusion.

Mission work was also found at sea. An 1877 sketch drew a scene of Sunday service on board a Pacific Mail steamship that travelled between San Francisco and various ports of Japan (Figure 6.32). A Western clergyman was preaching to a crowd of mostly Chinese laborers. “As a rule, passengers are glad to attend, either from devotion or because the service is a welcome variation of the monotony of life at sea.”⁷⁶ There is no way to know what language the preacher spoke, English or Chinese, or whether the Chinese passengers understood the sermon. However, the picture offered an interesting reflection of the flow of Chinese laborers on cross-Pacific journey. The active flow of Chinese between China and the American West Coast was given vivid description in the following essay on trans-Pacific mail steamship journey. The passengers of the ship included both Chinese laborers and wealthy Chinese elites, either officials or merchants, as well as people of other nationalities. Of course, different social class was offered different accommodation, including boarding entrance. For coolie laborers, it was a long-anticipated home journey they eagerly embarked on, carrying a small amount of wealth they earned in America. As the writer wrote with sympathetic understanding,

⁷⁵ “Sunday Afternoon in Chinatown,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 18, 1894: 778-779.

⁷⁶ “Sunday Service at Sea,” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 16, 1877: 462.

Most prominent, because most numerous, are blue-bloused Chinese laborers, hundreds of whom, having accumulated a competence—three hundred dollars or thereabout—in laundries, fruit orchards, or hop-fields, in placer-mining, the building of railroads, or the digging of weary miles of irrigating ditches, return to their native land by every steamer. Accompanied by other hundreds of envious friends, who wish that they too were ready to exchange the purgatory of Western barbarism for lives of opulent leisure in the Flowery Kingdom, these eager travelers swarm down from Chinatown in express wagons or trucks, until the lower end of the shed in the vicinity of the steamer's forward gangway is thronged with them.⁷⁷

For the home-bound Chinese mandarins or merchants, it was the richness of their collective appearance that formed a visual spectacle on the wharf. The accompanying sketch depicted the conclusion of the departure ceremony. As bushels of thin paper carrying money symbols were scattered to the winds as propitiatory offering to the Storm Devil, falling onto a gathering of richly-dressed Chinese men, women and children, the ship departed (Figure 6.33).

A sudden burst of color, a rustle of soft silks, and a murmur of polite voices proclaim the presence of some home-returning Chinese mandarin of high rank, with his gorgeous retinue, and the equally brilliant company of resident officials or wealthy merchants who have come to pay their farewell respects. Each of these, when addressed by another, bows with a fixed smile, shakes his own hands most cordially, and replies in courtly phrase. Besides the richness and beauty of the silken vestments worn by these high-caste Chinese, their round visorless caps are decorated with a bewildering variety of buttons, and their skirts are adorned with exquisitely embroidered devices that are meaningless to the uninitiated spectator, until he is told that they are indicative of rank and social position.⁷⁸

Harper's Weekly took considerable interest in reporting the history of the Chinese Education Mission in New England, which was a Chinese government-sponsored program to educate 120 Chinese youth from elite background with the anticipation of their becoming future statesmen. The Chinese College of Hartford was built in 1876 to

⁷⁷ "Off for China," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 10, 1895: 758-759.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

serve as headquarter of the Mission.⁷⁹ Yung Wing, the first Chinese to have attended Yale College and graduated in 1854, was appointed as the Chinese Commissioner of Education in the United States. He was particularly noted as a visionary leader in this undertaking.⁸⁰ It is especially noted that “the Chinese boys have generally been victorious in school contests with their American classmates.”⁸¹ An 1878 sketch of the Chinese College of Hartford featured several scenes of the campus including a portrait of Yung Wing in full Western attire and hairstyle (Figure 6.34). Yung Wing became one of the few Chinese portrayed in *Harper’s Weekly* that had adopted Western clothing and hairstyle.

Also, the experiment of having a Chinese scholar teaching Chinese language to students at Harvard College in late 1870’s could be considered one of the earliest educational exchanges between the two countries. *Harper’s Weekly* documented the coming of a Chinese scholar at Harvard.

The new instructor, Mr. Ko, is an intelligent, well- educated gentleman, about forty-four years of age, refined and dignified, and fully qualified for the position he has assumed. He brought with him his wife and five children, as well as two servants, and lives in a neat house not far from the college. The whole family retain their rich national dress, and prefer in general their national food; but in other respects they seem to like American customs, and desire to conform to them. Already this cultivated Chinese family have won many friends in Cambridge.⁸²

⁷⁹ “Chinese Education,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 18, 1878: 397-398.

⁸⁰ Yung Wing and Joseph Hopkins Twichell, *My Life in China and America* (New York: H. Holt and Co, 1909). For more discussion on Yung Wing and the Chinese Education Mission, see Teresa Bevis and Christopher Lucas, *International Students in American Colleges and Universities: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Anita Marchant and Yu-ning Li, *Yung Wing and the Chinese Educational Mission at Hartford* (Hillcrest, NY: Outer Sky Press, 2008).

⁸¹ “Home and Foreign Gossip,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Oct. 13, 1877.

⁸² “Home and Foreign Gossip,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 15, 1879: 907-908.

Besides educational exchanges, China was invited to take part in the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. Themed around patriotism, American industrial prowess and the unification of the United States, this grand fair represented a “convergence of technology and the emerging international marketplace into one major consumer spectacle of a magnitude unseen before on American shores.”⁸³ China’s display was highly praised and admired for its workmanship and taste.⁸⁴ A couple of sketches depicted the Chinese section at the Exhibition as well as Chinese workers unpacking exhibits (Figure 6.35, Figure 6.36).

The Chinese department in the Philadelphia Exhibition is by all odds the most striking in the building. It is so because of its extreme gaudiness and oddity... The entrances come fully up to the mark of the tea-caddy style of architecture, being a copy of the portal of a Celestial pagoda, and having all that curious gingerbread ornamentation for which the Chinese are so remarkable. The carving is of great merit, especially that of the hideous curled-up dragons forming the corner pieces. Every demon, fairy, or rawhead-and-bloody-bones ever dreamed of seems to be here represented... The display of exhibits is extremely original and effective. The show-cases as well as the pavilion are in the Chinese style of architecture, the whole place wearing a decidedly quaint appearance.⁸⁵

The Philadelphia Exhibition was widely reported in local and national newspapers. Historian Robert Rydell noticed the ambivalent reactions to the Chinese exhibit among the general public. According to Rydell, though the Chinese silks, jade, ivory and pottery were favorably spoken of, the curious, rich and rare exhibits seemed to reinforce the notion of the Chinese as a peculiar people, who had benefited little from

⁸³ Linda Gross and Theresa Snyder, *Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2005), 7-9.

⁸⁴ For a detailed account of Chinese involvement at the Philadelphia Centennial, see John Rogers Haddad, “Traditional China and Chinese Yankees: The Centennial Exposition of 1876 (Chapter 9)” in *The Romance of China: Excursion to China in U.S. Culture 1776-1876* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

⁸⁵ “China at the Centennial,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept. 2, 1876: 722.

western civilization and advancement.⁸⁶ Despite their participation in the world fair, they were still portrayed as outsiders who spoke unintelligibly. A random shot of the Centennial satirically depicted three Chinese workers who seemed to be speaking gibberish (Figure 6.37). They were all labeled as “intelligent Celestial.” Placed among other Centennial scraps captured by the artists that represented the typical hustle-bustle scenes, these three gibberish-speaking Celestials appeared outlandish and distant.

In June 1870, 75 Chinese arrived at a shoe factory in North Adams, Massachusetts via the transcontinental railroad. Through an agent, the Chinese workers were recruited by a shoe factory in North Adams from San Francisco to break a strike after labor dispute failed to reach a wage agreement with the militant shoemaker’s union, the Knights of St. Crispin, which was the largest labor organization in the United States at that time.⁸⁷ Accompanied by illustrations and sketches, the *Harper’s Weekly* reports detailed the everyday life and work of the Chinese workers in North Adams from workman skill, culinary practice, to orderliness of their living quarter. It was obvious that readers were interested in knowing about these newcomers in the industrial heartland of the Northeast, either out of curiosity or suspicion. The reports commented on the Chinese workers as “intelligent and smart and very readily learn the management of machinery.”⁸⁸ Several reportage sketches revealed the daily routines of the Chinese workers, from their workshop, their dorm, to their dining scene and recreational activities (Figure 6.38, Figure 6.39).

According to the reports, the Chinese workers associated little among the townspeople and

⁸⁶ Robert Rydell, *All the world's a fair: visions of empire at American international expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 30-31.

⁸⁷ Arthur Bonner, *Alas! What Brought Thee Hither?: the Chinese in New York, 1800-1950* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), 23.

⁸⁸ “The Chinese in New England,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 23, 1870: 468

have their own playground for exercise and recreation. However, “their quiet behavior and steady application to work have done much to conciliate their neighbors, who begin to feel that even the Chinese in this country, when they behave themselves and attend to their own business, have rights which all are bound to respect.”⁸⁹

This experiment of replacing American workers with Chinese workers generated much curiosity and suspicion among the general public and created strong furor among the working people of the Northern States.⁹⁰ Before the 75 Chinese workers arrived at the North Adams train station, their employer was warned of violent resistance from the angry Crispins who were ready for a bloody fight. Fortunately, the Chinese workers’ march from the North Adam train station to the factory went smoothly since “the curiosity of the crowd was so acute that its brutality was held in check.” The entire townspeople were rapt in their attention on the spectacle of “pig-tailed, calico-frocked, wooden-shod invaders.”⁹¹ As a counter measure, the Knights of St. Crispin tried to persuade the Chinese to join their union, but with no success. Meanwhile, the St. Crispin organized a large, anti-Chinese protest in San Francisco.⁹² Days after the Chinese workers arrived, reporters from major national newspapers descended on North Adams. This incident finally pushed the Chinese Question onto the national scene. St. Crispin’s failure to organize the Chinese led to opposition of Chinese labor and support of Chinese exclusion among many other workers in the East. The Chinese appearance in North Adams and the anxious discussions that

⁸⁹ The Chinese in New England, *Harper’s Weekly*, July 30, 1870: 493.

⁹⁰ Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1998), 39-42.

⁹¹ Anthony Lee, *A Shoemaker’s Story* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2008), 2.

⁹² Lucile Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation, with an Introductory Sketch of the San Francisco Labor Movement* (Berkeley: University Press, 1910), 23, 136; Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 47.

ensued had much to do with the eventual passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which simply banned further entry of the Chinese and severely curtailed the Chinese population in the country.⁹³

The Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the United States for the next ten years, with the exception of merchant, diplomats, students and tourists. The Chinese already in the country were also not eligible for naturalization.⁹⁴ The harmful effects of the Exclusion Act soon materialized into violent anti-Chinese acts throughout the Western states. Fueled by the 1882 law, anti-Chinese hysteria, violence and mass expulsion reached its peak in 1885. A particularly brutal white mob attack took place in Rock Springs, Wyoming in 1885, where 28 Chinese miners were killed and 15 wounded.⁹⁵ Similar massacres of Chinese immigrants also occurred in Los Angeles, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle and Denver.⁹⁶ Dozens of Chinese were killed, and hundreds were assaulted with inestimable losses of property.

Harper's Weekly carried extensive reports on the anti-Chinese violence of the Western states, condemning the “utter fiendishness of the mob” and calling for justice

⁹³ Roger Daniels, Otis Graham, and James Patterson, *Debating American Immigration, 1882 – Present* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

⁹⁴ The Scott Act of 1888 further curtailed the rights of Chinese immigrants by denying them reentry permits to the United States after visiting their families in China. In 1892, Congress passed the Geary Act to extend the Chinese Exclusion Act for ten years. Indefinite extension of Chinese exclusion was further authorized by Congress in 1902. The Chinese Exclusion Act was not repealed until the 1940s. See Sen Hu and Jielin Dong, *The Rocky Road to Liberty: A Documented History of Chinese Immigration and Exclusion* (Saratoga, CA: Javvin Press, 2010).

⁹⁵ Yen Tzu-Kuei, “Rock Spring Incident,” in *Chinese on the American Frontier*, eds. Arif Dirlik, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 355-382; Jack Chen, *The Chinese of America* (San Francisco: Harper & Row., 1980), 151.

⁹⁶ Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 48, 97.

and indemnification for the Chinese. An 1885 sketch depicted the massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming (Figure 6.40).

It is not surprising that individuals of a race whose entrance into the country has been prohibited by law should be treated with contempt and cruelty by the more brutal part of the population. But it is to the credit of Americans that, however strong the feeling of hostility to the Chinese may be, the recent outrages upon “Chinamen” in Wyoming and Washington Territories are not the crimes of natives, but of foreigners, whose presence in the country is much less desirable than that of the Chinese themselves. These crimes are peculiarly mean and dastardly because of the small number of persons in the country who are guilty of being Chinese, and because the number is constantly decreasing.⁹⁷

In 1886, almost all Chinese residents of Seattle were rounded up in an attempt to remove them from the city. A *Harper’s Weekly* sketch showed them being attacked by white mobs that way outnumbered them, being forced onto a steamer bound for San Francisco (Figure 6.41). *Harper’s Weekly* reported:

Since the disgraceful butchery of Chinese in Wyoming several months ago the anti-Chinese feeling in the extreme Northwest has become more violent and more nearly universal. An “Anti-Chinese Congress” has been held at Portland, which adopted a resolution calling upon the people in every town in the Northwest “peaceably to assemble and politely request the Mongolian race to remove”—a resolution that is a trifle less polite than it seems to be, since it follows a declaration that the Chinese are “immoral and degraded and a constant menace to free institutions, to the home, and the family.”⁹⁸

Another *Harper’s Weekly* article called the anti-Chinese outrages and US government’s reaction a “national disgrace” and spoke against the discriminatory law of exclusion . It stated that,

It is not a Chinese question: it is an American question. It is the primary question of every government, that of maintaining order and of enforcing respect for its authority. The treatment to which the Chinese upon the Pacific slope are exposed from ignorant and brutal mobs may be inferred from the fact that a Senator from Oregon proposes to prohibit the entrance of all Chinese into the country. When

⁹⁷ “Crimes Against the Chinese,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 21, 1885: 755.

⁹⁸ “Anti-Chinese Riot at Seattle,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 6, 1886: 155.

the present law of exclusion was passed the United States stigmatized the whole Chinese race, and undoubtedly stimulated the maltreatment of all who are now here. It is bound by every moral obligation of national honor not only to indemnify those who have suffered, but to take every reasonable step for their protection against those whose inhuman spirit and purpose are now fully disclosed.⁹⁹

Similar voices followed, recognizing the fact that the Chinese immigrants were totally disenfranchised and devoid of any practical political influence to right the wrongs inflicted on them.

It is a national disgrace that having excluded Chinese immigration by law, the hundred thousand Chinese who are so unlucky as to be caught in the country are outraged by foreign mobs, while the government politely regrets that it can do nothing. The coming of the Chinese may be a curse. But if it be a curse, it is now prohibited by law, and honest Americans upon the Pacific slope should be the first to defend those who are here against brutal lawlessness.¹⁰⁰

The attitude of our government in saying that it can do nothing puts it before the world in a ridiculously imbecile light. The resolutions of American legislatures in favor of Irish home rule show profound interest in the Irish vote in this country. But if it is oppression which stirs the legislators, why are they silent upon the wanton crimes against innocent foreigners, committed by those who pass for American citizens? There is no Chinese vote. But the Chinese are human beings, and there is such a thing as American honor.¹⁰¹

Institutionalized racism and racial hostilities continued to drive violence, harassment and discrimination against Chinese immigrants well into the twentieth century. The realistic images discussed above represented various aspects of Chinese life in America in late 19th century, as American audience read about them in *Harper's Weekly*. Connected together, these discrete images are not merely illustrations, they form a remarkable and analyzable visual culture. The images become “complex carriers of meanings” and “sites of historical struggle” that tell the rich yet troubled history of

⁹⁹ “A National Disgrace,” *Harper's Weekly*, March 13, 1886: 163.

¹⁰⁰ “Among the Faithless, Faithful,” *Harper's Weekly*, March 27, 1886: 195.

¹⁰¹ “The Chinese Outrages,” *Harper's Weekly*, April 24, 1886: 259.

Chinese immigrants in America.¹⁰² Interestingly, the representation of Chinese in *Harper's Weekly* does not come from these realistic sketches alone. Caricatures and cartoons constitute another very different genre of representation, which is examined in the rest of the chapter.

Chinese in America: the Exotic and the Comic

More than other immigrants, the Chinese were stereotyped as living exotica in *Harper's Weekly*. People's strong curiosity about them and the desire to know about these distinctly looking immigrants generated a spectacle of the Chinese immigrants' existence in American society. An 1865 *Harper's Weekly* reported a Chinese giant named Chang, who was 7 feet 8 inches tall (Figure 6.42).

We give on this page a portrait of the great giant, *Chang*, nineteen years of age, born in the city of Fy-Chow, of highly respectable Chinese parentage, and lately arrived in London for the purpose of displaying his wonderful stature to little Englishmen... He is accompanied by his wife, whose name, *King-Foo*, signifies "The Fair Lily," and who looks like any other Chinese lady, having the small, compressed feet which belong to her sex and social rank in that country. A dwarf, called *Chung*, who stands but three feet high, and is not so well-proportioned a figure as General *Tom Thumb*, attends the giant, and enhances the exhibition of his size by contrast... The portraits of this group, in our engraving, are copied from an excellent photograph taken by the London Stereoscopic Company. The height of Chang is seven feet eight inches; his weight about twenty stone. He has a good slim shape, and a mild, agreeable face, with the prominent cheek-bones and narrow, oblique eyelids of the Mongol race. He seems to be an intelligent person; has received a literary education.¹⁰³

In 1864, Chang was discovered by a British businessman Marquis Chisholm in Shanghai, who believed Chang extraordinary stature could produce profound sensation. After getting acquainted with Chisholm, Chang entered into a contract with him to tour

¹⁰² Anthony Lee, *A Shoemaker's Story* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2008), 8-9.

¹⁰³ "Chang, the Chinese Giant and His Companion," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 28, 1865: 677.

England, France, and America for exhibition and profit.¹⁰⁴ Chang's fame and his European tour were widely advertised and reported in British media, even including British India.¹⁰⁵

A few lines from the British newspapers can provide a glimpse of how the British society anticipated and perceived Chang's appearance and exhibition. "We have had a great many dwarfs lately, and the public taste is yearning for something big, by way of a change."¹⁰⁶

"Chang looked like nothing so much as a gigantic heathen idol which has been suddenly endowed with life. His colossal size and rather benignantly majestic presence reminded the looker-on of the huge statues guarding the entrance to the Egyptian Court at the Crystal Palace."¹⁰⁷ "Chang and his friends certainly form an interesting party, and the levee is altogether most interesting. Such an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Celestials only come once in a lifetime."¹⁰⁸

The fascination with the "abnormal" human beings such as giant and dwarf exists in all societies. The tour pairing a giant with a dwarf certainly was a deliberate act to enhance the exhibitionary effect of two extreme human forms. Adding the crushed feet of the Celestial lady, the combination conveniently turned them into an exotic spectacle and objects of curiosity. As stated in the *Harper's Weekly* report, the source of the drawing was a photograph taken by the London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company, which was a

¹⁰⁴ "Chang-Woo-Gow the Chinese Giant," *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow, Scotland), Saturday, October 7, 1865.

¹⁰⁵ "The Chinese Giant in Paris," *The Friend of India & Statesman* (Calcutta, India), Tuesday, July 30, 1878: 4.

¹⁰⁶ "The Coming Chinese Giant," *Reynolds's Newspaper* (London, England), Sunday, April 2, 1865.

¹⁰⁷ "Chang, the Chinese Giant," *The Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Tuesday, September 12, 1865.

¹⁰⁸ "Chang, the Chinese Giant, and Suite," *Birmingham Daily Post* (Birmingham, England), Tuesday, March 6, 1866.

famed photography company once patronized by European royalty. Such connection convinced the readers the authenticity of the drawing as well as the extraordinariness of the Chinese giant. In the same period, hundreds of reports and advertisement of Chinese Giant Chang's circus tour in America were published in many other newspapers around the country.¹⁰⁹ Though there were discrepancies regarding the actual height of Chang among various reports, Chang's appearance was sensationally advertised as "the greatest of all living curiosities", "the monster man and miracle" and "the massive specimen of humanity".¹¹⁰

Interestingly, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* also noted Chang's overseas tour and amazed at his physical greatness. Exoticization and commercialization of giant Chang in theatre performance and museum display satisfied the societal curiosity for the strange, the unusual and the sensational. It is worth noting that while *Dianshizhai Pictorial* readers' fascination with the West mostly derived from Western innovation and technology introduced to China, American readers' imagination seemed to be captured by a giant Chinese man whose physical stature invoked biblical nostalgia of the vanished giants and who was surrendered under the foreign gaze as a "veritable Brobdignag" for entertainment profit.¹¹¹

Giant Chang's American tour was obviously an exceptional phenomenon that stood out to attract attention. The image of Chang was distinctly different from the ordinary Chinese immigrants seen in American society. In *Harper's Weekly's* mainstream American

¹⁰⁹ The circus ad of Chang was repeatedly published in the advertisement section of many newspapers and journals. There are also many articles on Chang's story. To list a few, "A Big Thing from China," *New York Herald*, 1869, XXXIV, no. 212: 4; "A Celestial Giant," *Macon Weekly Telegraph*, 1869, XLIV, no. 6: 3; "A Chinese Giant," *Sun*, 1869 LXV, no. 68: 4; "The Chinese Giant," *Galveston News*, 1869, XXVII, no. 153: 2.

¹¹⁰ *Boston Daily Journal*, May 13, 1870: 3.

¹¹¹ "The Chinese Giant," *Farmer's Cabinet*, Sept. 16, 1869, vol. 68, no. 9: 1.

culture, the image of ordinary Chinese immigrants was without the exotic magnificence of giant Chang, instead they even appeared comic or clownish because of their appearance, attire and occupation. A series of cartoons in 1869 depicting Chinese in San Francisco humorized about American people's curiosity about the Chinese apparel, hairstyle and peculiar life habits (Figure 6.43). One cartoon shows an American man wearing a suit and a long braid. The caption says "Will the Chinese adapt themselves to our footing, or shall we take the queue from them?" Another cartoon draws a Chinese laundry man at work, with the caption asking "what will Bridget say when this person looks after our linen?" The last cartoon shows a male Chinese babysitter holding two toddlers in his arms and grimacing at the third toddler who pulls tight his long braid for fun. The caption notes, "They make excellent nurses."¹¹² An 1870 short essay offered the following narrative:

At San Francisco, when the Chinamen were leaving a ship recently arrived there, an Irish stevedore on the wharf cried out to another, "Arrah, Pat, an' what do you call them animals what's coming off the ship with the tails on?" "Shure they're Chiny asthers from the Flowery Kingdom," replied Pat, "an' I'd like to be the gardener that would set them out under the ground. I'd keep them planted deep till next spring, an' then for their obituary I'd write somethin' on 'Tails from Heathen Lands,' an' I would!"¹¹³

Comic Chinese figures were also used in commercial advertising. An advertisement for baking powder showed a Chinese subject desperately pleading for his ruler's mercy to retain his last grace—Dr. Price Cream baking powder (Figure 6.44). Though these depictions are ostensibly innocuous, they also exhibited the social stereotype of the early Chinese immigrants in American society--- a lowly class in trivial service. Such laborer images repeated appeared in satirical caricatures and political cartoons.

¹¹² "John Chinaman in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, July 10, 1869: 439.

¹¹³ "Humors of the Day," *Harper's Weekly*, July 9, 1870: 443.

An 1876 illustration offers a panorama of the various cuisine stands at the Centennial (Figure 6.45). The Chinese stand occupies a prominent location in the drawing—the right foreground. The Chinese booth is decorated with a dragon and some characters. Signs are displayed to announce its fare: “cat sup,” “rat pie,” “bird nest puddin,” “hashed cat,” etc. A cage of cats is labeled “soup this day.” And a chained bulldog is advertised as “bull steaks.” A rotund, elaborately dressed mandarin is the customer. He is offered a rat on skewer. The mandarin shares similar facial features with the two Chinese servants behind the counter. Their overly slanted eyes and brows, protruding ears are obviously exaggerated caricatures, giving them a wicked appearance. Although, there are other exotic food offered by foreign nations, such as zebra chops and seal skin soup, none of them is as repulsive as rat consumption perceived in white American sensibility. The alleged eating of rats, cats and dogs by Chinese provided the artist ample food for imagination. The visual prominence of the Chinese stand in the illustration indicates the American public fascination with the “bizarre tastes and habits” that made the Chinese a “peculiar” people.¹¹⁴

Cartoonist Frank Bellew produced an interesting group of cartoons for *Harper's Weekly* that view American culture from an ostensibly Chinese perspective, of course for comic effects. One cartoon depicts a scene at the Y.M.C.A, where an assortment of white males are running and sweating around the track, with a painful scowl on their faces, all wearing Chinoiserie-inspired curling shoes (Figure 6.46). Above the track is an observer's stand, where clouds of smoke puff up from the onlookers, in defiance of the “No Smokee Allowee” sign. The caption says “Melican Man Allee Clazee, Allee Walkee, Allee

¹¹⁴ Stuart Miller, 1969, 87.

Lunne.”¹¹⁵ Another cartoon has the caption “Melican leportee man want gabbee, want lite for newsee papee. Chinaman workee, Chinaman no talkee, no beggee.”¹¹⁶ The scene shows an American reporter trying to interview a Chinese laundry worker without success (Figure 6.47). The third cartoon is a parody of the American’s seemingly lack of respects for the deceased, from the viewpoint of Chinese ancestral worship (Figure 6.48). As the caption says “Melican Man Before Tablets of His Ancestors.” The scene depicts a group Americans dancing and reveling at their ancestor’s grave, which is a taboo of ancestral irreverence in the Chinese perspective.

These cartoons, though intended as parodies on Americans, are primary example of the Chinese pidgin English. The cartoonist used aspects of the Chinese stereotype such as “Chinee” accent, coupled with characteristic practices such as exercise and funeral, to further reinforce the existing stereotype of the Chinese as strangers in American society. As Huber argues, such mechanism “pokes fun at the dominant society’s quirks and foibles—yet never becomes too stinging.”¹¹⁷

Chinese in Political Cartoons

Different sentiments towards Chinese immigrants were vividly captured in caricatures and political cartoons in *Harper’s Weekly*. Visual representations of the controversial issue of the Chinese question reflected a wide spectrum of opinions and perspectives, some subtle, some poignant, but all with a satirical touch. Chinese imagery was a constant theme in these visual representations.

¹¹⁵ *Harper’s Weekly*, May 3, 1879: 352.

¹¹⁶ *Harper’s Weekly*, June 14, 1879: 476.

¹¹⁷ Judith Huber, 1996, 166.

The famed American cartoonist Thomas Nast was one of the most influential illustrators of *Harper's Weekly*. During his twenty-five years of association with the journal, he produced hundreds of political caricatures that are rich in symbolism and melodramatic imagery, satirizing a wide range of social issues and political figures.¹¹⁸ The issue of the Chinese question was frequently illustrated and lampooned by Nast. The 1868 drawing by Thomas Nast titled “The Youngest Introducing the Oldest” was previously discussed in Chapter 5 (Figure 5.4). The drawing depicts Columbia presenting a dignified Chinese nobleman to the European heads of state, as a ritualized introduction to join the club of western nations. Nast’s character “John Confucius” was an unambiguously noble Chinese gentleman. *Harper's Weekly* gave some positive endorsement to the closer commercial and diplomatic relationship between China and the U.S.

The union of the Oldest Empire and the Youngest Republic—the richest of uncivilized and the most enterprising of civilized nations—is almost a fact accomplished by the peculiar diplomatic relations established through the agency of Hon. *Anson Burlingame* and the commercial changes daily occurring in consequence of the extension of the Pacific Railroads. These and other events have been for some time past combining to bring the people of China and the East and America into freer and more intimate diplomatic and commercial relations... The immigration to the Pacific coast of the United States from China and India bids fair to rival that to its Eastern borders from Europe; and at this moment there are 10,000 Chinese laborers actively engaged on the Pacific Railroad in bringing their country nearer to our own.¹¹⁹

In another of Nast’s drawings published in 1869 “Uncle Sam’s Thanksgiving Dinner,” Uncle Sam is carving turkey in front of a welcoming painting of Castle Garden, which has become New York’s immigration gateway (Figure 6.49). The center piece of the

¹¹⁸ For a complete study of Thomas Nast and his work, see Albert Paine, *Thomas Nast, his period and his pictures* (New York: Macmillan, 1904); Morton Keller, *The art and politics of Thomas Nast* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975).

¹¹⁹ “Commercial Relations in New York,” *Harper's Weekly*, May 30, 1868: 346.

grand family table celebrates ‘self-government’ and “universal suffrage”. Diagonally cross the table from Uncle Sam is Columbia, flanked by a black male and his family and a Chinese man with his son and wife. The rest of the table is represented by all nations and races of the world. Portraits of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln gaze on the grand gathering from the wall. ‘Come One Come All’ and ‘Free and Equal”, written on the bottom corner, underscore Nast’s vision of pluralism.

In contrast to the dignified looking Chinese diplomat or aristocratic John Confucius, Chinese laborers generally appear in *Harper’s Weekly* with exaggerated physical features, such as an elongated head and an ill-formed face. One cartoon by Thomas Nast in 1869 depicts a terrified Chinese laborer with his queue being pulled by a ferocious California mob. In the background, a wall is painted with “courts of justice closed to Chinese, extra taxes to yellowjack.” The caption sarcastically says “Pacific chivalry, encouragement to Chinese immigration ”(Figure 6.50). Though the drawing can be interpreted as Nast’s sympathy toward Chinese immigration, the gross caricature of the Chinese leaves the reader with a sense of Chinese as grotesque creatures alien to American society.

Similarly, a drawing by cartoonist Hunk Dore in 1869 exhibits the same iconographic style (Figure 6.51). The sketch is titled “The Coming Man- John Chinaman: Uncle Sam introduces Eastern Barbarism to Western Civilization.” Uncle Sam stands in the middle and introduces an unkempt looking Chinese laborer from the Golden Gate to a figure who is from Castle Garden. By dress and appearance, the figure can be interpreted as a composite representation of various European immigrant groups. The Chinese laborer not only has exaggerated head shape, but also has an exaggerated pigtail which almost

touches the ground like barbed wire, as well as a mustache like cat whisker. With his eyes closed, his crude face strangely appears to be both cunning and brutish.

Hunk Dore continued his symbolic depiction of the coming of Chinese in another drawing titled “The Last Addition to the Family,” in which Columbia cloaked in American flag gently cradles a baby-like Chinese figure with a pigtail (Figure 6.52). The sharp contrast in the drawing exists between Columbia who exudes beauty, magnificence, and maternal generosity and the thumb-sucking Chinese baby with distorted head and hideous facial features. Columbia’s gentle and affectionate gaze meeting the grotesqueness of the Chinese baby triggers natural uneasiness. The stylized icon of the United States is juxtaposed with a demonized Chinese figure. Compared to the princely Chinese mandarin introduced by Columbia to other European nations in “The Youngest Introducing the Oldest”, the ugliness of the Chinese figure in the shadow of Columbia speaks of totally different perceptions and sentiments toward the issues of diplomatic engagement with China and Chinese immigration to America.

A noteworthy event in the late 1860’s was the completion of the transcontinental railroad, which inspired a number of *Harper’s Weekly* drawings. A double-page, complex and celebratory illustration depicts the momentous event in heavily representational and allegorical terms (Figure 6.53). The linking of East Coast and West Coast through the transcontinental railroad is broadened to signify an encounter between the Western and the Eastern, or the European and the Asian. The drawing exudes a proud and jubilant atmosphere. The figures on the right side of the border seem to be typical examples of various Oriental countries from the Middle East and China. A mosque, a camel, tea chests

and Chinese porcelain are in the background. On the left side of the border are figures from European countries holding tools and plans, with factories, ship masts and smokestacks in the background symbolizing technological accomplishments and industrialization. In contrast, technology and industry are absent among the Oriental countries on the right side. Instead, raw materials or export goods such as tea, silk and porcelain are presented.

The two groups on both sides ascend upward and converge at the middle of top border, where several allegorical female figures meet. The central figure is Columbia with a feathered headdress and stars and stripes shield. She joins Europa, represented by a lady in royal robe and head piece, with Asia and Africa. The African figure is on her knees and clings to Asia in an obviously inferior position. At the bottom center of the border is an oval inset of a steamship displayed under the banner "commerce." A European male is seated to the left with a busy port stretching behind him. His hand rests on a globe, with a compass and a captain's chest at his feet, symbolizing dominion over the world through commerce and trade. On the right side of the steamship sits a Chinese man with his tea chests and silk rolls next to him and an agrarian landscape behind him. While the European male casts a confident look outward, the Chinese man seems sullen with a downward gaze.

From the very beginning, the idea of the Pacific Railroad was connected to perceptions of China. These images sent the explicit message that the completion of the transcontinental railroad not only carried internal significance to the United States, it also attested to the Manifest Destiny of the United States to extend its control over land and water beyond its borders.

Consequently, demographic flow and mixing became a result of the transcontinental connection, through which the Chinese immigrants not only marched to the East, but also further infringed on the moral sensibility of the society. One drawing depicted two couples, both pairing a Chinese male and an idealized white woman, walking arm in arm in front of the “Church of St. Confucius” with a gothic facade (Figure 6.54). The humor seems to strike at the core values of Victorian society---God and family. The implication is the triumph of paganism over Christianity. The Chinese male in the depiction are attired in a typical Chinese outfit with benign yet clearly racial features. The women are portrayed as well-dressed with the typical idealized features of the middle-class women of the period, possessing middle-class morality and values. This depiction certainly overturns the assumption that miscegenation with the Chinese is restricted to lower-class, inferior women. The ostensible comic intention of the drawing is overpowered by its reportage style images. The figures do not look like caricatures. They look so real as to be believable. As Judith Huber argues, “the believability of the style of the image drives home the inherent threat”, which is the fear of ethnic miscegenation.¹²⁰

Throughout the 1860s, the Chinese question was primarily a West Coast labor problem that was yet to enter the national debate. Completion of the transcontinental railroad became a key turning point in the American perception of what would increasingly be referred to as the “Chinese Question.”¹²¹ Andrew Cameron, the editor of the *Workingman’s Advocate*, was one of the few labor activists outside of California to alert an

¹²⁰ Judith Huber, 1996, 384.

¹²¹ James Whitney, *The Chinese, and the Chinese question* (New York: Tibbals Book Co., 1888), 107-196.

impending Chinese labor “invasion” once the transcontinental railroad was complete.

Cameron wrote four months before the east and west were finally linked:

We warn workingmen that a new and dangerous foe looms up in the far west. Already our brothers of the Pacific have to meet it, and just as soon as the Pacific railroad is completed, trade and travel begins to flow from the east across our continent, these Chinamen will begin to swarm through the rocky mountains, like devouring locusts and spread out over the country... In the name of the workingmen of our common country, we demand that our government... forbid Chinaman to set foot upon our shores.¹²²

An 1869 *Harper's Weekly* cartoon is entitled “The Chinese Puzzle” (Figure 6.55).

The caption says: “The fisherman (ALIAS Uncle Sam) and the Genie: The Genie, slowly rolling himself out of the box in the form of vapor, soon assumed his proper proportions.

The Fisherman stood aghast on beholding the gigantic size of the demon he had liberated.”¹²³ The menacing giant Chinese figure stood in front of the tiny fisherman, one foot resting on California and one foot on Oregon. The depiction of the Chinese as a demon set loose and growing out of control spoke of the fear and shock felt by the society. Around the same time, Russell Conwell's best selling book *Why and How*, in which he warned that many million Chinese might emigrate to America each year, fed the fear of Chinese invasion.¹²⁴ The giant genie was Conwell's millions waiting to emigrate.

One month after the arrival of Chinese strikebreakers in North Adam, St. Crispin's reaction was caricatured by Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly* as the deadly rivalry between the “Crispins” and the Chinese laborers. In the caricature titled “The Martyrdom of St. Crispin”, a white American shoemaker is diligently making shoes in his workshop (Figure

¹²² *Workingman's Advocate*, Feb. 6, 1869: 2.

¹²³ “The Chinese Puzzle,” *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 04, 1869: 576.

¹²⁴ Russell Herman Conwell, *Why and how: Why the Chinese Emigrate, and the Means They Adopt for the Purpose of Reaching America* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1871), 239.

6.56). He has a halo over his head, indicating his innocence, virtue and saintly quality.

Two Chinese men wielding swords are about to attack him from behind. The inscriptions on their swords say “cheap labor” and “chopsticks”. The white shoemaker seems to be oblivious to his imminent danger. The pointed features and overly exaggerated slanted eyes of the Chinese gave them a malicious even demonic look. The confrontations represented in the caricature are multifold: racial, civilizational, and moral. The racial confrontation is between the Chinese race and the white European race. The civilizational confrontation is between Christianity represented by the haloed ‘Crispin’ and the Chinese heathen innuendoed by the inscription “chopsticks”. And the moral confrontation is between the saintly and hard-working ‘Crispin’ and the “murderous” Chinese who plot to kill the innocent.

In the sphere of public opinions, the Chinese question was furiously debated on the following grounds: race, industry, politics and morality. In June 1870, the *New York Tribune* published a lengthy article---“The Chinese-American Question”--by the pro-labor editor John Swinton.¹²⁵ The article was arguably the most cogent anti-Chinese tirade on the basis of race and politics. Swinton spoke specifically about the Crispin incident,

The movement not only surprised the “Crispins”, for whom these Chinese substitutes had been found, but it alarmed the working classes throughout the Eastern and Middle States, who very quickly saw that the great manufactures and capitalists has obtained possession, not of a mere “Chinese going”, but of a weapon which, unless wrested out of their hands, would make them absolute dictators of labor in America... There is abundant evidence that if this first experiment give satisfaction and profit to the capitalists engaged in it, there will be no time lost by the employers in introducing tens and hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers into the industrial establishment of the country... It is not hard to see why these

¹²⁵ For discussion on John Swinton’s labor activism, see David Quigley, *Second Founding: New York City, Reconstruction and the Making of American Democracy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 109-174.

Chinamen could work cheaply. It is easy enough to see how men without the household or family, without comfort or vitalizing victual---without the appliances of civilization---could labor far more cheaply than workingmen living according to the household order, and demanding as necessities of life those comforts which have always been enjoyed by the industrial classes of America.¹²⁶

John Swinton wrote in the tradition of an educated Victorian generalist speculating on a wide range of subject matter, and articulated a “pan-European American nationalism” that foreshadowed what would be the dominant American racial ideology for the years to come.¹²⁷ Borrowing from the scientific racialism and modern medicine a metaphor for national body politics, Swinton posed race as the primary divide in American politics.

There is reason to dread the result of the infusion and transfusion of the Chinese, Mongolian or Yellow race with the White American race. The Mongolian blood is a depraved and debased blood. The Mongolian type of humanity is an inferior type, --inferior in organic structure, in vital force or physical energy, and in the constitutional conditions of development. On this point, all anthropologist and ethnologist are agreed. Now there is not the slightest doubt that if the influx of the Mongolians is permitted, they will gradually incorporate themselves with the blood and being of the country. Chinese immigration is almost wholly of the male sex; and no one will believe that after these people have settled in our town, have been engaged in our great industries, and have enjoyed the opportunities of association, they can be compelled to refrain from the intermixture which will result in the growth of a half-breed Chinese-American type. ..The Mongolian or Yellow race is as radically different from the European or White race as the Red race of the Black race; and from such limited data as are within reach, we have reason to believe that intermixture with the one would be quite as degrading and destructive as intermixture with either of the others... Chinese paganism has, for its fruits, a practical immorality fouler by far than that known among any European or Christian people...In their indecent and obscene, foul and mortifying vices, they have gone to depths of which the modern white race is happily ignorant. As a consequence the most loathsome and destructive disease are terribly prevalent among them---prevalent to such an extent that the blood and physical organism, as well as the moral and mental qualities of the Chinese race, are profoundly affected by them.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ John Swinton, *The New Issue: the Chinese-American Question* (New York: American News Company, 1870), 3-4, 6.

¹²⁷ John Kuo Wei Tchen, 2001, 188.

¹²⁸ John Swinton, *The New Issue: the Chinese-American Question* (New York: American News Company, 1870), 6-7, 14.

Less than one month after the first Crispin caricature was published, Nast followed with another one depicting the evolving story of the Chinese shoemakers in North Adams (Figure 6.57). Now St. Crispin's workshop was taken over by the Chinese laborer, whose characteristic umbrella and straw hat comfortably occupied a corner of the shop. A new sign said "cheap shoes." St. Crispin was reduced into a fly-like creature, still with its little halo, hovering over the head of the Chinese shoemaker with indignation and helplessness. With the tip of his pigtail, the Chinese brushed away the "shoe fly" Crispin with a sinister laugh.

In the same issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Nast published a powerful full page drawing summarizing the national reaction to the issue of Chinese labor with wit and insight (Figure 6.58). A bright comet with a smiling Chinese face glides across the dark sky from West to East. Its fluffy long tail draws a long streak, saying "cheap labor". The background shows a factory 'Closed by the Trade Union's Rules,' a capitol dome and a billboard saying "The Chinese Labor Question/The European Know Nothings Will Meet To Night," and a shop selling "Cheap shoes." On the ground were crowds of people watching the movement of the comet with anxiety and restlessness. Many hold signs expressing different opinions: "Down with Capital"; "The Chinese Must Be Wiped Out"; "We Want Servants, Cooks, Nurses"; and "This Country Is Large Enough for All." The foreground shows several Irish women and their children. A "Capitalist," "The Press," "Politicians," and "Workingmen"---all of them male---are observing the comet through giant telescopes. The drawing, unlike Nast's other cartoons, does not seem to be taking a stance. Though the crowd on the ground

seems stirred, it is not violent or menacing. Instead, the drawing appears to present a crowd engaged in spectatorship and debate.¹²⁹

In 1870s, when calls for exclusion of the Chinese gained strength in California and the sentiment began to spread to the East coast, Thomas Nast portrayed such anti-Chinese activities in caricature style. In one sketch published in 1870, Nast drew a wall around the United States, with Americans kicking the ladder down on the Chinese below, trying to block them from climbing over (Figure 6.59). In February 1871, *Harper's Weekly* published another sketch by Thomas Nast show Columbia Shielding Chinese from mob attack (Figure 6.60). Columbia stands before a wall plastered with slurs against the Chinese, such as "John Chinaman is an idolator and heathen," "Coolie, slave, pauper and rat-eater," "No family virtues such as we have, we have white purity," and "vicious, immoral and heathenish." A dejected and frightened Chinese man sits on the ground, face covered with his hand. An agitated mob wielding guns and clubs try to make their advance on the Chinese man. Columbia indignantly gestures to the mob to back off, saying "Hands off, Gentleman! America means fair play for all men."

In the background is the ruin of the Colored Orphan Asylum, with a lynching noose visibly hanging from a tree. Nast saw the issue as racism, linking attacks on the Chinese with the destruction of the Colored Orphan Asylum during New York's 1863 draft riots.¹³⁰ Columbia's facial feature embodies the "visual sensibilities of the upper and middle-class

¹²⁹ John Kuo Wei Tchen, 1999, 208.

¹³⁰ David Barnes, *The Draft Riots in New York, July 1863* (New York: Baker & Godwin, 1863), 117; Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 21, 27.

Anglo-Saxon Protestant mainstream”.¹³¹ Nast’s Columbia was a symbolic white-robed goddess with flowing hair and classic beauty, and exemplified prevailing Anglo-American ideals of virtue, morality and character. Nast’s progressive Republican politics made him a staunch advocate of equal rights and universal suffrage, regardless of race or national origin.¹³² However, artist’s C.C Reinmar’s 1874 caricature portrays Columbia with a very different political stroke (Figure 6.61). In the drawing titled “Rags for Our Workingman, Spices for Foreigners,” Columbia appears to be staunchly anti-trade with China and worries the standard of living of the American workingman by deteriorated by cheap Chinese labor. The drawing shows Uncle Sam cranking out gold coins into a bucket labeled “Chinese Trade,” while an elated Chinese waits nearby. Columbia says, “Dear me, I do think it very wrong that the good nice Trade Dollar (worth one hundred cents) should be sent out of the country for the benefit of the ‘heathen Chinees.’ For if these gentlemen are permitted to have their own way, it will take a basketful of their Greenbacks (worth—?) to buy a dinner for my children.”¹³³

An 1876 caricature by Nast summarizes the dilemma of the “Chinese puzzle” (Figure 6.62). A Chinese puppet pops out of a box labeled “For California Direct.” The caption reads, “To keep the figure down, and let it have its freedom at the same time.” As Sascha Auerbach point outs, starting in late 19th century , the concept of “Chinese

¹³¹ John Kuo Wei Tchen, 1999, 212.

¹³² For discussions of Thomas Nast’s other political cartoons that satirize the Southern question, black voting rights, and American political life in general, see Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast, His Period and His Pictures* (New York: Macmillan, 1904); Philip Dray, *Capitol Men: the Epic Story of Reconstruction through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2008), 23-134; Gary Bunker, *From Rail-splitter to Icon: Lincoln's Image in Illustrated Periodicals, 1860-1865* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2001).

¹³³ “Rags for Our Workingman, Spices for Foreigners,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 25, 1874: 353.

puzzle” is a metaphor also used in British political discourse to sum up the difficulties of dealing with the Chinese labor and immigration in Britain and its empire. The game metaphor was widely employed by journalists, diplomats, politicians, playwrights, and scholars.¹³⁴ Nast’s use of the “Chinese puzzle” well illustrates the entangled interests and conflicts in the sociopolitical responses to Chinese immigration in mainstream American society.

As the Chinese question was furiously debated before the final passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, political caricatures closely followed the development of the issue. Nast was the major contributor of these images. A chronological examination of them can illustrate the social agitation over Chinese immigration. The slogan of “The Chinese Must Go” makes frequent appearance in Nast’s illustrations as a message of the time. The February 8, 1879 issue of *Harper’s Weekly* features on its front cover a caricature by Nast titled “Every Dog Has His Day” (Figure 6.63). A Native American male with feathered head piece whispers to a Chinese man as they both look at a wall of posters shouting “Chinese Must Go,” “Foreigners not Wanted,” and “Prohibit Chinese immigration” and so on. The caption says, “Red Gentleman to Yellow Gentleman, 'Pale face 'fraid you crowd him out , as he did me.'”¹³⁵

In March 1879, another front cover drawing by Nast depicts John Confucius being rejected by Senator Blaine (Figure 6.64). Interestingly, while Blaine categorically dismisses the Chinese, he embraces a happy black male close to him. Under Blaine’s feet is the trampled Burlingame Treaty. The black male ingratiatingly offers Blaine a voter ticket.

¹³⁴ Sascha Auerbach, *Race, Law, and "the Chinese puzzle" in Imperial Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1-2.

¹³⁵ “Every Dog Has His Day,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 8, 1879: 101

John Confucius stands aside with puzzlement, “Am I not a Man and a Brother?” Behind him is a rich display of various trade goods, such as tea, silk, and porcelain. And the voter ticket seems to be the only possession of the black male. The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 had given the Chinese the right to migrate freely to the United States. In 1880, this right was curtailed by the Angell Treaty in order to allow the American government to suspend the immigration of Chinese laborers.¹³⁶ The Angell Treaty of 1880 authorized the “suspension,” not the prohibition, of Chinese immigration. The Treaty also recognized the right of Congress to admit or exclude the Chinese laborers based on whether they became a threat to the safety of the American people.¹³⁷

Senator James Blaine of Maine was a forefront advocate of Chinese exclusion and championed the 1882 exclusion law in the Senate on behalf of American labor. On the other hand, Blaine ironically supported equal rights for African Americans.¹³⁸ Blaine was the first notable Eastern politician to join the anti-Chinese crusade in California. He envisioned the California support for a planned bid for the presidency. With his embrace of the anti-Chinese movement, Blaine hoped to realize his presidential aspiration by capturing the votes of California and the Western States and those of workingmen nationwide.¹³⁹

Nast’s portrayal of “The Civilization of Blaine” is obviously a satirical parody of Blaine’s

¹³⁶ Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers 1776-1909*, LexisNexis U.S. Serial Set Digital Collection (Washington, 1909), I, 237-239.

¹³⁷ George Paulsen, “The Gresham-Yang Treaty,” *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 1968: 281-297.

¹³⁸ Edward Crapol, *James G. Blaine: Architect of Empire* (Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 55-57.

¹³⁹ Lewis Carlson and George Colburn, *In Their Place: White America Defines Her Minorities, 1850 – 1950* (New York : Wiley, 1972), 165; Gary Okihiro, *The Columbia Guide to Asian American History* (New York, NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 2001), 97.

own words, “We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific coast the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius.”¹⁴⁰ In 1879, Nast’s satire on Blaine’s political rhetoric seemed timely and poignant when Blaine was a presidential aspirant. The same thread of satire continued in subsequent Blaine caricatures in *Harper’s weekly*.

In another drawing by Nast titled “Blaine Language”, the Chinese figure named “Ah Sin” bears the typical feature of slanted eyes and open mouth (Figure 6.65). On the stage are Senator Blaine as ‘Truthful James,’ Ah Sin the “Heathen Chinee” and a brutish Irish caricature called “Tramp Nye”. Ah Sin holds three cards, each says “cheap labor,” “no vote,” and ‘industry’. Tramp Nye grasps onto two cards, “Dear labor” and “A Vote.” Tramp Nye says to Blaine: “Can this be? We are ruined by Chinese labor.” Truthful James responds,” Which is why I remark, and my language is plain, that for ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain, the heathen Chinee is peculiar, which the same I am free to maintain.”¹⁴¹ Blaine is shown kicking the Chinese off stage, which displays the inscription “Equal right to all men, the corner stone of our republic.” The comments in the drawing state the following:

The Chinamen were terribly taxed by the county authorities; but they always came up promptly, and without a word of complaint paid what was demanded of them....Let me here say that I never, during all my years of intercourse with this people, saw a single drunken Chinaman. I never saw a Chinese beggar. I never saw a lazy Chinaman. The Chinamen. They are not strikers, rioters, and burners of cities.....No; the Creator of us all opened the Golden Gate to the whole wide world, let no man attempt to shut it in the face of our fellow-man.”—*Joaquin Miller*.¹⁴²

In the same month of March in 1879, Nast used the name “Ah Sin” in another

¹⁴⁰ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine* (Norwich, Conn: H. Bill Pub. Co., 1895), 450.

¹⁴¹ “The Blaine Language,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 15, 1879: 216.

¹⁴² “Blaine Language,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 15, 1879: 216.

Caricature (Figure 6.66). Ah Sin, with his queue flying in the air, watches an American man called Kearney trumpeting the anti-Chinese bill. The caption reads, “The heathen Chineese: That is just what I have been longing for.” Denis Kearney was an Irish American politician who became the president of the Workingman’s Party of California during the late 1870s. Under Kearney’s leadership, the Workingman’s Party soon became a major political force in California.¹⁴³ A fiery sand-lot orator and labor agitator, Kearney was the walking embodiment of the anti-Chinese movement. He rallied supporters with the cry “The Chinese Must Go” and threatened violence to achieve this end.¹⁴⁴ The drawing depicts Kearney crawling on the ground waving the anti-Chinese bill at Ah Sin. His lower body morphs into a trumpet-shaped speaker, on which written “This is the land of liberty and the home of the Kearney’s.” Kearney’s labor agitation in California was influential in the state election. His subsequent cross-country tour and lecture also put a sway on many national politicians that Chinese exclusion had broad and fierce support among American workers. Kearney was a key figure in making the exclusion of the Chinese a critical national political issue.¹⁴⁵

In the “A Matter of Taste” drawing, Confucius stands outside the “Kearney’s Senatorial Restaurant” where a group of presumably presidential candidates are dining at a table reserved for them (Figure 6.67). One of the figures apparently looks like Senator

¹⁴³ Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 113-137; Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Aanti-Chinese movement in California* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1991), 40-56; Matthew Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: the United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2000), 78-86.

¹⁴⁴ Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1998), 97, 108.

¹⁴⁵ Timothy Meagher, *The Columbia Guide to Irish American History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 272-273.

Blaine. The kitchen sign says “hoodlum stew.” The menu posted at the door reads “The Anti-Chinese Bill.” Confucius watches with disgust and bewilderment as the table of eaters gobble down spoons of meal from the “mess of sand-lot” pot. The caption reads, “Confucius: How can Christian stomach such dirt!” The caricature is packed with political allusions and innuendos. Nast lampooned the distastefulness of the anti-Chinese bill by imagining Confucius’ reaction to it. Interestingly, the image of “Confucius” seems to be a Chinese laborer dressed in mandarin clothes and shoes. The same feature of slanted eyes and open mouth seen in “Ah Sin” is rendered even more brutish on “Confucius.”

Another drawing produced by Nast in March 1879 is titled “Difficult Problems Solving Themselves”(Figure 6.68). A Chinese man reads a newspaper labeled “The San Francisco Hoodlum.” The instruction is for him to go to the East where welcome signs are raised for him. The “go” message continued to be depicted in subsequent caricatures by Nast. The front cover of a September 1879 issue of *Harper’s Weekly* features a gloomy Chinese man walking by a wall covered with various sand-lot messages from the West coast, such as “Denis Kearney is boss”, “the Chinese Must Go,” and “Mob Law” (Figure 6.69). The declared “California Plan” is to expell the Chinese, since “the poor barbarians can’t understand our civilized Republican form of government.”¹⁴⁶

An 1880 drawing by Nast shows a scornful Senator Blaine dismissing a Chinese laborer’s ingratiating gesture (Figure 6.70). The Chinese man removes his hat, tips at Blaine in a genuflecting position, but only to receive distain from Blaine. The wall of posters and slogans in the background can be read as the heated political debate over

¹⁴⁶ “The Nigger Must Go and the Chinese Must Go,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept. 13, 1879.

Chinese exclusion around the time. The caption says, “Non-voter: Now Melican Man know muchee how it is himself.”¹⁴⁷ The Chinese figure has quite grotesque features and an elongated head which is further accentuated by the flying queue. This almost makes him look like an amphibian creatures rather than a human. He is painted with dark complexion as if covered in Blaine’s shadow. Nast’s artistic composition may be interpreted as the political powerlessness of the Chinese immigrants who were embroiled in a battle over their fate, but with little might to influence the outcome.

Toward the end of 1870’s, with the intensification of anti-Chinese sentiments and riots on the West coast, *Harper’s Weekly* frequently published articles defending the merits and contribution of the Chinese immigrants to American commerce and society, calling for fairness and humanity in their treatment. Both voices expressing sympathy toward the Chinese immigrants and agitating for Chinese exclusion coexist in the forum of *Harper’s Weekly*.

As citizens the Chinese are quiet and inoffensive, doing their work conscientiously, and retiring peacefully at night to their own quarter. They are frequently the objects of bitter persecution on the part of the whites, and have even been prevented from attending the mission schools provided for them, fearing to be attacked if seen in the streets after dark.¹⁴⁸

Chinese immigration is flowing across the Pacific, and has already produced an intense hostility among a portion of the population of California and Oregon against the industrious strangers. The public sense of justice has been too often shocked by the cruel treatment of these Oriental wanderers; the fearful massacres of Chinamen on our Western shores by ruffians who defy the law is one of the latest blots upon our national reputation... the Chinese race offers fewer paupers or criminals than any other... it has no drunkards... it is generally harmless and inoffensive, and, in fact, compared with its persecutors, who are said to be chiefly uneducated “Irish Catholics,” is of a higher and better order of men... We discover virtues in Chinamen that may lead to the highest fruits of civilization; the tender son, the

¹⁴⁷ “Political Capital and Compound Interest,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Jan. 31, 1880: 68.

¹⁴⁸ “Chinese Immigration,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 20, 1876: 411.

faithful friend, the honest merchant, are to be looked for among the Chinese. We find a love of knowledge prevailing among the followers of *Confucius* that may soon engross and appropriate all Western literature. And there seems ample reason for demanding that the Chinese shall be treated with kindness, and receive from a Christian people no lessons but those of tenderness and humanity.¹⁴⁹

After anti-Chinese immigration legislation was adopted in Australia, it was cited to support exclusion measures at home:

Yellow agony is the phrase by which the Australians describe the Chinese immigration. For the Chinese question is not peculiar to California. It has vexed our brother Bull in Australia, and he has taken the most peremptory measures, so that the Chinaman is now practically excluded from a large part of the country... The question was imperative. The Chinese were overrunning the colony. Should it be allowed to become Chinese? There were treaty obligations, and the employer's right to get his work done cheaply; but there was also the undisputed right of the colonies to self-preservation... no European community would suffer itself to be swamped by a horde of Asiatics, with which it can no more mix than oil with water, and whose coming is "merely tempting Providence." When the Chinese debate is resumed in Congress, there is no doubt that the Australian precedent will be cited.¹⁵⁰

A front page drawing in March 1880 by Nast lampooned at the above exclusionary sentiments (Figure 6.71). The foreground stands a white workingman carrying a manifesto by "Agitator and Martyr" Denis Kearney. His look appears righteous, innocent yet helpless. The manifesto reads, "Brutus wanted! Kill me! I am prepared to die! Not only would the streets of San Francisco run in blood, but also New York, Boston, Chicago, and other Eastern Cities...My life as a sacrifice! ... I will be glad to be taken out of my MISERY!"¹⁵¹ Several Chinese laborers stand in the background. They look completely grotesque with deformed head shape and exaggerated features. The sinister smile on their faces make them appear brutish yet cunning, as if plotting a conspiracy against the white workingman. The

¹⁴⁹ "China and Its People," *Harper's Weekly*, June 1, 1878: 431.

¹⁵⁰ "The Yellow Agony," *Harper's Weekly*, August 16, 1879: 642.

¹⁵¹ "The Ides of March," *Harper's Weekly*, March 20, 1880.

labor outcry championed by Denis Kearney is made a travesty in Nast's intentional depiction of it as an ostensibly "righteous" cause. Among the labor signs in the background, there is a board of health announcement declaring "Chinatown a nuisance." As David Anderson points out, the filth, crime, opium-smoking and crowded conditions of local Chinatowns were viewed as racial stereotypes rather than manifestations of poverty. Thus, economic and racial hysteria helped make Chinese exclusion an urgent political issue.¹⁵²

The close association of the Chinese with tea, along with its production and export, became an element in the Chinese imagery. An 1880 illustration by Frank Bellew depicts the Chinese as so tenacious in coming to America that he will come over in his teapot (Figure 6.72). A Chinese man triumphantly sails into an American port in his teapot-turned boat. In the stereotypical pidgin English, he claims that "Howe do Melican man me comme plenty time- - bling big heap Chineeman."¹⁵³ The Chinese laundry business is also a stereotypical setting for cartoons. A cartoon by W. A. Rogers shows Chinese laundry workers gleefully brandishing a baseball bat, his long queue slashing in the air. He answers to a work ad that recruits Chinamen to play baseball at \$20 per week, "No more Washee! Playee Base-ballee! Sallee out Game, allee same Melican man!" By taking over good old American baseball, the implication is that Chinese are taking over America since baseball is the great American pastime. The Chinese worker's pidgin English denotes inferiority of an uneducated lower class people (Figure 6.73).

¹⁵² David Anderson, "The Diplomacy of Discrimination: Chinese Exclusion, 1876-1882," *California History*, Vol. 57, No. 1, 1978: 32-45.

¹⁵³ "Oh! Law They Are Coming Over in Their Own Tea-pots Now!" *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 2, 1880: 631.

An anonymous cartoon in 1881 depicts a Chinese laundryman being bullied outside his shop by a stereotypical looking Irish (Figure 6.74). The laundry shop is called “Ching Hi Washeeman”. The Chinese man is wearing the stereotypical Chinese dress, with his queue flying upward in terror. The caption euphemistically says “Decorating China,” which somehow lessens the fact that somebody is getting beaten and discriminated. The cartoon portrays a degraded and victimized image of Chinese.

Nast’s “A Paradox” published in 1880 features a tug of war between Democratic Party and Republican Party over Chinese support if Chinese became citizens and began voting (Figure 6.75).¹⁵⁴ Knock-kneed, the Chinese figure in the middle appears paralyzed like a stuffed doll with open mouth and slanted eyes, his queue standing straight up in fright. He seems at a loss, confused and unprepared for such competition over his vote.

An 1881 cartoon by Nast offers an interpretation of the Chinese perspective of American freedom (Figure 6.76). A Chinese mandarin approaches an American voter and puts forth “The New Chinese Treaty” (Revised Burlingame Treaty). The caption refers to the Chinese man as “The Yellow Dragon.” In a submissive and humble posture, the Chinese man says to the gun-carrying arrogant American voter, “I did not hope to suit you, but this is for my friend, Uncle Sam, and it will even enable you to get better accustomed to this land of freedom, which you have adopted and which protects you.” In the background are silhouettes of stereotypical Chinese laundry workers.

Nast’s artistic talent continued to generate caricatures rich in allegory. In 1881, when the adoption of anti-Chinese stance by both parties at the national level signaled the inevitability of Chinese exclusion, Nast produced a drawing titled ‘A Diplomatic (Chinese)

¹⁵⁴ “A Paradox,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 22, 1880: 336.

Design Presented to U.S.” (Figure 6.77). A ferocious dragon twists itself around a delicate Chinese vase, its claw holding a “New Treaty” bill, namely the Chinese Exclusion Act. Under the powerful clutch of the dragon, the vase starts to show cracks and is about to break. A follow up drawing displays the same dragon-clutching-vase scene (Figure 6.78). The vase is printed with the motif of U.S.-China trade, and carries a sign saying “Handle with care, diplomacy.” A white male figure examines the surface of the vase with a magnifier. The caption reads, “Arthur (a connoisseur): It would be unreasonable to destroy it, and would reflect upon the honor of the country.”¹⁵⁵ These drawings apparently alludes to the diplomatic dilemma faced by President Chester Arthur who initially vetoed the Chinese Exclusion Act because the twenty-year suspension seemed too harsh. Arthur’s veto message to the Congress was an extremely diplomatic one, which involved existing obligations with China from the 1868 Burlingame Treaty and 1880 Angell Treaty, protection of American interests in China, and the value of the China trade. Also, sizable foreign enclaves in China’s major coastal cities made exclusion of the Chinese from America a diplomatically sensitive issue. On the other hand, President Arthur reassured Congress his belief in the danger that Chinese immigration posed to the good order of American society. On a conciliatory note, he recommended a shorter period of restriction. Congress quickly adjusted that provision to ten years and passed the bill again. It was President Chester Arthur who eventually signed the Chinese Exclusion Act into law in May 1882.¹⁵⁶

The question was not of Chinese immigration, nor of the influx of barbarism; it was a question of the faith of treaties and of the national honor. It was precisely

¹⁵⁵ “The Veto,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 15, 1882: 236.

¹⁵⁶ Charles McClain, *Chinese Immigrants and American law* (New York: Garland 1994), 18-21.

one of the occasions which illustrate the wisdom of the veto power confided to the Executive, and which show how the President with the veto may more truly represent public sentiment than a Congress of politicians attempting to outbid each other for a party advantage.¹⁵⁷

Right before the Chinese Exclusion Act was signed in 1882, Thomas Nast satirized the possible outcomes of letting the Chinese stay in America in a caricature titled “Let the Chinese Embrace Civilization, and They May Stay” (Figure 6.79). The center of the drawing shows a Chinese laborer embracing a whisky bottle. The surrounding scenes depict Chinese laborers in various possible state of being “integrated” into the American society. They drink, vote, fight, beg, go on strike, give speech to the Congress, and refuse to pay rent, etc. Nast depicted the Chinese as poor, lazy, and lower-class drunkards. The obvious sarcasm is that all these seem to be the things the Chinese were not known to do. A subsequent cartoon by Nast interprets the Exclusion Act as a selective offering of freedom (Figure 6.80). A Chinese laborer is stopped at the bridge that leads to the “Temple of Liberty” which represents America as a noble empire. He is portrayed as a poor man with nothing but a knapsack and an exaggeratedly long cue. The soldiers guarding the castle deny the Chinese man entrance. The caption reads, “E Pluribus Unum (Except the Chinese).”

Two more cartoons by Nast in 1882 vividly present the debate of Chinese immigration in the national partisan politics (Figure 6.81; Figure 6.82). The first cartoon depicts the last hope of the Chinese in the U.S. as hanging on to the veto decision by President Arthur. A tiger, representing the Democratic Party, clings to the Chinese man’s queue. The second cartoon shows the Chinese man desperately hanging on to the tree of

¹⁵⁷“The Chinese Bill,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 15, 1879: 202.

“freedom to all” while both the ‘Democratic tiger’ and ‘Republican elephant’ are trying to uproot the tree by pulling the Chinese man’s queue.

The iconic Chinese queue continues to make its statement in another anonymous cartoon in 1882 (Figure 6.83). A population thermometer shows that the Chinese population has already taken over San Francisco and working its way to the rest of the U.S. As the caption says “Frozen out,” the upward expansion seems to grind to a halt at the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The Chinese figure in the cartoon has a distorted and malicious face. His dramatic queue stands vertically as the thermometric scale.

Anthropologist Benedict Anderson elaborated on the role of print language in creating nationalistic “imagined communities.” According to Anderson, the construction or imagination of a community was made possible, historically, because of mediation of print capitalism: the regional newspaper and the novel. Print language in 19th century worked to foster political consciousness of nation-states and common citizenship.¹⁵⁸ Anderson views the reading of newspaper is an “extraordinary mass ceremony”.

[It is] performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion.¹⁵⁹

It can also be argued that the constellation of meanings associated with key terms commonly used in the press and in everyday speech also contribute to the imagination of a particular group or community. *Coolie labor, John Chinaman, Ah Sin, Asiatic elements, superstitious, heathen, pigtail, Mongolian blood, Yellow Agony, Chineese accent,*

¹⁵⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 67-82.

¹⁵⁹ Benedict Anderson, 1991, 35.

*Oriental*s—all these terms in *Harper's Weekly* language delineate a peculiar group of people and designate Chinese immigrants as irreconcilably different elements in the host society.

Generally, Chinese imagery in *Harper's Weekly* political cartoons assumes the appearance of either grotesque, lowly, exotic or trivial, depending on the sociopolitical message they carry. Due to their unique visual appeal, these images project strong persuasive power over the societal impression of Chinese immigrants, who are demonized, victimized, degraded, exoticized and stereotyped in caricature portrayal. As a matter of fact, such representation had little to do with China itself. It rather reflects on the dynamic domestic debate over racial politics and labor grievance in late 19th century American society. In *Harper's Weekly*, these caricatured Chinese images became convenient and effective tools of expressing views over conflicting domestic demands and partisan politics.

Chapter Seven Conclusion

As analyzed in Chapter Five, during the 19th century, American merchants, missionaries, diplomats, and travel writers journeyed to China. They recorded their experiences, sketched scenes, collected artifacts and specimens, met inhabitants, and produced essays and reports to educate, amaze and amuse American audience. These cultural productions of American experience in China became a major source of information for American readers to know a distant country through reading texts and viewing pictures. Other than political cartoons, Chapter Six examines the accounts produced by domestic observers of Chinese immigrants and Chinese labor issues in America. Both the overseas and domestic accounts are cultural productions of individuals whose views were shaped by their personal background and the time in which they lived. When we penetrated into the core of these constructions, we noticed the great extent to which the writers and artists were colored by religions, views on civilization, technology, science, politics and society. Therefore, each account is a unique combination of historical, ideological, biographical and commercial factors that attempted at imparting knowledge of or opinions about China to the American audience. As evidenced in *Harper's Weekly* accounts, knowledge and understanding are heavily conditioned by individual circumstances which vary from one to the next, knowledge of China conveyed to American audience was far from being stable and fixed. Instead, it is as diverse and fluid as the people who created them.

In the late nineteenth century media, writers and reporters vied with each other for influence in the marketplace of ideas. Behind them were various kinds of social purposes

or political motives. It was this diversity that made China a topic of rich national debate when crucial issues such as labor and immigration ascended to public attention. Although there are prevalent Chinese stereotypes as seen in political cartoon, the overall construction and representation of China and Chinese in *Harper's Weekly* are characterized by a colorful spectrum of conflict, competition and contestation, with no dull consensus. Not surprisingly, there are also ample evidence of racial prejudice. In *Harper's Weekly* accounts, while there are a certain degree of salutary intellectual curiosity and open-mindedness to toward China and Chinese people, there are also smug belief in the preeminence of American civilization manifested in the understanding of “otherness” vs. “self”. The sense of superiority associated with “self” often subject “otherness” to intolerance, mockery and ridicule.

Similar things can be said about the depiction of West and Westerners in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. Unlike the Americans who journeyed to China and documented their experience, *Dianshizhai's* writers and artists probably never set foot on foreign soil. But this did not prevent them from imparting the knowledge of the West to the Chinese audience. The geopolitical advantage of being in Shanghai afforded them ample opportunities to experience Sino-West interaction, as well as easy access to overseas sources through the burgeoning print media. Although *Dianshizhai* gave open-minded embrace to a wide variety of new knowledge and practice from the West, such as science and technology, and explored Western customs with full curiosity, it still managed to retain and defend its Chinese core when conflicts arise between Chinese and Western values. In

Dianshizhai Pictorial, the West is portrayed and viewed to a large degree a monolithic concept, without much country differentiation. Country differentiation is not particularly important to either the editors or the Chinese audience, since the West in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* became a social construction of “imagined geographies,” as Edward Said put in his *Orientalism*.¹ Foreign place, people and landscapes are represented in *Dianshizhai*. Such representation and imagining reflect the preconceptions and desires of *Dianshizhai* editors and artists. The term “imagined” does not mean “false”, “fabricated”, but “perceived.” Through images and narratives, *Dianshizhai* constructed a perceived West for the Chinese audience. All foreign landscapes are based on artist’s imagination— there is no ‘real’ geography to which the imagined ones can be compared. *Dianshizhai* editors were not interested in offering western geography education to the Chinese audience, nor were they equipped to. Accuracy was not their objective. Instead, they produced a representation of the West that could perform and general effects in the Chinese curiosity and understanding of it.

In terms of image and artistic depiction, various intriguing differences exist between *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*. The constant scenes of panoramic landscape and spectatorship in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* pictures reveal the publication’s intimate association with the traditional Chinese culture in artistic representation, communal awareness, social bonding and sharing. In *Harper's Weekly* pictures, panoramic and spectatorship scenes are less frequent. Most pictures in *Harper's Weekly* have a sharp focus on a predominant issue or on a problem of the time with explicit

¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1978).

cultural and political messages. The illustrations in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* are mostly descriptive in nature. Each drawing tells a story or an event. Political cartoons, which had a centuries-long tradition in the West, were totally absent in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. However, the illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* consist of both realistic portrayal and caricature depiction.

Harper's Weekly's artists are just as trade savvy as their *Dianshizhai Pictorial* counterparts, yet in very different ways. *Harper's Weekly's* artists had keen awareness of the potential power and influence of visual satire and their use of sophisticated artistic techniques to convey that satire. Their poignant political inclination seemed fitting with the publication as a political news magazine. The lens through which the readers receive these images is not neutral but conditioned by the power and viewpoints of the political and economic elites.

Through an ethnographic content analysis of texts and images in both *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*, and a close reading of socio-cultural context from a comparative perspective, my research evidence suggests that cultural representation does not emanate solely from the consciousness of the representing, and reflect only the views, perceptions and prejudices of the representing. Instead, such representations were generated by the cultural, social, commercial and diplomatic interactions that took place in what Mary Louise Pratt has called “contact zones”—loci of Eastern and Western encounters and relationships, where exist “copresence, interaction, interlocking

understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power.”²

The contact zones, as documented in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*, included the foreign concessions and all venues where Chinese and Westerners mingled in Shanghai, as well as the points of contact where Chinese immigrants interacted and clashed with the American society. These sites became frontiers where differences are constantly encountered and negotiated. And consequently, cultural representations and interpretations were generated in the media to understand the dynamics of everyday encounter and experience of the “self” and the “other”, the traditional vs. the new, and the domestic vs. the foreign.

² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York : Routledge, 1992), 6-7.

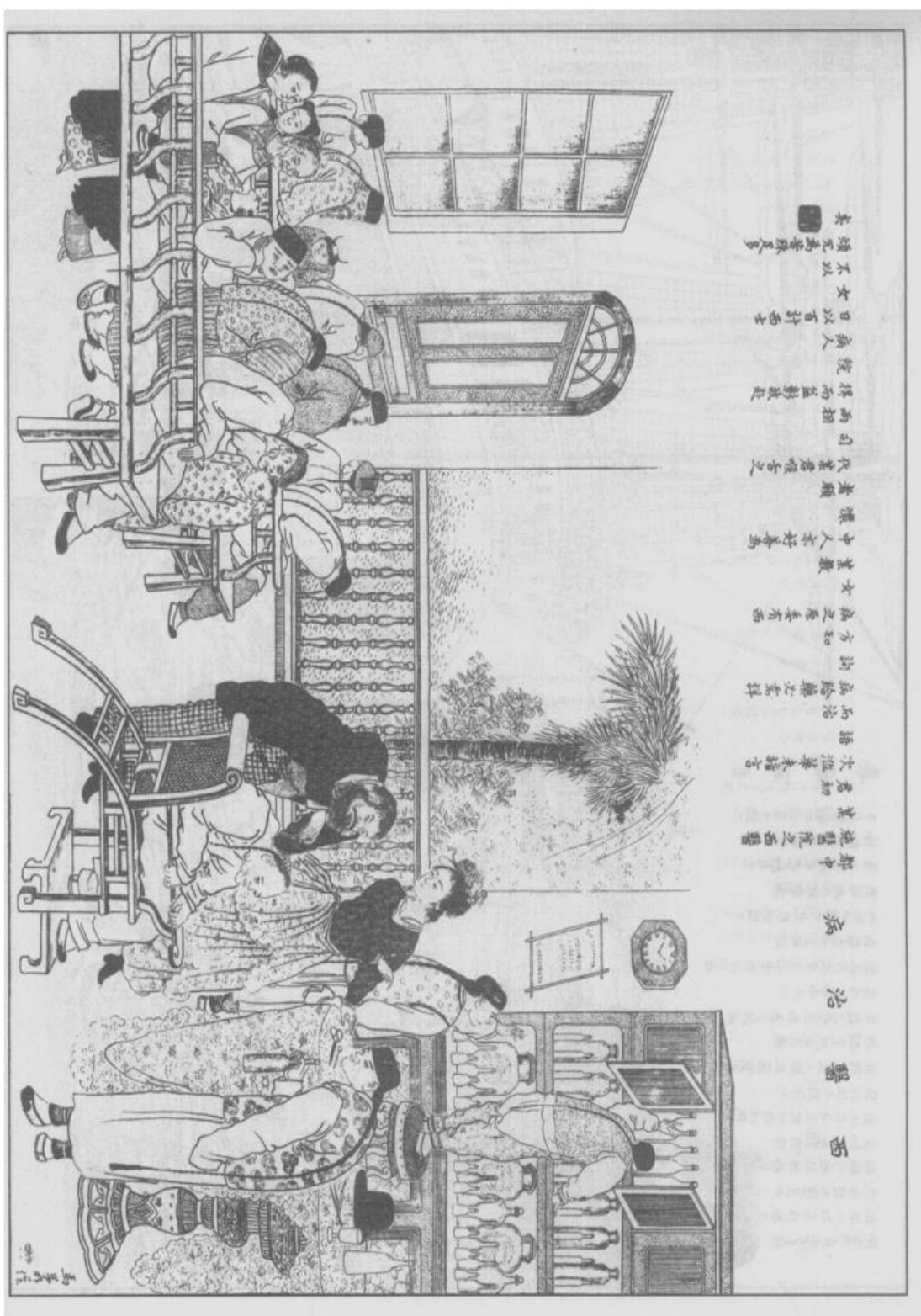


Figure 2.1 “Western Doctor Treating Patient (西医治病),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 95.



Figure 2.2 “Blindness Cured (瞽目复明),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 221.

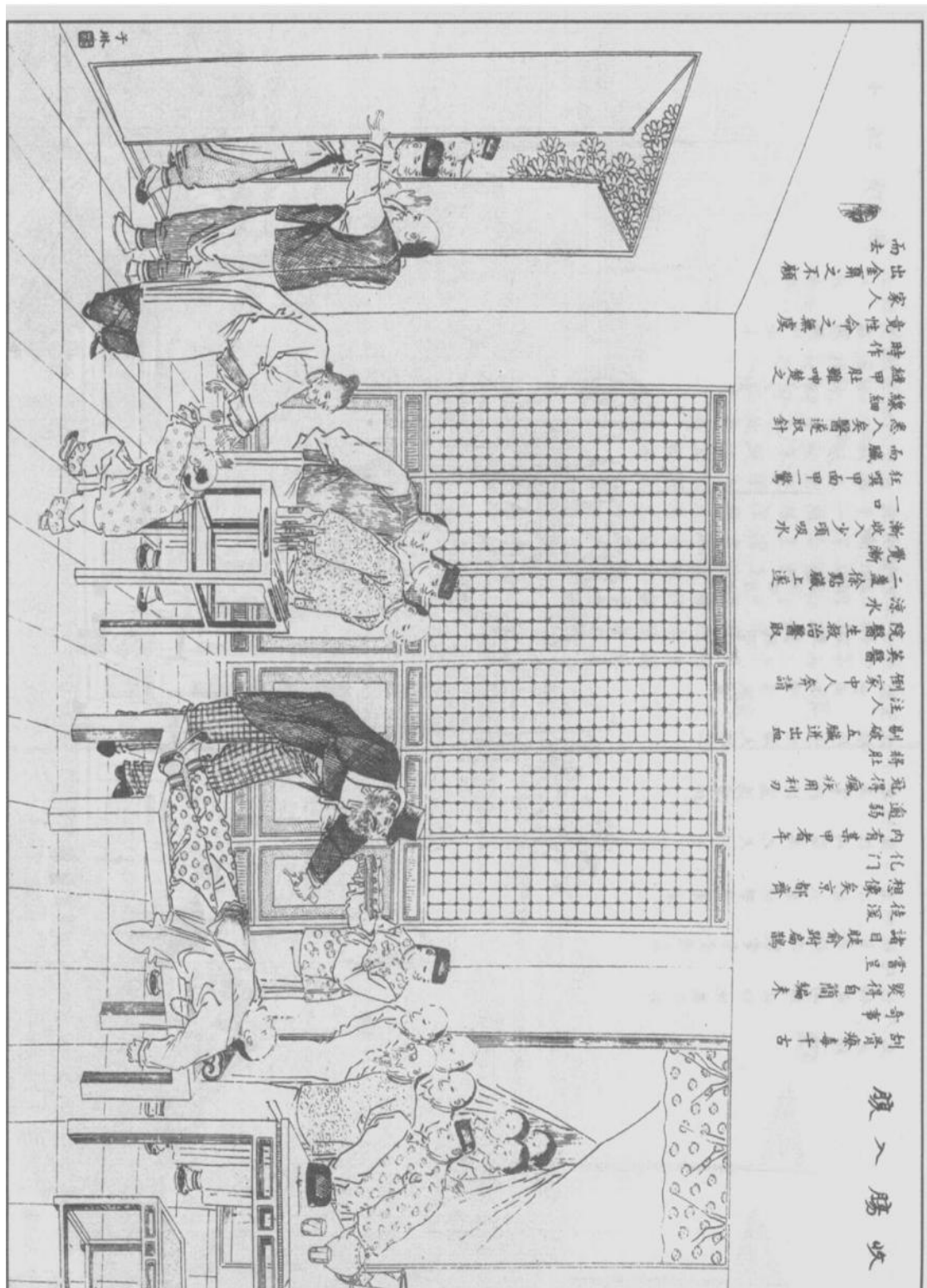


Figure 2.3 “Abdominal Surgery(收腸入腹),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 120.



Figure 2.4 “Miracle Hand (著手成春),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1:196.

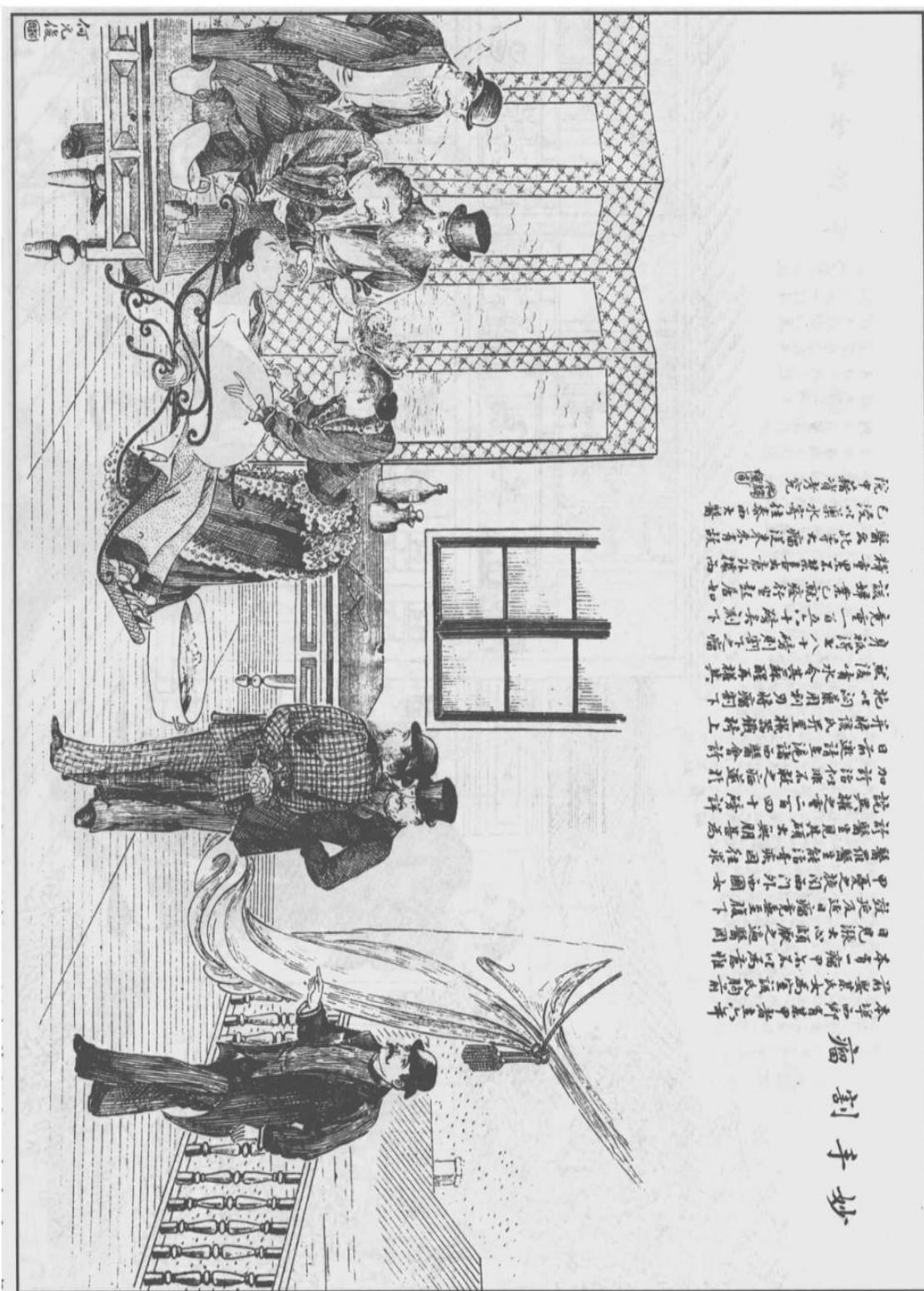


Figure 2.6 “Tumor Removal (妙手割瘤),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 6.

痧

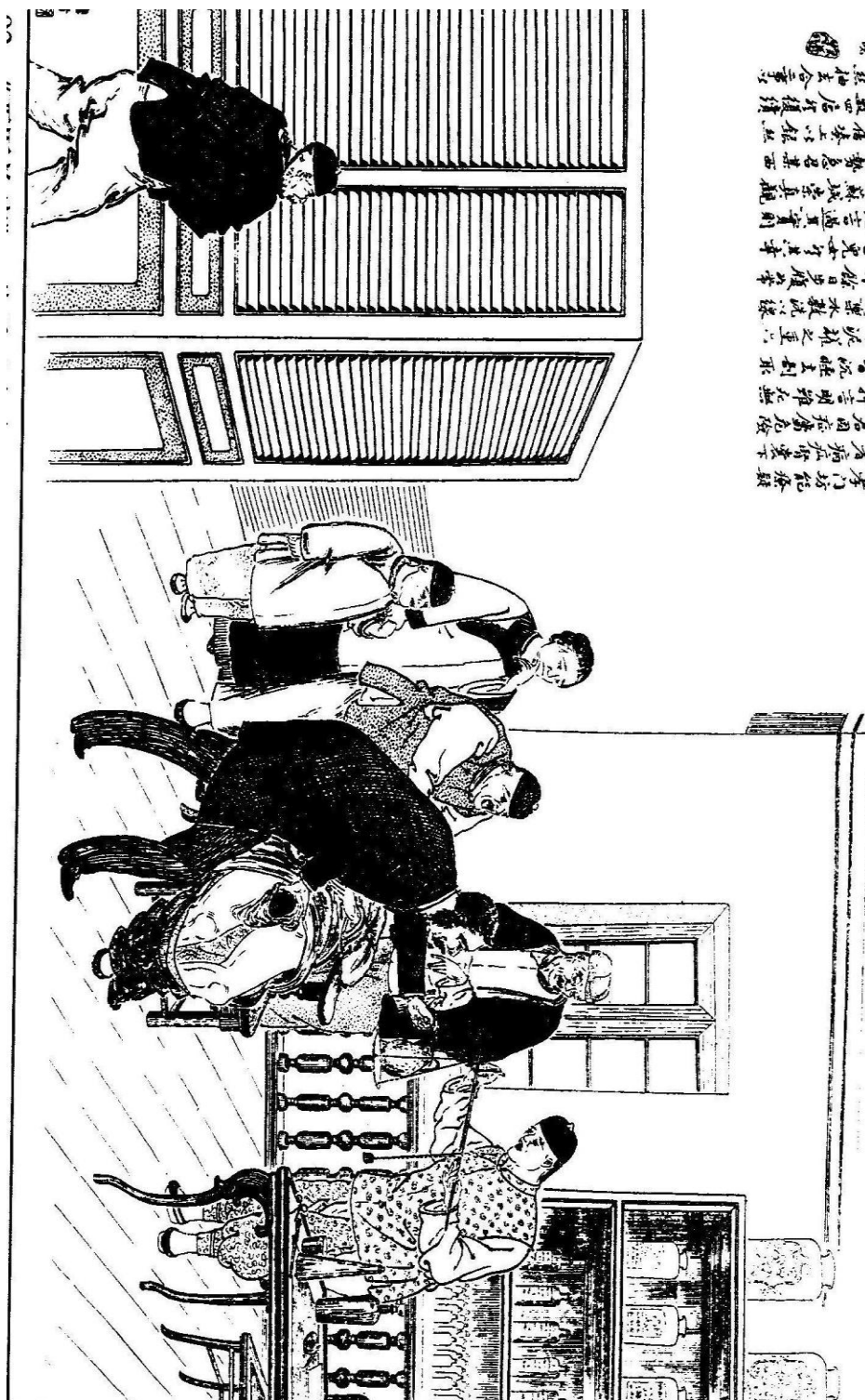


Figure 2.7 “Hernia Surgery(西医治疝),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 192.

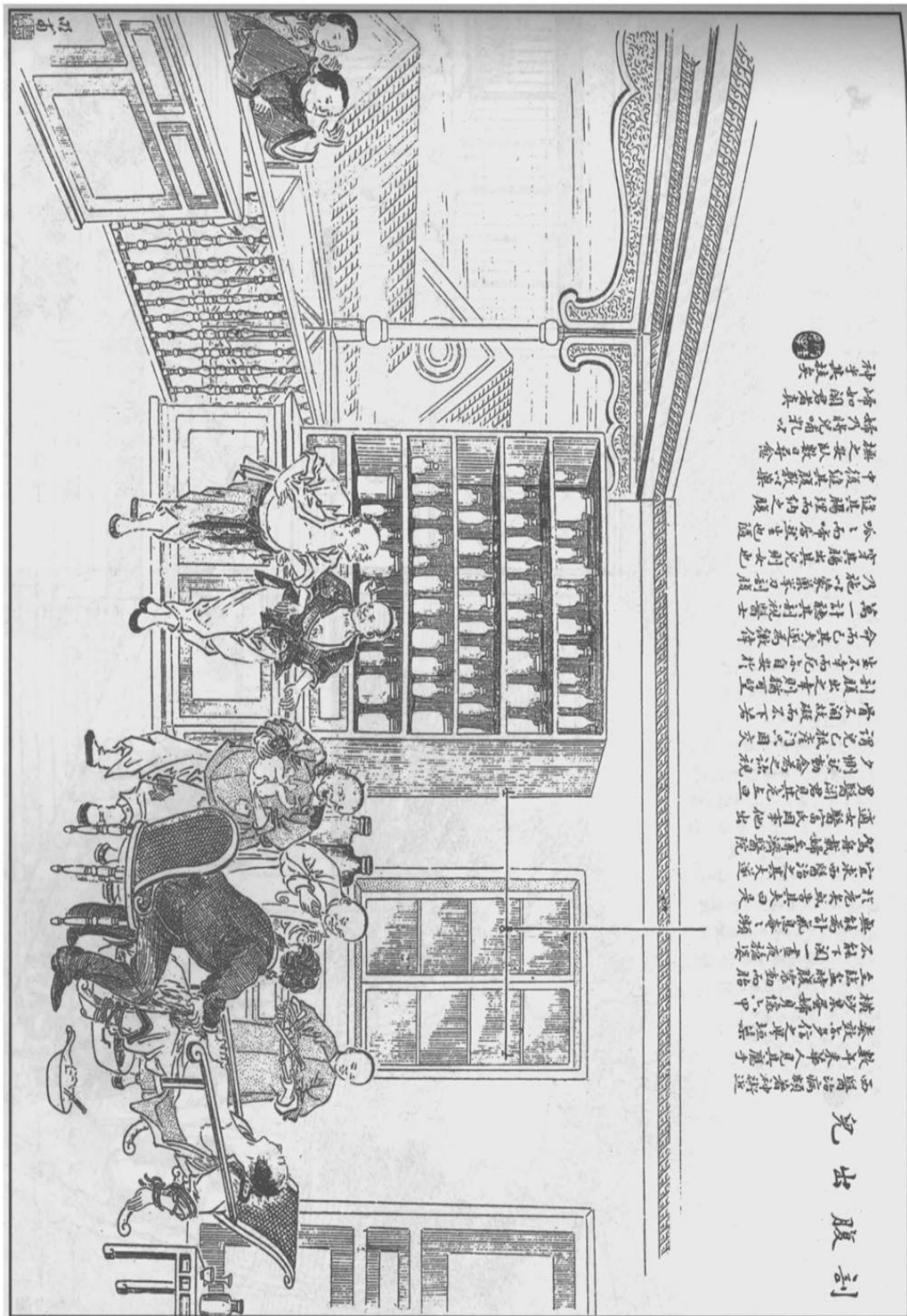


Figure 2.8 “Caesarean Section(剖腹出兒),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 187.



Figure 2.10 “Opium Overdose (吞烟遇救),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 299.



Figure 2.11 “Magic Lens(宝镜新奇),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 21.

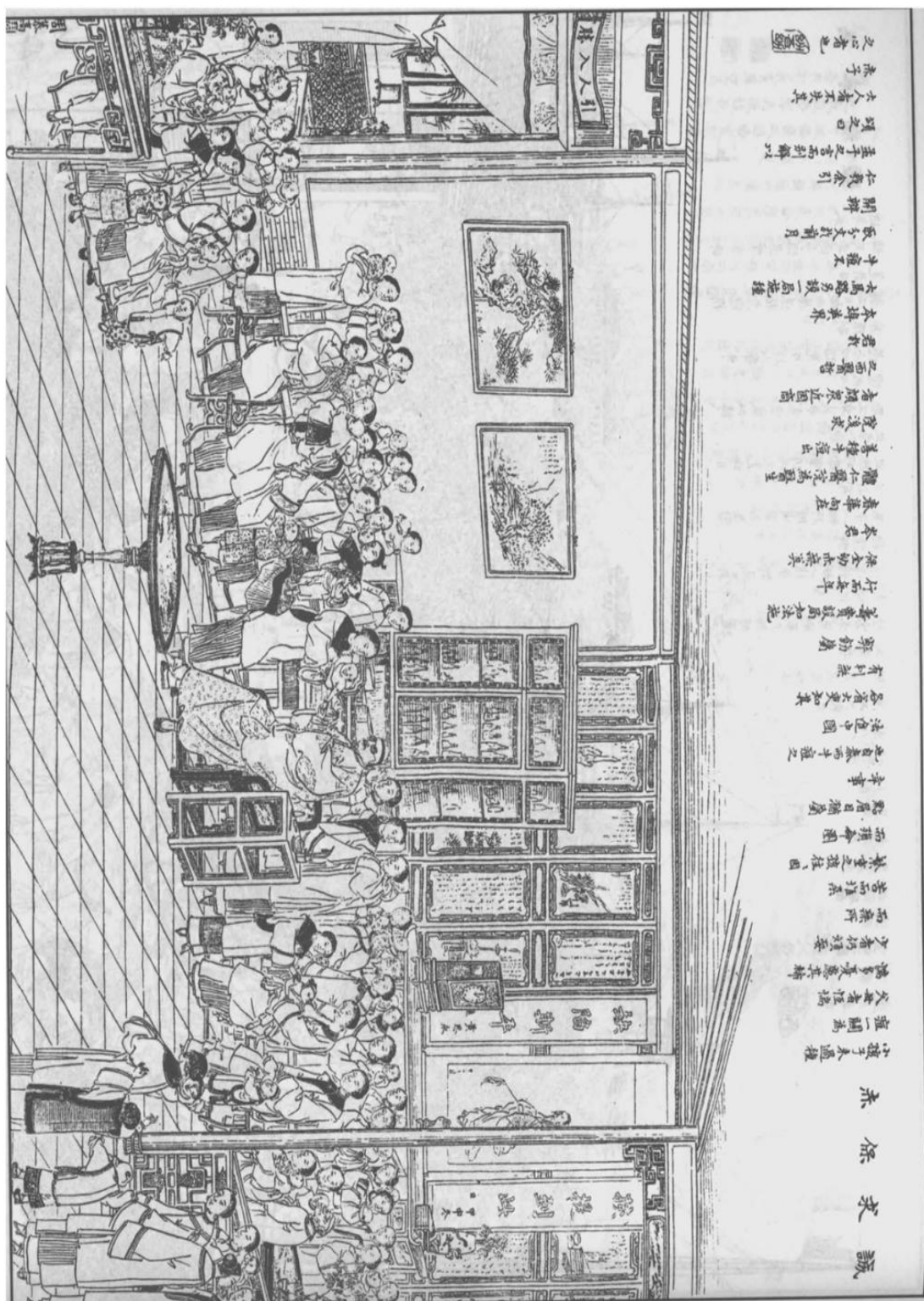
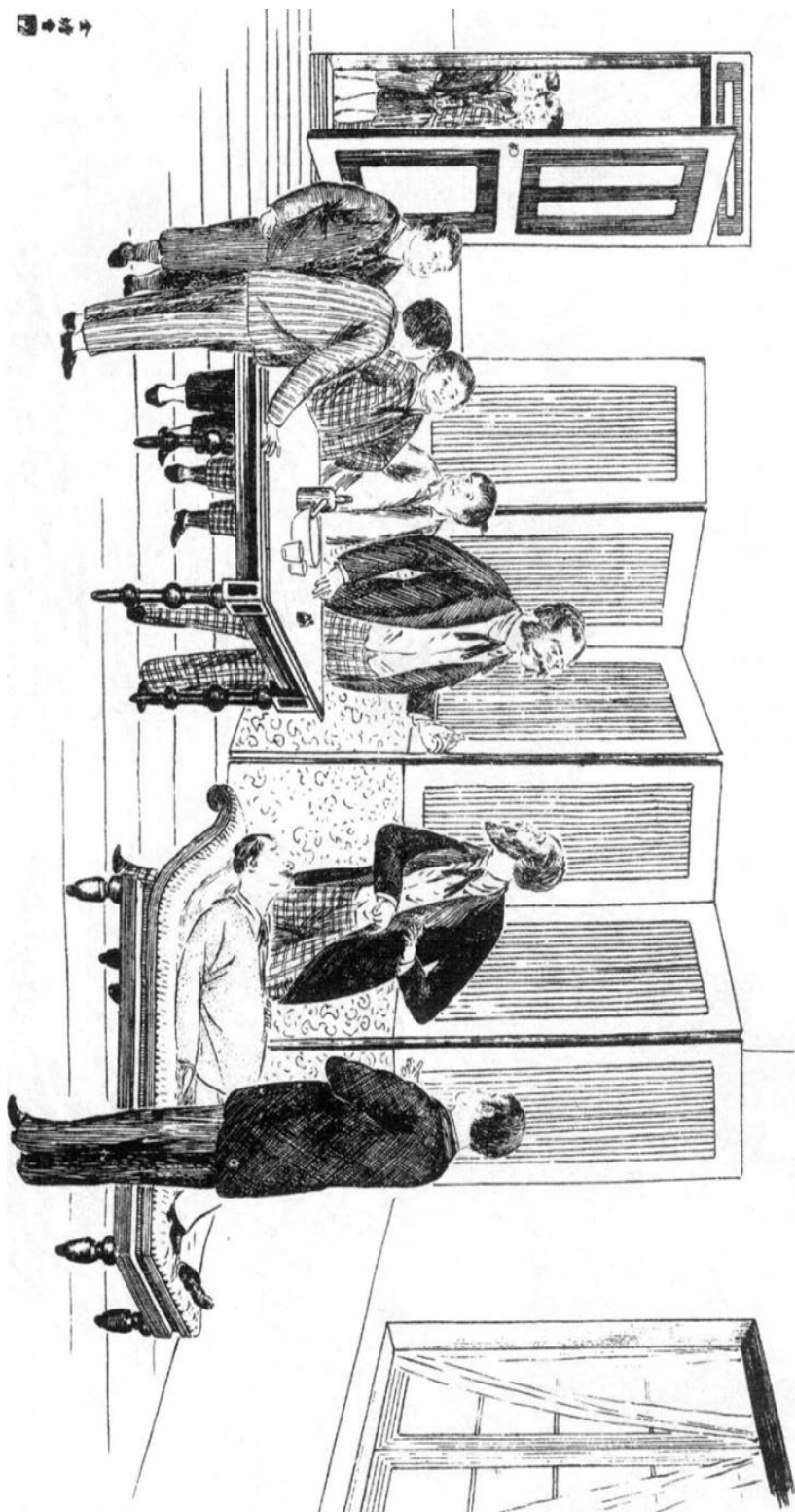


Figure 2.12 “Protect the Young (诚求保赤),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial 1*: 220.

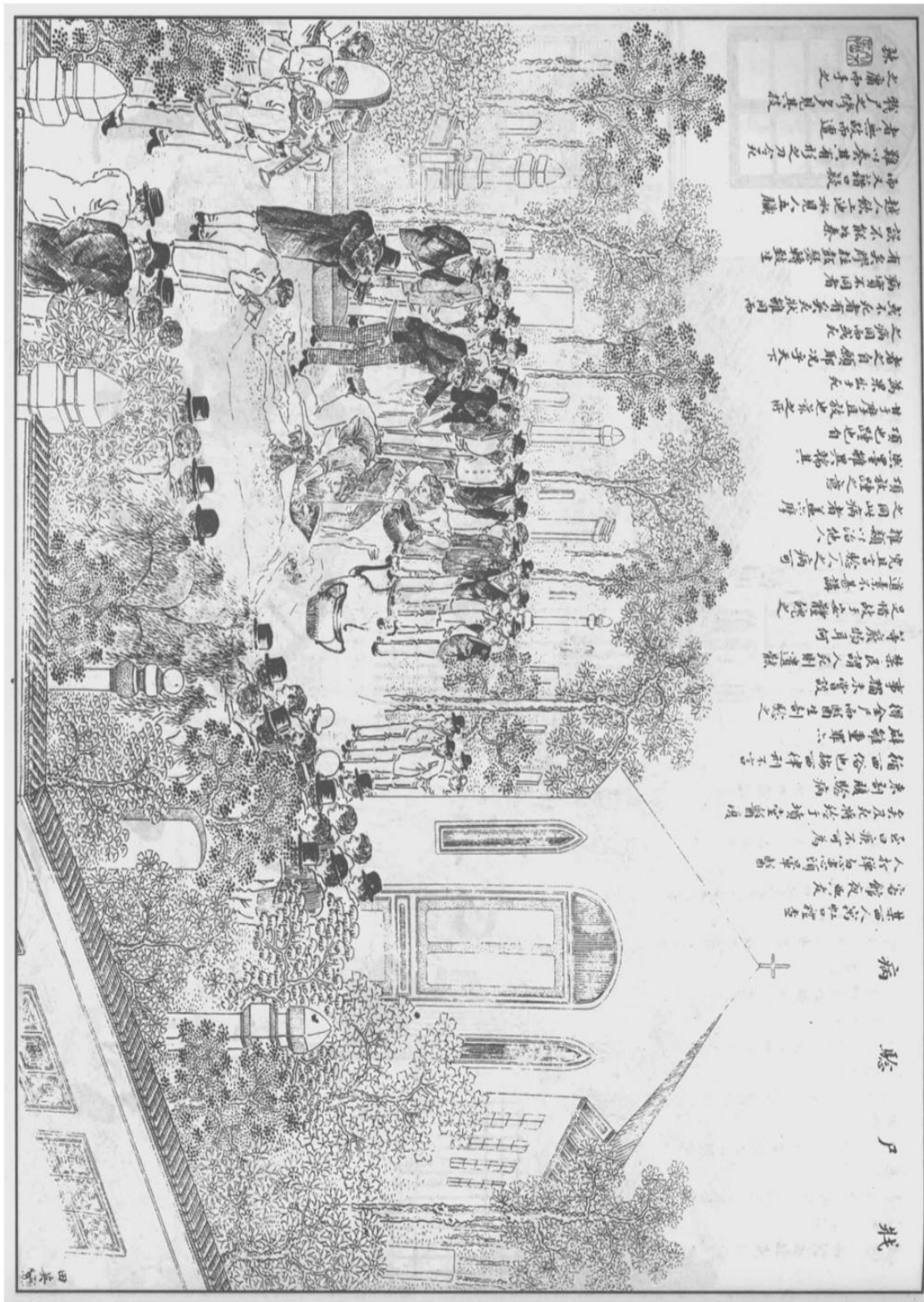


法蘭西醫學博士新同去年廣東
省城某處瘟疫流行經加普家
籍加法同不意醫藥無效地傳
播致人死地地王十二英分可
憐此是將醫藥送回法國廣成
醫三任處主醫院內養疫癘
究何致疫症法法藥藥水傳其
法其尤折光之越南東京建院
首養疫癘者為二十四時製藥
水凡醫法經程重無不廢子
奏效而平未試諸處近人也
日前派上子石往見離法時通
散時我教中不果重時離法
症腹痛甚重常備臥地上新瀾
針光散時以去尤新石打狀狀
程陳中法藥界三時每牌水
僅一匙其主微紅而清淨蓋取
疫癘之毒以輕疫癘時毒攻
毒之症也死後出一小針插入
將中針王石石仍各藥水一掃
以手按之水打過而下墜入
病之症門復更不重幸已皆送
不醒不知病若先生官其奇速
奇大奇速也

奇大奇速也

疫癘奇效

Figure 2.13 “Epidemic Miracle (医疫奇效),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 13: 219.



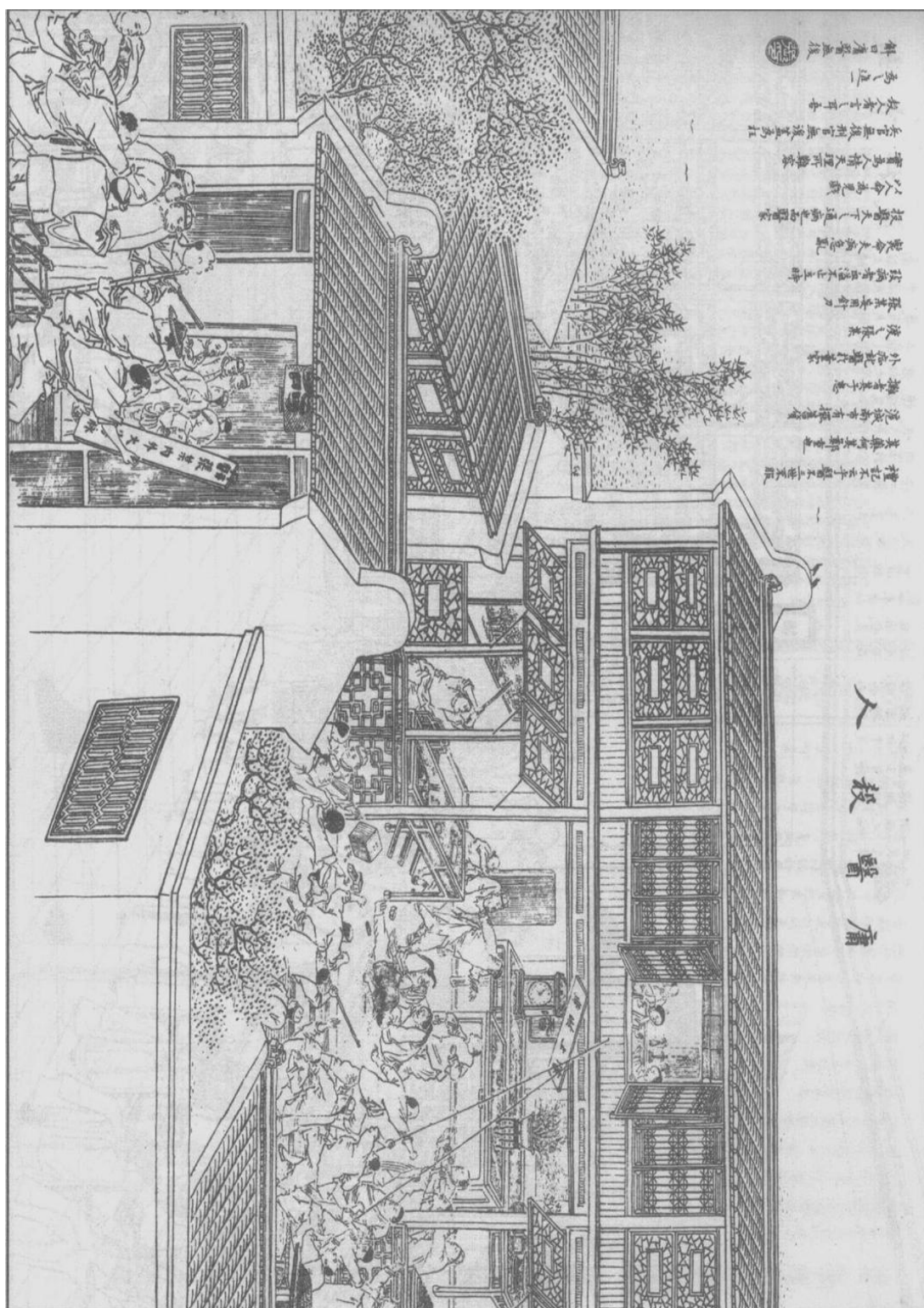


Figure 2.15 “Charlatan Doctor Kills(庸医杀人),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 17.

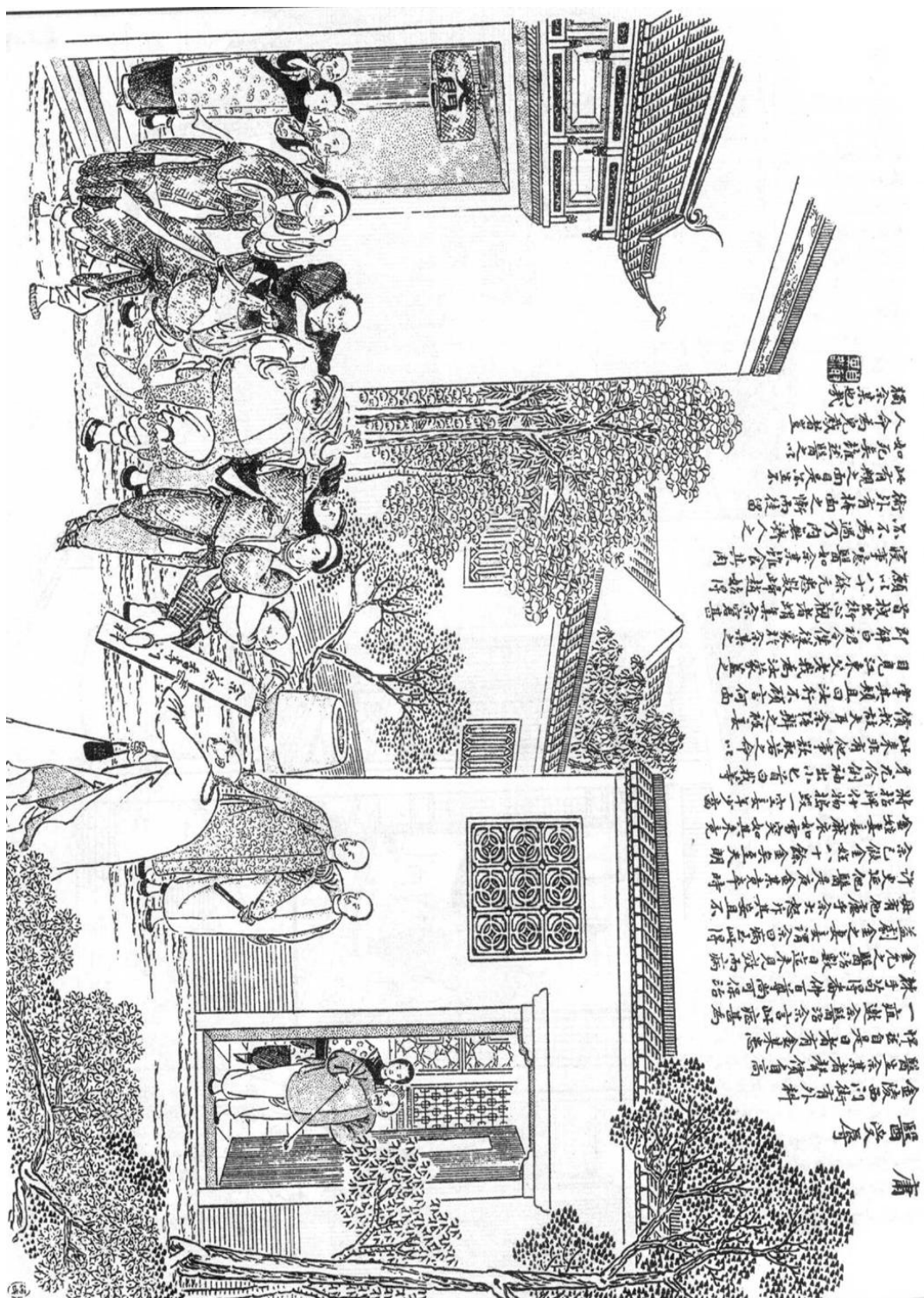


Figure 2.16 “Charlatan Doctor Insulted (庸医受辱),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 8: 134.



Figure 2.17 “Charlatan Doctor Tattooed (庸医刺面),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 11: 307.

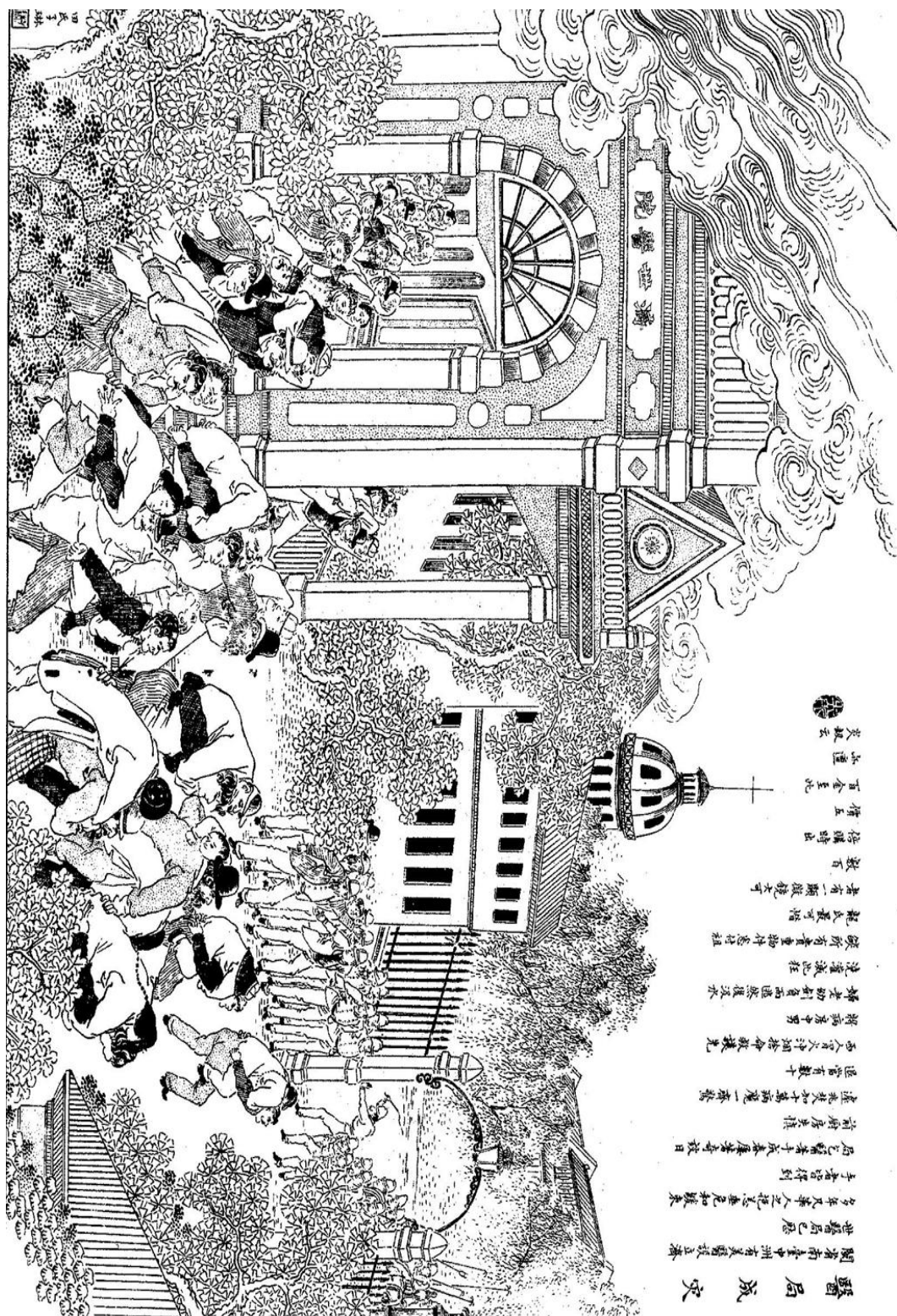


Figure 2.18 "Hospital Disaster (医局成灾)," *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 86.



Figure 2.19 “Corpse Shrinking Technique (缩尸异术),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 141.

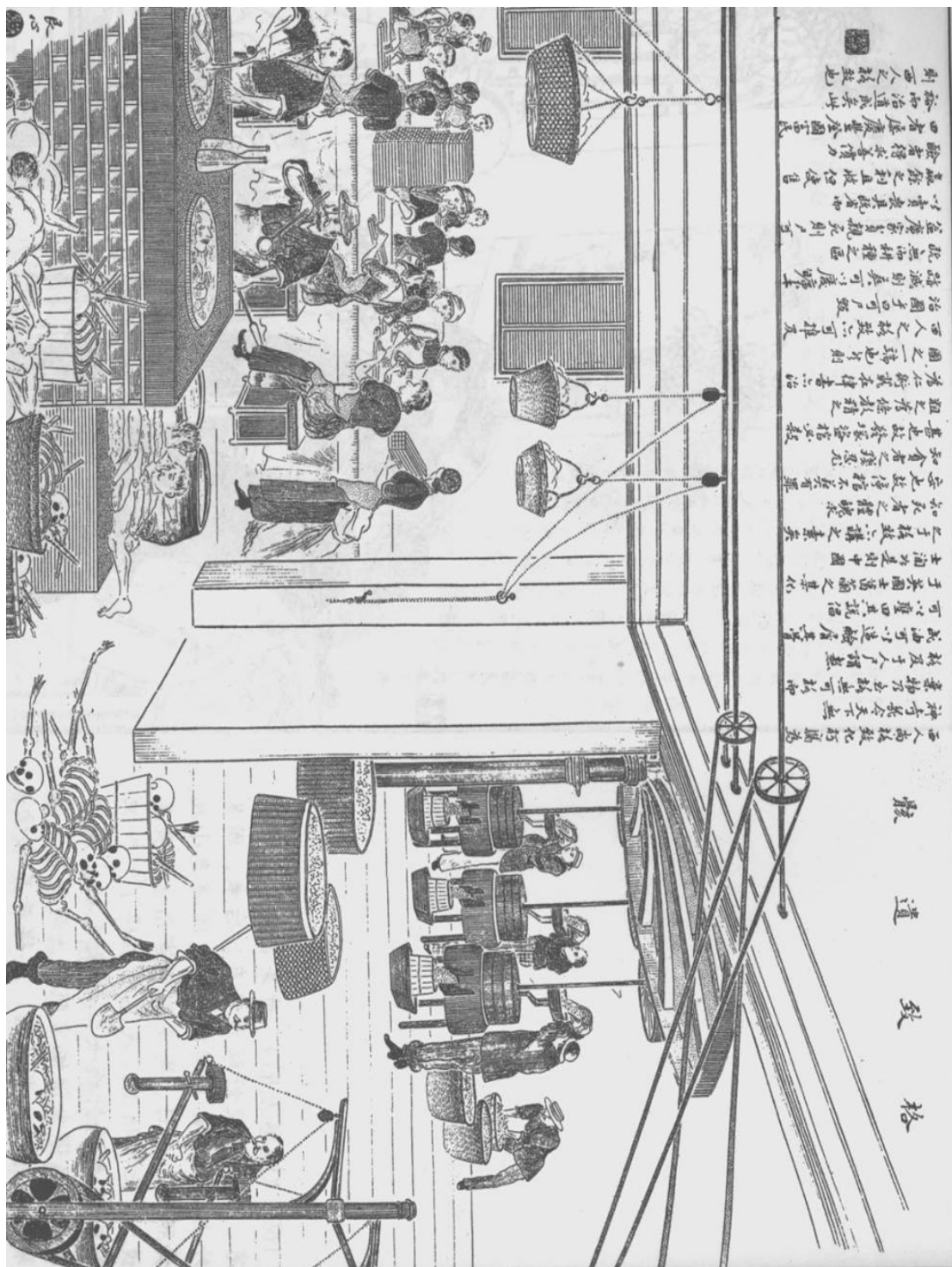


Figure 2.20 “Human Remains Innovation(格致遺骸),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 170.



Figure 2.21 “Suicide(戕尸類志),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 5: 171.

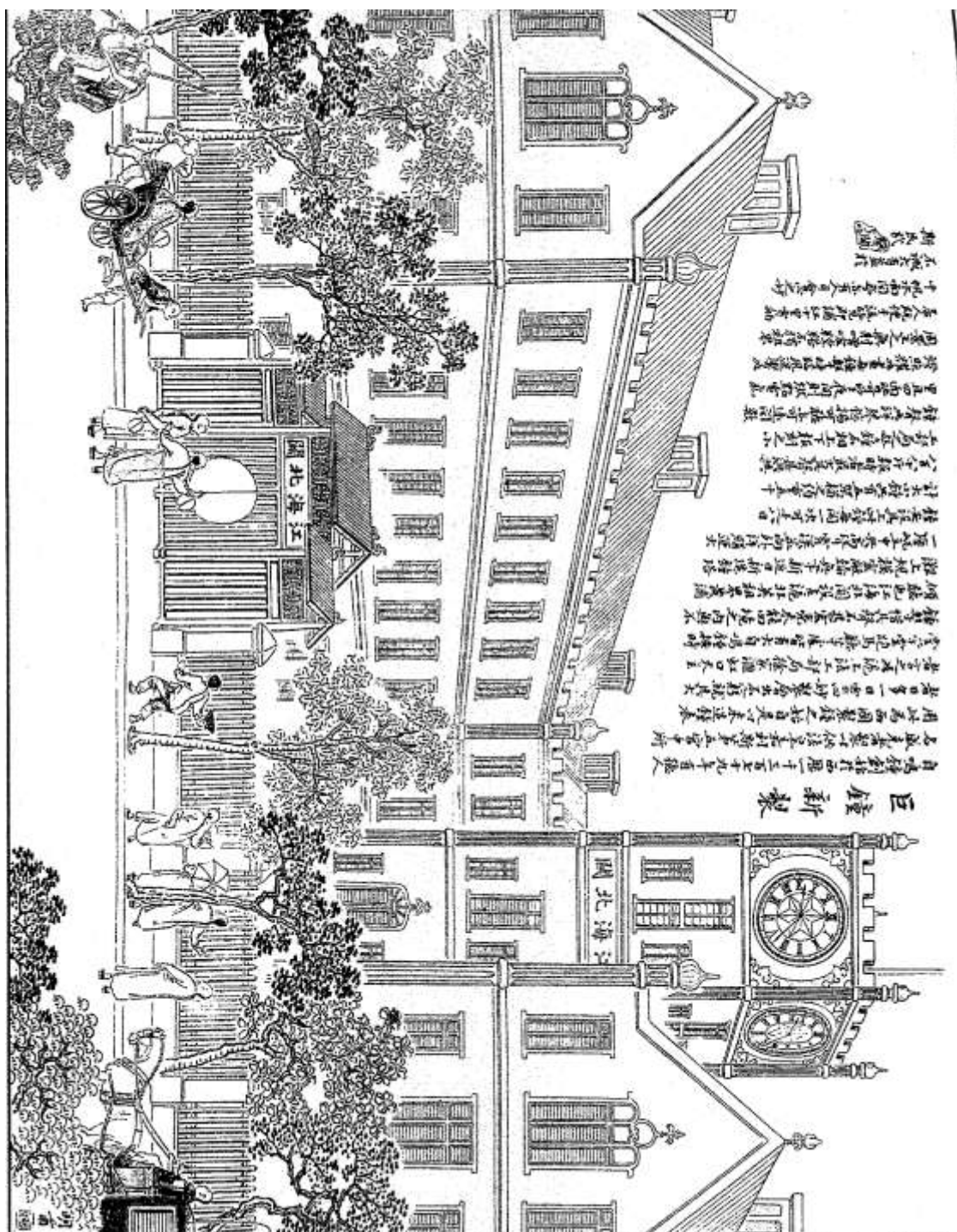


Figure 3.1 “New Clock(巨钟新制),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 209.



花丛恶剧
 娼家妓女一物汚流
 為治道者觀其其
 四尋芳常夫
 美觀斜倚花叢數人
 媚畢低垂嬌
 煙量最茂小生願
 惟佳表異而
 入芝蘭室者大平願
 成亦實銅臭
 過人為其玩弄羞惡
 使聖臭味難
 拉身人未以實故見
 憐子妓街之
 而不按聖可又玉得
 一白磁瓶置
 案頭如教語遺之
 而去視其理
 而封鎖是問外有縱清
 知為何家
 清也匿之以世人
 道故有意中
 人來一燈對吐納
 煙霞故遂以
 底家所遠以
 故其理即有
 無義時時跳躍而出
 猛吃一番理
 舊地時淫淫轉
 故管束四共
 漢計也子時森然
 悉或集于身
 或樓于西由凡而乘
 而柳山喉而
 食而耗機渴之甚爾
 虛管是始就
 與子基之所勤實以
 報恨也而所
 所意中人者以
 寄為遠身大
 娼妓也而
 下等說

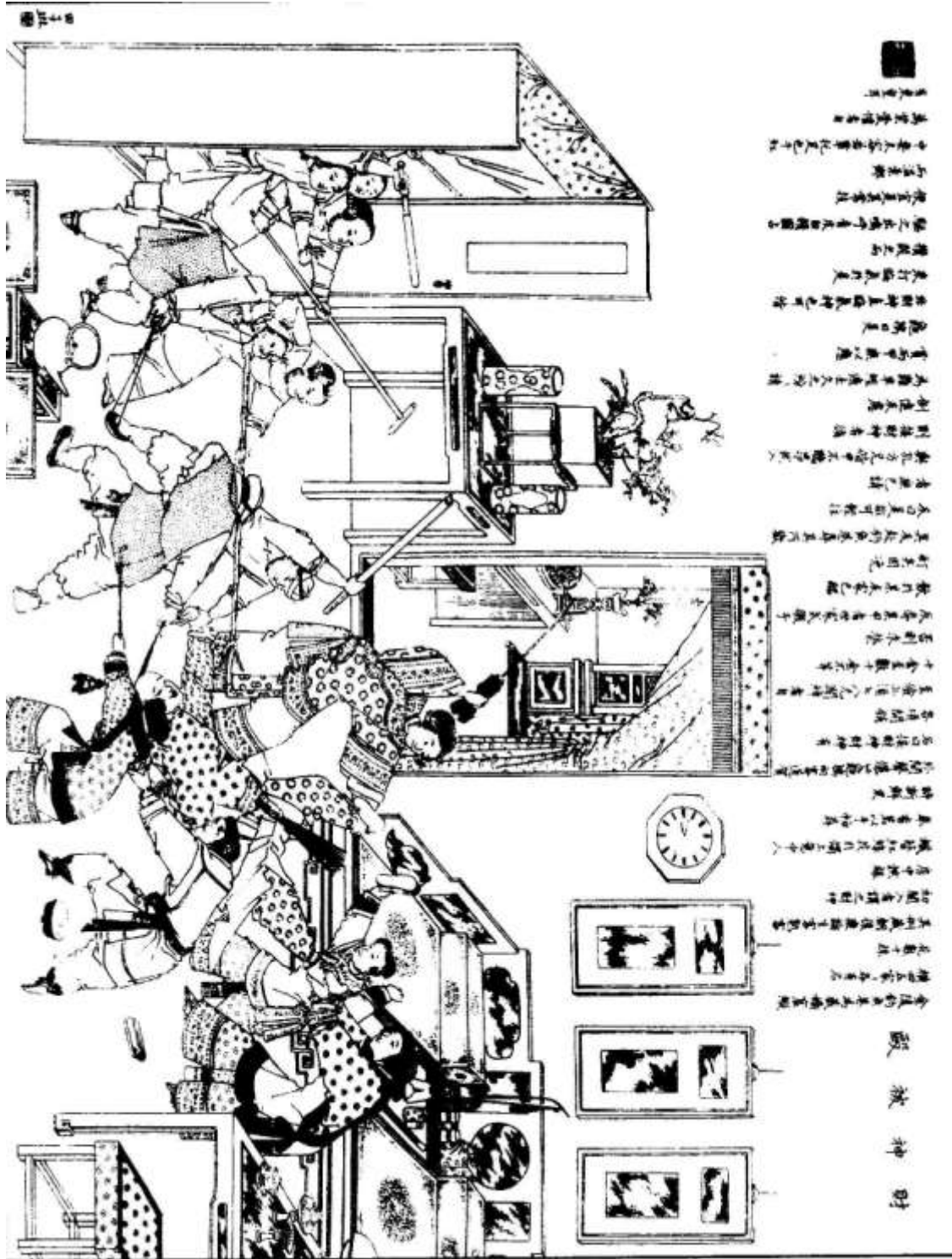


Figure 3.3 "Fortune God Beaten (财神被毆)," *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 301

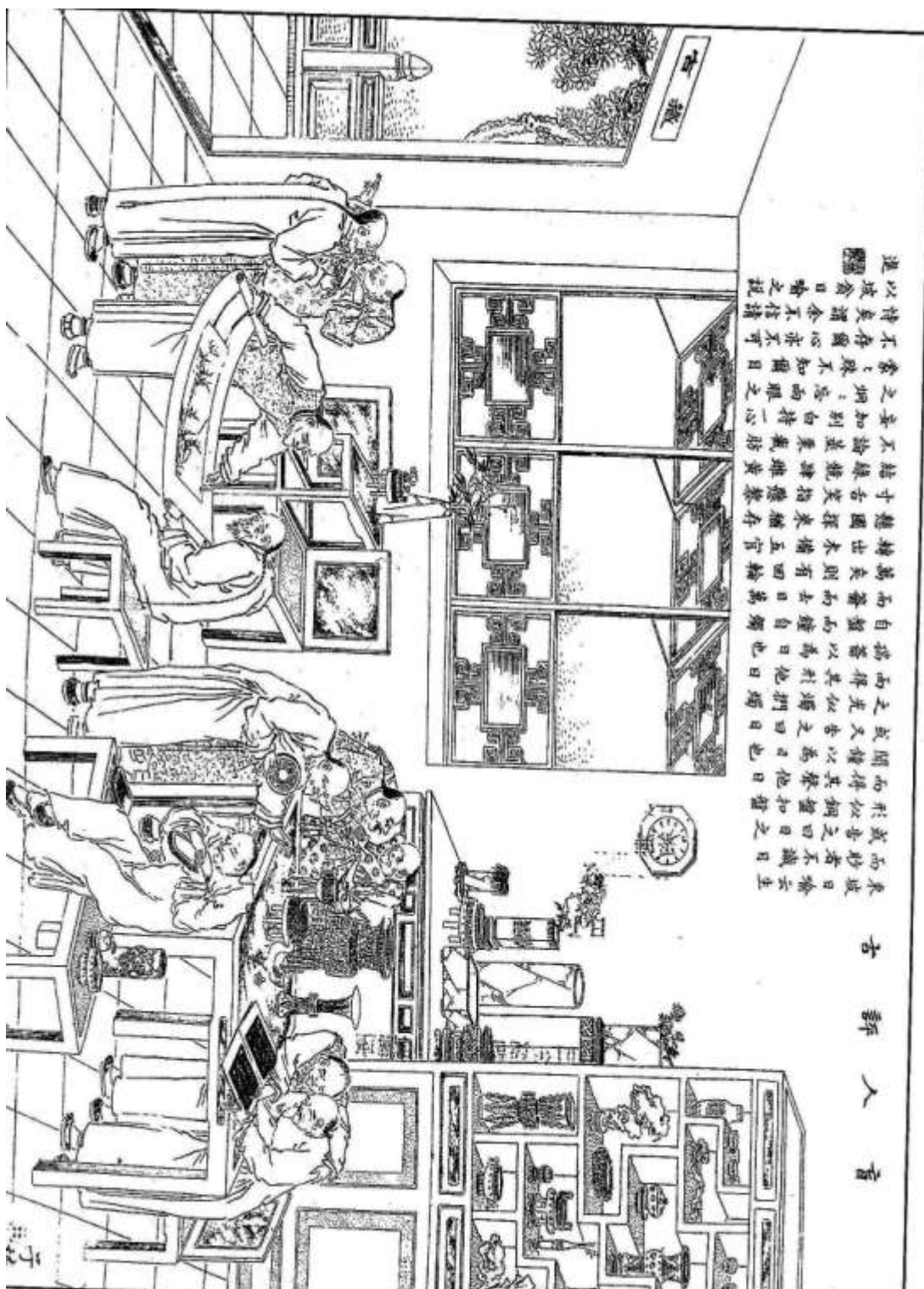


Figure 3.5 “Blind Men Studying History(盲人评古),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 146

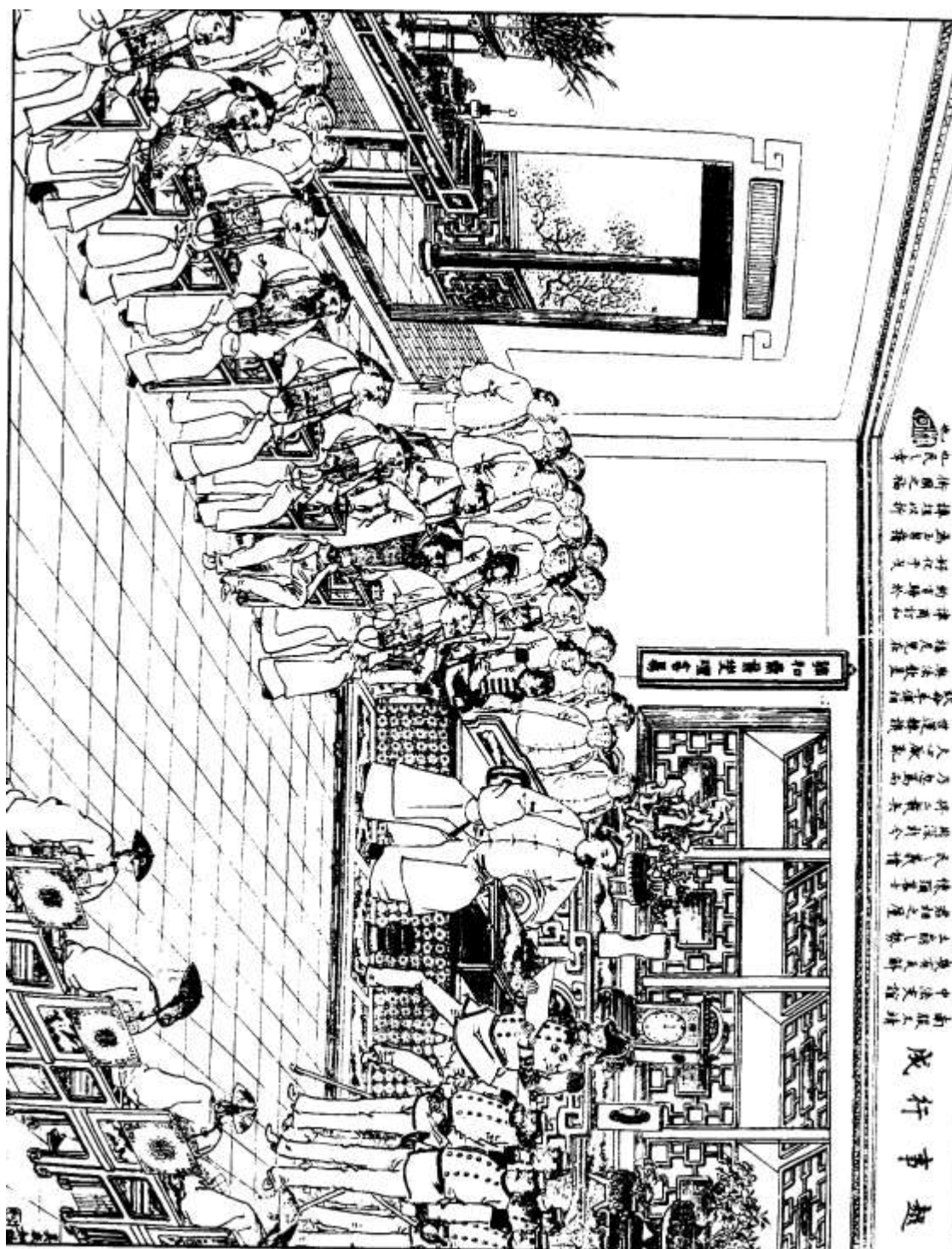


Figure 3.6 “Vietnamese Affairs 越事行成*Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1:18.

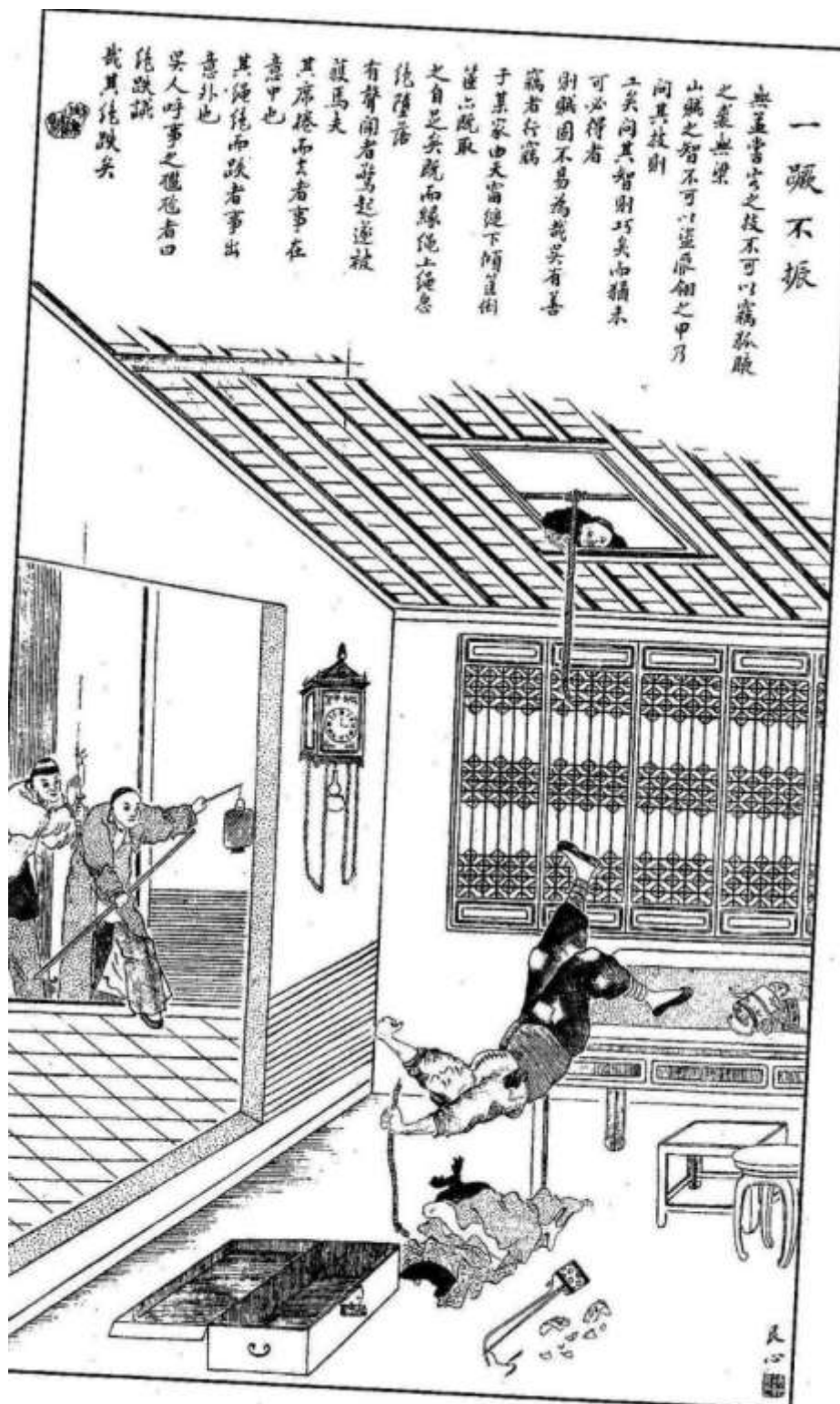


Figure 3.7 “Fall (一蹶不振),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 258.

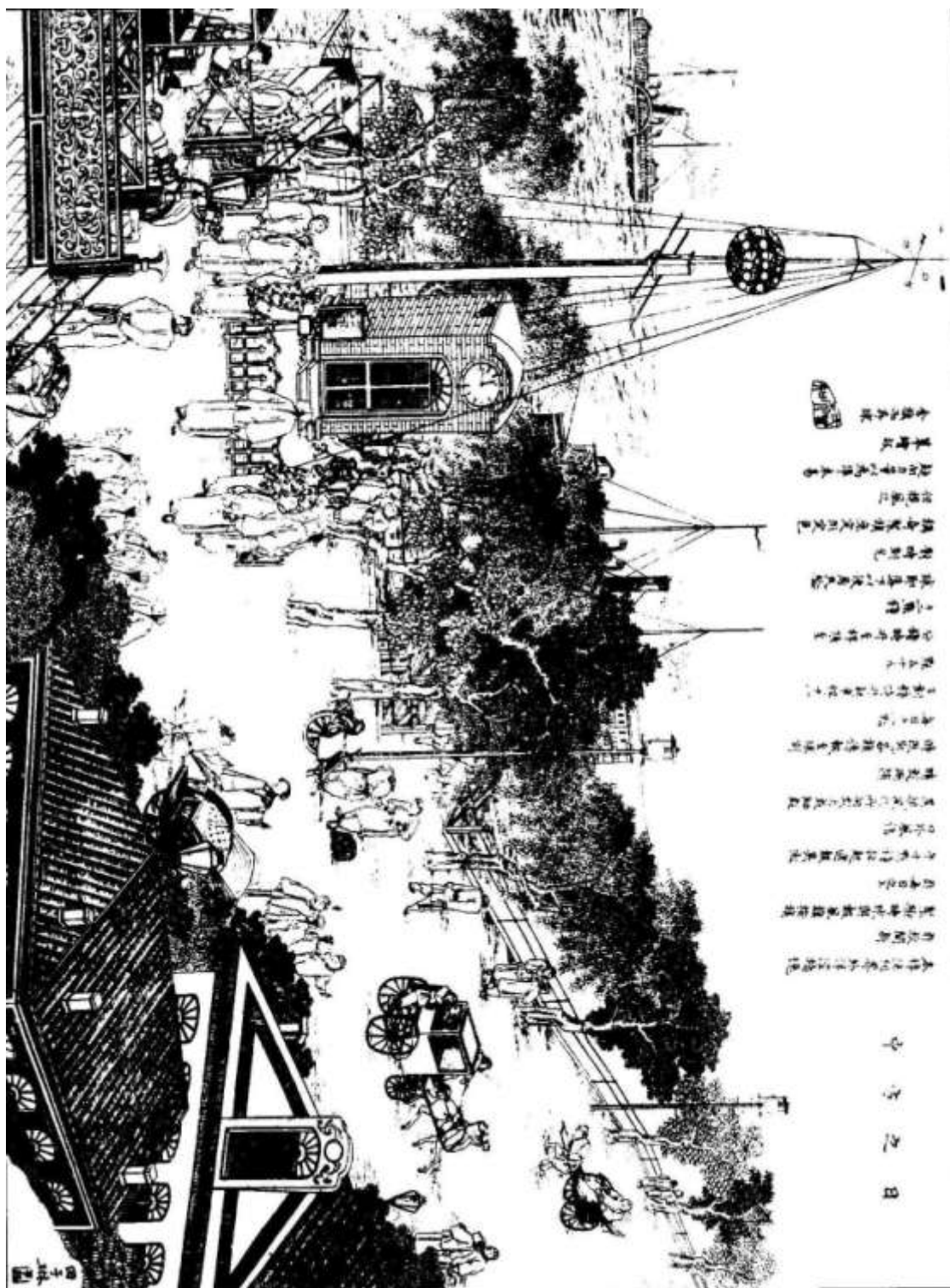


Figure 3.8 “The Sun at Noon (日之方中),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 189.

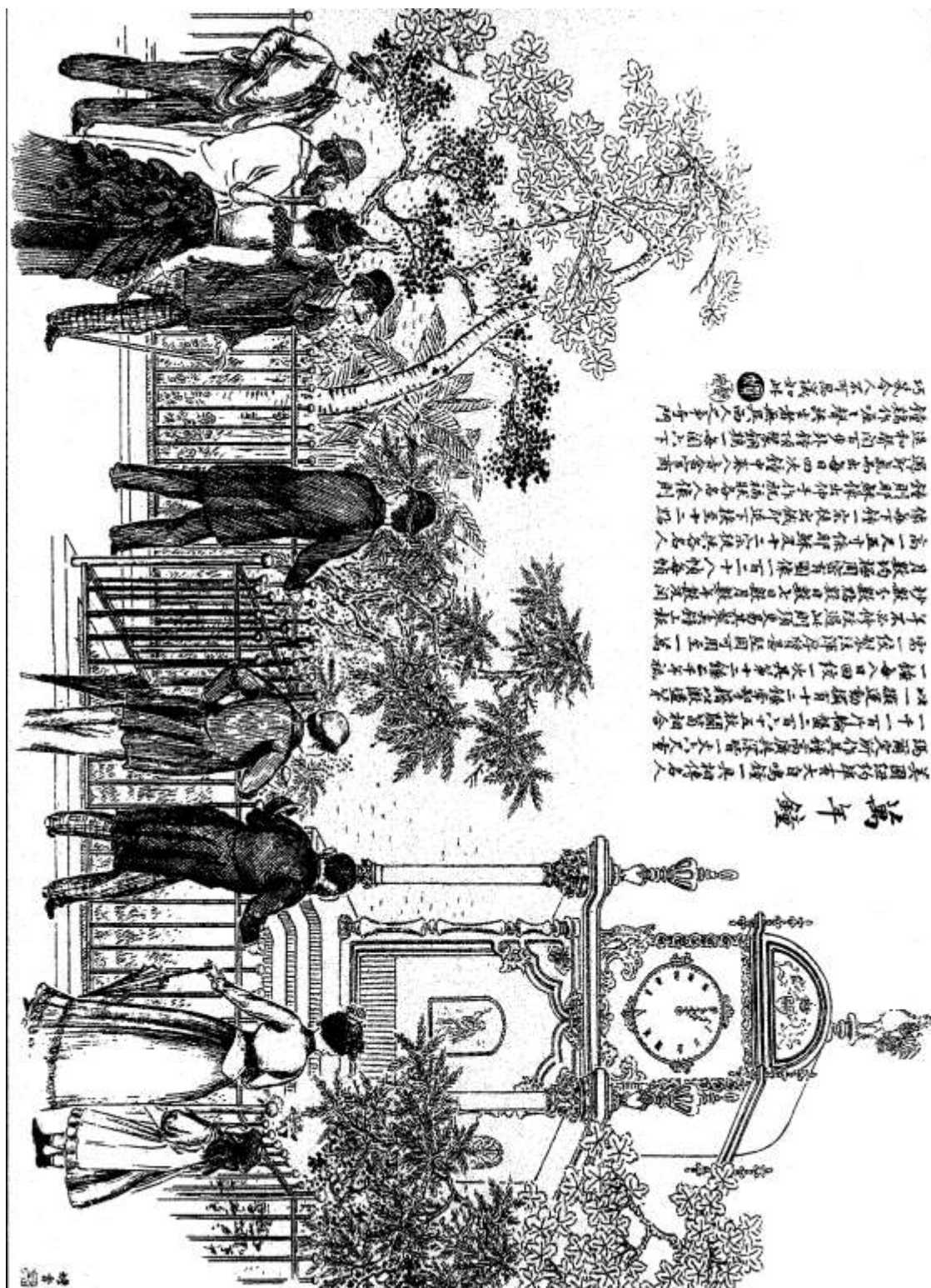


Figure 3.9 “Ten Thousand Year Clock (万年钟),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 11: 119.

電表巧製

美國著名電匠愛留生心電手敏
冠陀摩倫廷更別出心裁製成一
表實於俄京大會見者皆稱奇
此表名曰言表狀似人面五官齊備
內藏傳聲機器每點鐘及半點鐘一
刻鐘時即見表面。開唇動口露白
內出宛若人言詳報時刻凡人欲早
起預撥暗機對定時刻置之牀邊屆
時表即呼曰可起矣可起矣一連數
十聲不止有表若迷亦可見心之愈
用而愈巧機之愈出而愈奇矣惜此
鐘表中之別開生面者哉

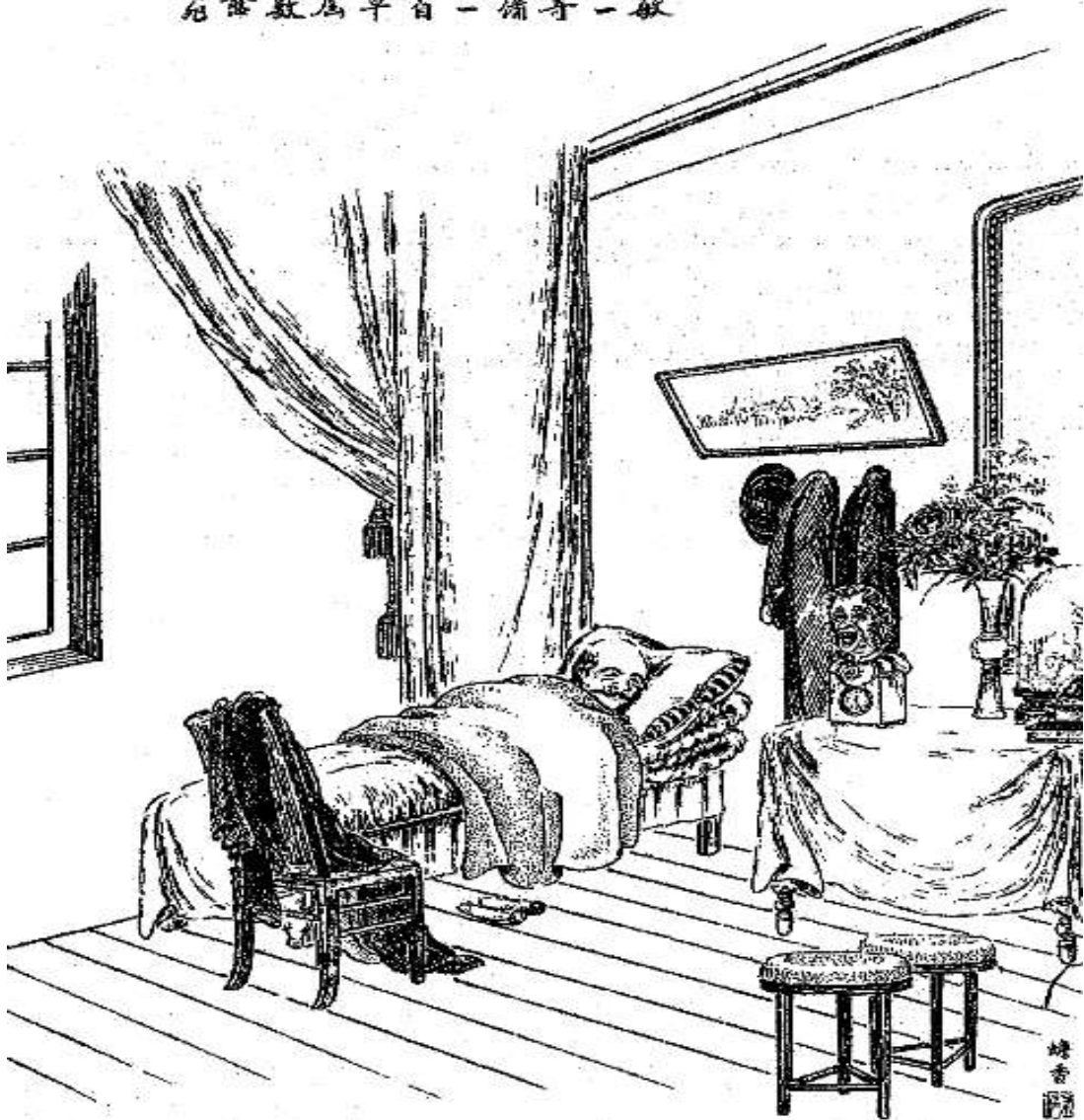


Figure 3.10 “Ingeniously Made Clock (电表巧制),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 28.

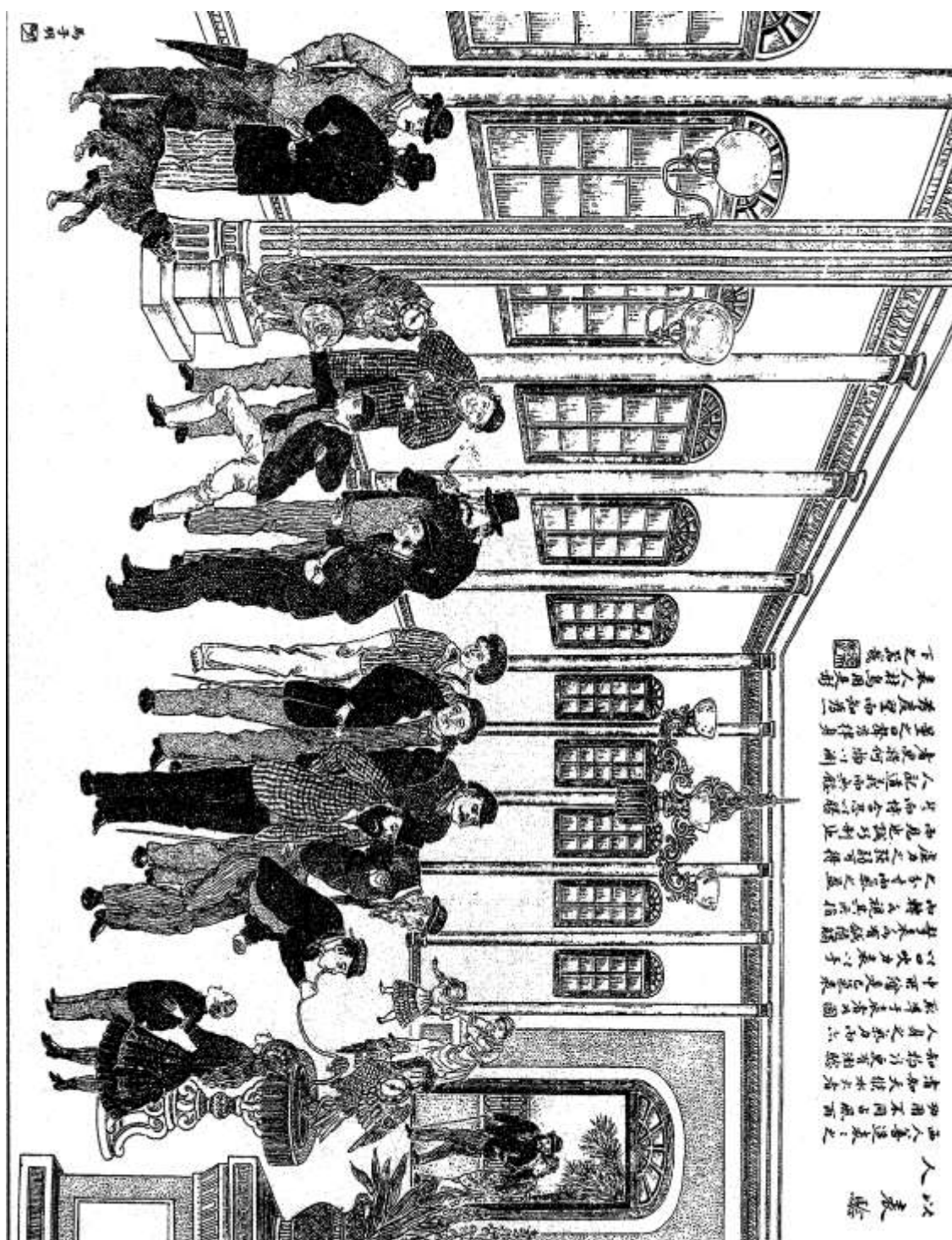


Figure 3.11 “Use Meter to Measure Integrity (以表验人),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 63.

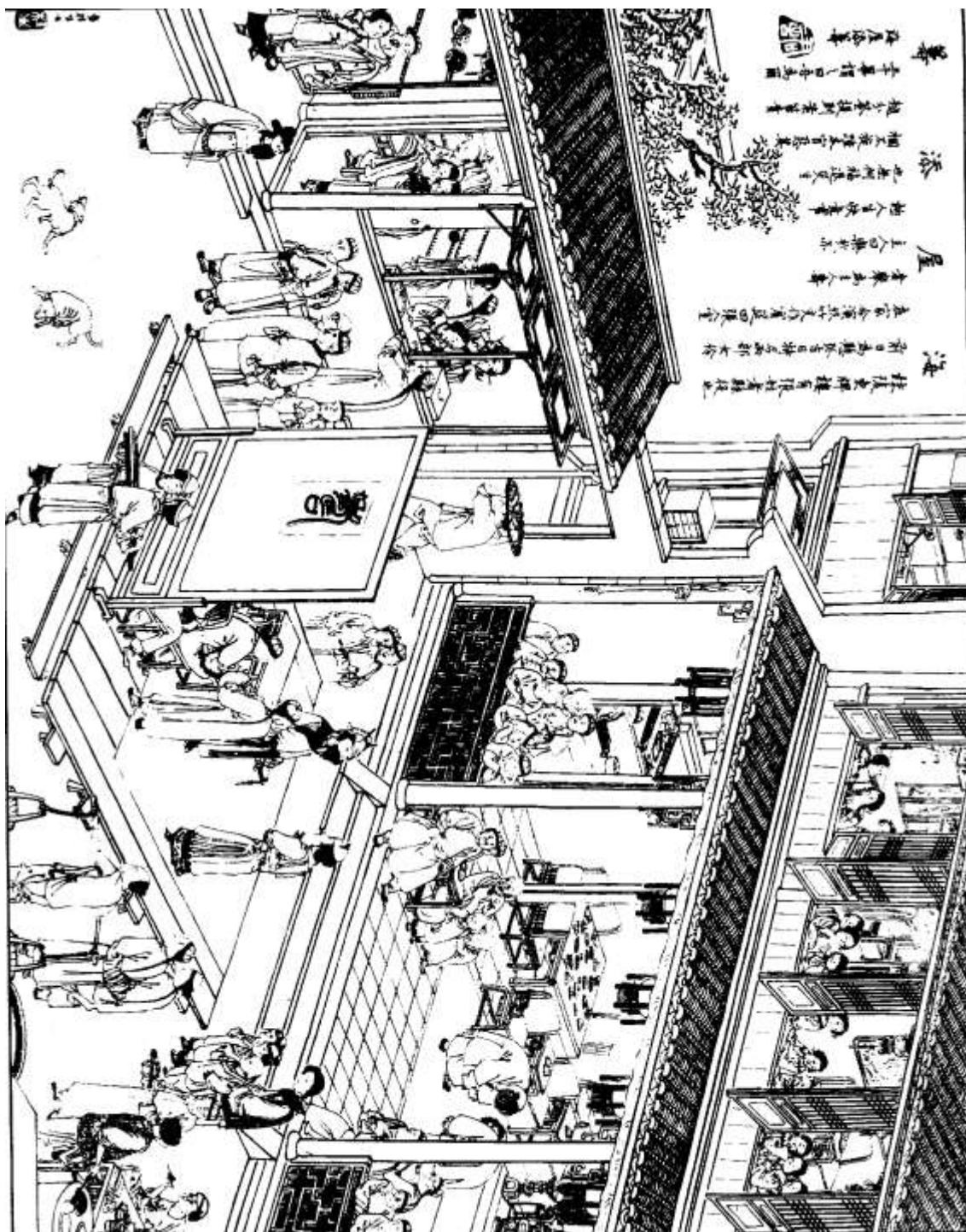


Figure 3.12 “Banquet (海屋添筹),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 23.

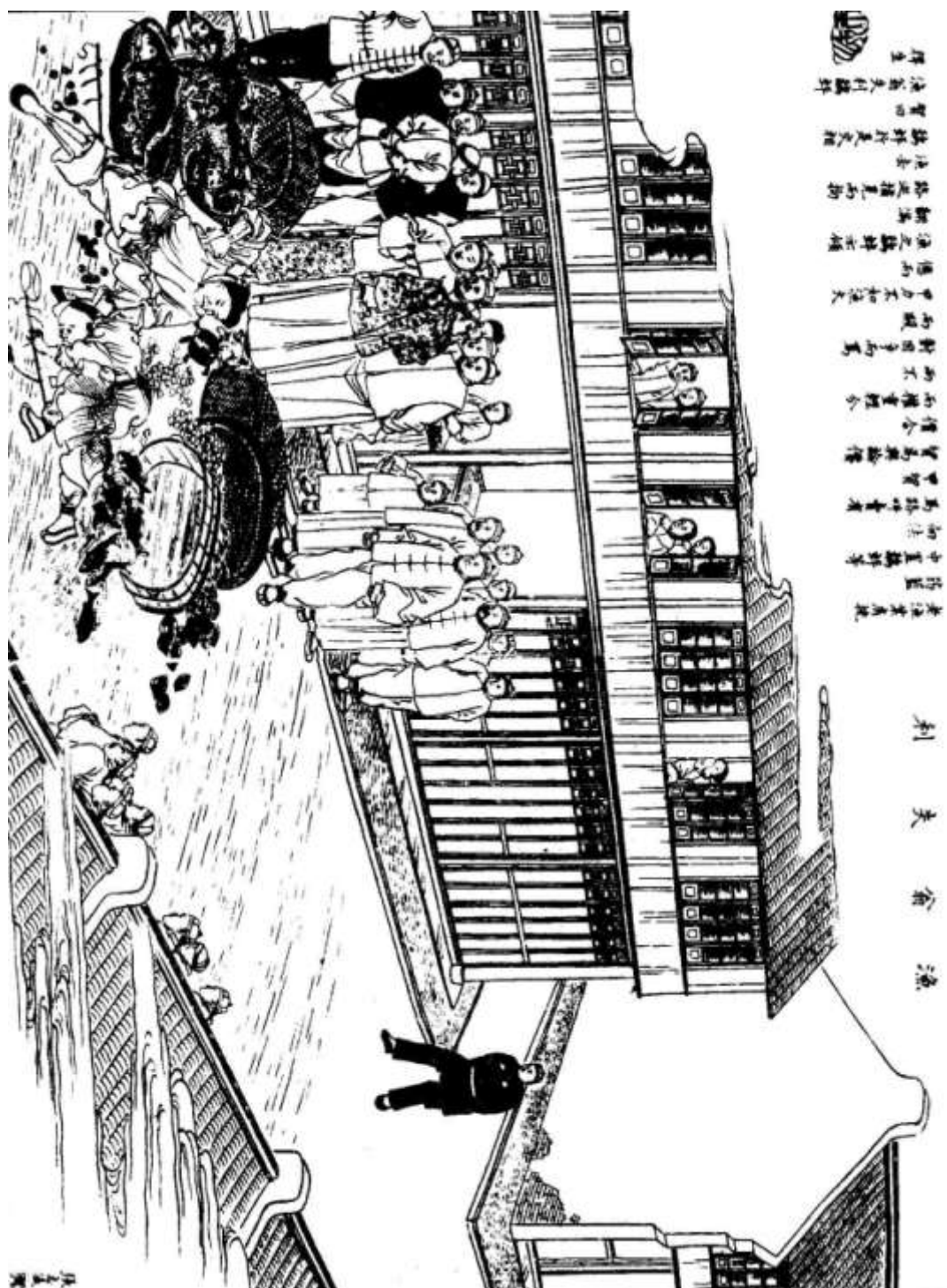


Figure 3.13 “Fisherman’s loss (漁翁失利),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 260.

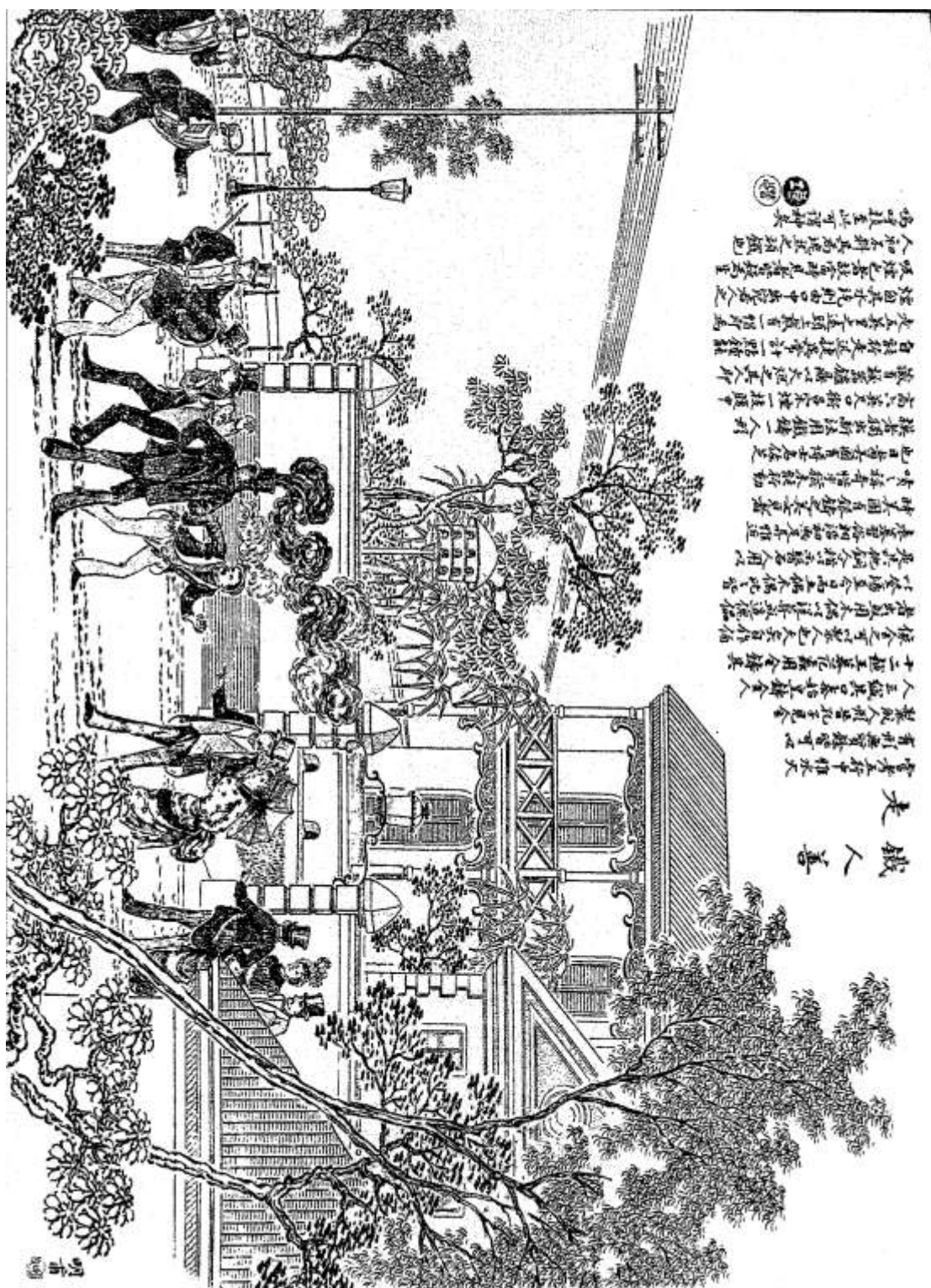


Figure 3.14 “Walking Iron Man(铁人善走),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 157.



Figure 3.15 “Flying Boat (飞舟穷北),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 245.



Figure 3.16 “New Balloon (新样气球),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 4.

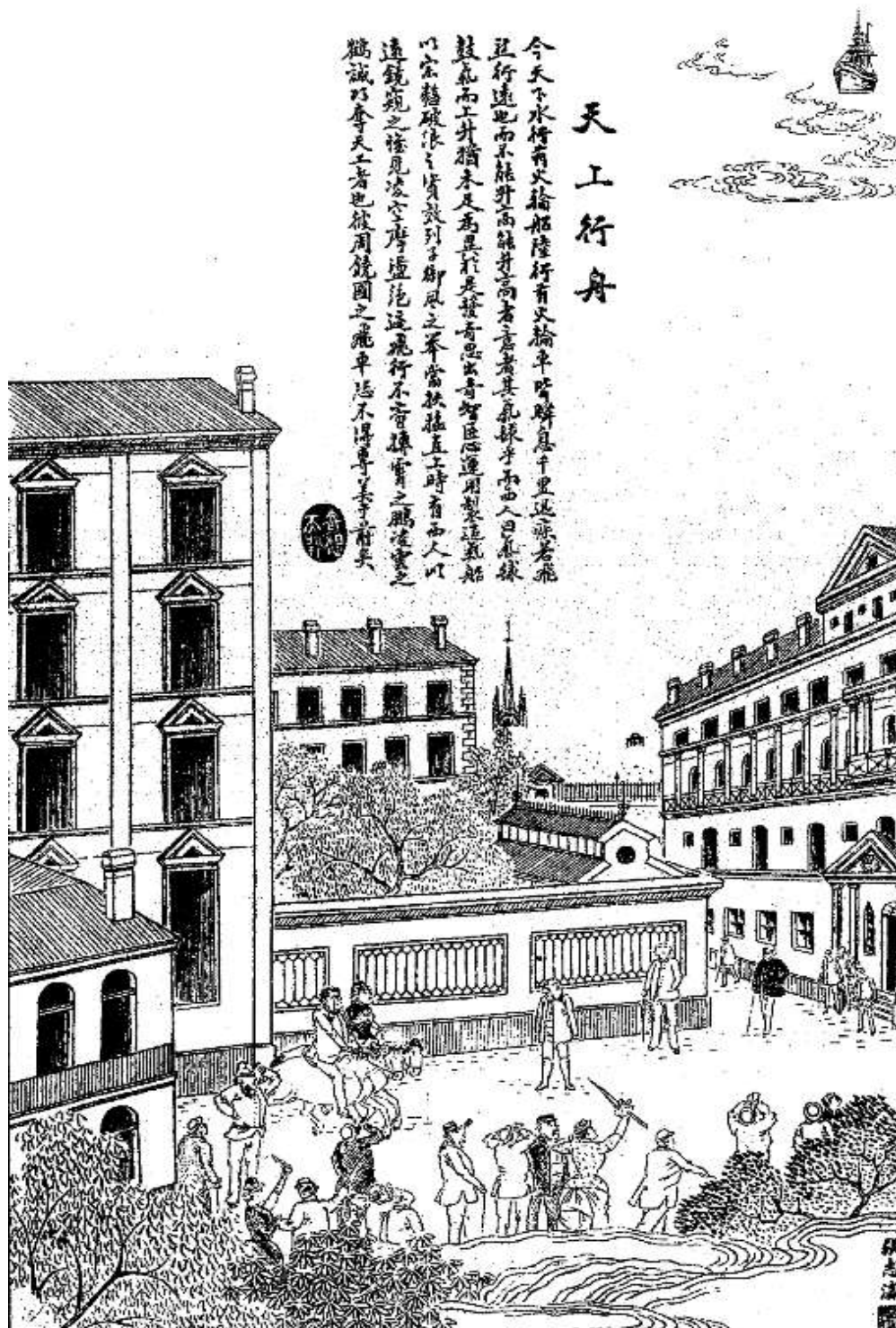


Figure 3.17 “Boat Sailing in Air (天上行舟),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 7:279.

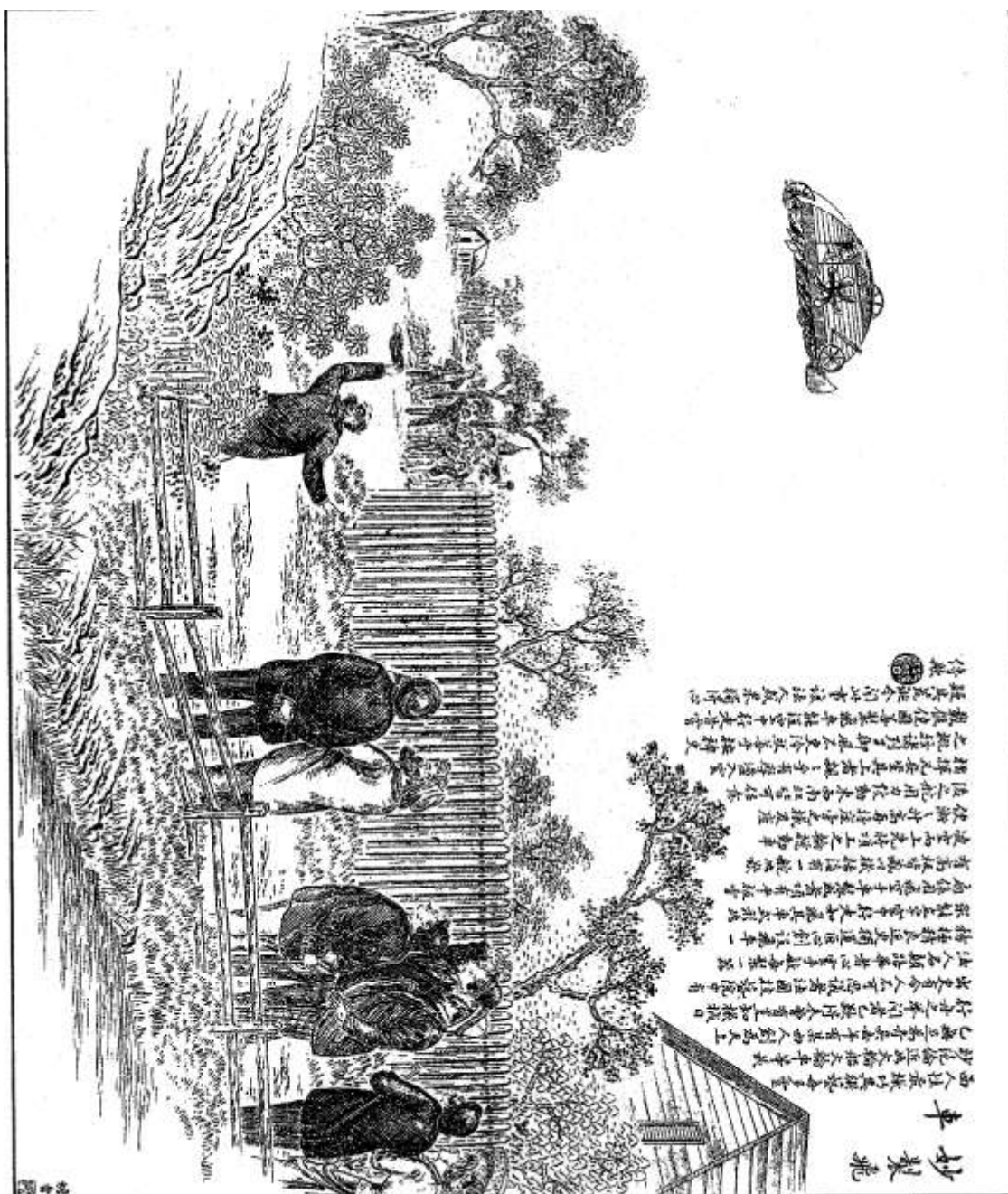


Figure 3.18 “Ingenious Flying Vehicle (妙制飞车),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 83.

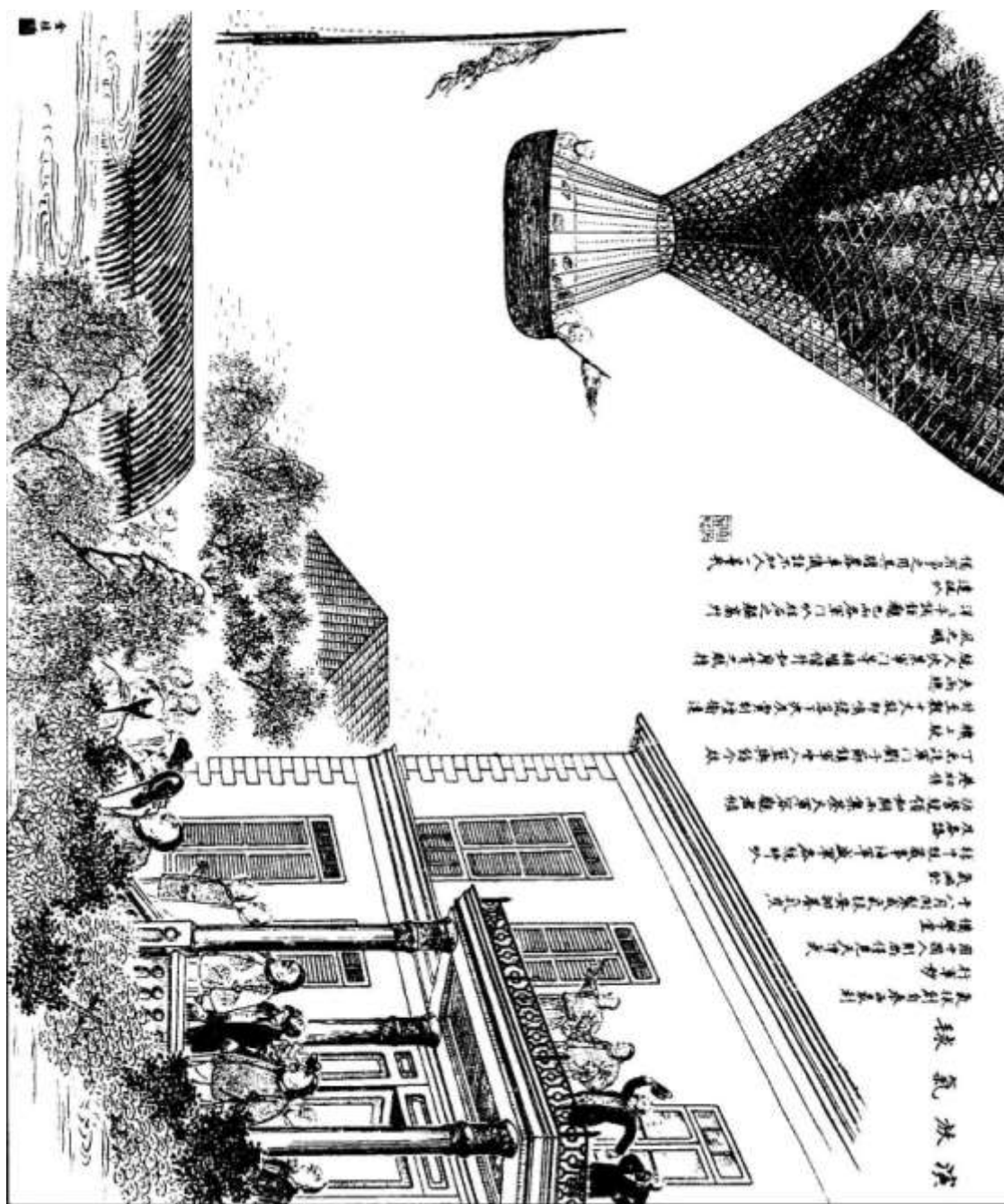


Figure 3.19 “Ballooning Demonstration (演放气球),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 216.

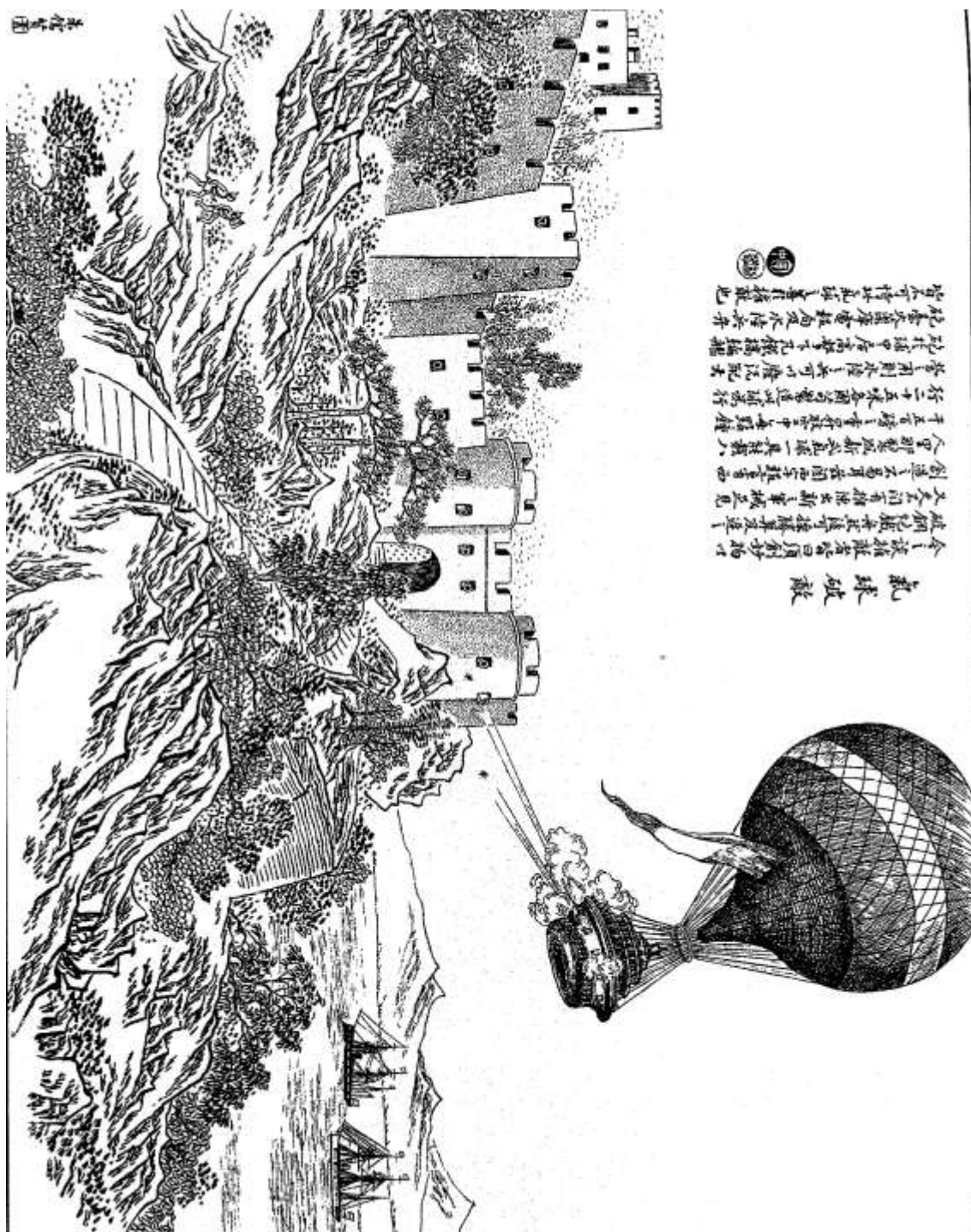


Figure 3.20 “Balloons to Rout the Enemy (气球破敌),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 191.



Figure 3.21 “Smart Use of Balloon (气球妙用),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 23.

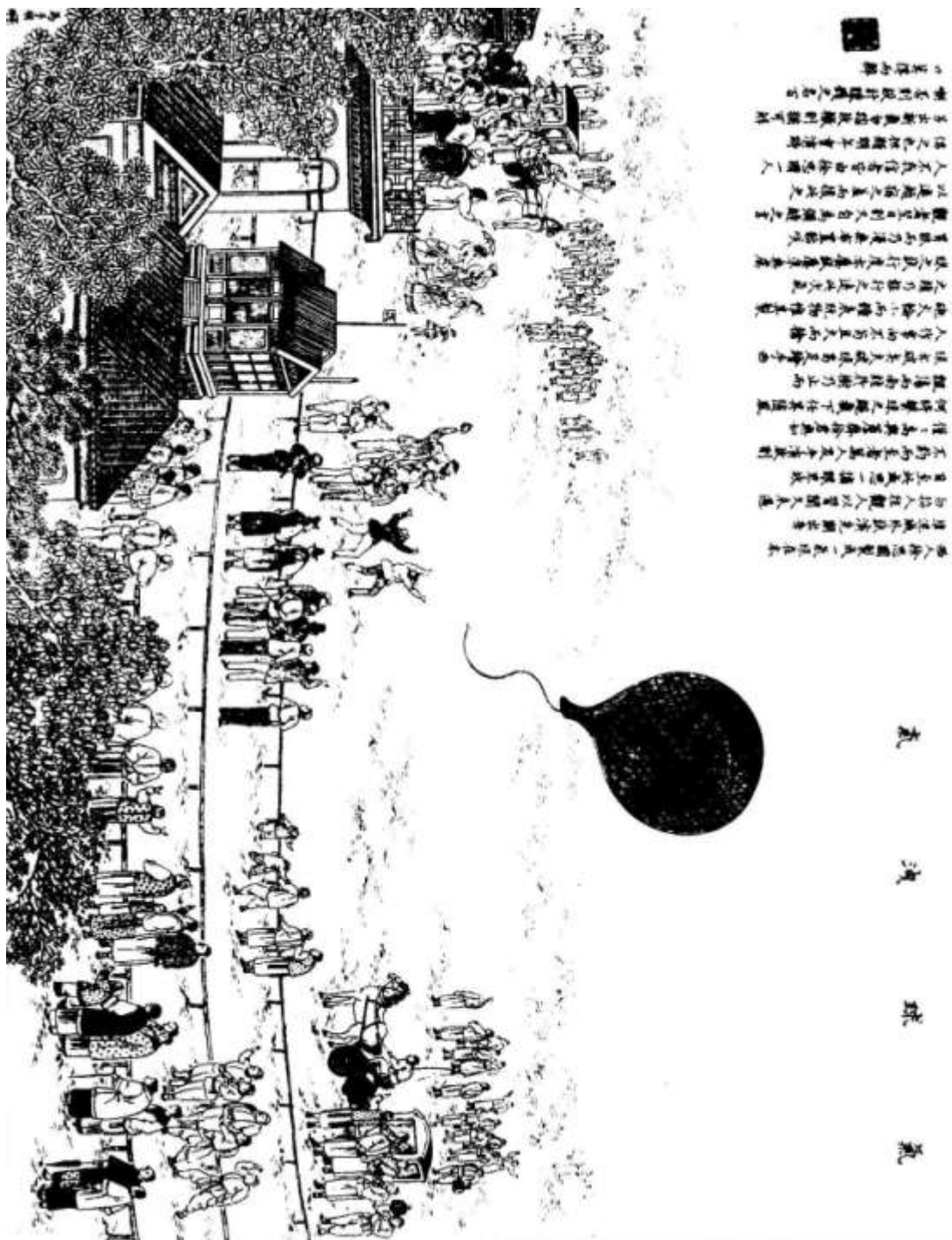


Figure 3.23 “Leaky Balloon (气球洩气),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 259.

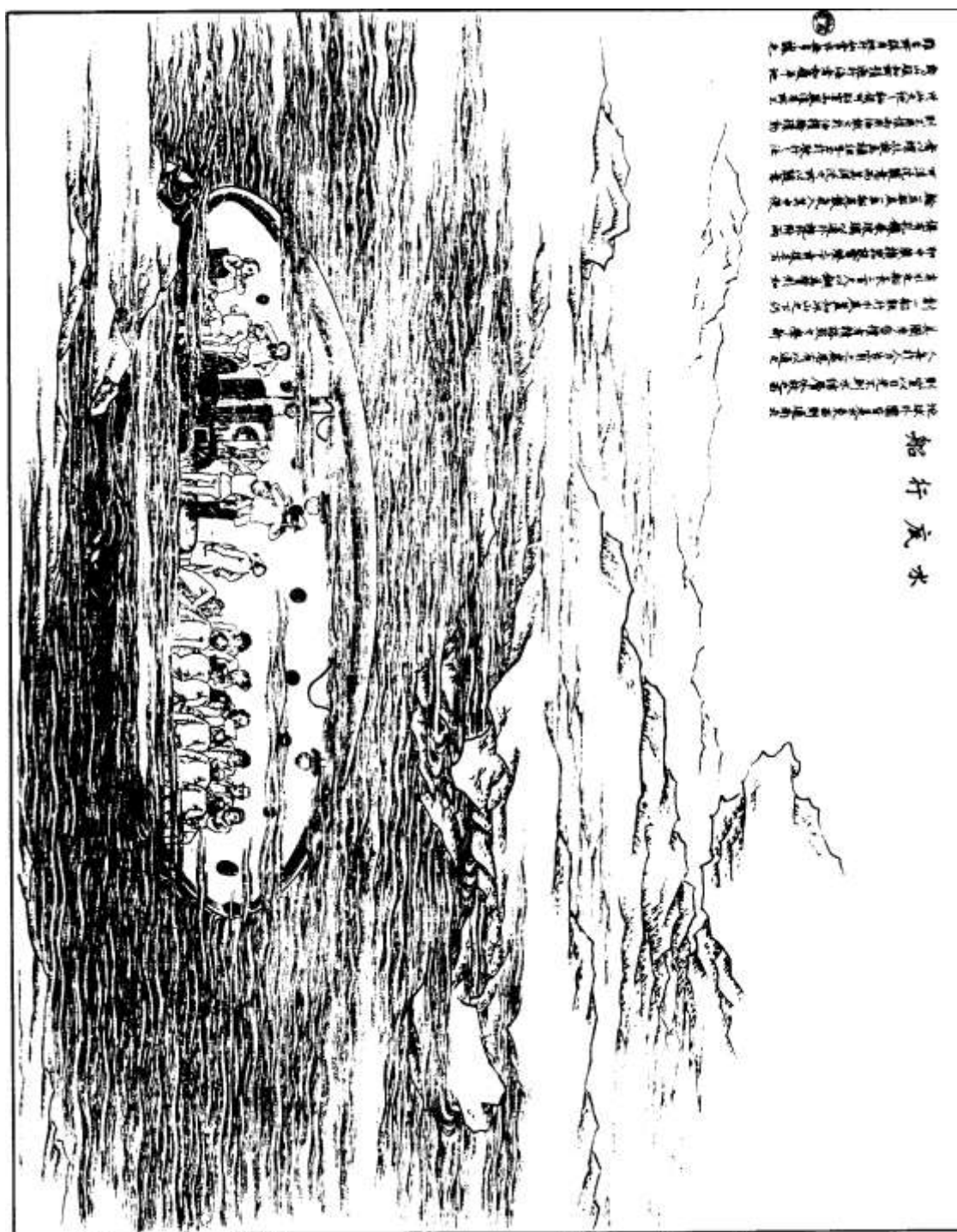


Figure 3.24 “Underwater Boat (水底行船),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 3.

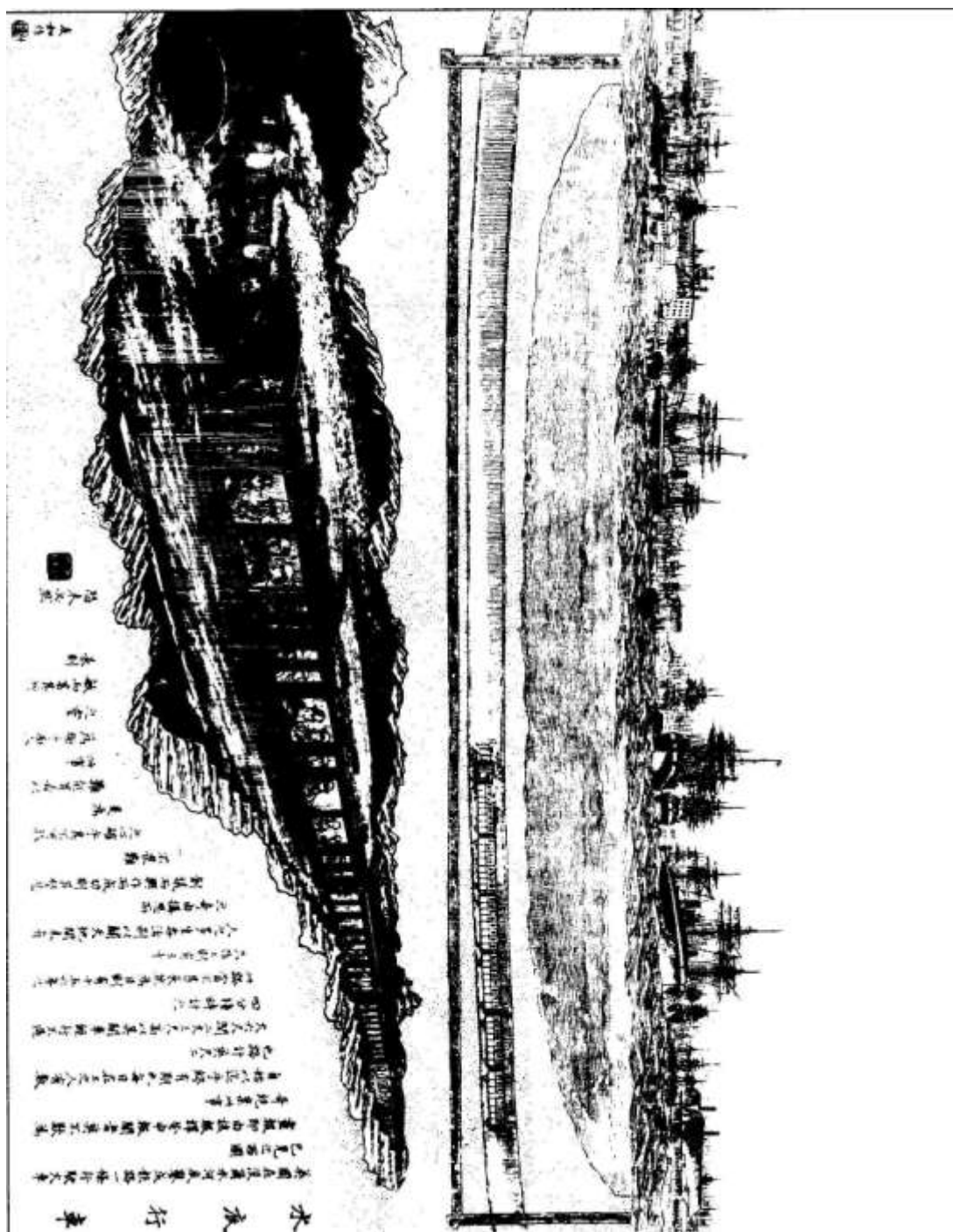


Figure 3.25 “Underwater Train (水底行车),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 29.



Figure 3.28 “Torpedo Exercise (演放水雷),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 5.

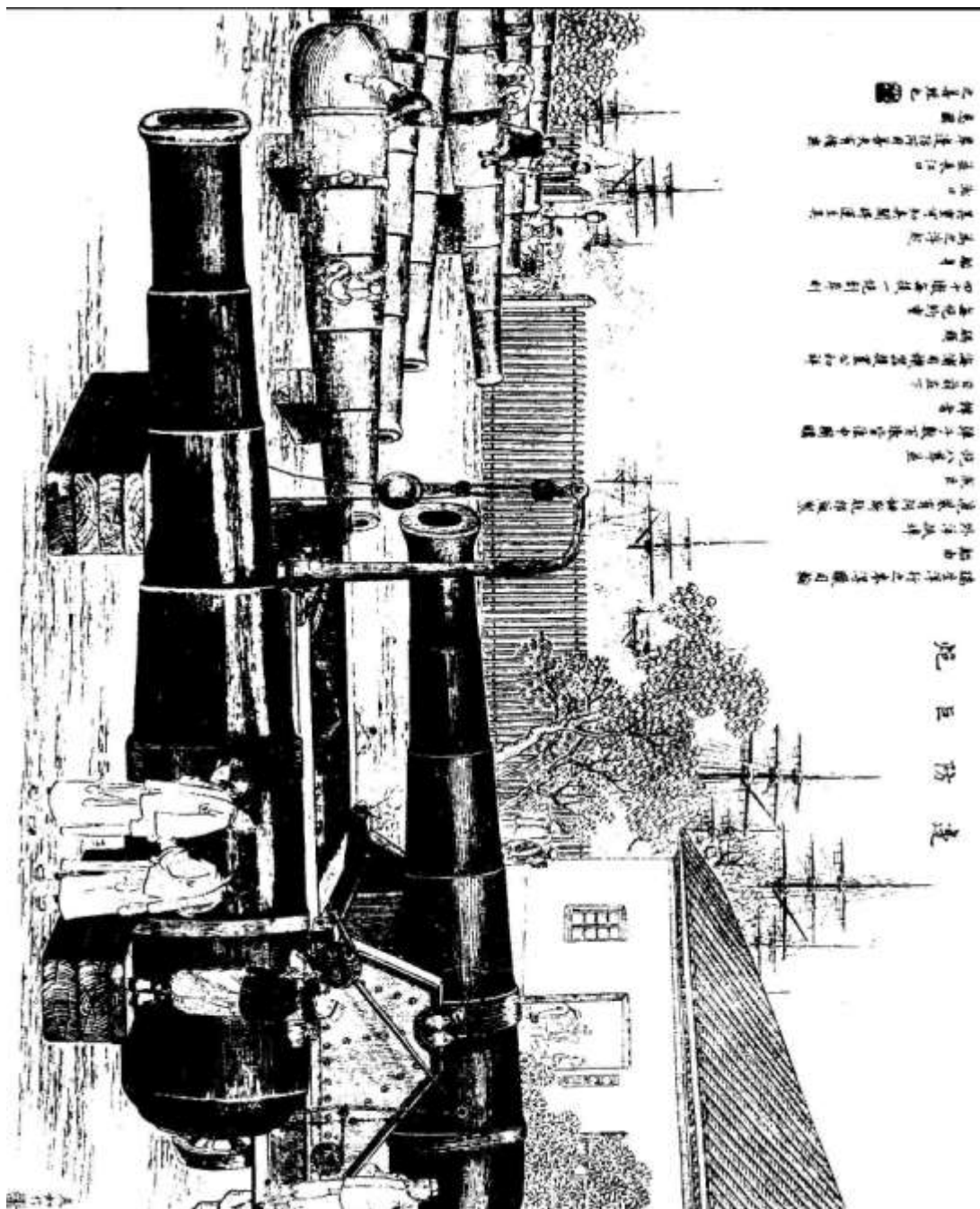


Figure 3.29 “Giant Cannon (边防巨炮),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 245.



Figure 3.31 “Bullet-proof Vest (制衣御弾),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 10: 122.

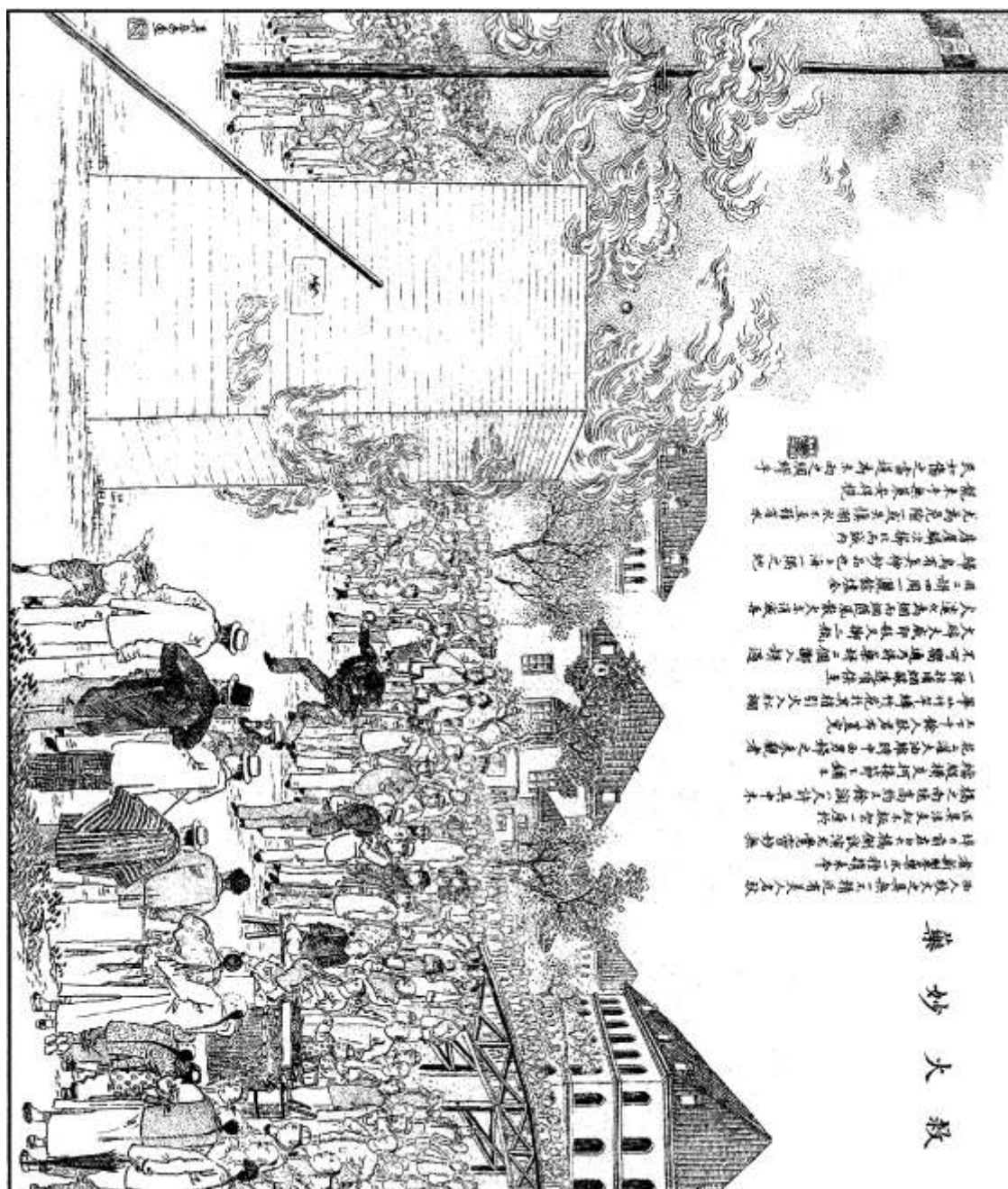


Figure 3.32 “Magic Chemical to Extinguish Fire (救火妙藥),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 166;

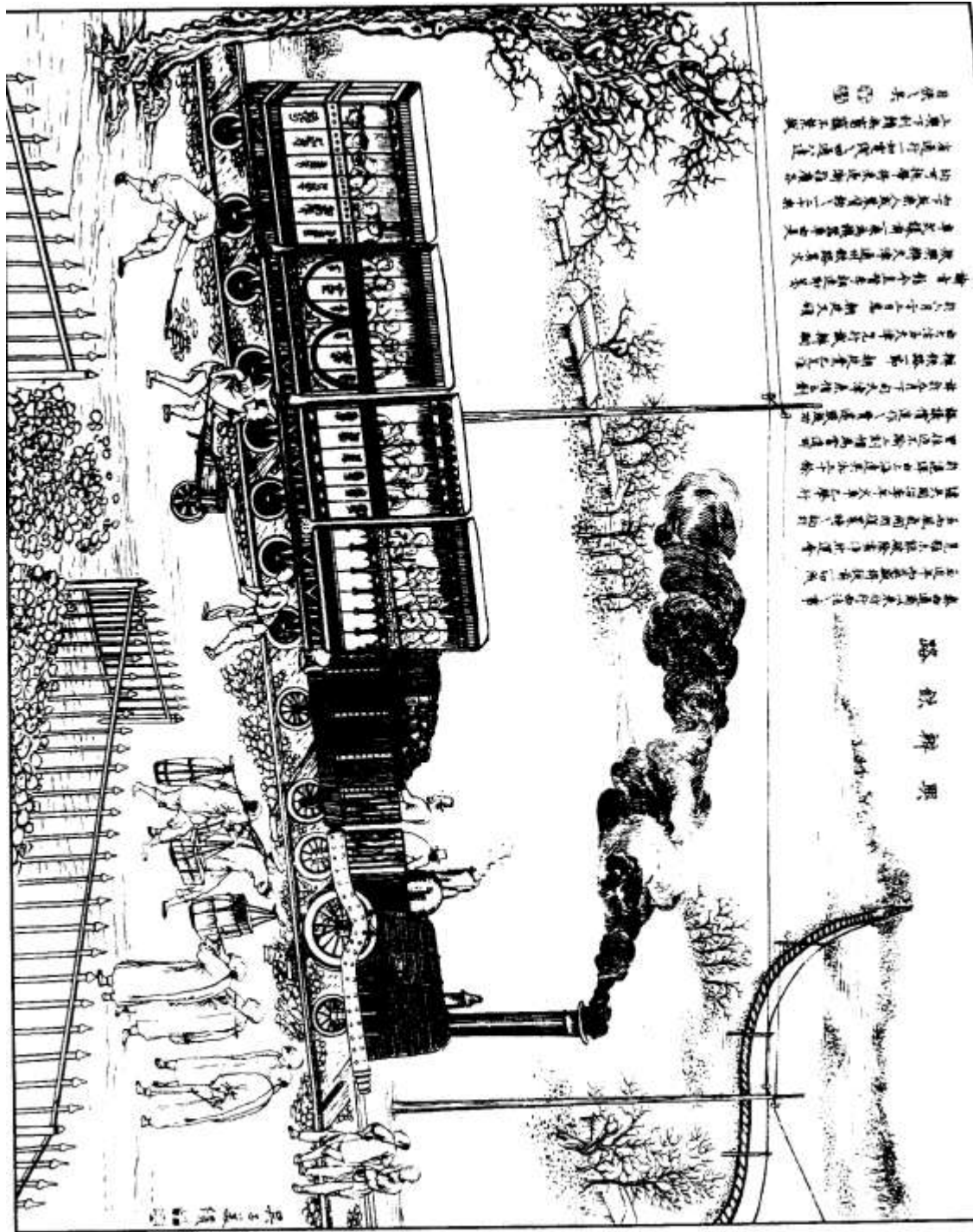


Figure 3.35 "Railroad Construction (兴办铁路)," *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 103.

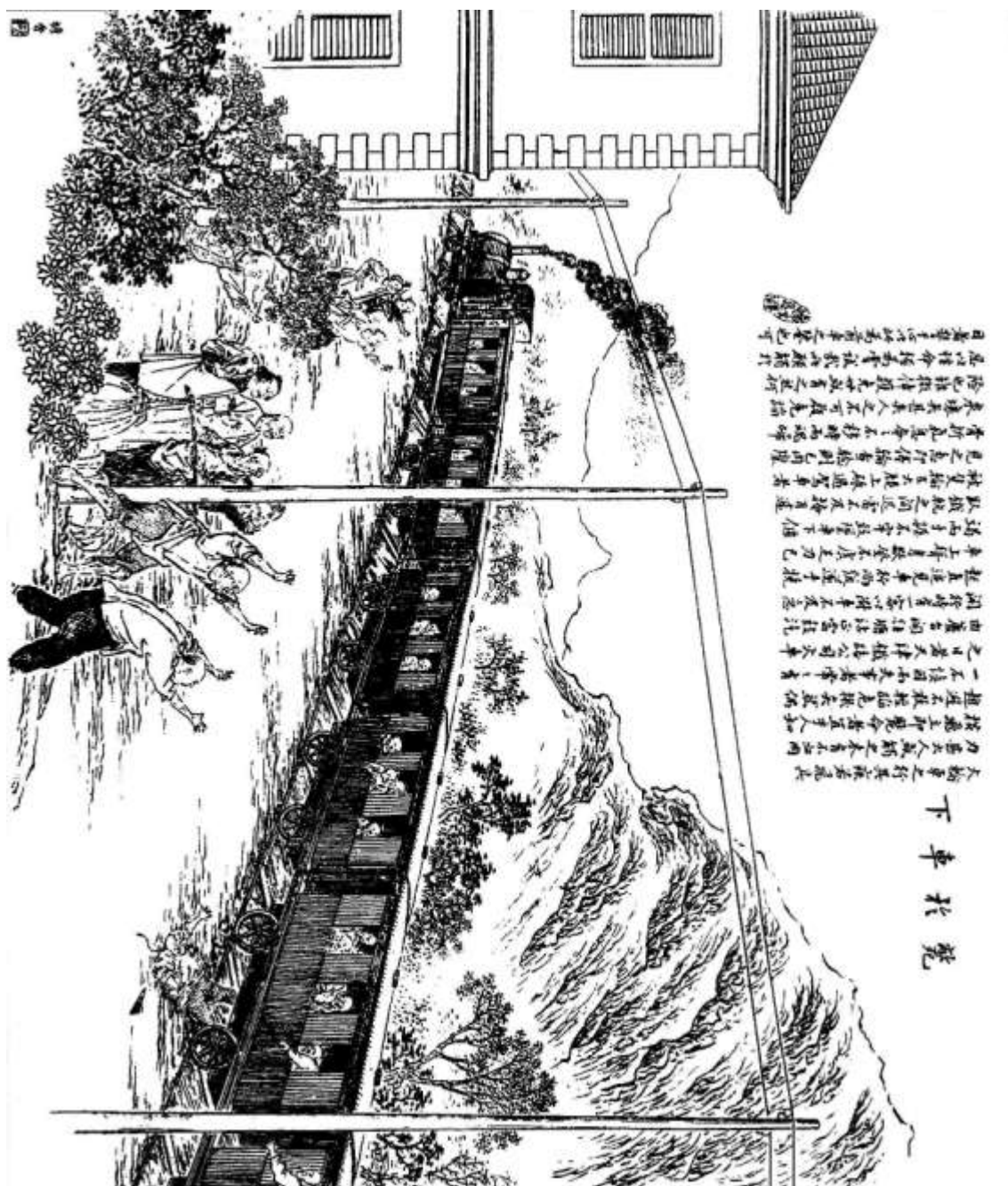


Figure 3.36 “Killed by Train (斃于車下),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 9: 229.

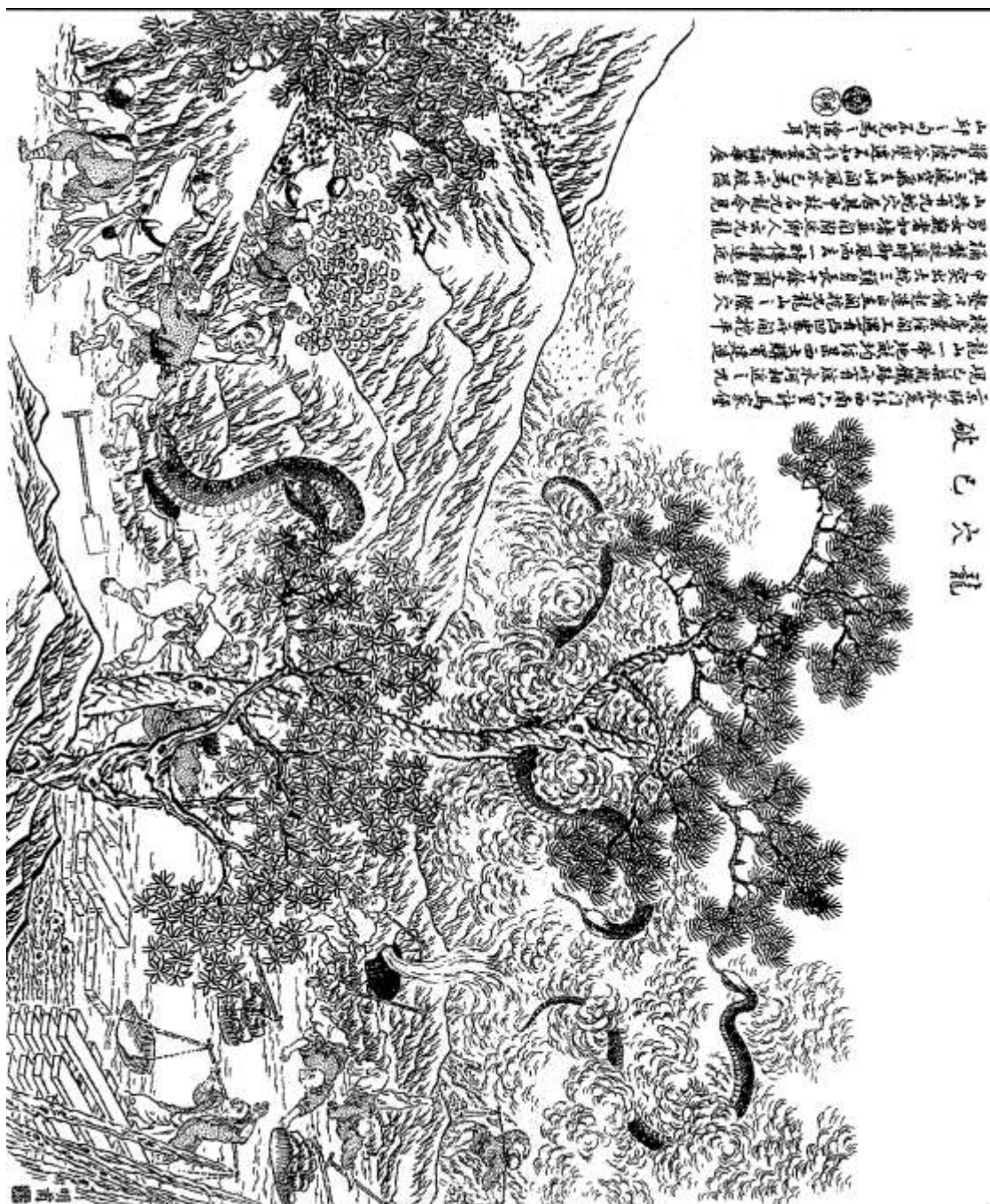


Figure 3.37 “Dragon Cave Breached(龙穴已破),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 14: 166.

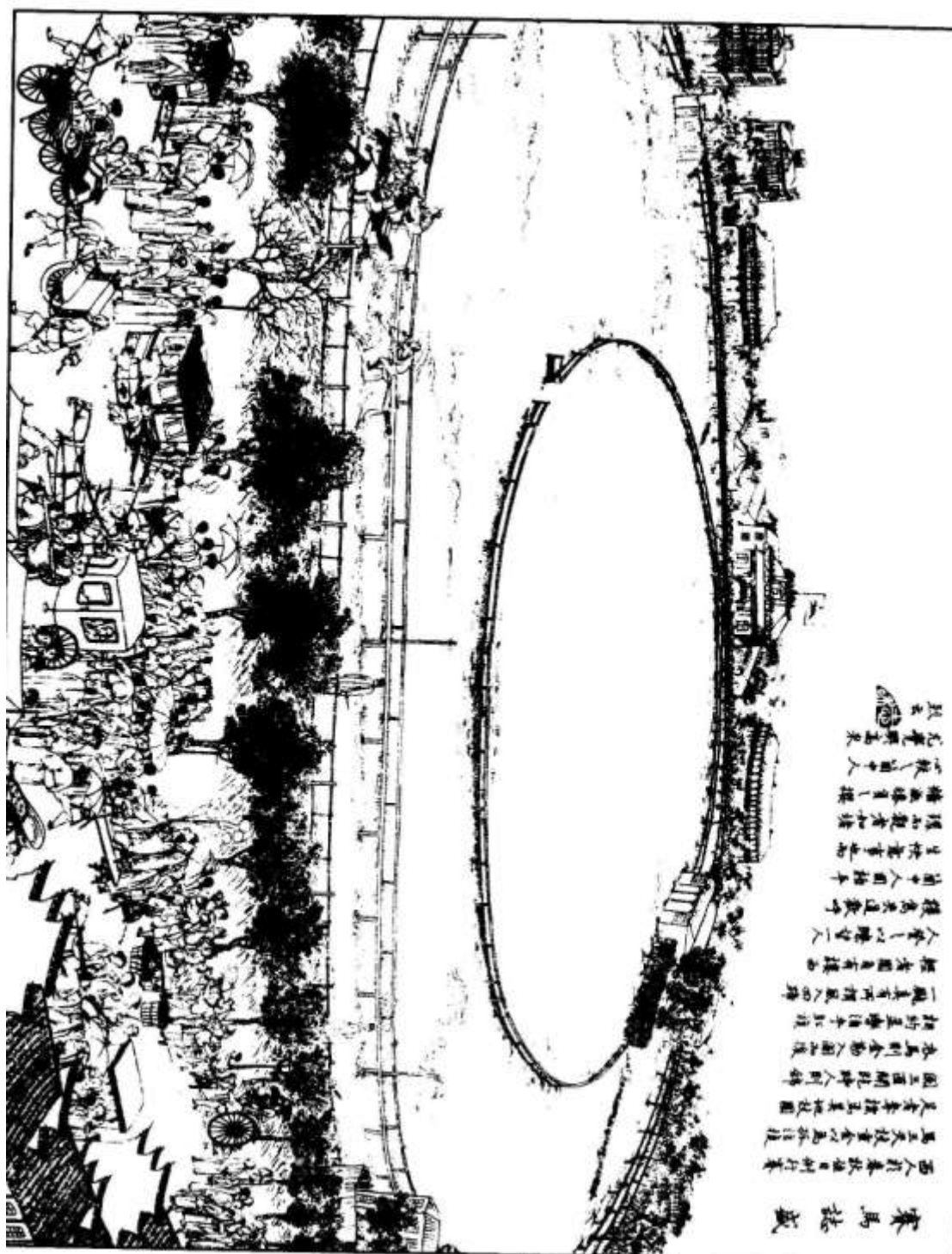


Figure 4.1 “Horse Race (赛马志盛),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 14.

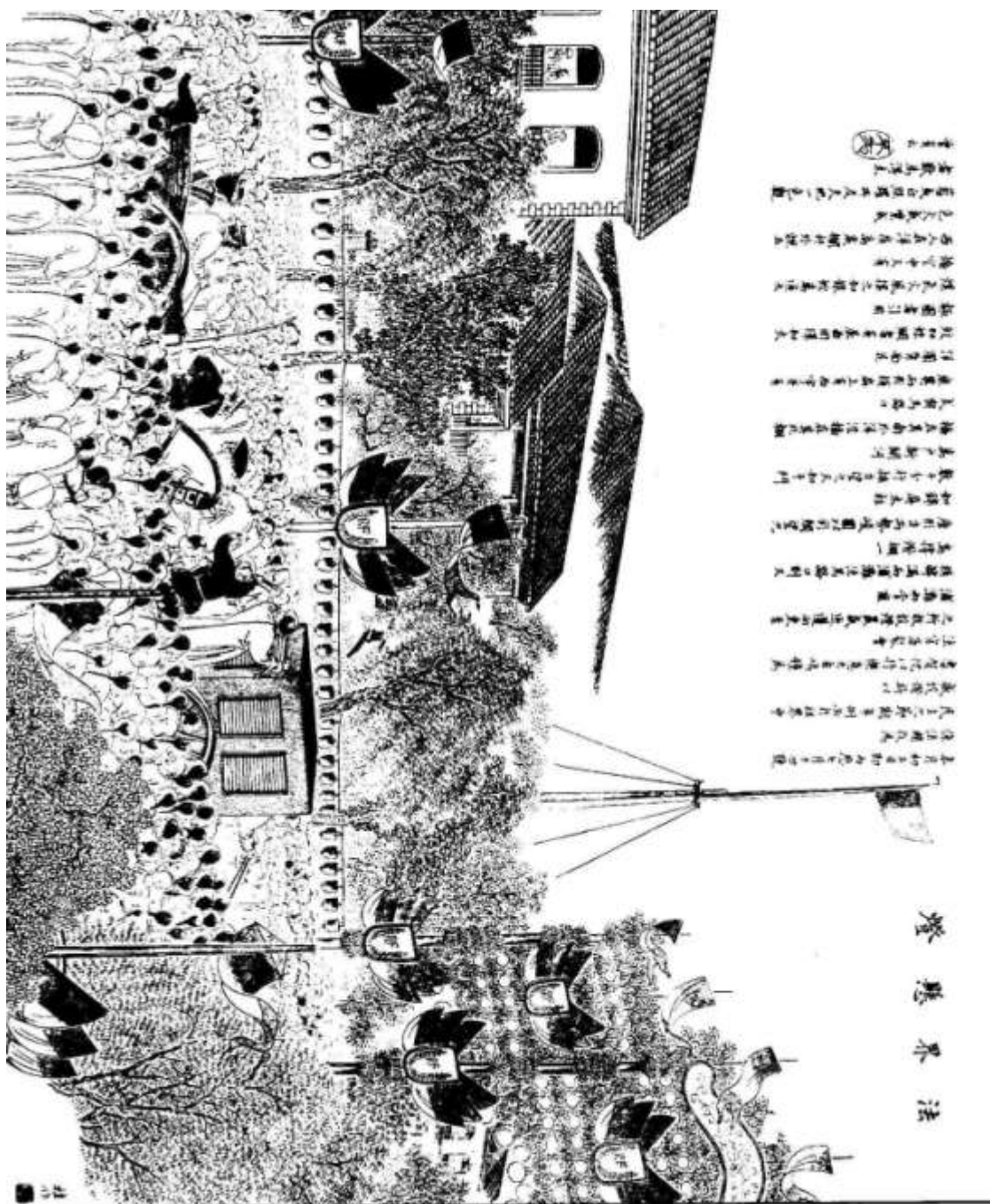


Figure 4.5 “French Settlement Lantern Festival (法界悬灯),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 89.

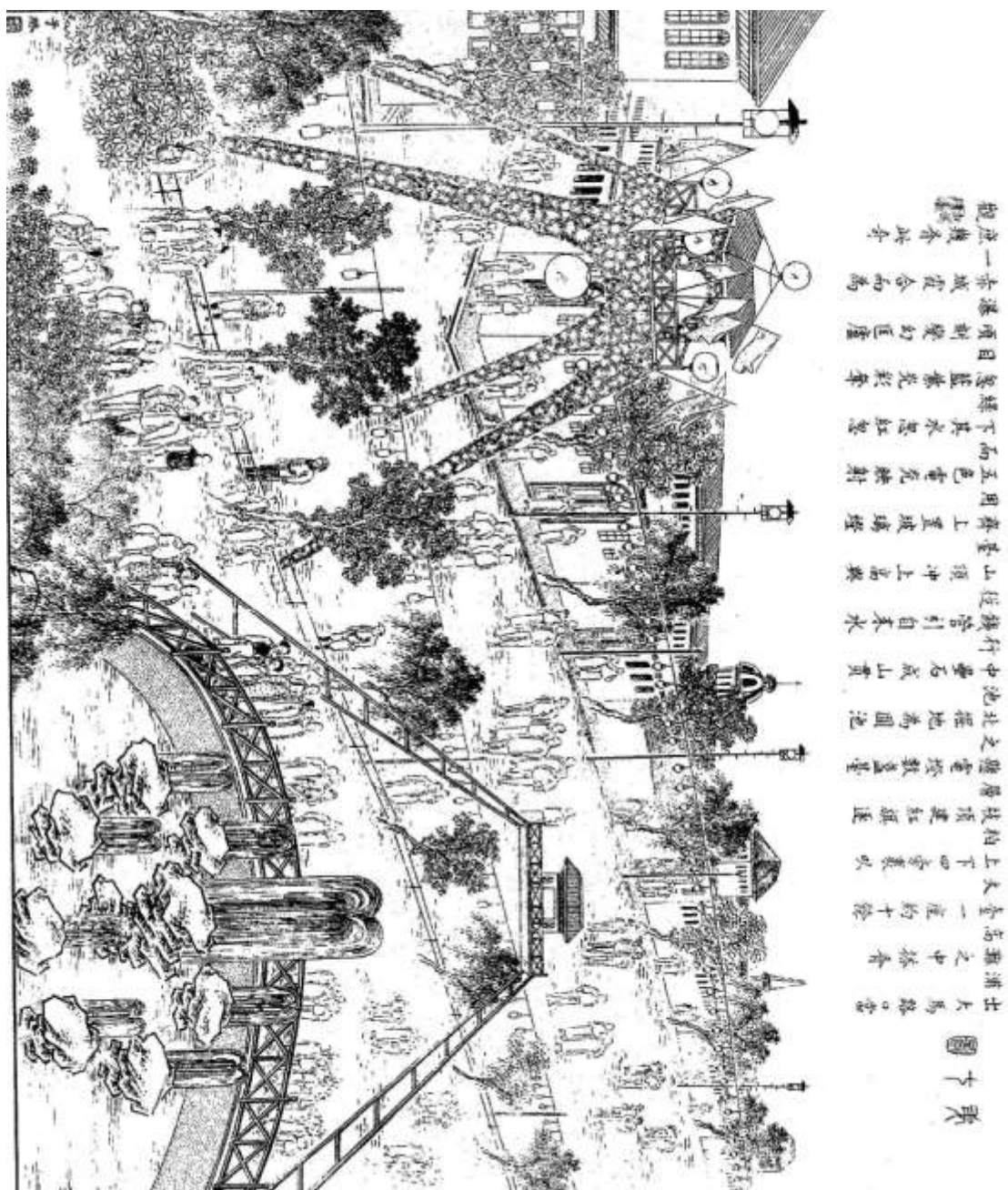


Figure 4.7 “British Queen’s 50th Anniversary Celebration Picture
 No.7(寓沪英人望祝英君陟位五十載庆典第七图),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 98.

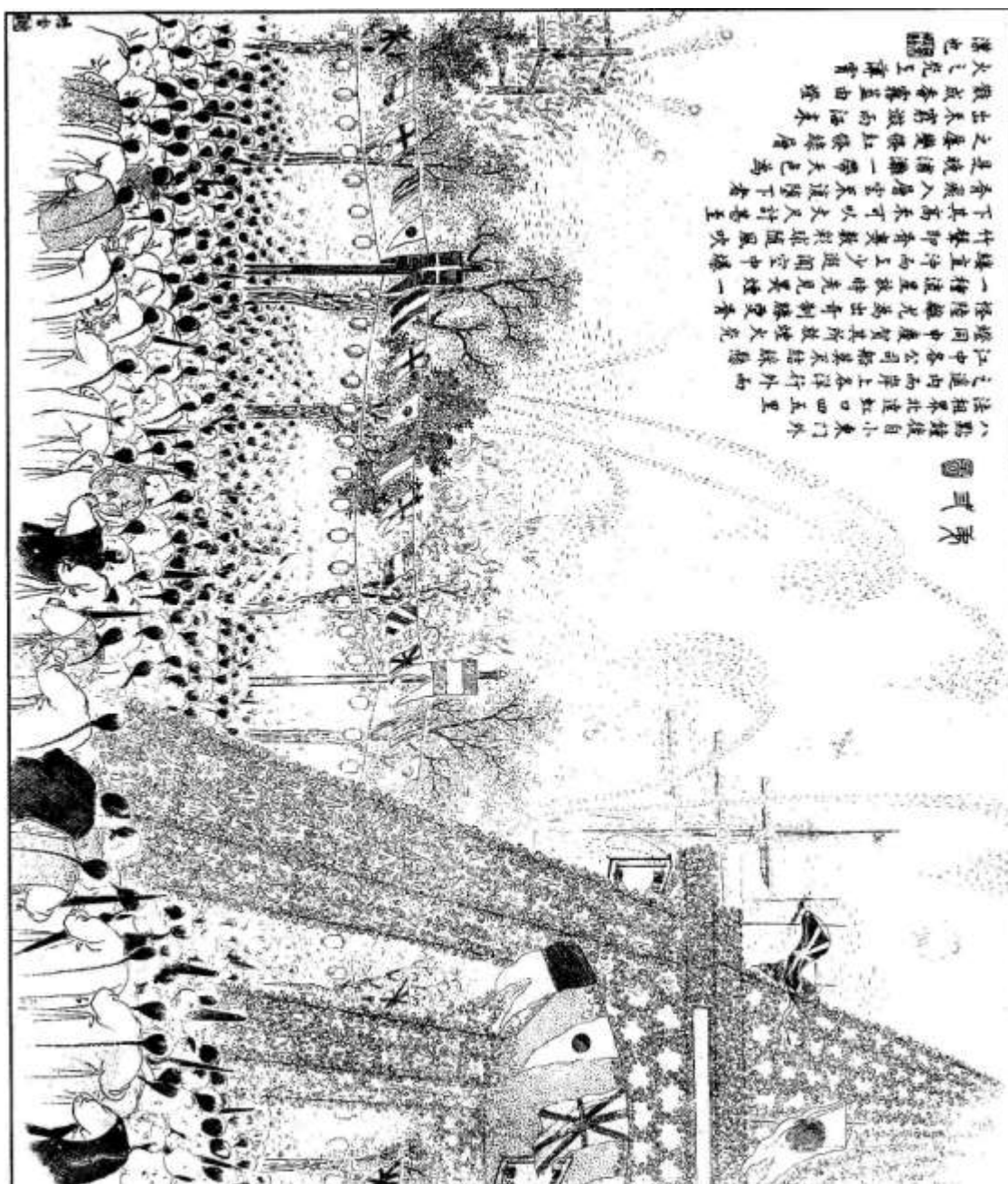


Figure 4.8 “British Queen’s 50th Anniversary Celebration Picture
 No.3(寓沪英人望祝英君陟位五十載庆典第三图),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 94.

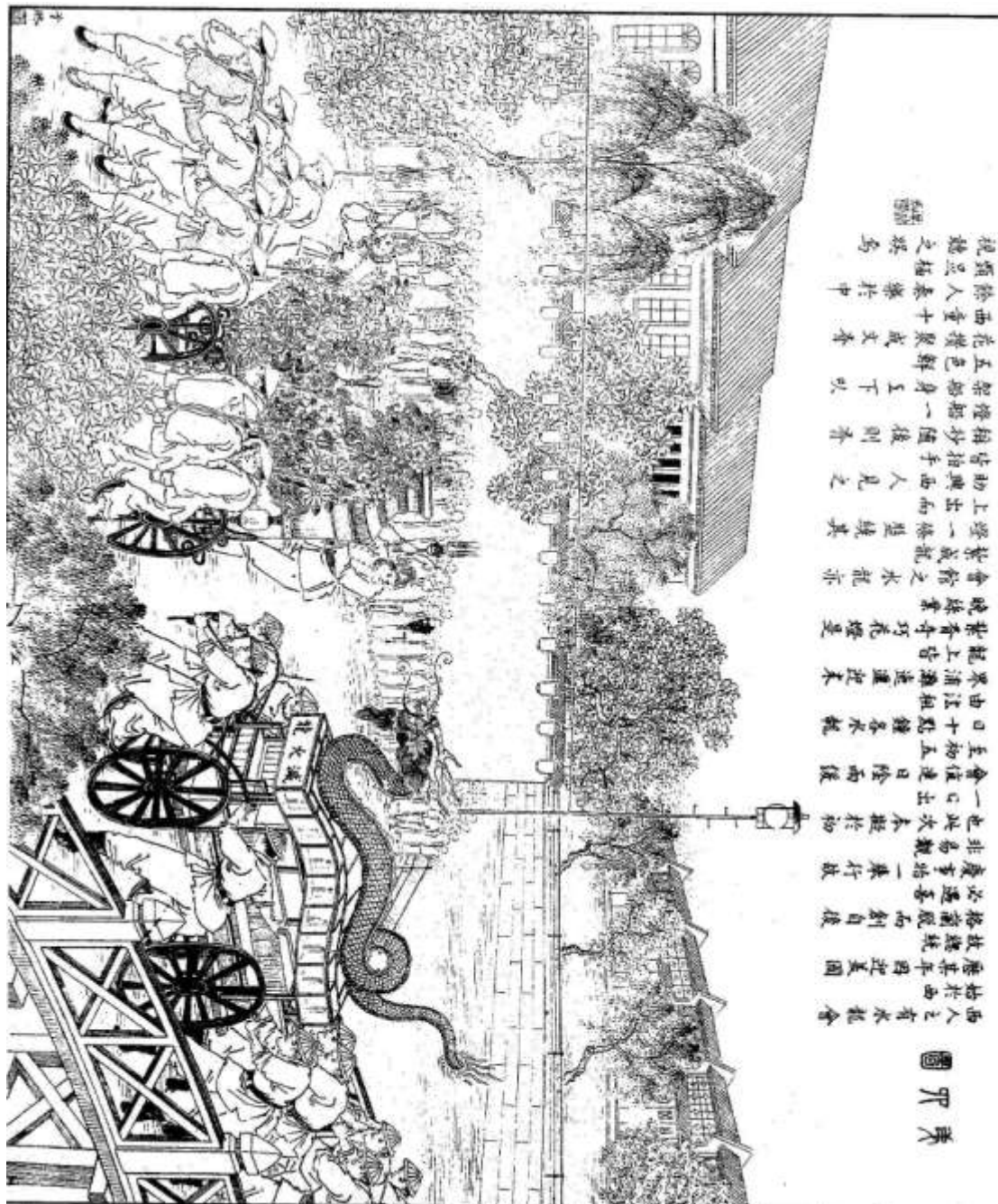


Figure 4.9 “British Queen’s 50th Anniversary Celebration Picture No.4
(寓沪英人望祝英君陟位五十載庆典第四图),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 4: 95.

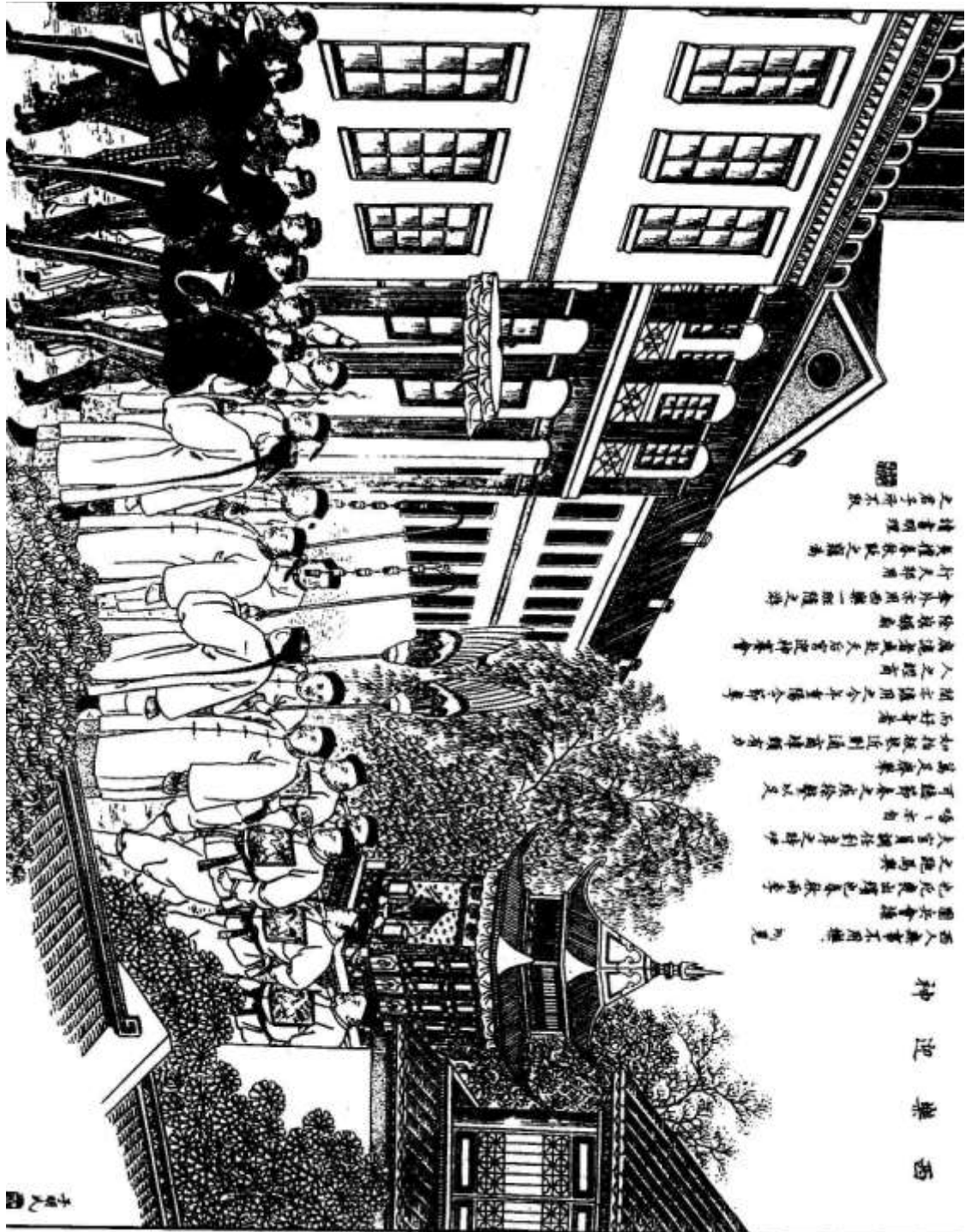


Figure 4.10 “Western Music in Goddess Festival (西乐迎神),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 184.



Figure 4.11 “Embracing the injured (痼瘵在抱),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 12: 47.

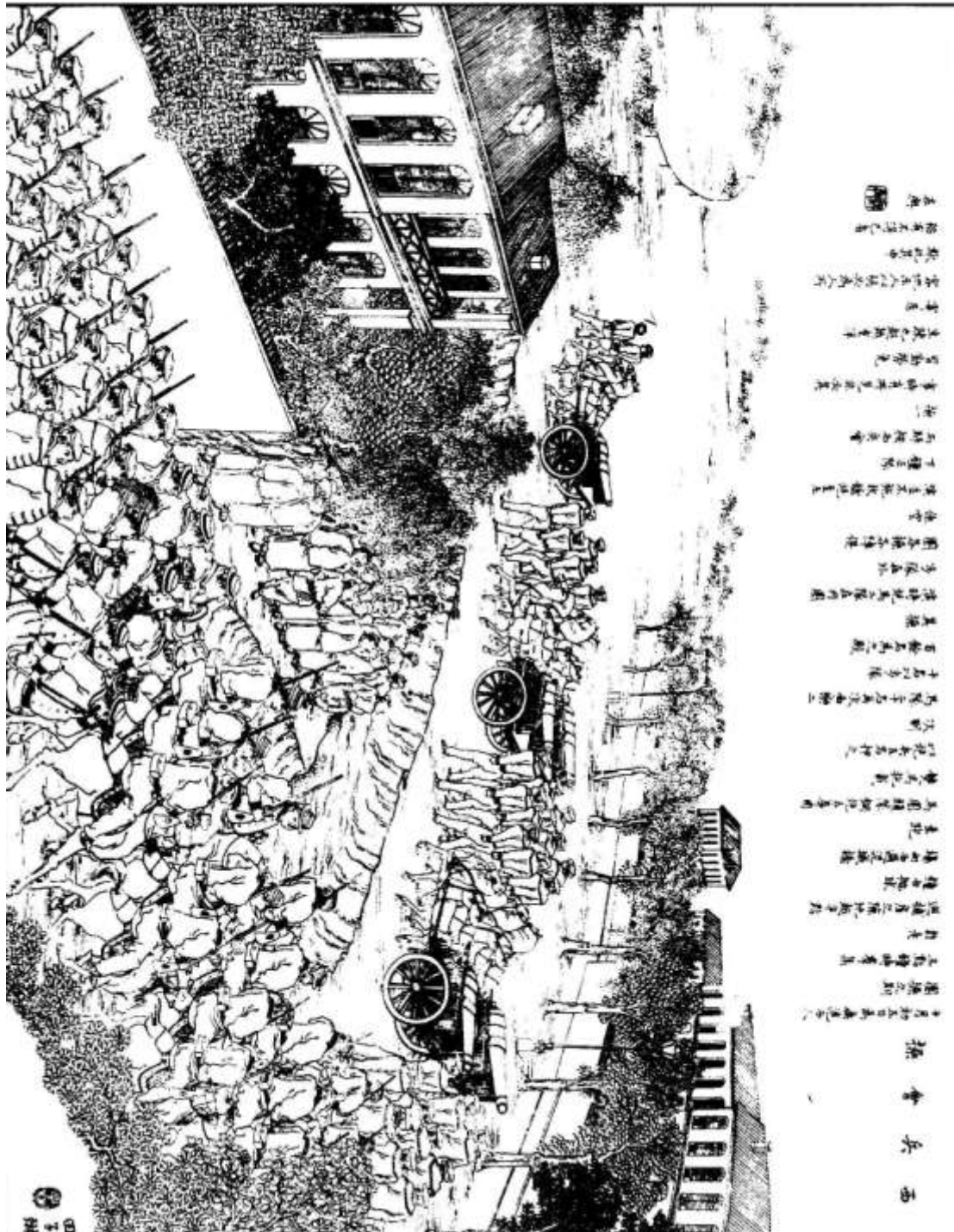


Figure 4.14 “Western Troop Exercise (西兵会操),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 210.



Figure 4.16 “Rickshaw Pullers Riot (大闹洋场),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 14: 101.

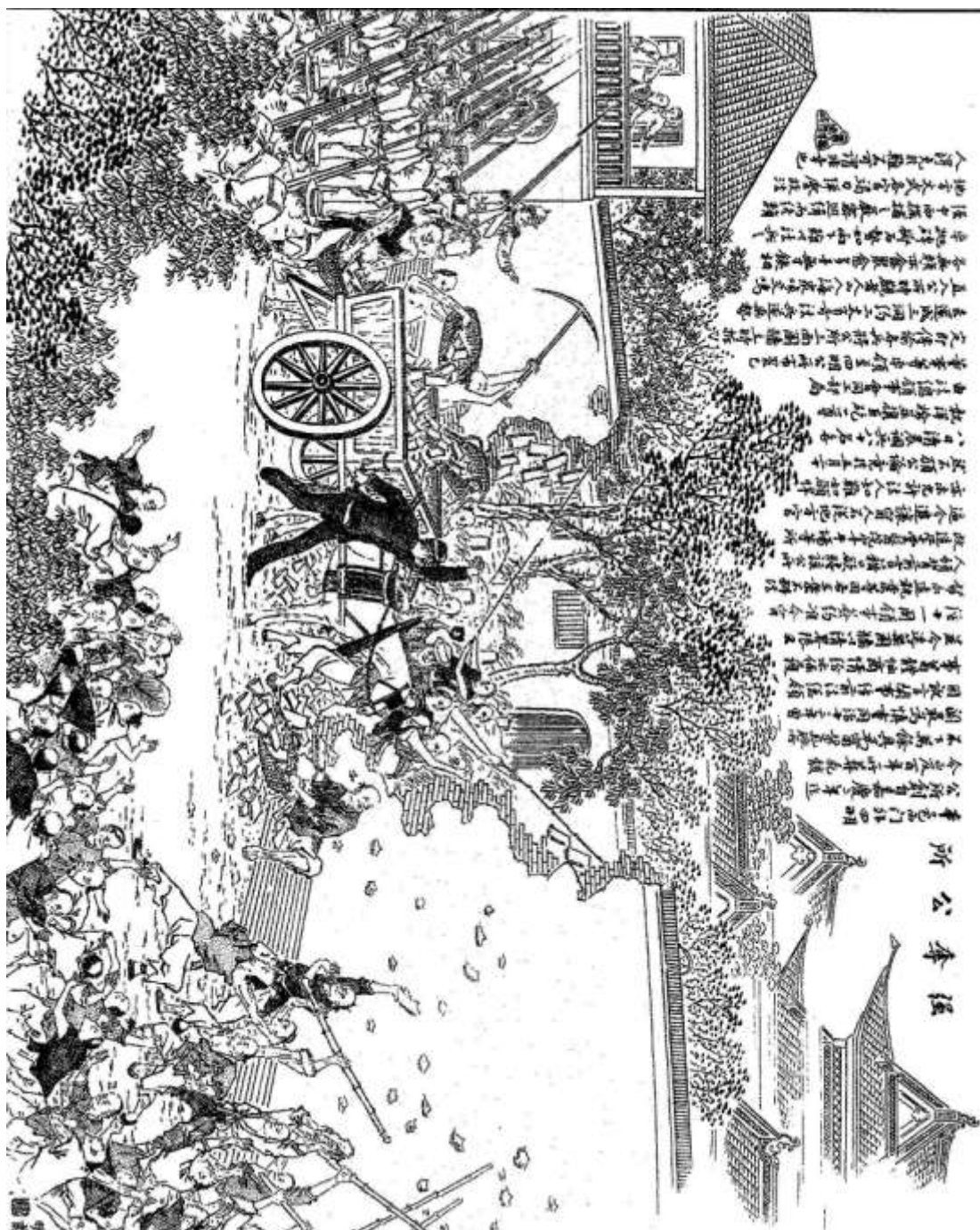


Figure 4.17 “Siming Gongsuo Riot (强夺公所),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 200.

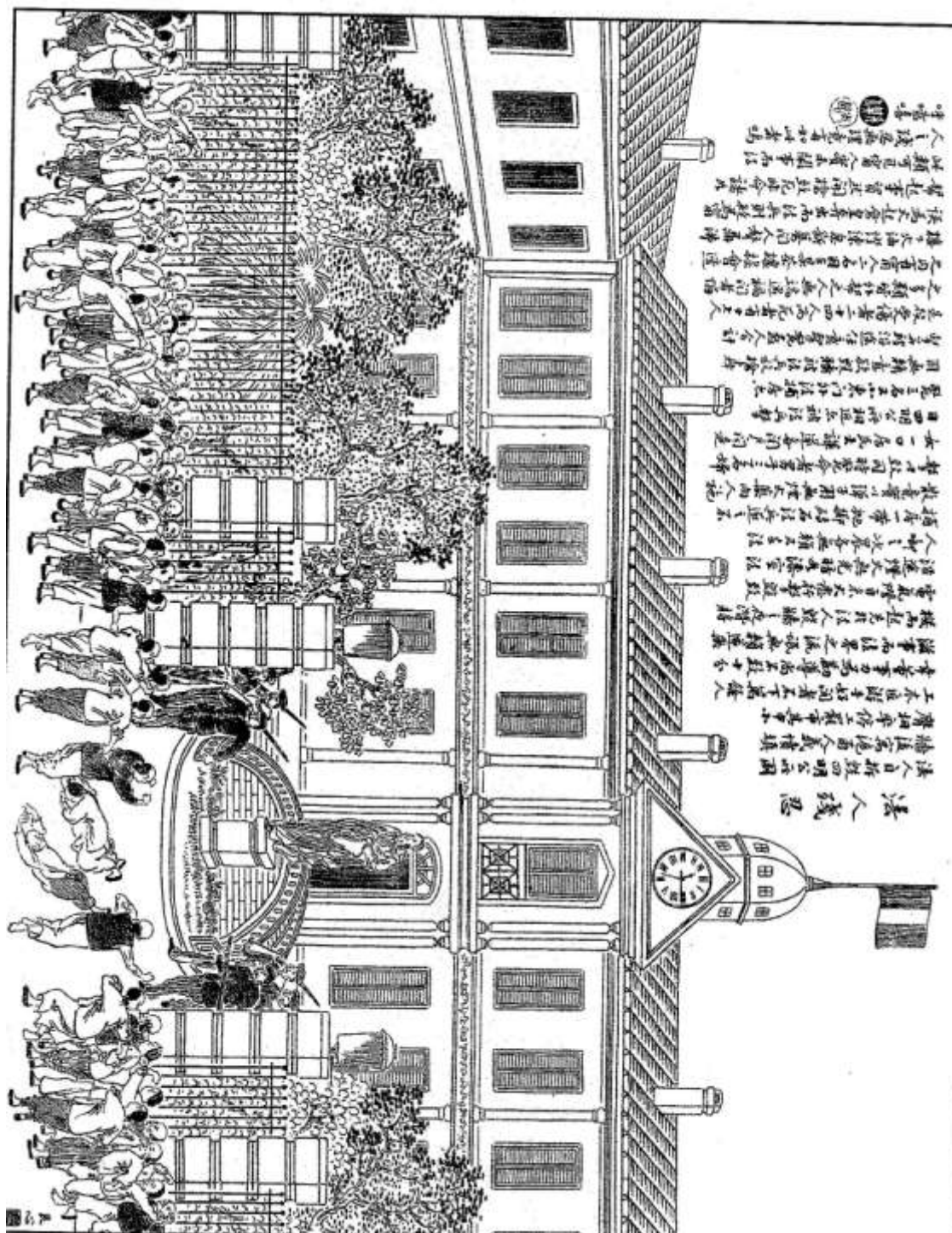


Figure 4.18 “Cruelty of the French (法人残忍),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 15: 201.

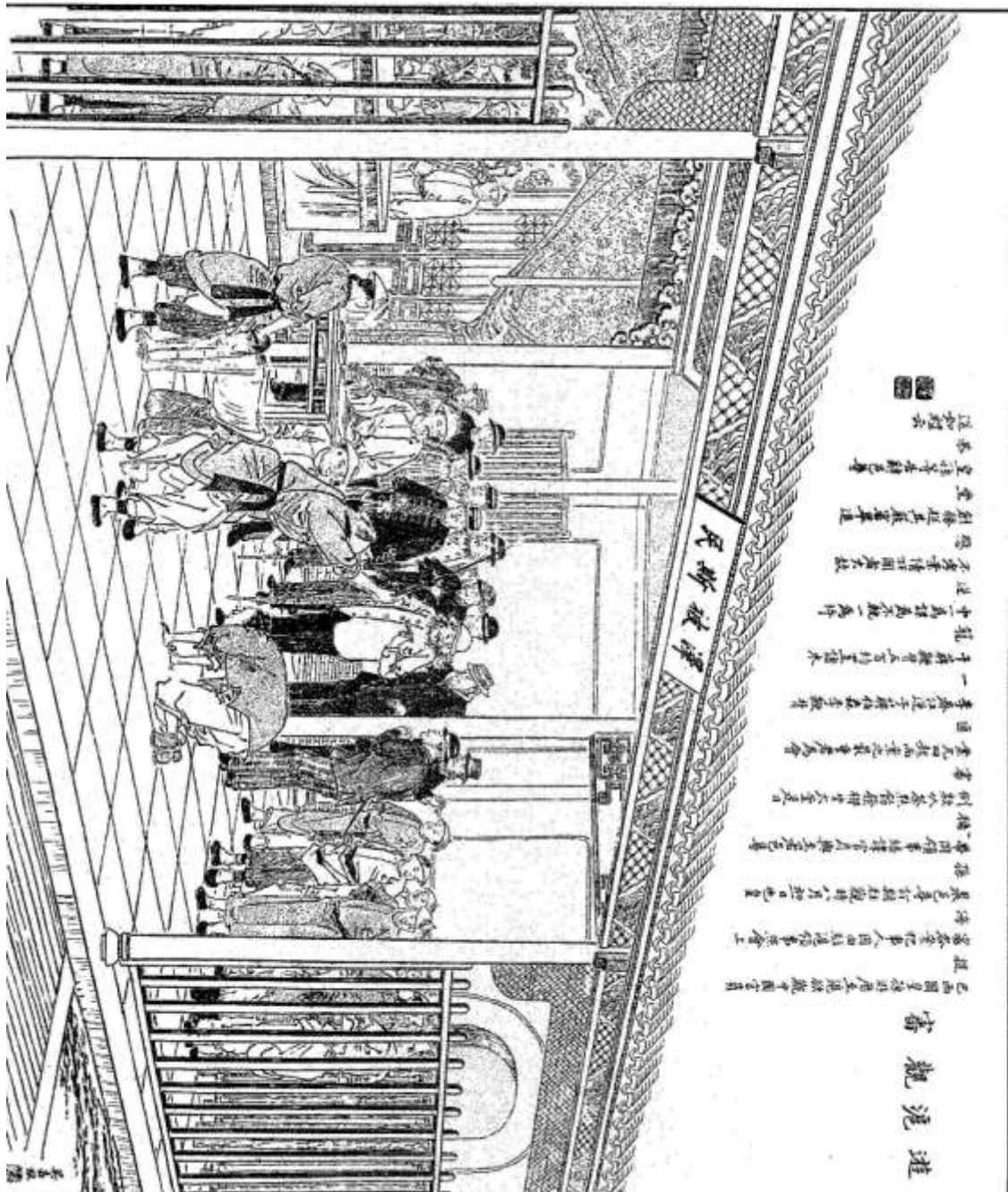


Figure 4.19 “Court tour in Shanghai (游沪观审),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 6: 201.

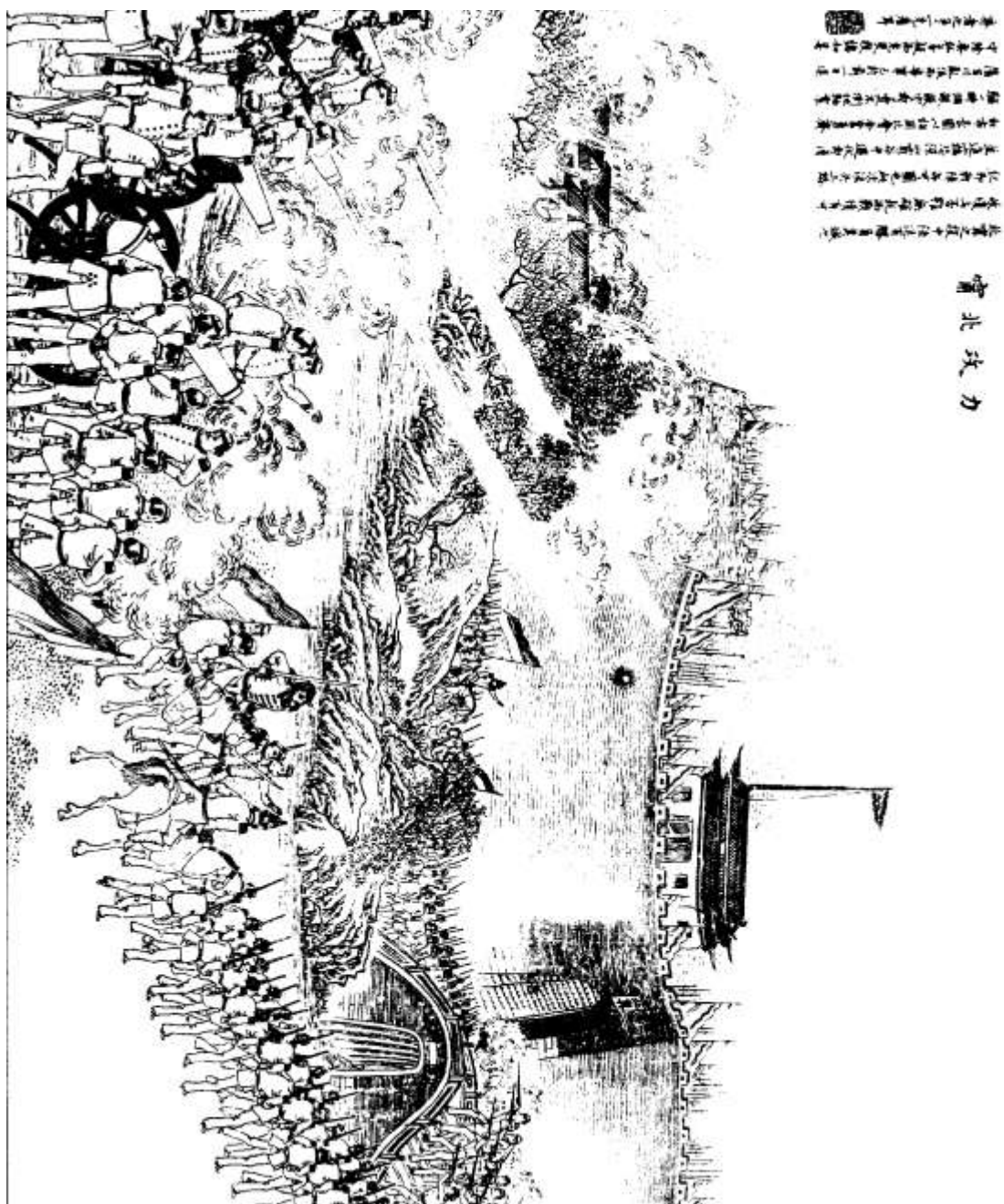


Figure 4.23 “Attack of Beining (力攻北宁),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial 1: 1*.

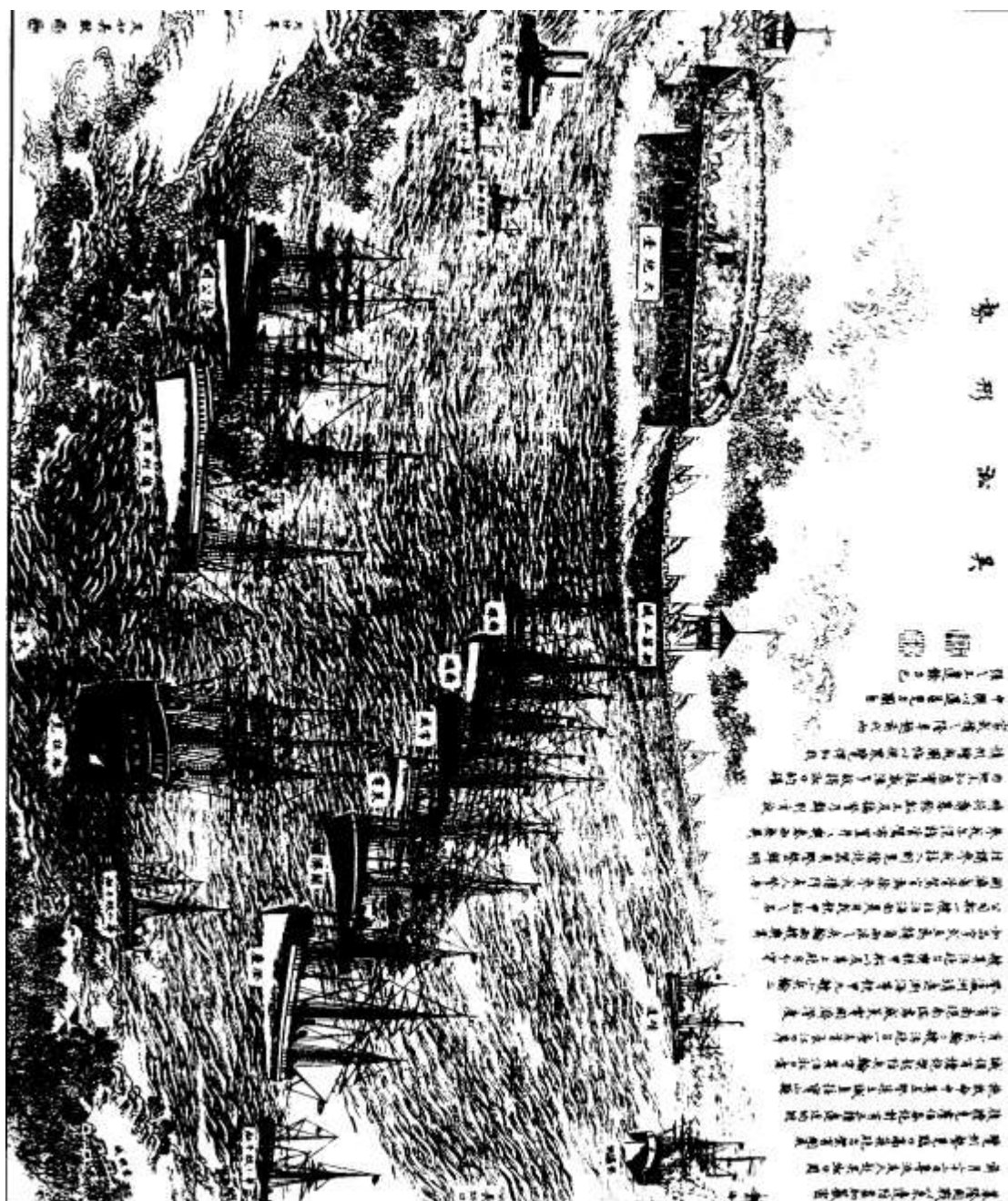


Figure 4.24 “Circumstance of Wushong (吴淞形势),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 98.

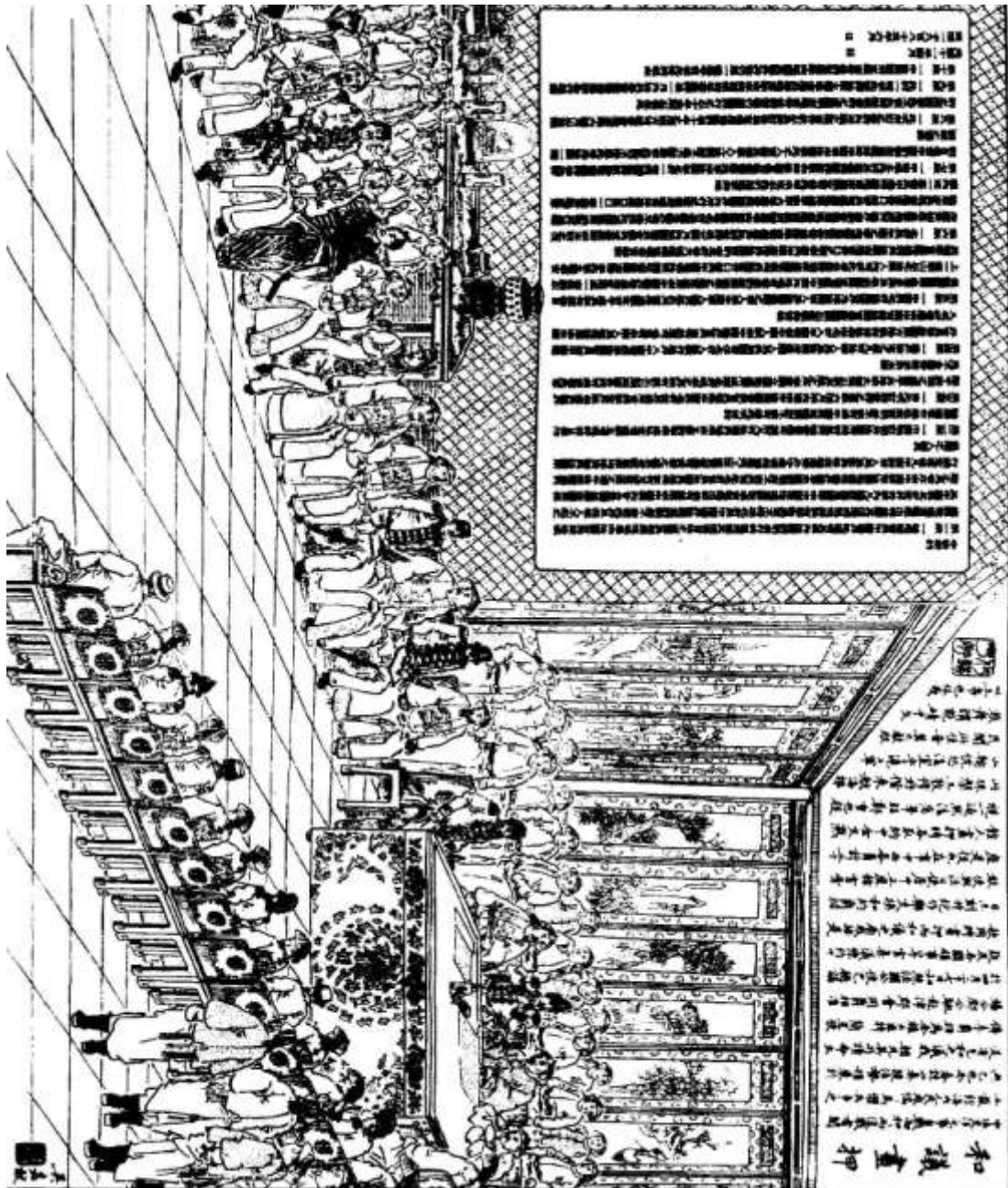


Figure 4.25 “Signing the Peace Treaty (和议画押),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 56.

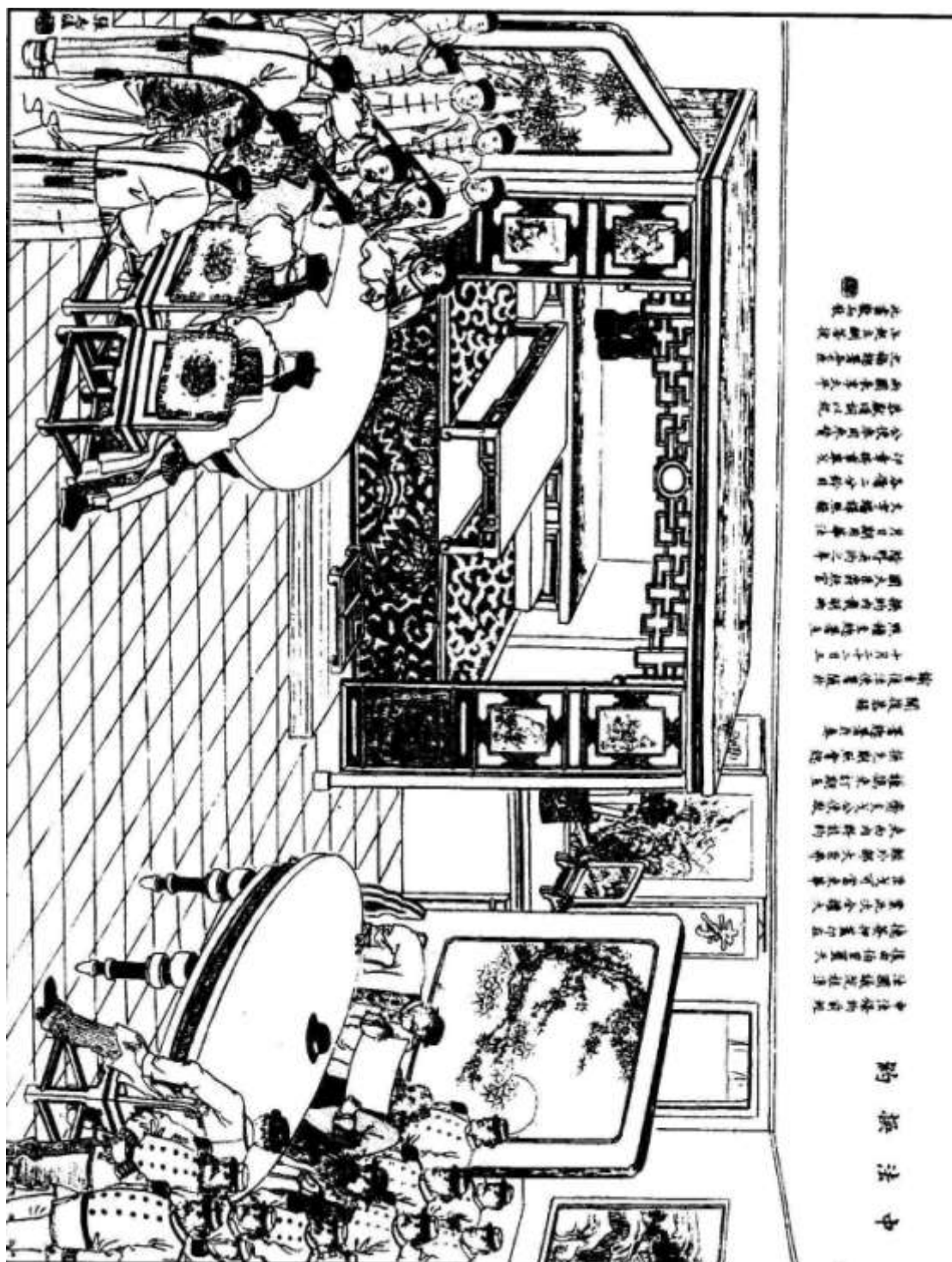


Figure 4.26 “Sino-France Treaty Exchange (中法换约),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 232.

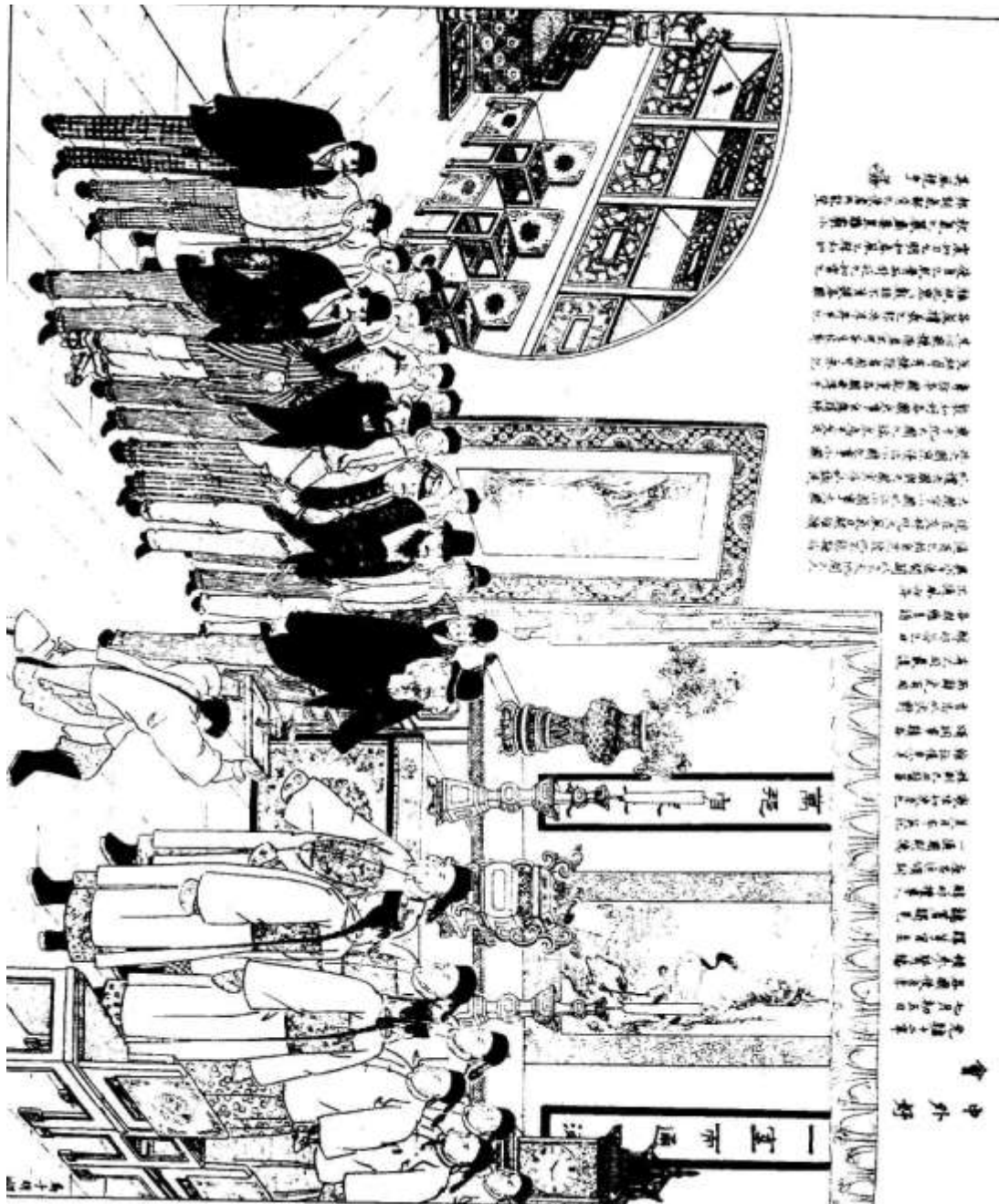


Figure 4.28 “Sino-West Friendly Meeting(中外好会),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 3: 192.

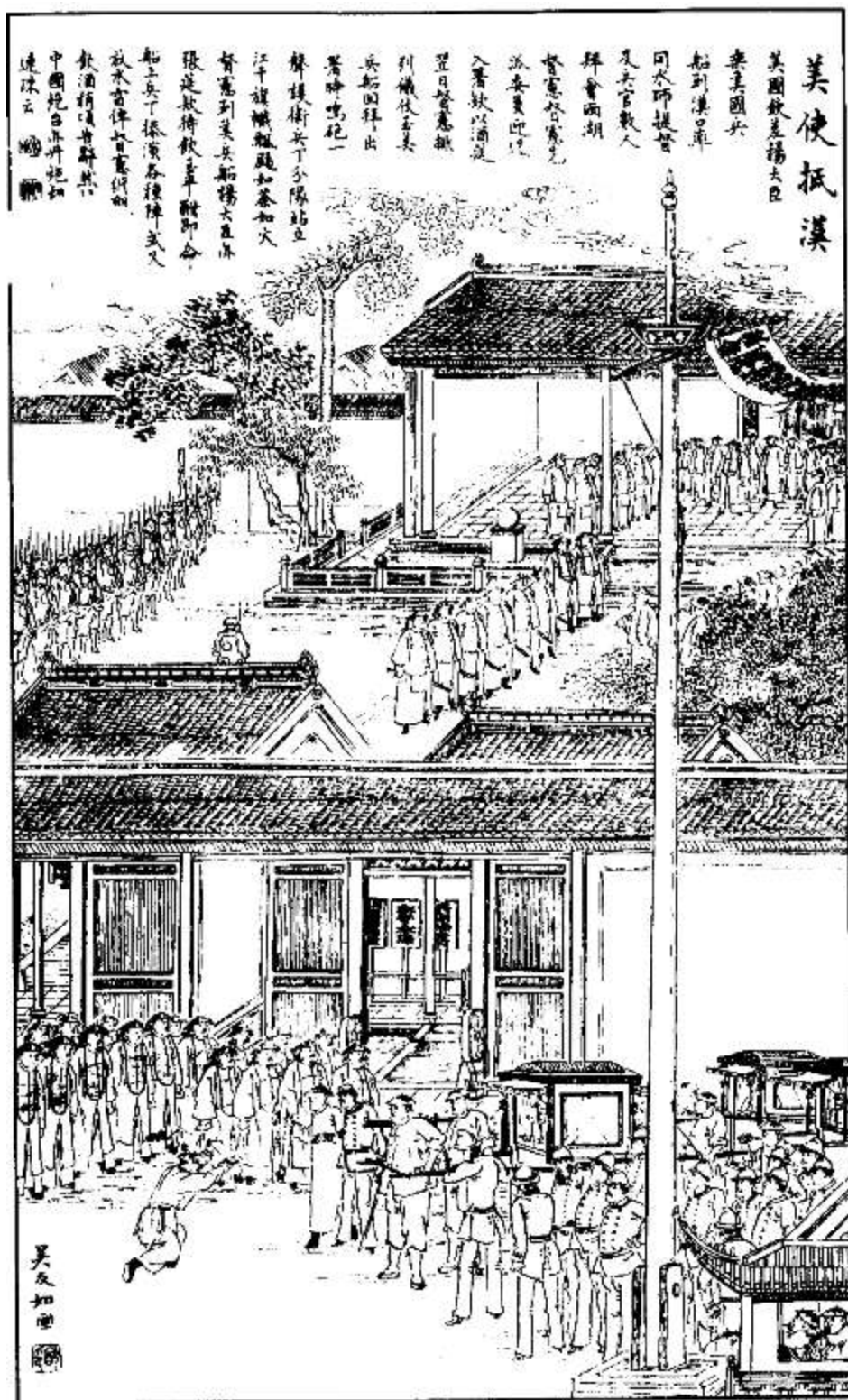


Figure 4.29 “American Envoy in Hankou (美使抵漢),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 1: 43.

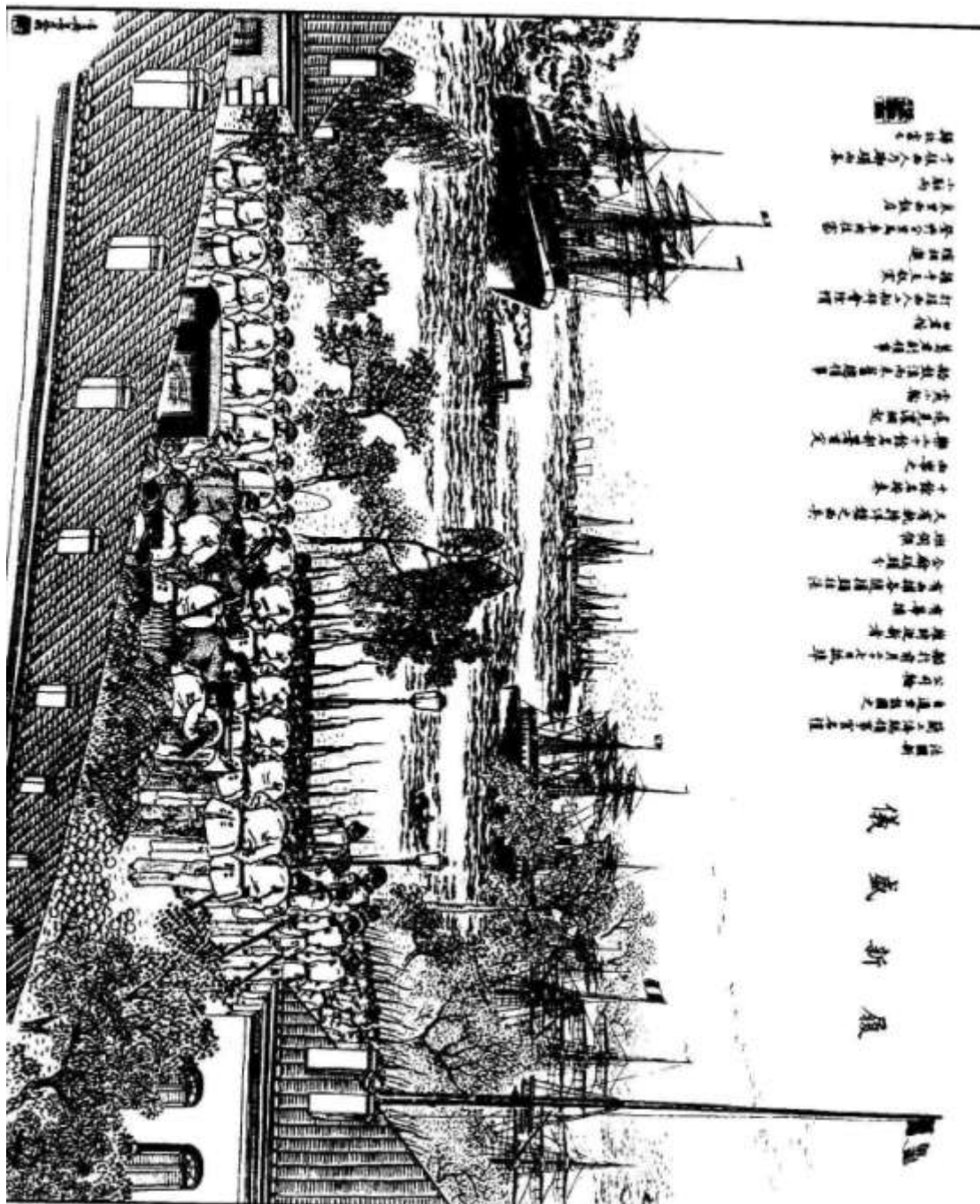


Figure 4.30 “New Consul (履新盛仪),” *Dianshizhai Pictorial* 2: 169.

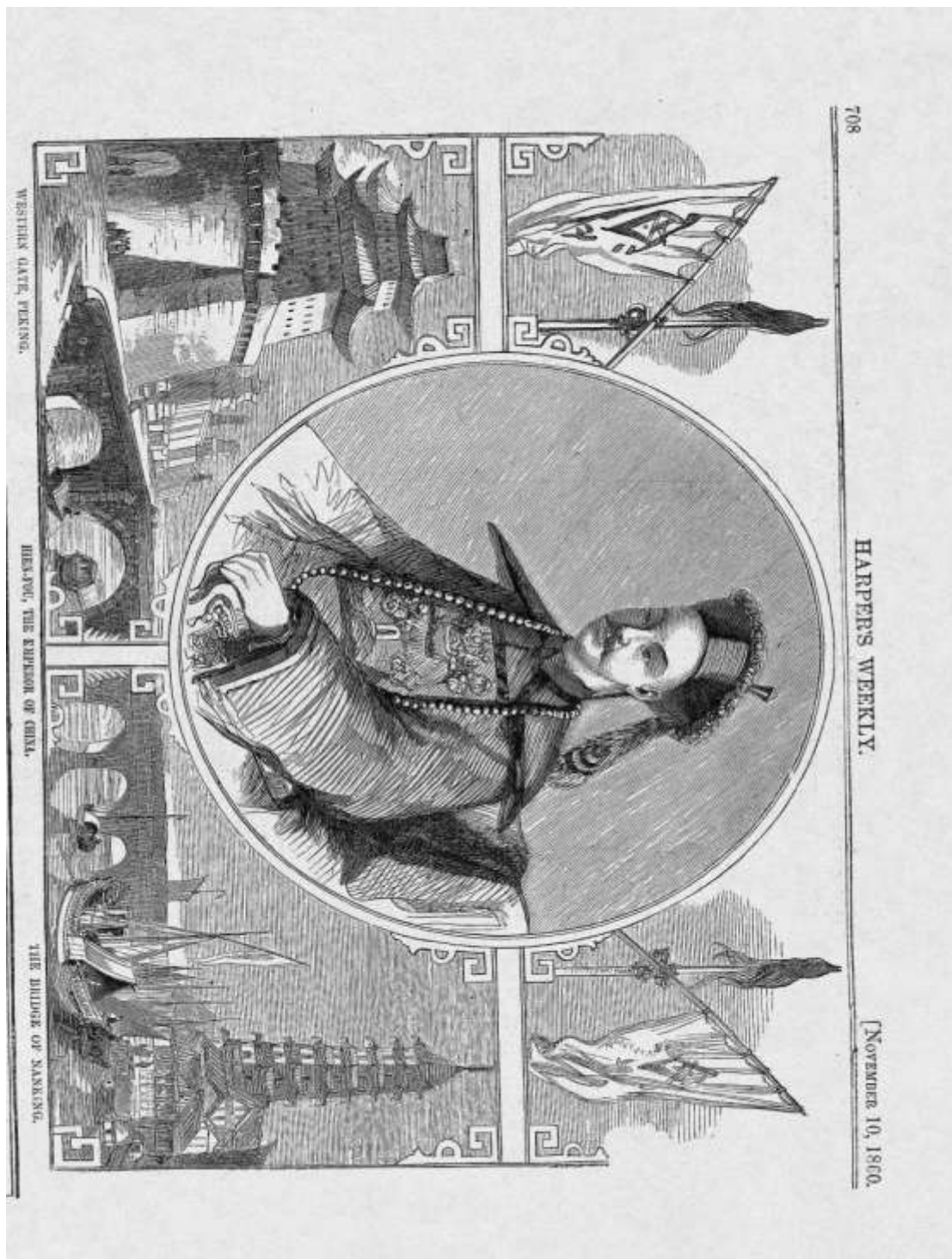


Figure 5.1 “Hien-Fou, the Emperor of China,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 10, 1860: 708.

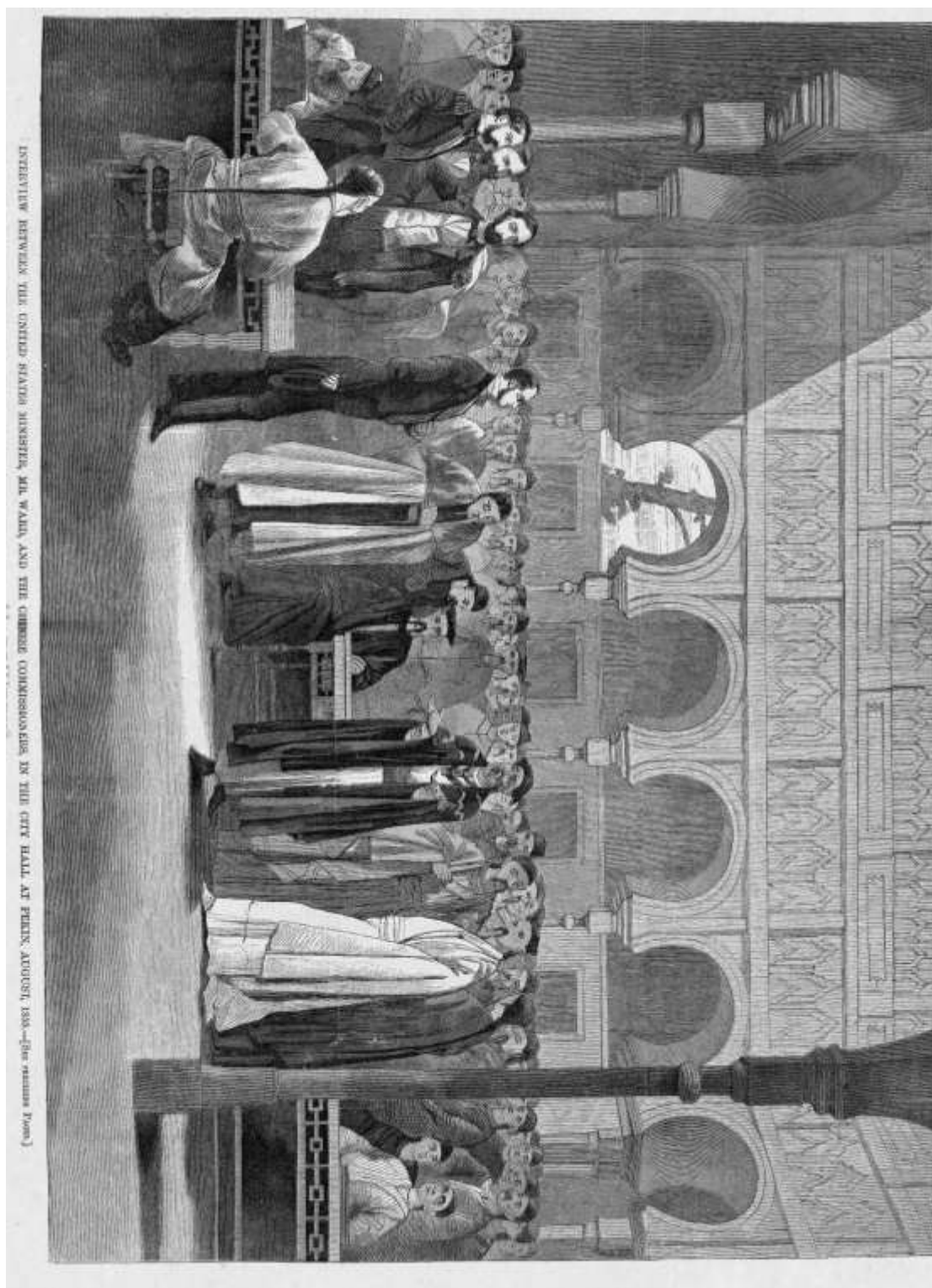


Figure 5.3 “Interview between the United States Minister, Mr. Ward, and the Chinese Commissioners in the city hall of Peking,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Dec. 10, 1859: 792.

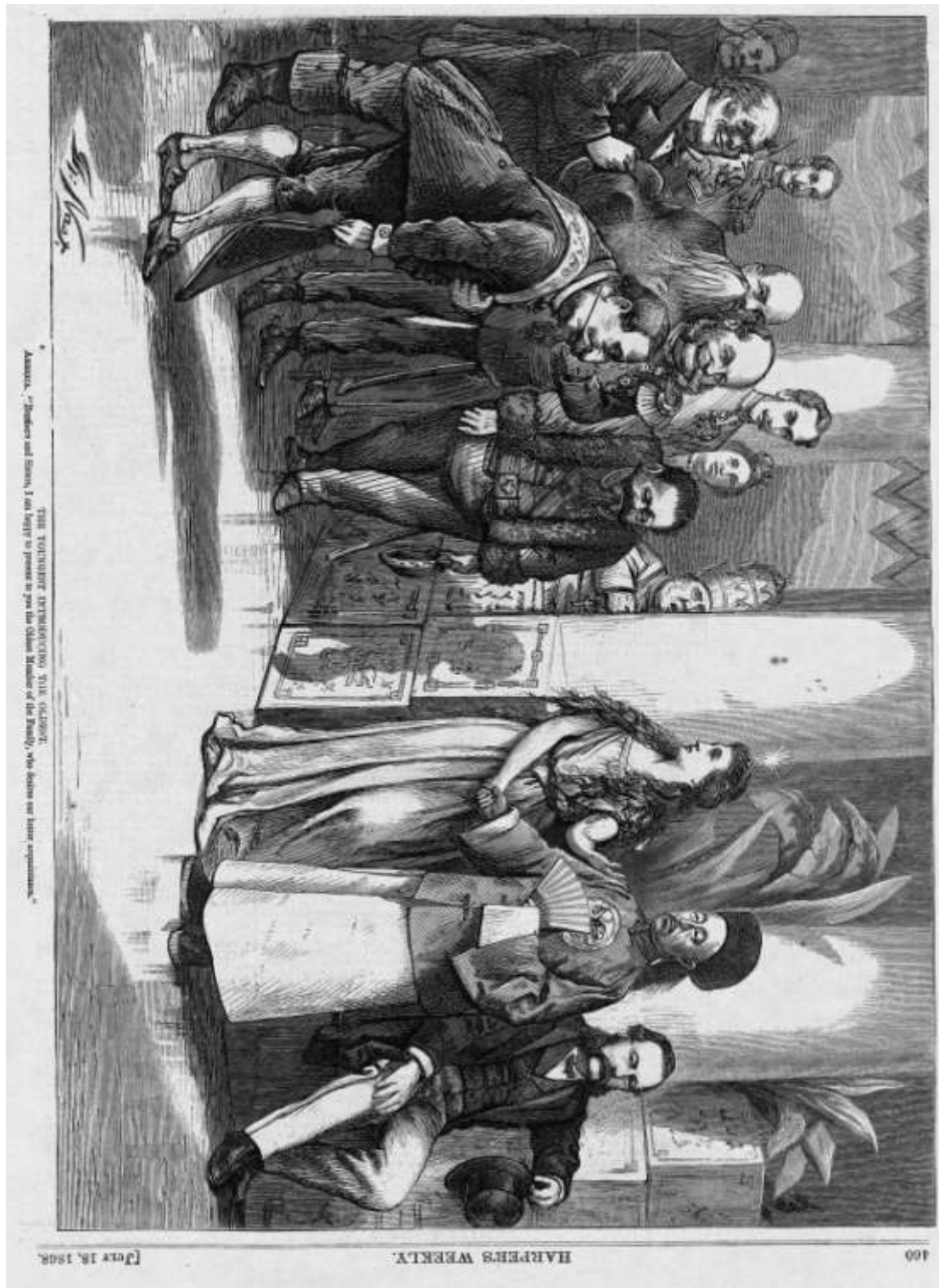


Figure 5.4 "The Youngest Introducing the Oldest," *Harper's Weekly*, July 18, 1868: 460.



Figure 5.5 "Li Hung-Chang," *Harper's Weekly*, May 21, 1892: 484.

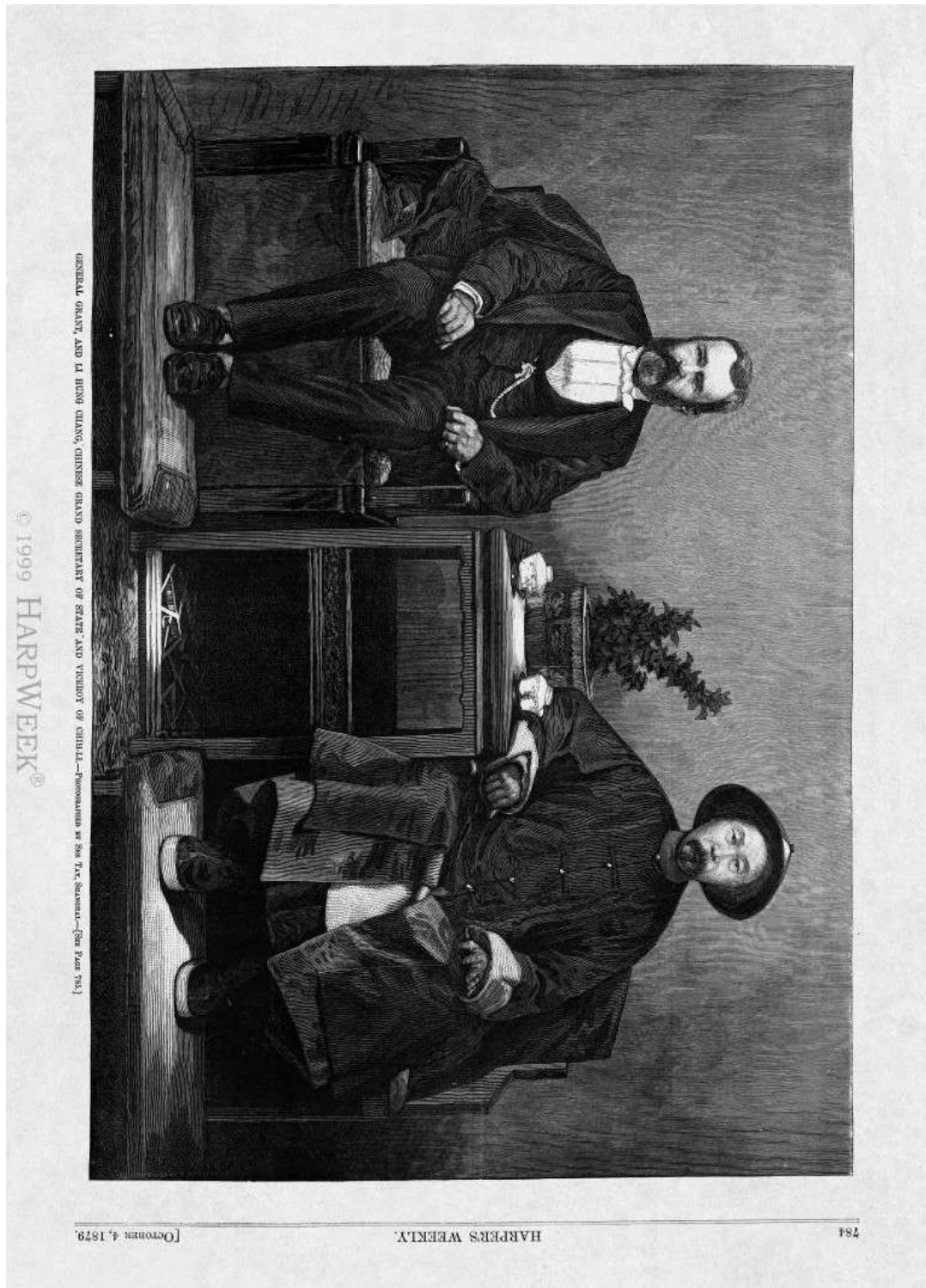


Figure 5.6 “General Grant, and Li Hung Chang, Chinese Grand Secretary of State and the Viceroy of Chih-li,” *Harper’s Weekly*, October 4, 1879: 784.



1. In the Kitchen of the Hotel Waldorf—Chinese Cooks preparing Li Hung-Chang's Food. 2. The Arrival of Li Hung-Chang—Crowds at the American Line Pier, August 28. 3. Li Hung-Chang visits the Tomb of General Grant, August 30. 4. The Arrival of Li Hung-Chang—The Procession passing under the Washington Arch, August 28. 5. The Celebration in the Chinese Quarter—Looking up Mott Street from Chatham Square, September 1.

THE VISIT OF THE AMBASSADOR OF CHINA.—[SEE PAGE 907.]

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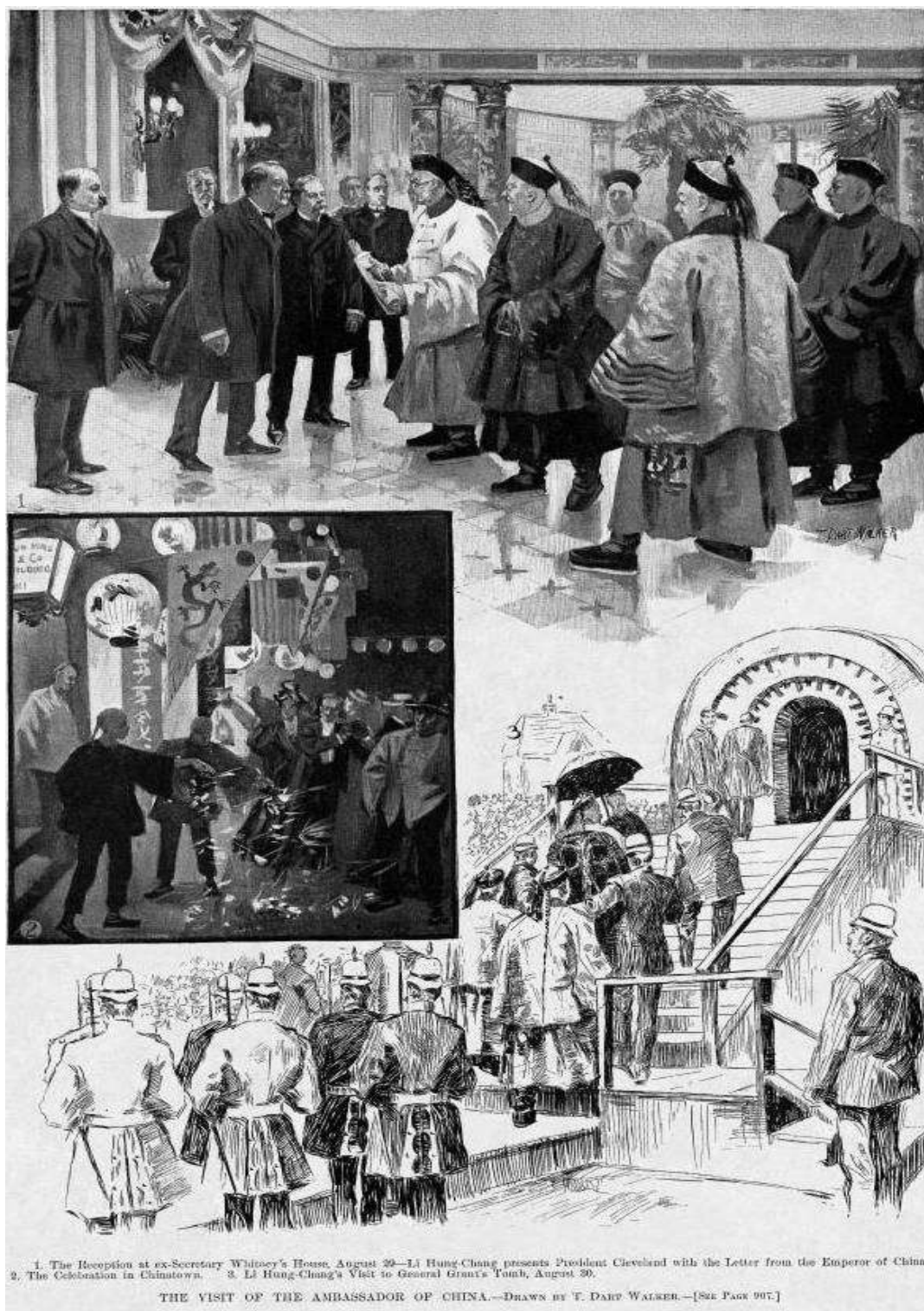


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LI HUNG-CHANG, IN THE PALACE, TIENTSIN.

Photographed for "Harper's Weekly," September 27, 1900, by Special Permission of the Viceroy.

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Figure 5.9 "Li Hung-Chang, in the Palace, Tientsin," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 24, 1900: 1103.

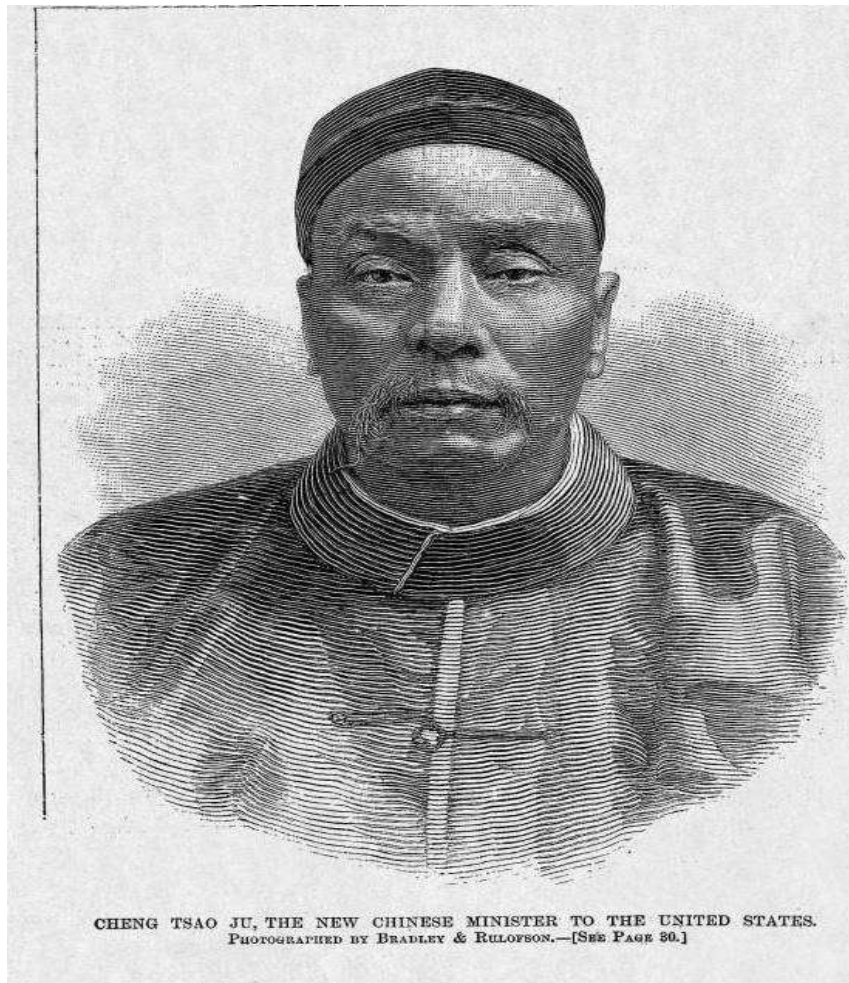


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Figure 5.11 “The Retiring Chinese Minister,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 17, 1886: 250.

"WIDE-OPEN" NEW YORK.—[See Page 1045.]

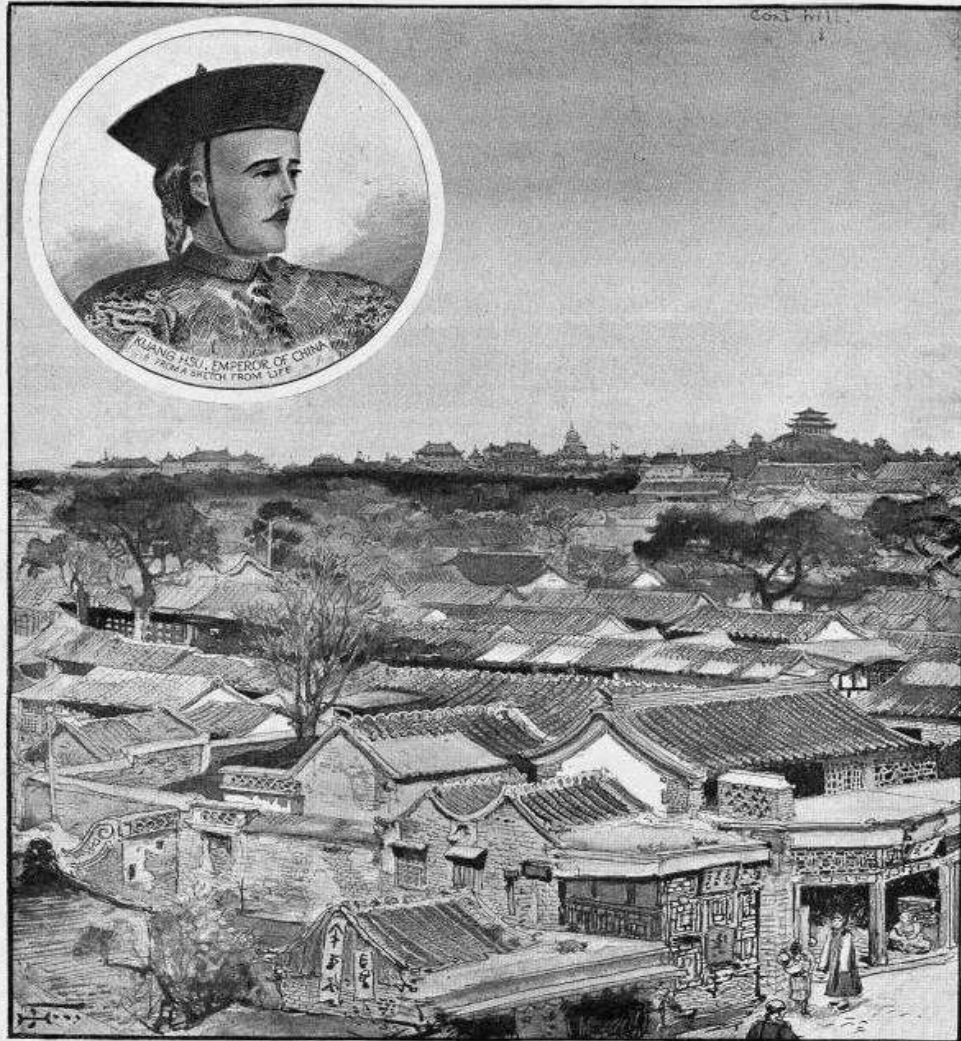
HARPER'S WEEKLY

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1898.

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THE DISTURBANCES IN CHINA.

PEKING—THE FORBIDDEN CITY, AS SEEN FROM THE IMPERIAL CITY.

DRAWN BY HARRY FENN FROM THE ONLY PHOTOGRAPH KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN OF THE PROHIBITED ENCLOSURE.—[See Page 1051.]

Figure 5.12 "The Disturbance in China," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 22, 1898: 1.

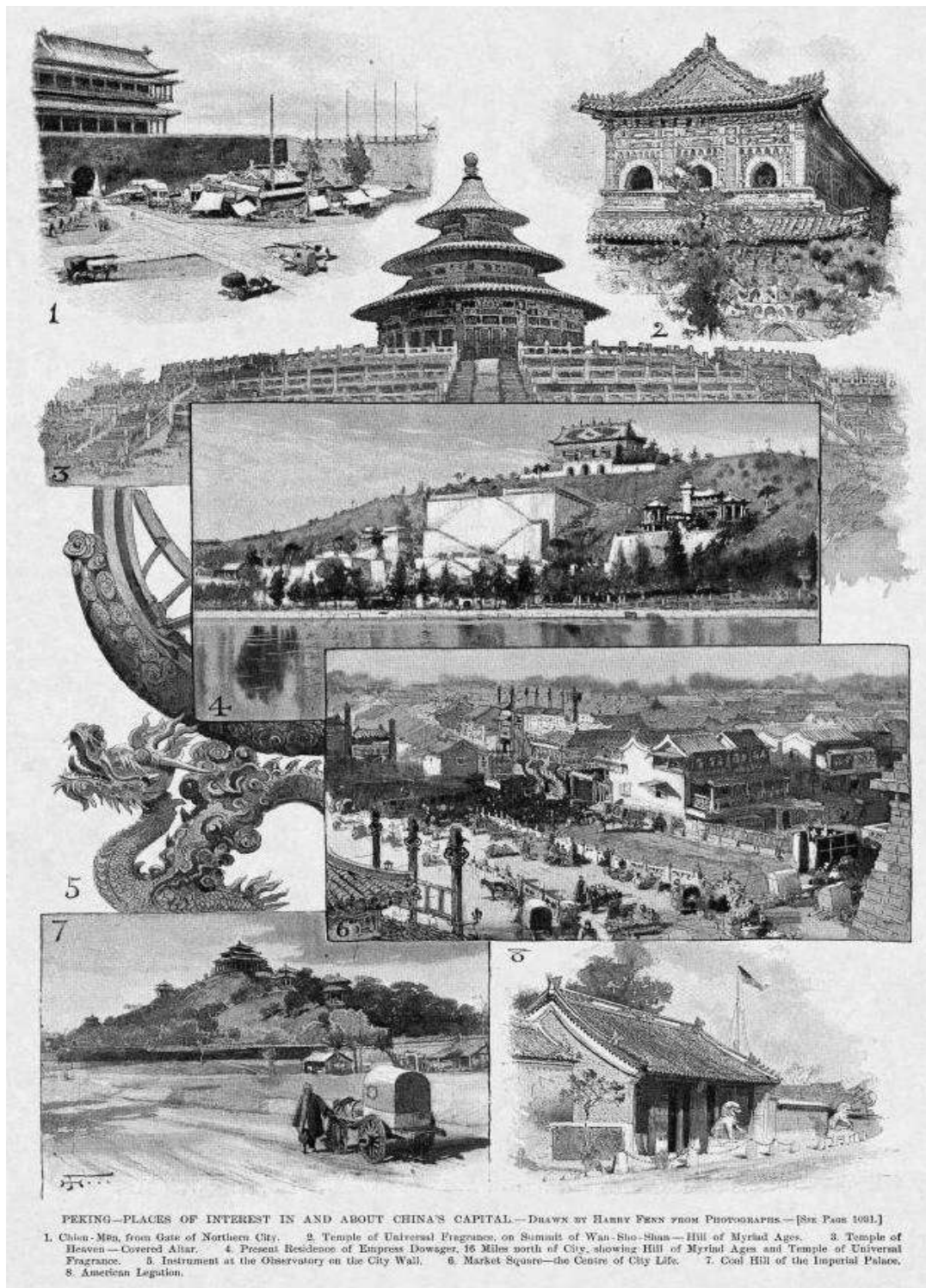


Figure 5.13 “Peking – Places of Interest in and about China’s Capital,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Oct. 22, 1898: 1028.

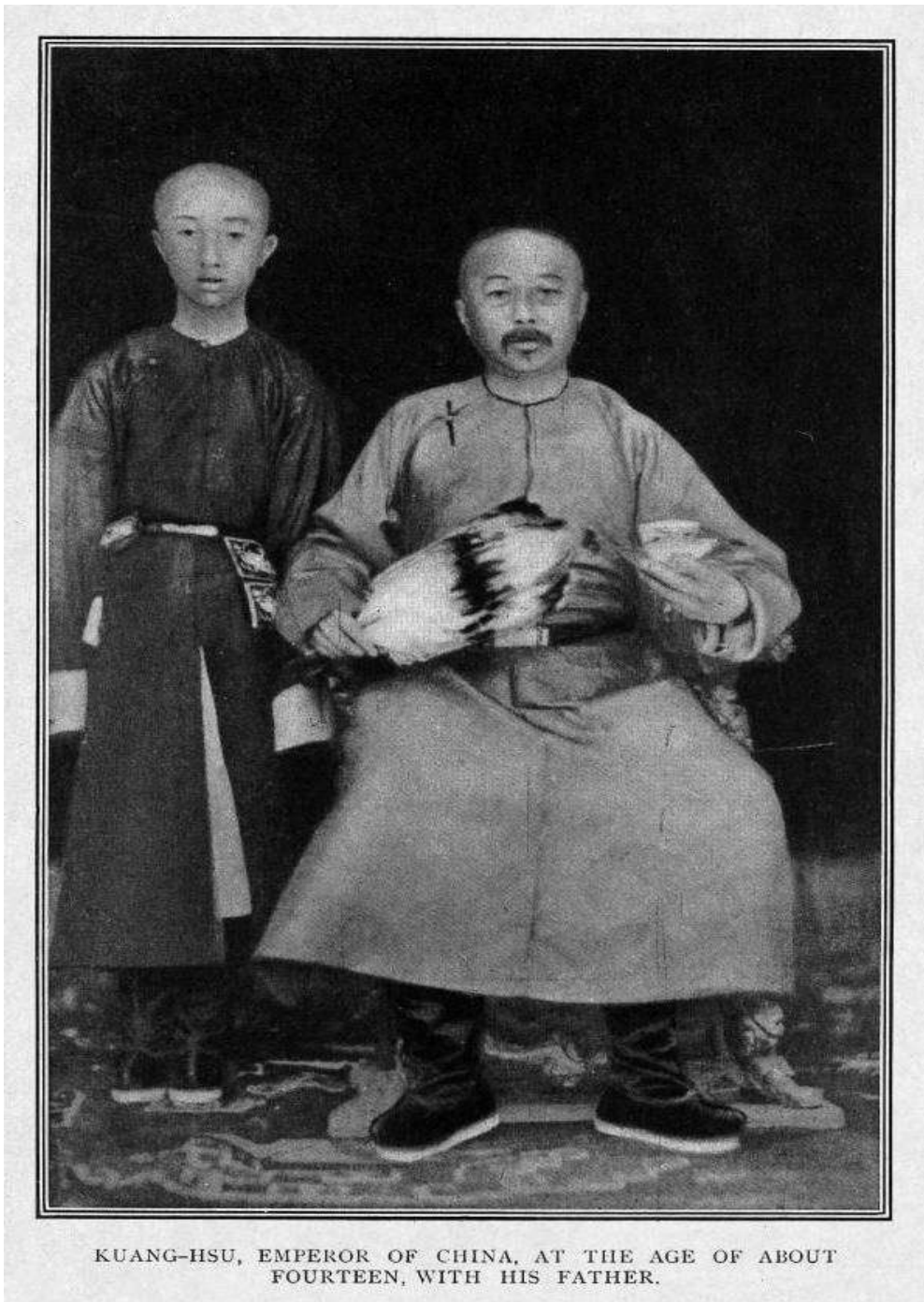


Figure 5.14 “Kuang-Hsu, Emperor of China, at the age of about fourteen, with his father,”
Harper's Weekly, Feb. 4, 1899: 116.



Figure 5.15 “Kang Yu Wei, The Modern Sage of China,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 5, 1898: 1091



CHINESE MILITARY DRILL—"ADVANCE OF THE TIGERS."

rough a very simple sword exercise, keeping it in a relatively controlling height, and at such a point as to invite a yell. This follows the necessary right represented in the second ring. At the sound of a drum the whole body goes put their hands in the ground, and with their bodies flat, will utter the acrobatic, rolling in their hands both sword and shield. By sword they are on their legs again, and the acrobatic performance is repeated. Just what object of this most amazing maneuver may be our artist declares himself unable to state, but the amusement of an enemy on

beholding it may easily be imagined. The answer already given is equal to the hardness of the Chinese army is corroborated by the Marquis de Hugu, who says that "two regiments of men and two regiments of women would suffice to conquer China. There is not," he continues, "a single man in the empire that could stand the most of a day's march. The sight of a body of men marching coolly and steadily up to them is so alien to their nature, so utterly unapproachable and inviolable, that all courage deserts them, and it is ten to one if they do not immediately take to their heels."

BUYING CAVALRY HORSES

It has been shown by experience that the Cal. Iberia horse possesses all the requisite qualities for the arduous and fatiguing service of country employed by Indian warriors, such as a compact, powerful, and is in great demand throughout that State. So great is the general estimate of the breed of horses over all others that not be obtained, that General Crook has several times recommended to the War Department at Washington that all regiments upon the frontier should be thus equipped.

Our engraving upon the following page of the body scene that takes place at the point of view in the neighborhood of San Jose. It is required that each animal should be less than fourteen hands in height, not more than six years old, sound at all points, and of a good, hardy breed. Having been once purchased, the U. S. Army is required to be kept on the left flank and frontal position before the officers called for the purpose. The price paid ranges from eighty to one hundred and twenty dollars.



CHINESE MILITARY DRILL—"THE ROLLOVER."

Figure 5.16 "Chinese Military Drill—Advance of the Tigers, The Rollover," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 11, 1876: 923.

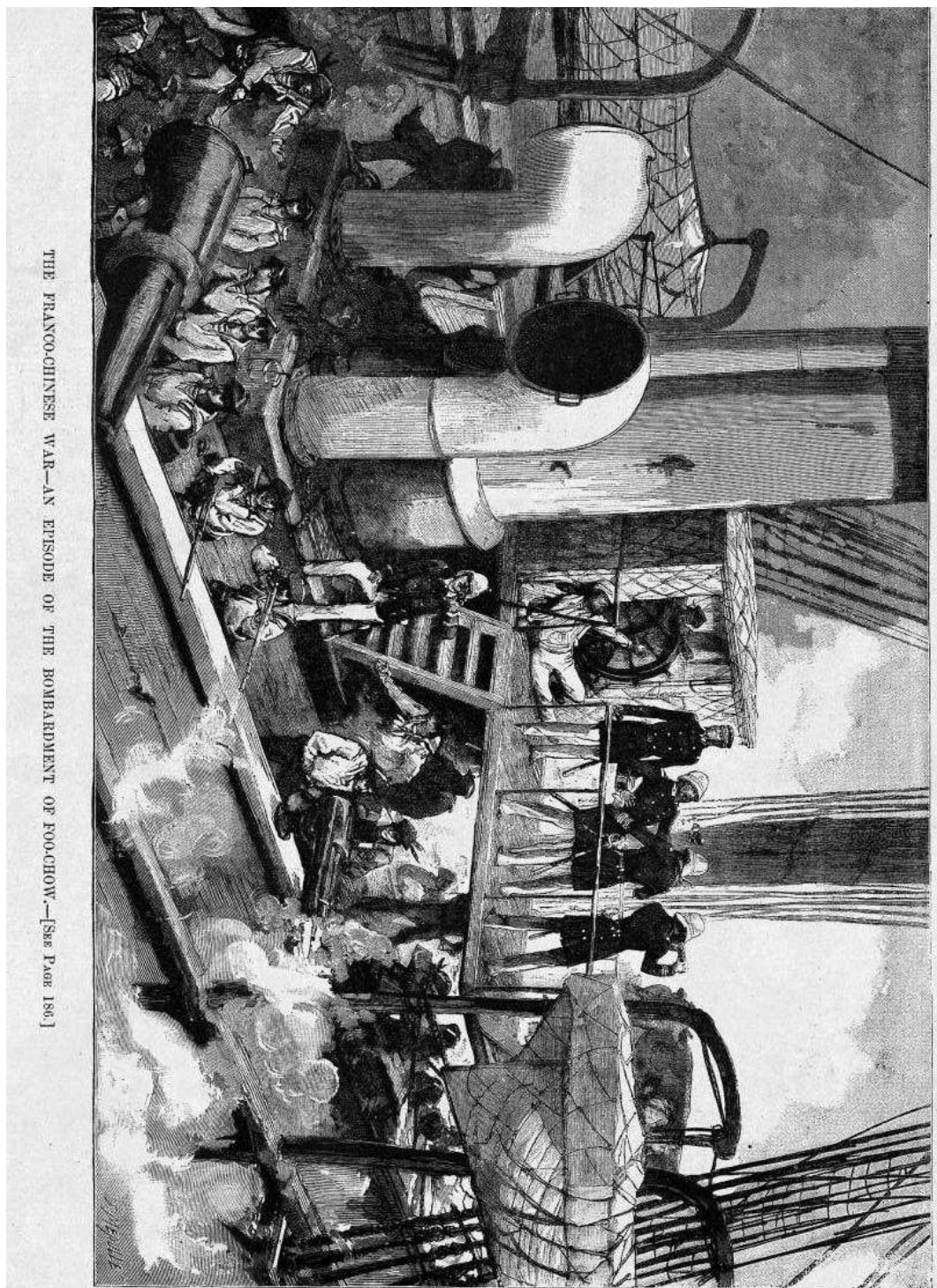


Figure 5.17 "The Franco-Chinese War," *Harper's Weekly*, March 21, 1885: 180.

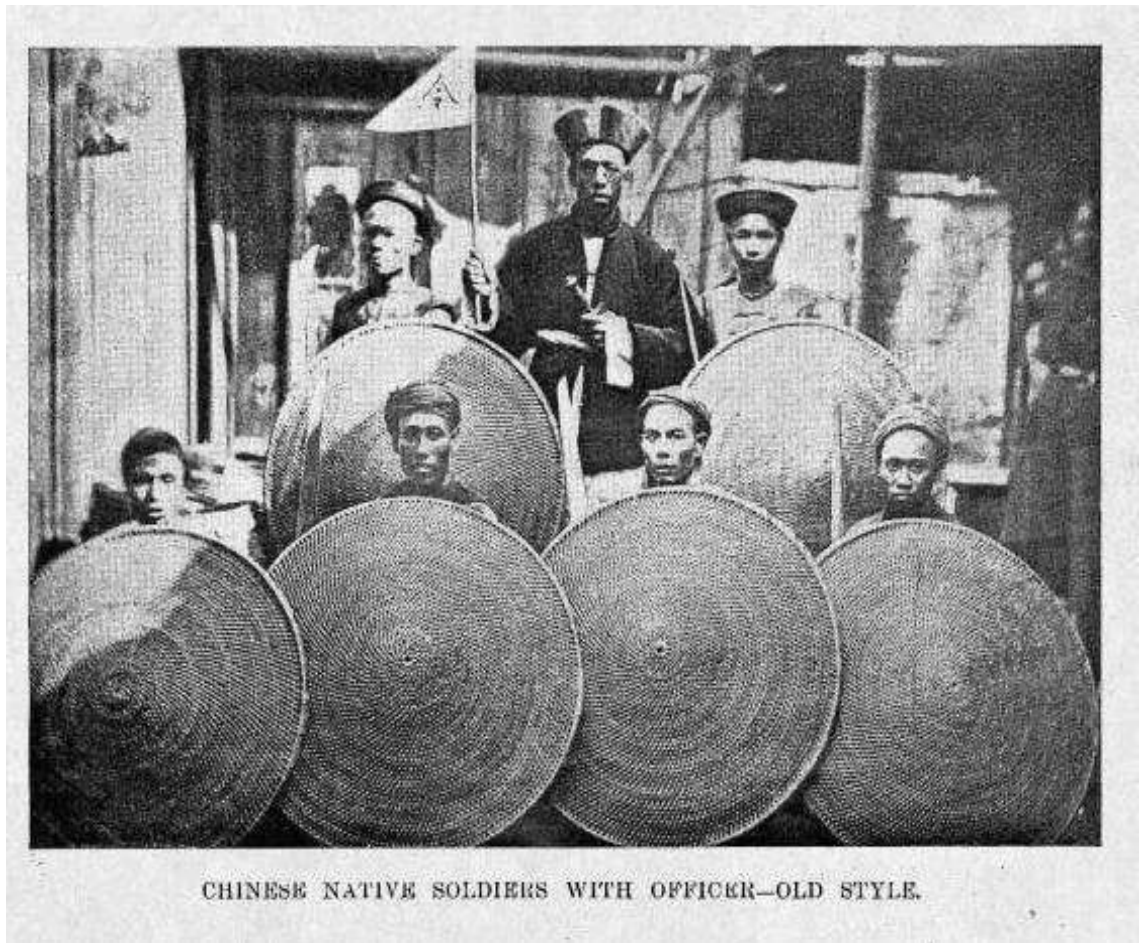
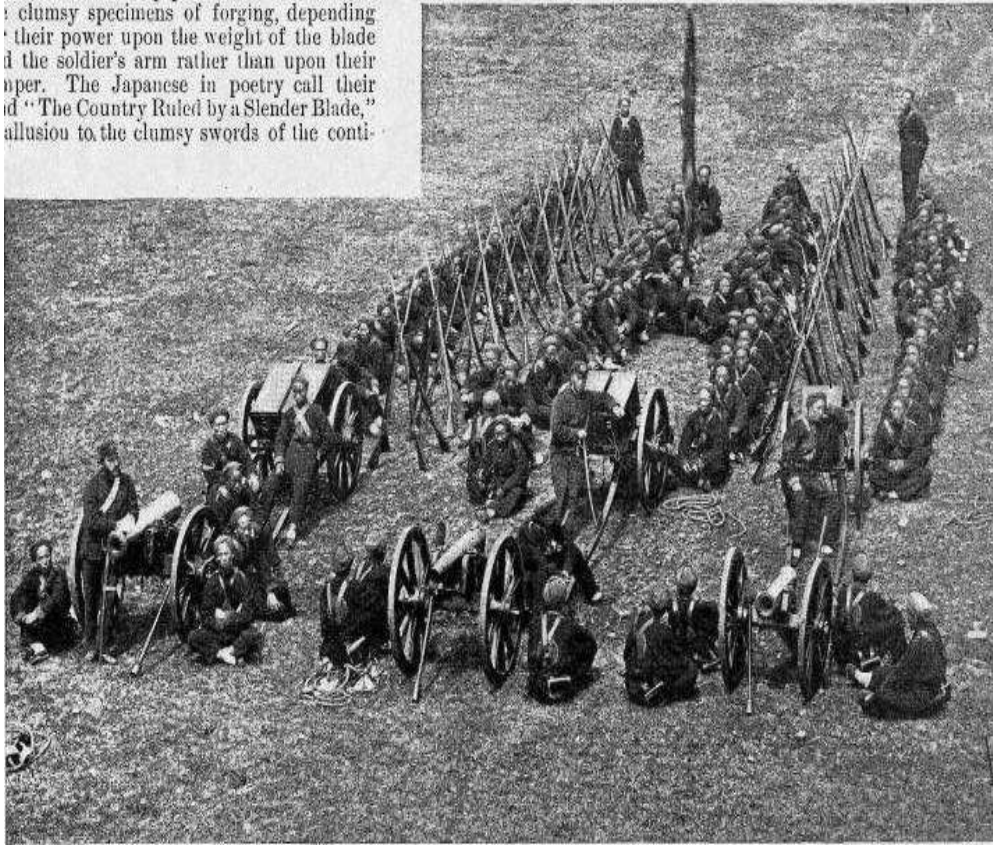


Figure 5.18 "Chinese Native Soldier with Office—Old Style," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 25, 1894: 809.

clumsy specimens of forging, depending
their power upon the weight of the blade
and the soldier's arm rather than upon their
temper. The Japanese in poetry call their
land "The Country Ruled by a Slender Blade,"
an allusion to the clumsy swords of the conti-



ALL READY FOR KOREA—A MODERN CHINESE BATTERY.

809

Figure 5.19 "All Ready for Korea—A Modern Chinese Battery," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 25, 1894: 809.

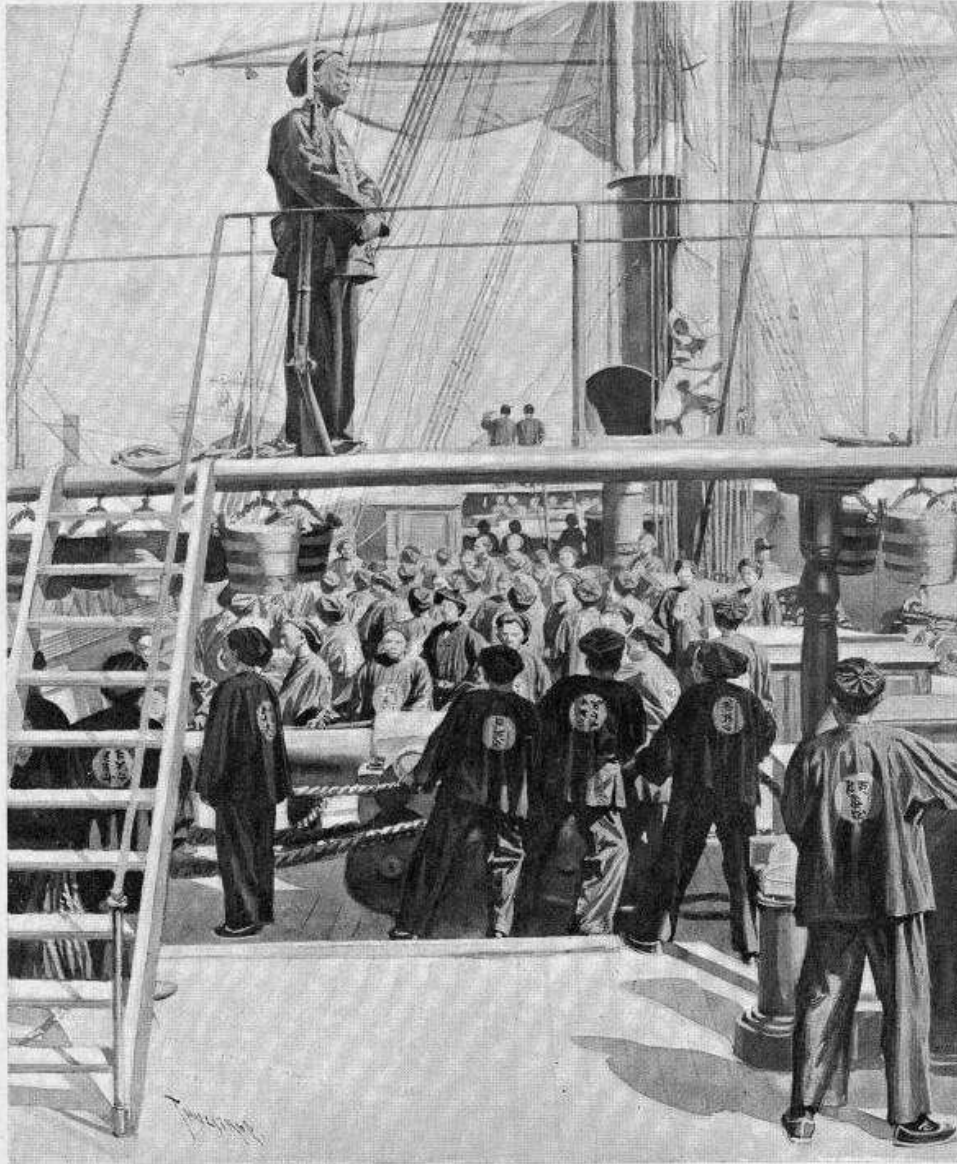
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GUN DRILL ON BOARD THE CHINESE WAR-SHIP "YUNG WO."—DRAWS BY T. DE THULSTREUP.—[SEE PAGE 870.]

Figure 5.20 "Gun Drill on Board the Chinese War-ship," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 15, 1894.

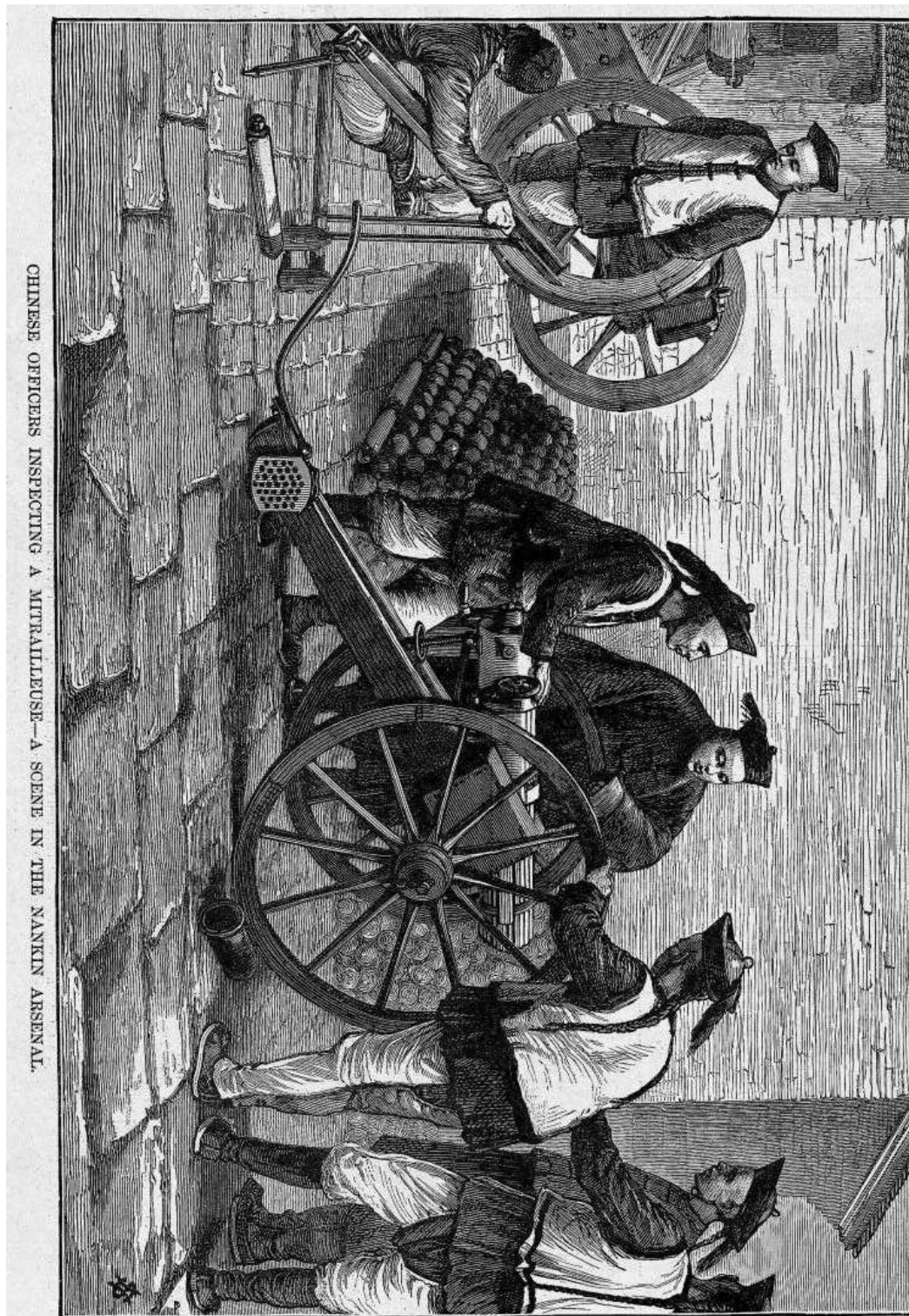


Figure 5.21 “Chinese Officers Inspecting a Mitrailleuse,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 19, 1873: 640.

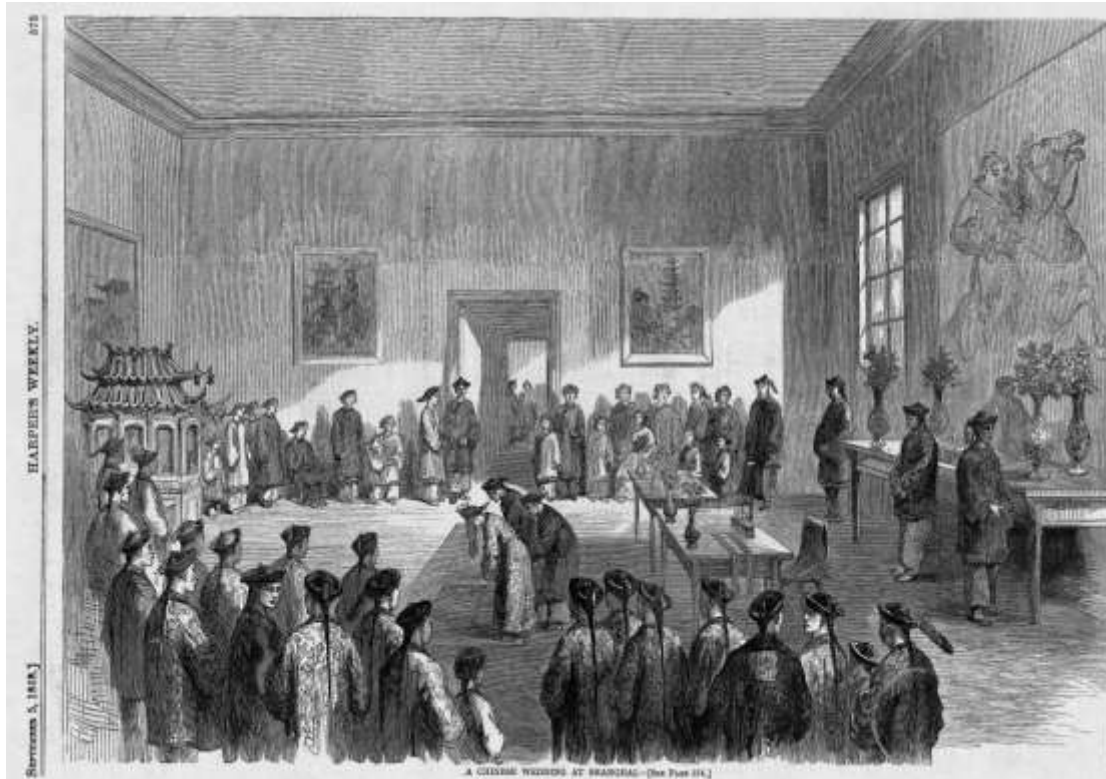


Figure 5.22 “A Chinese Wedding at Shanghai,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept. 5, 1868: 574

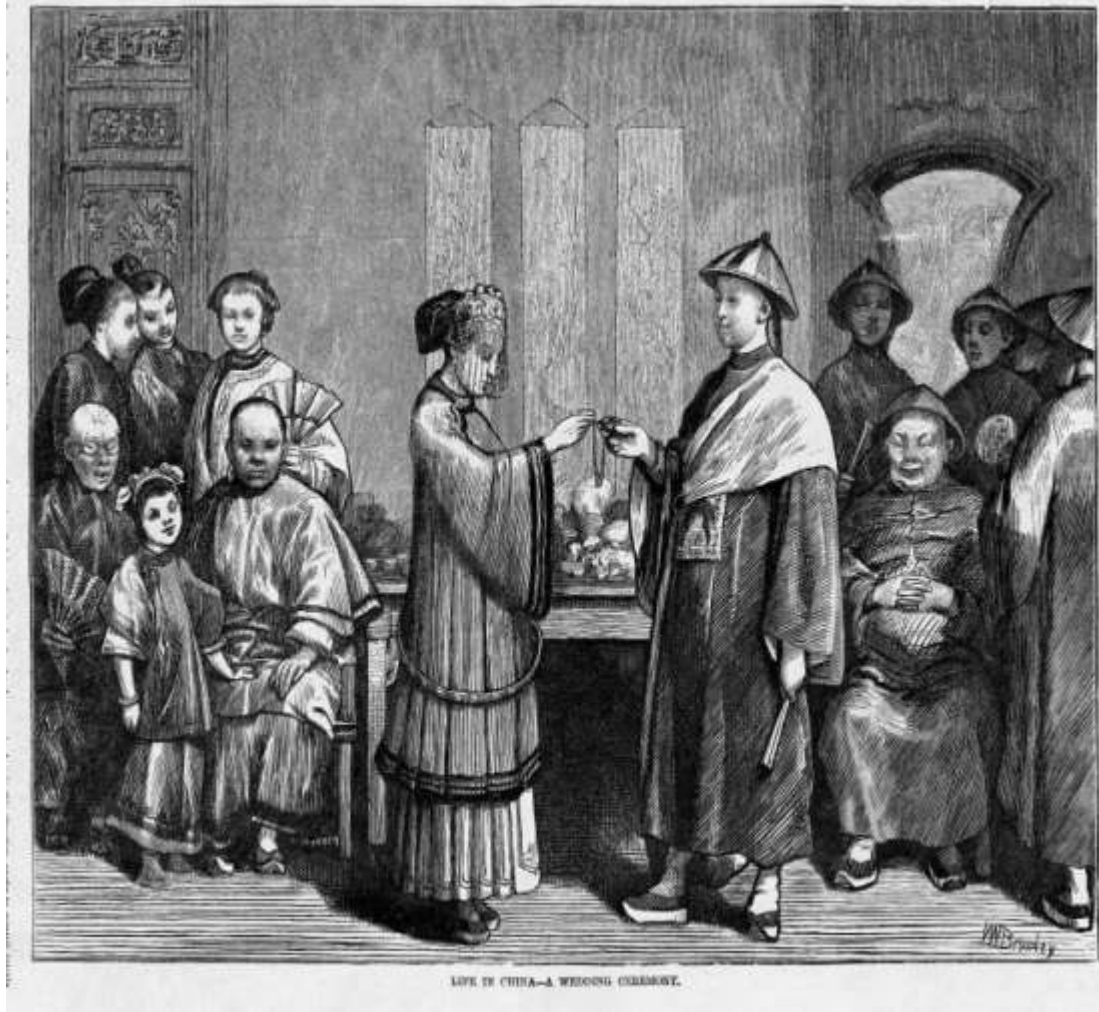


Figure 5.23 "Life in China," *Harper's Weekly*, Feb.1, 1873: 92.



TABLE 1. (continued)

demond and pointed by her female relatives and associates. The headstone, hung with glaucous sprays of yew, is poised on the head, the last touch is given to the southern face of her and side walls, the grotesque gilded face of the stone, like a grebe diving in blue water, seems, still hovering a few feet above, to dip and landing deny that may be above her. She is then buried in her chair, followed by a stream of weeping females, five of whom are the bridesmaids, who are old married women, dressed in black and old mourning. Then, amidst the dejected

ing din of firecrackers, the shrill notes of native flutes, and hoars of gongs, she is borne up to the house of the bridegroom, at the door of which she is met by an old woman, the standard bearer of the custom. A pile of red and blue candles of various sizes and shapes, of various heights, is placed in the center of the room, and the bridegroom, the bride, and the standard bearer, each holding a candle, stand in a row, and the bridegroom, the bride, and the standard bearer, each holding a candle, stand in a row, and the bridegroom, the bride, and the standard bearer, each holding a candle, stand in a row.



• STREET BANNER

[illegible]

The second distinction represents a quiet detente even, a goodwill drawing in the hairs of the student's own chest, who is making his infamously known for the morning school. The system of government competitive examinations, which has been in operation in China for many ages, and which throws open to the poorest scholar of the land the way to the highest official appointments, has fostered among the people that reverence for learning and the learned which approaches to a form of worship in the respect they pay to their ancient sages. It



A STREET WALL.



WORKING WITH SLAVE-PLANTS.

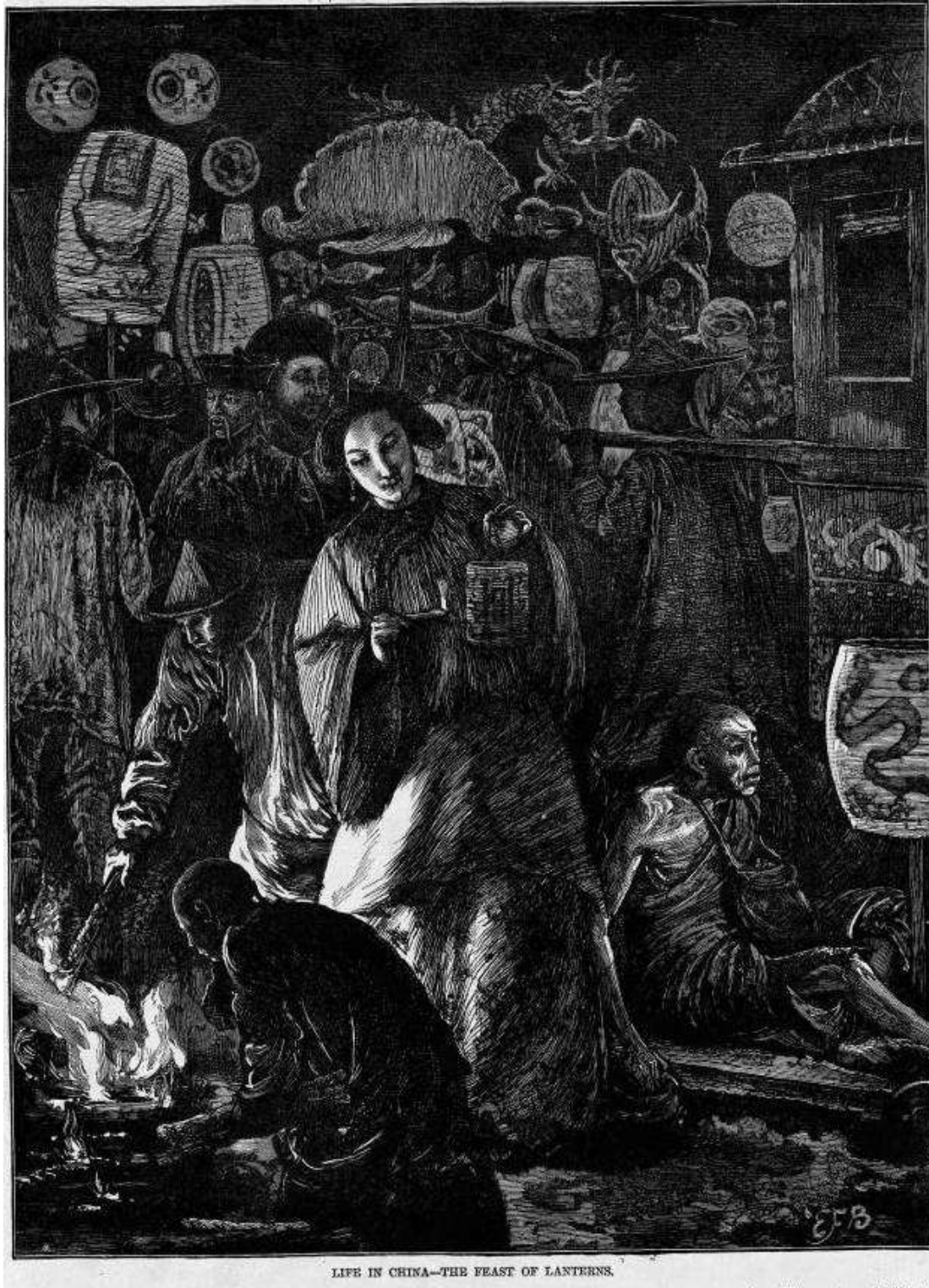


Figure 5.25 "Life in China- The Feast of Lanterns," *Harper's Weekly*, July 26, 1873: 661.



Figure 5.26 “Going to the Derby at Shanghai,” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 14, 1879: 468.

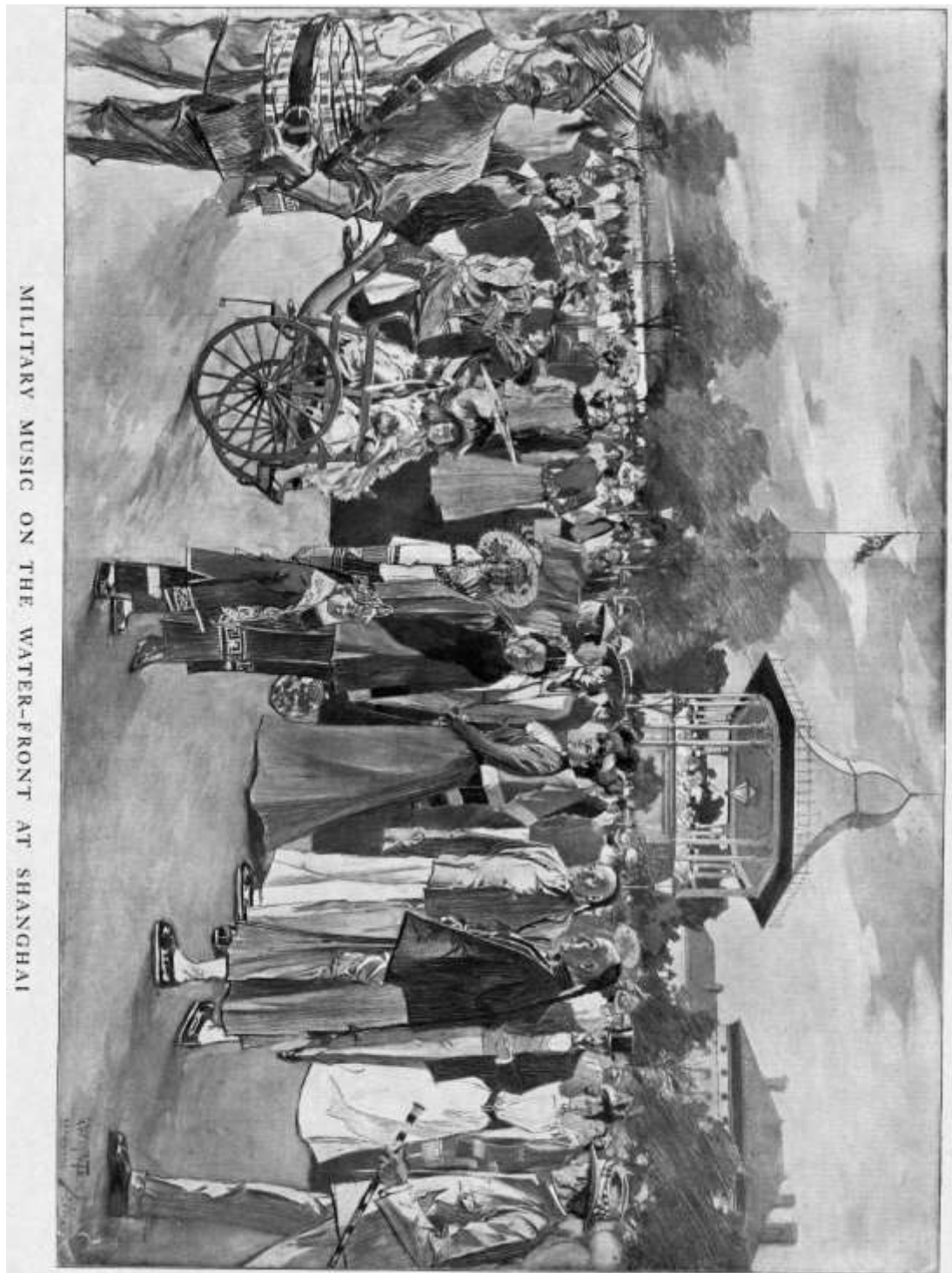


Figure 5.27 "Military Music on the Water-Front at Shanghai," *Harper's Weekly*, July 21, 1900: 674-675.



Figure 5.28 "The Chinese Club at Shanghai," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 8, 1900: 844-845.

LIFE IN CHINA.



DEATH IN THE GALE.



CONVEYING PRISONERS TO THE LOCK-UP.



COOLERS.



A MENDICANT.



THE HAIN-OAT.



CORTICE.

Figure 5.29 "Life in China," *Harper's Weekly*, July 26, 1873: 660.



Figure 5.30 “Chinese Coolie,” *Harper’s Weekly*, April 24, 1875: 351.



Figure 5.31 "A Chinese Junk Village," *Harper's Weekly*, May 20, 1882: 316.



Figure 5.32 “The Race at Victoria Hong Kong,” *Harper’s Weekly*, August 19, 1876: 686.



EN ROUTE TO PEKING—FLEET OF CHINESE "TRIBUTE" BOATS AT TONG-CHOW, WHERE THE GRAND CANAL CONNECTS THE PEI-HO WITH PEKING.



EN ROUTE TO PEKING—COOLIE BOATMEN TOWING HOUSE-BOAT UP THE PEI-HO.

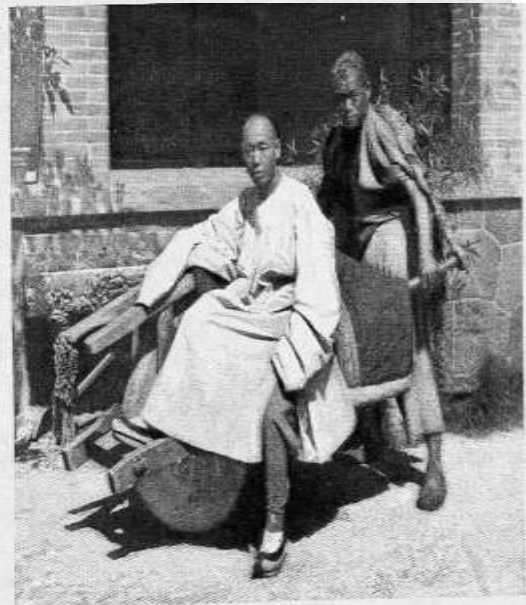
Figure 5.33-1.2 "Around the World, China Today" *Harper's Weekly*, June 6, 1896: 562.



ON THE SECTION OF THE GRAND CANAL BETWEEN TONG-CHOW AND PEKING—ALONG THE FIRST LEVEE.

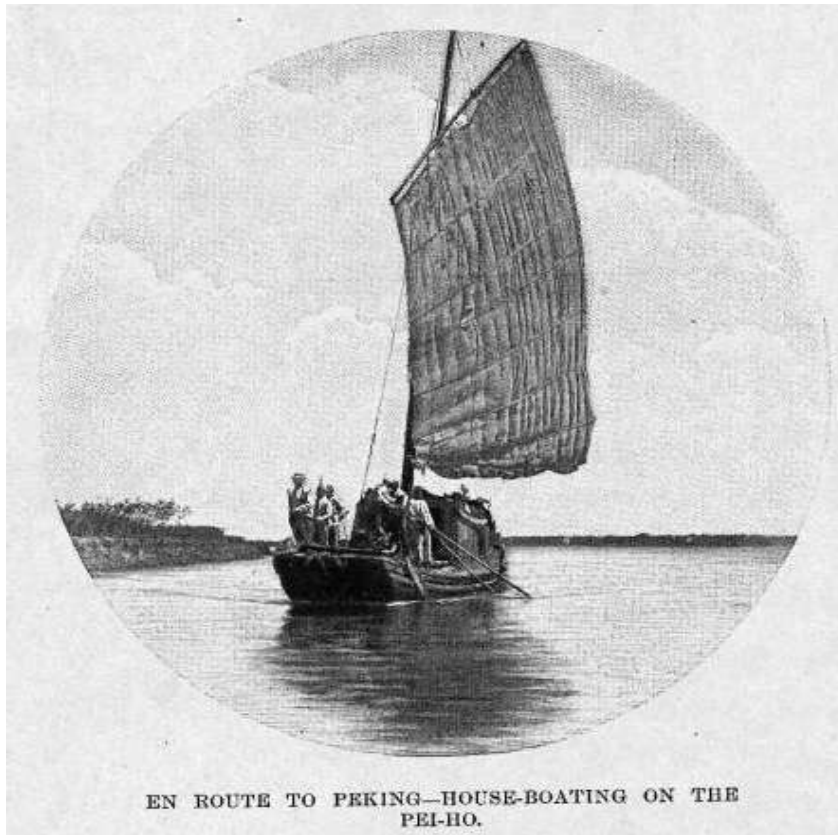


PEKING—INSIDE VIEW OF THE GATEWAY LEADING TOWARDS THE
EMPEROR'S PALACE.

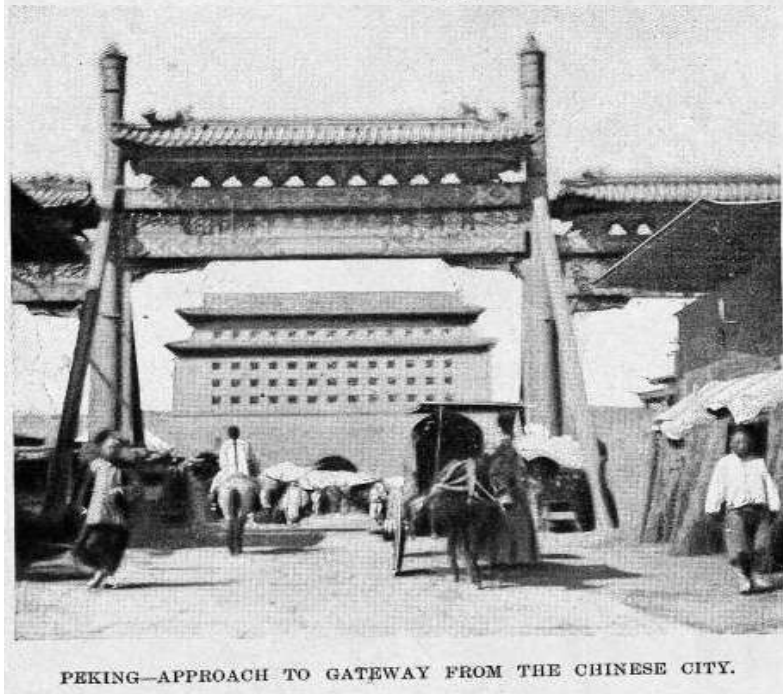


CHINESE WHEELBARROW AT CHEE-POO.

Figure 5.33-3.4.5 “Around the World, China Today” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 6, 1896: 563.

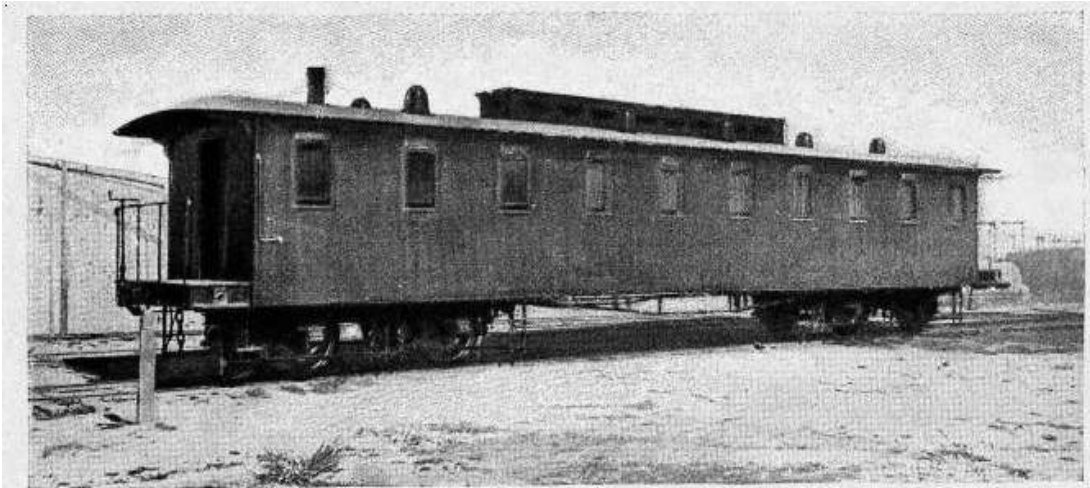


EN ROUTE TO PEKING—HOUSE-BOATING ON THE
PEI-HO.

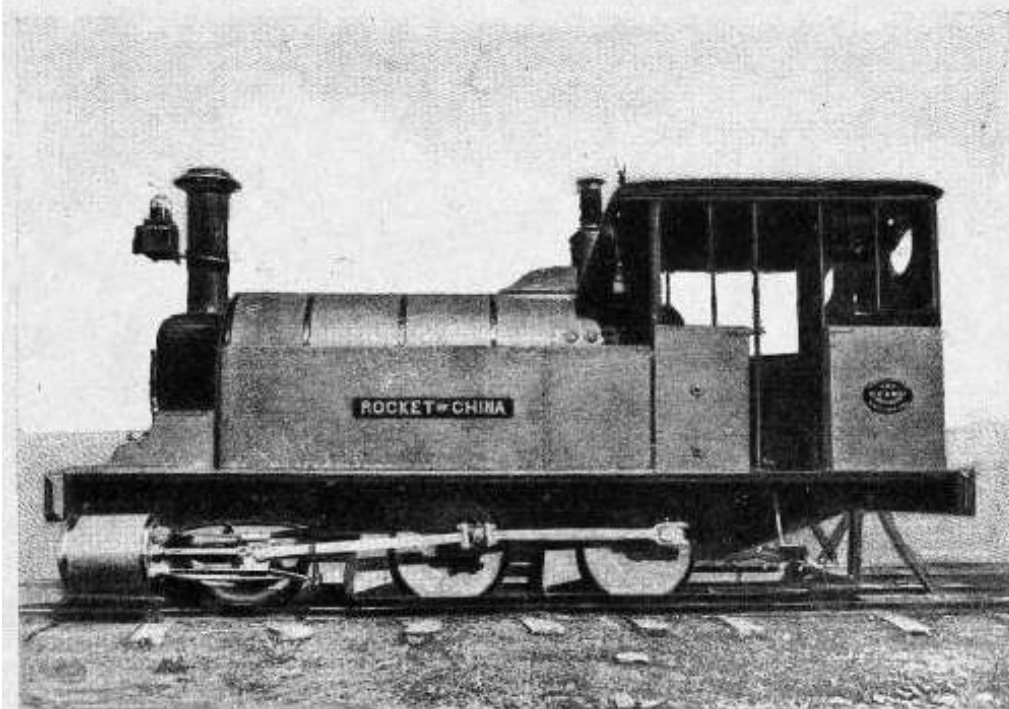


PEKING—APPROACH TO GATEWAY FROM THE CHINESE CITY.

Figure 5.33-6.7 “Around the World, China Today” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 6, 1896: 563.



RAILROAD CAR USED BY THE VICEROY LI HUNG-CHANG.



FIRST LOCOMOTIVE USED ON THE PRESENT CHINESE RAILWAY,
Constructed largely from Material saved from Destruction when the Line built from
Woo-sung to Shaughai in 1863 was abandoned.

Figure 5.33-8.9 "Around the World, China Today" *Harper's Weekly*, June 6, 1896: 566.

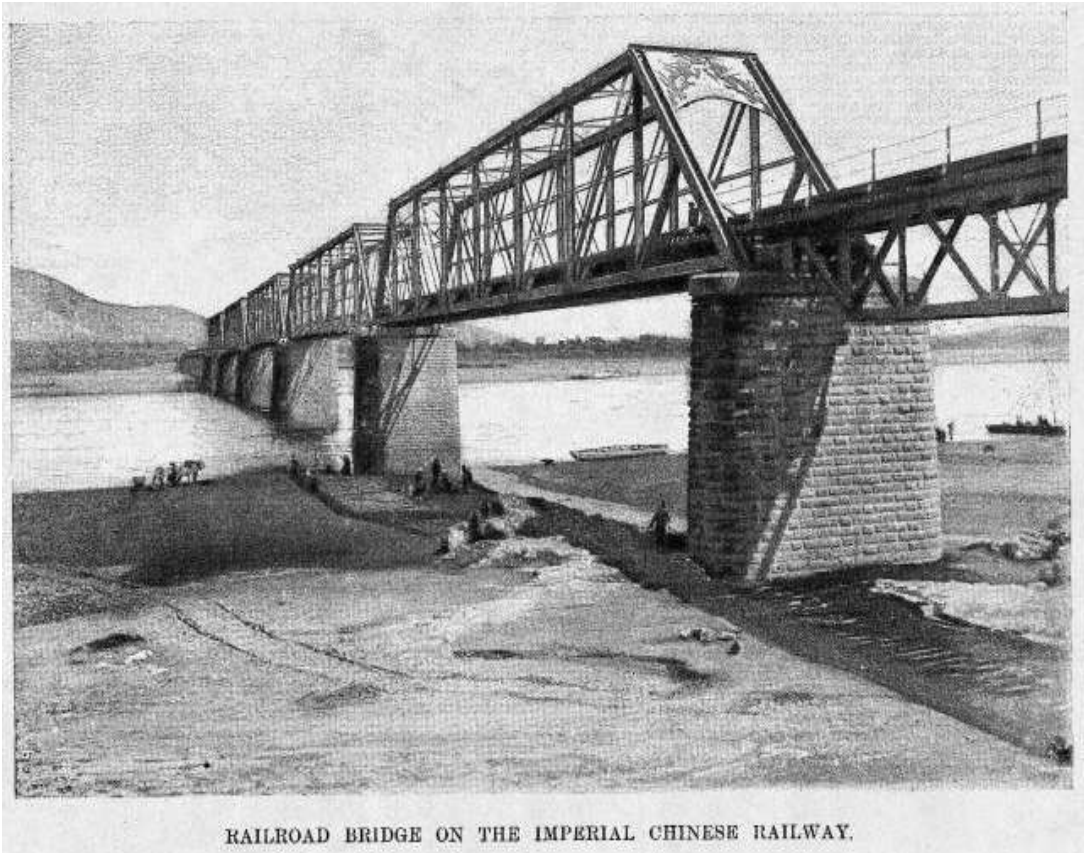


Figure 5.33-10 "Around the World, China Today" *Harper's Weekly*, June 6, 1896: 566.

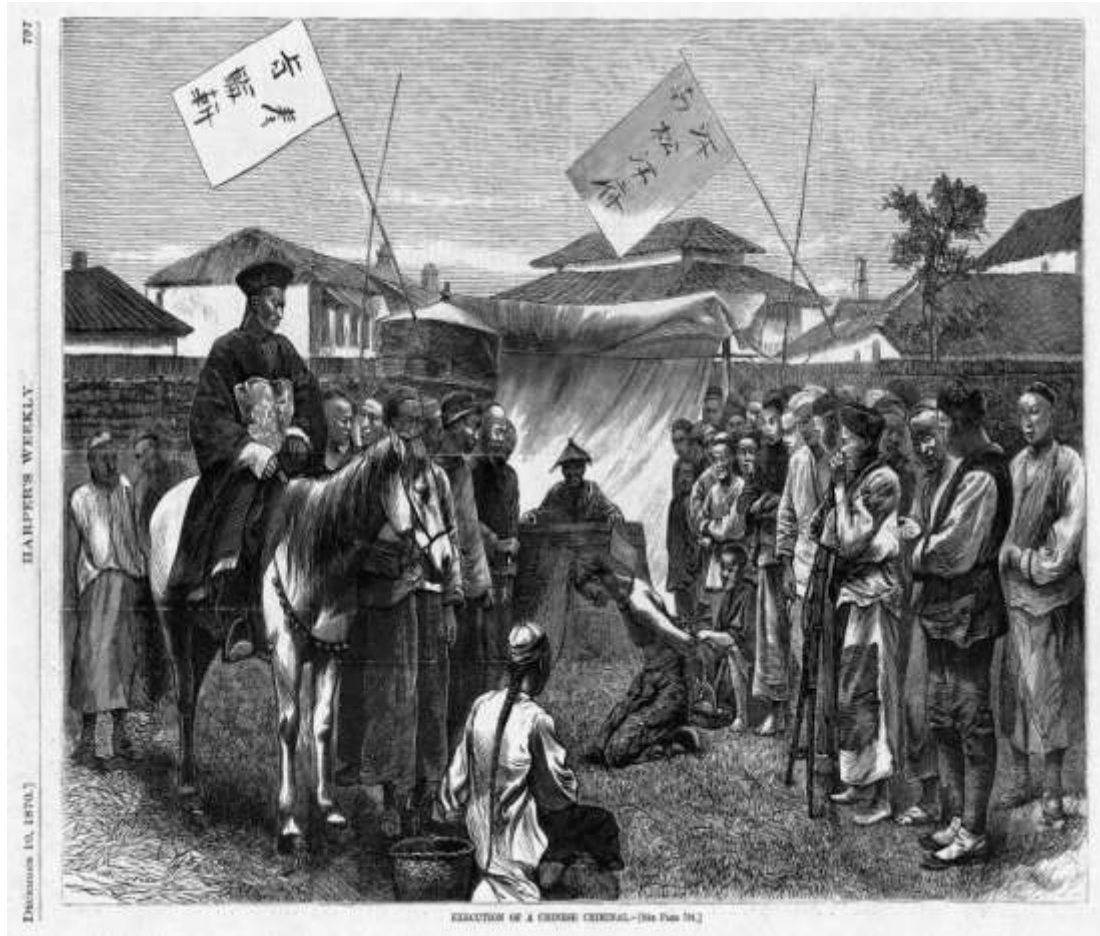


Figure 5.34 “Execution of a Chinese Criminal,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Dec. 10, 1879:797.



Figure 5.35 “An Opium Den in a Chinese City,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1880: 556.

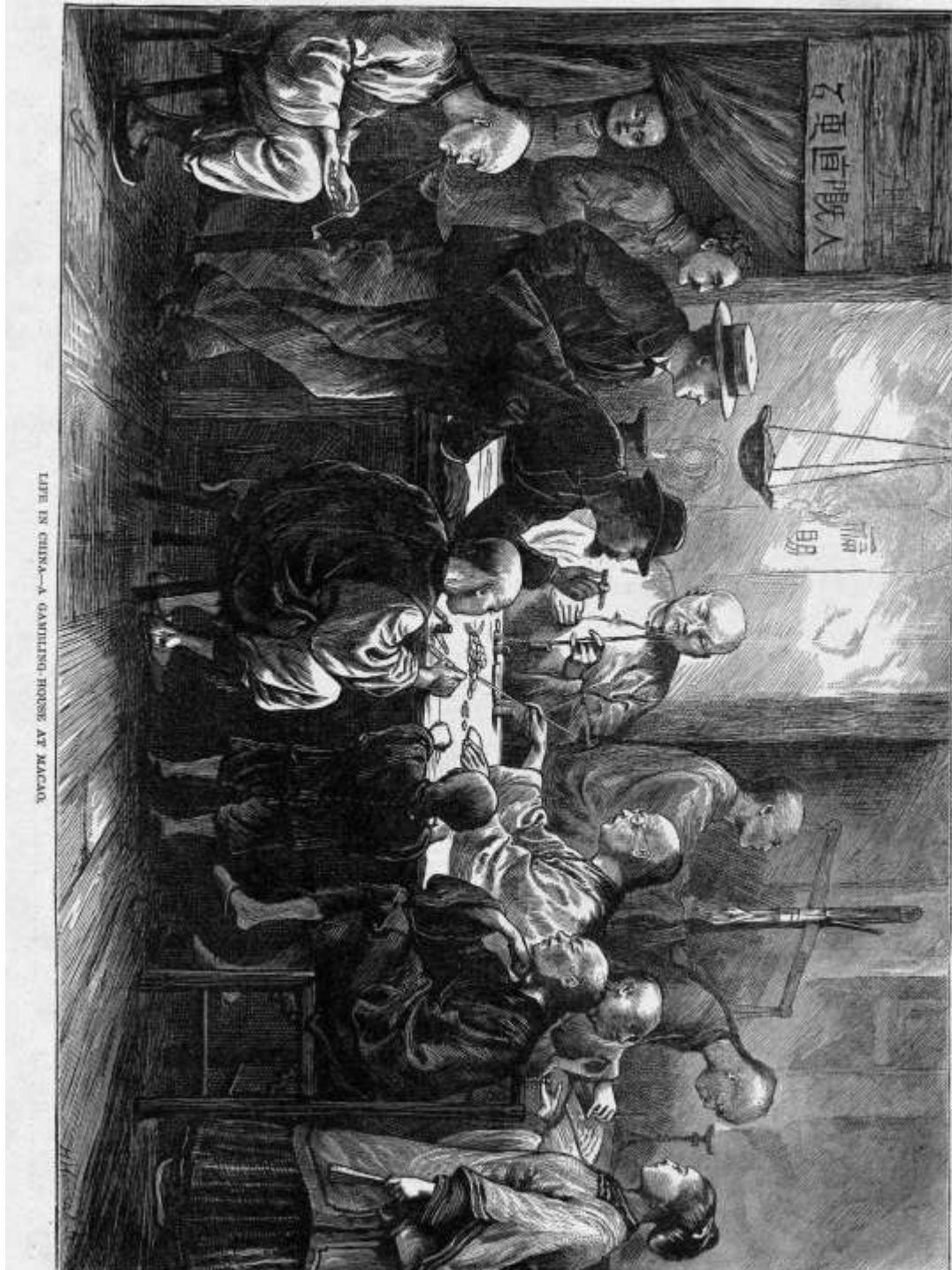


Figure 5.36 “Life in China – A Gambling-house at Macao,” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 14, 1873: 517.

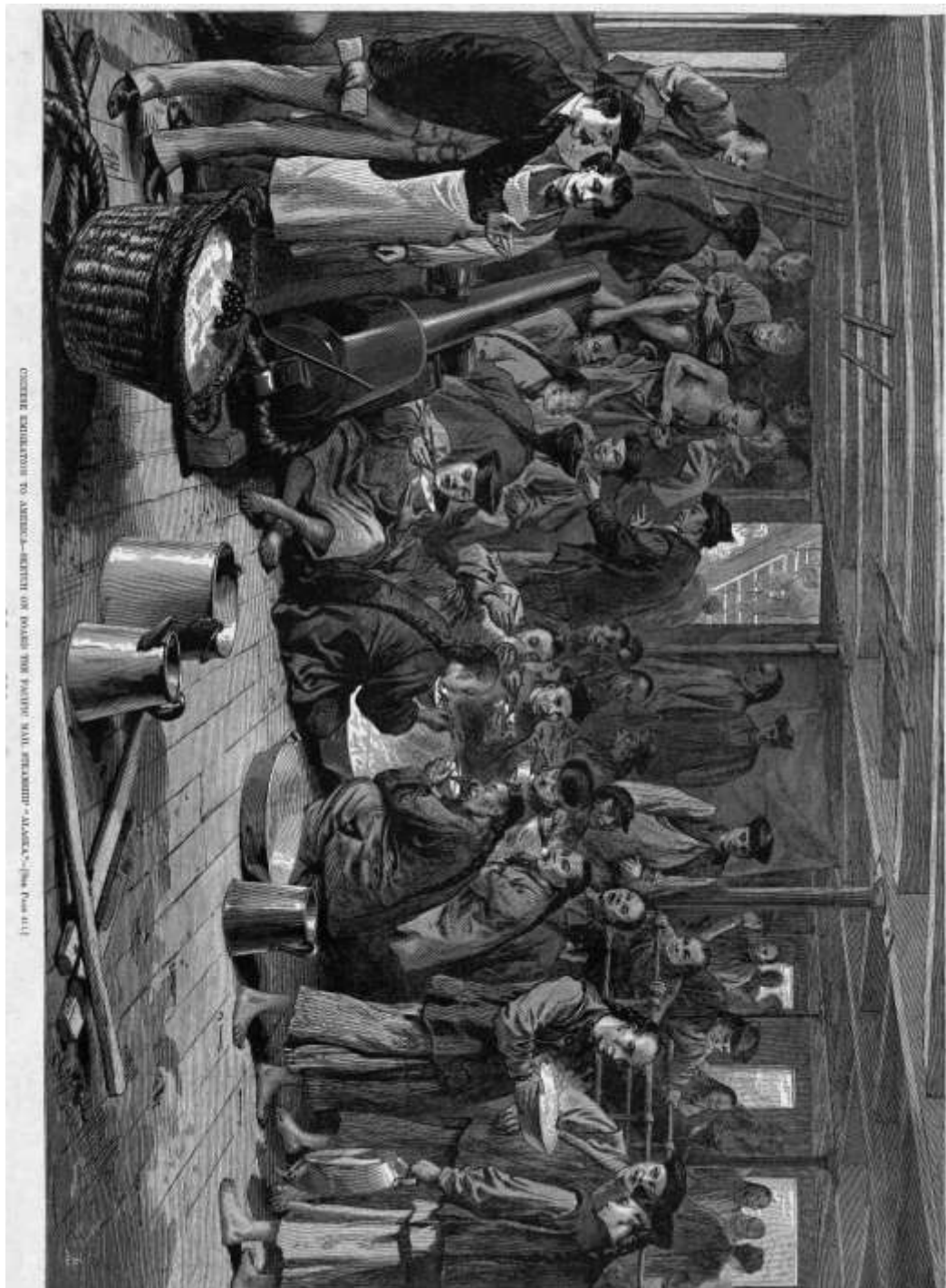


Figure 6.1 “Chinese Emigration to America-Sketch on board the Pacific Mail Steamship Alaska,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 20, 1876: 408.

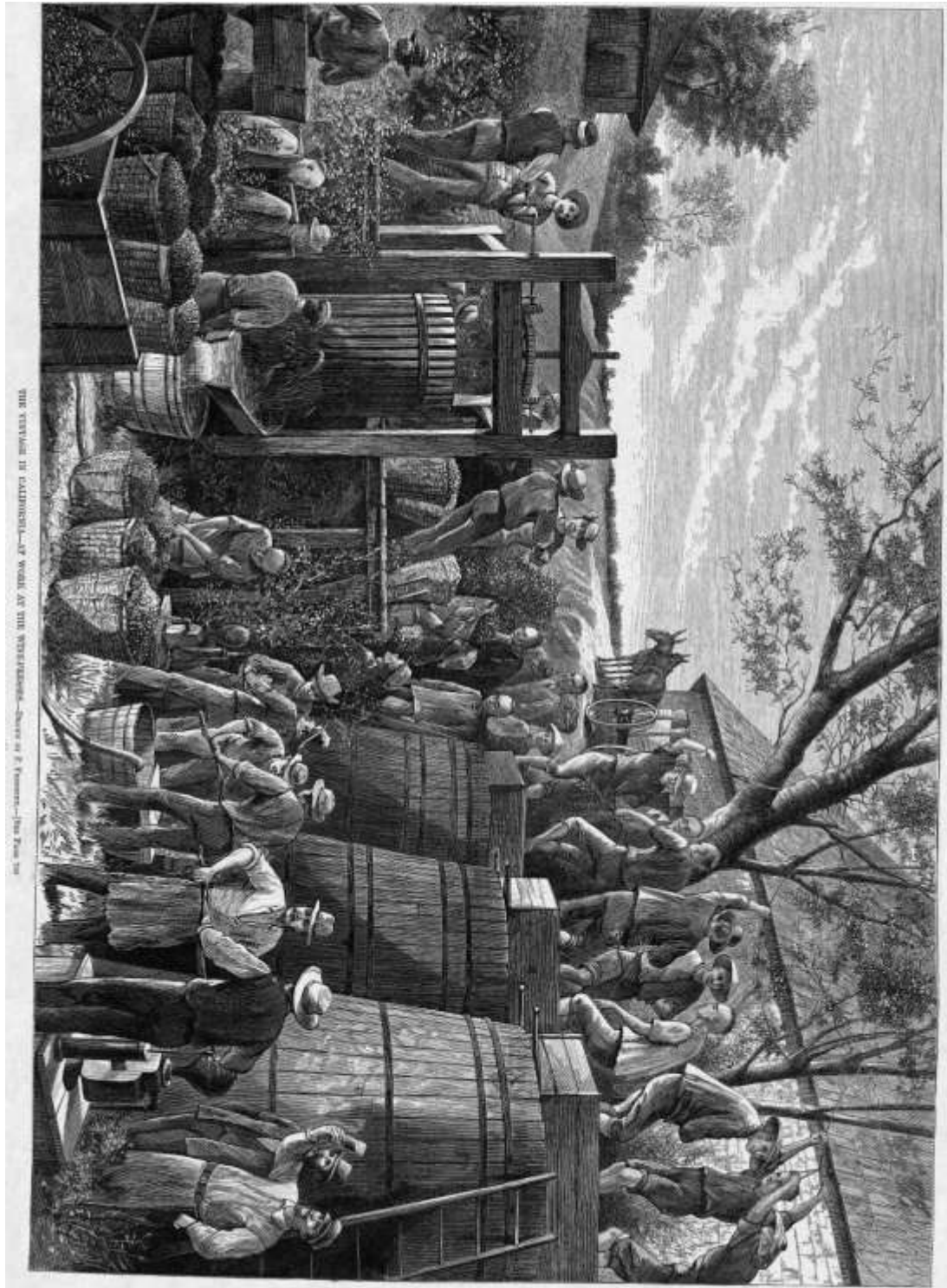


Figure 6.2 “Vintage in California,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Oct. 5, 1878: 792-793

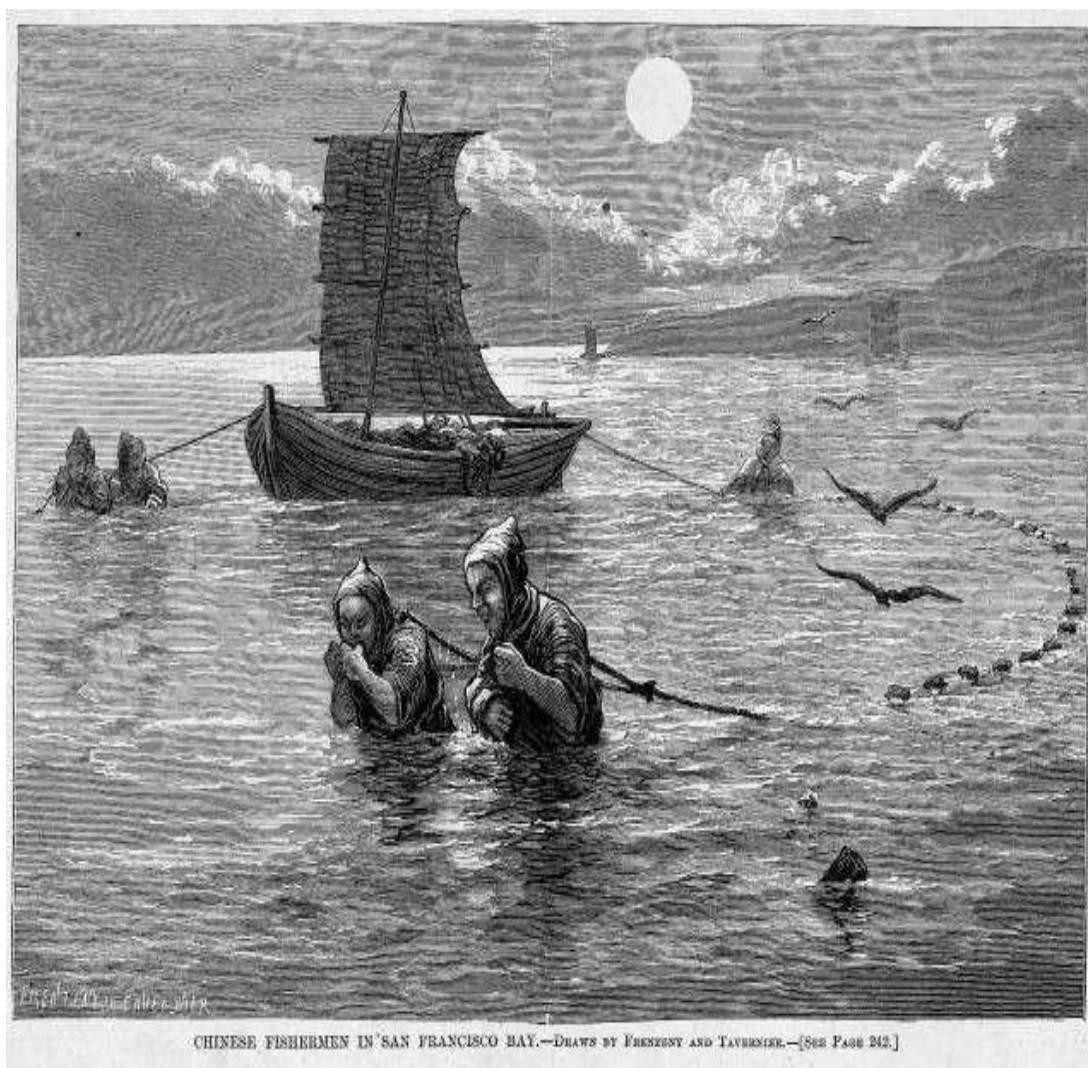
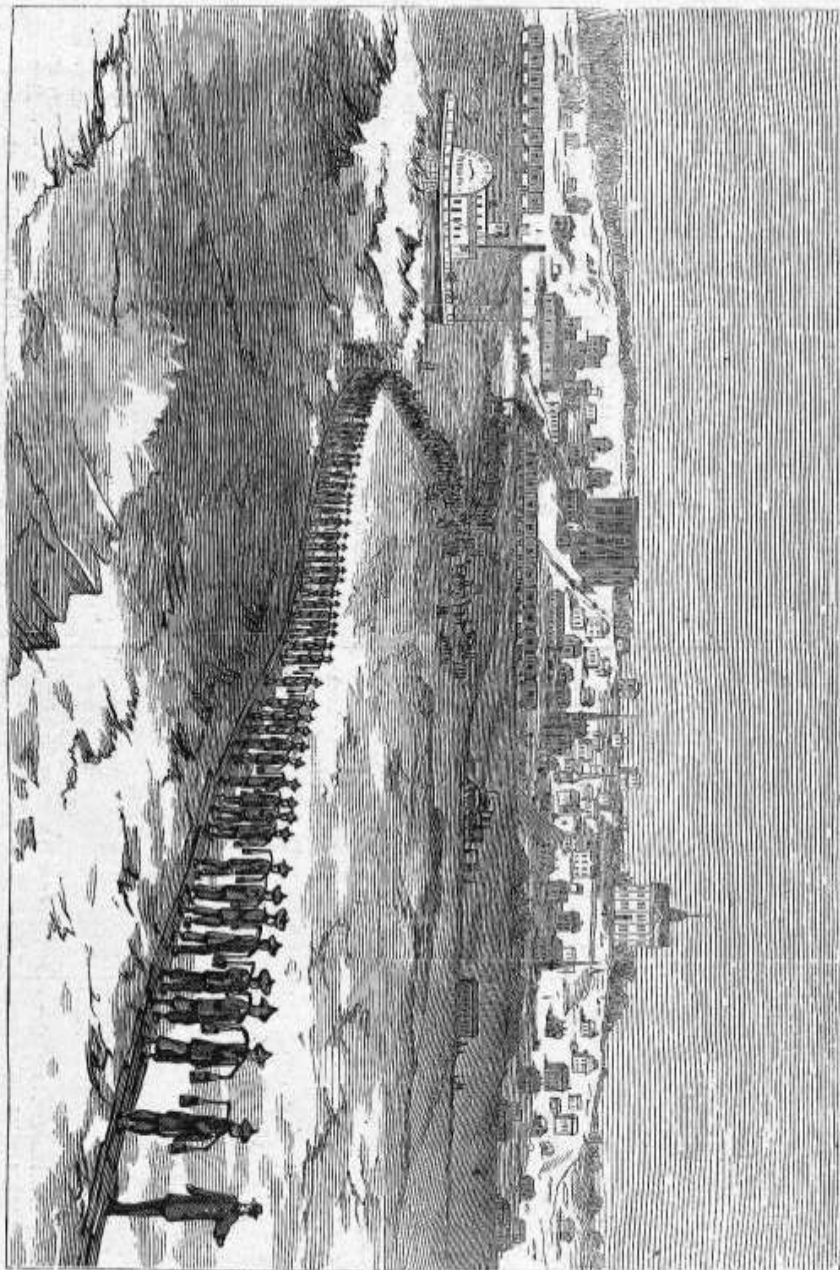


Figure 6.3 "Chinese Fishermen in San Francisco Bay," *Harper's Weekly*, March 20, 1875: 240.

JANUARY 22, 1870.]

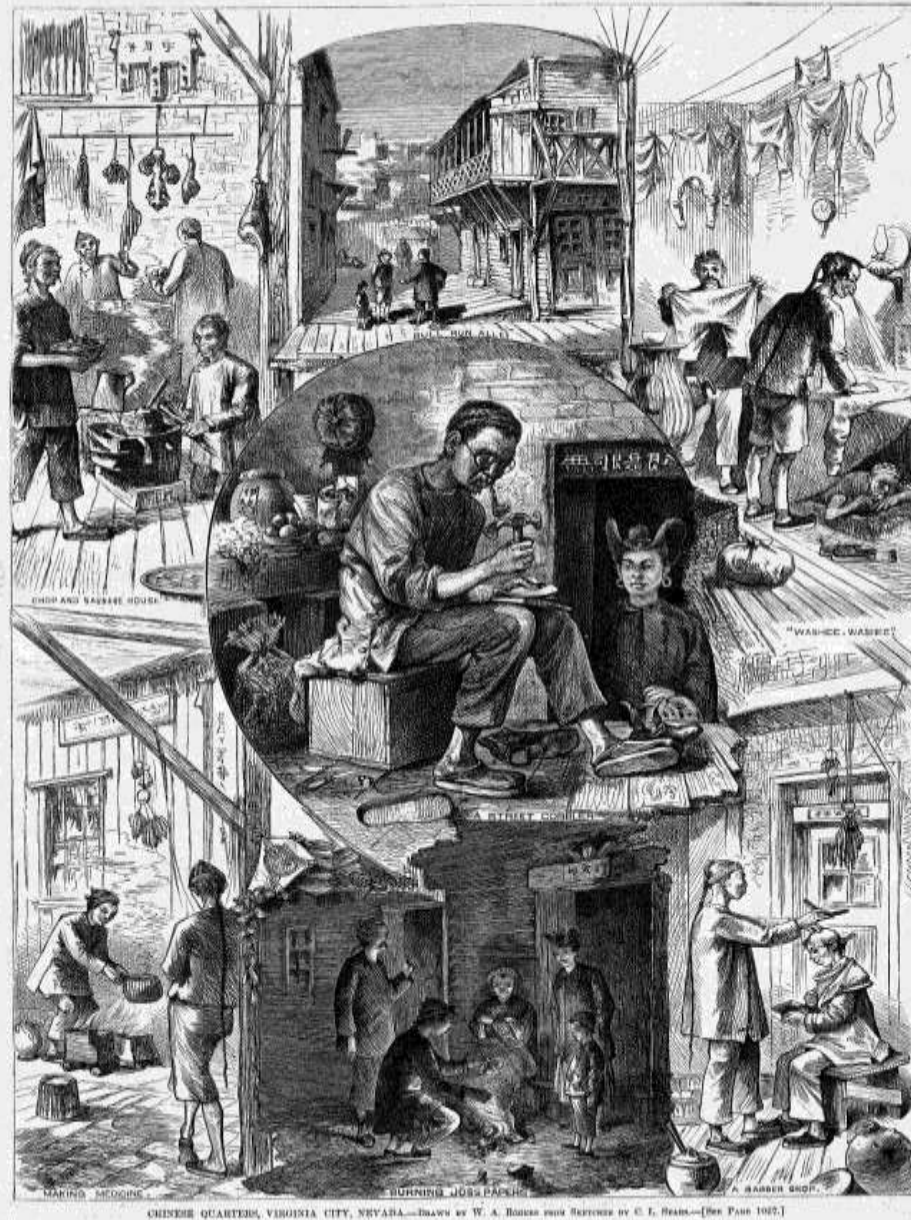
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CHINESE COOLIES CROSSING THE MISSOURI RIVER.—[SERVED BY LEAVITT BURNHAM.]

Figure 6.4 “Chinese Coolies Crossing the Missouri River,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Jan. 22, 1870: 53.



CHINESE QUARTERS, VIRGINIA CITY, NEVADA.—DRAWN BY W. A. BODER FROM SKETCHES BY C. E. HEADS.—[SEE PAGE 1025.]

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Figure 6.5 "Chinese Quarters, Virginia City, Nevada," *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 29, 1877: 1025.

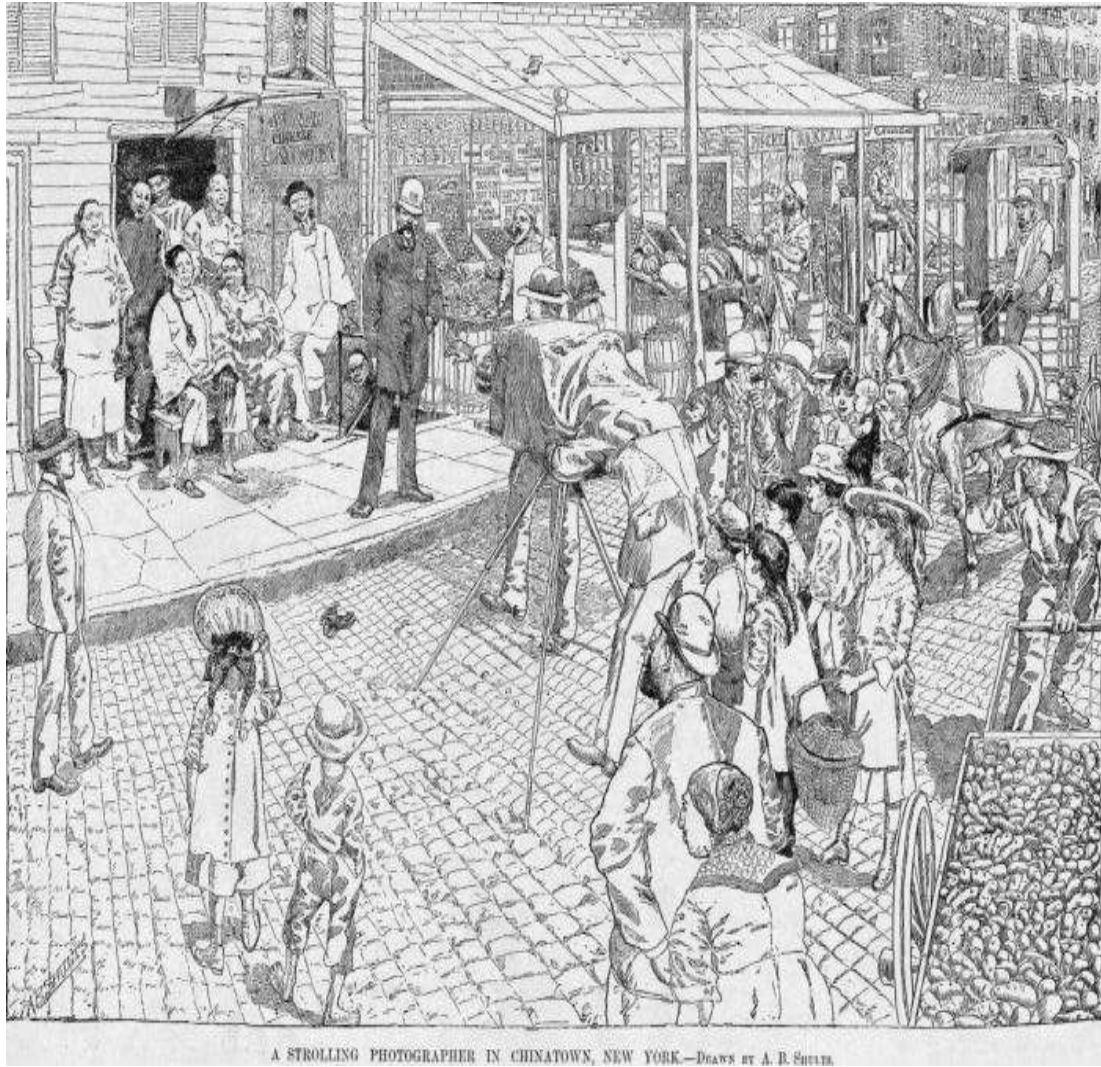


Figure 6.6 "A Strolling Photographer in Chinatown, New York," *Harper's Weekly*, August 25, 1883: 532.

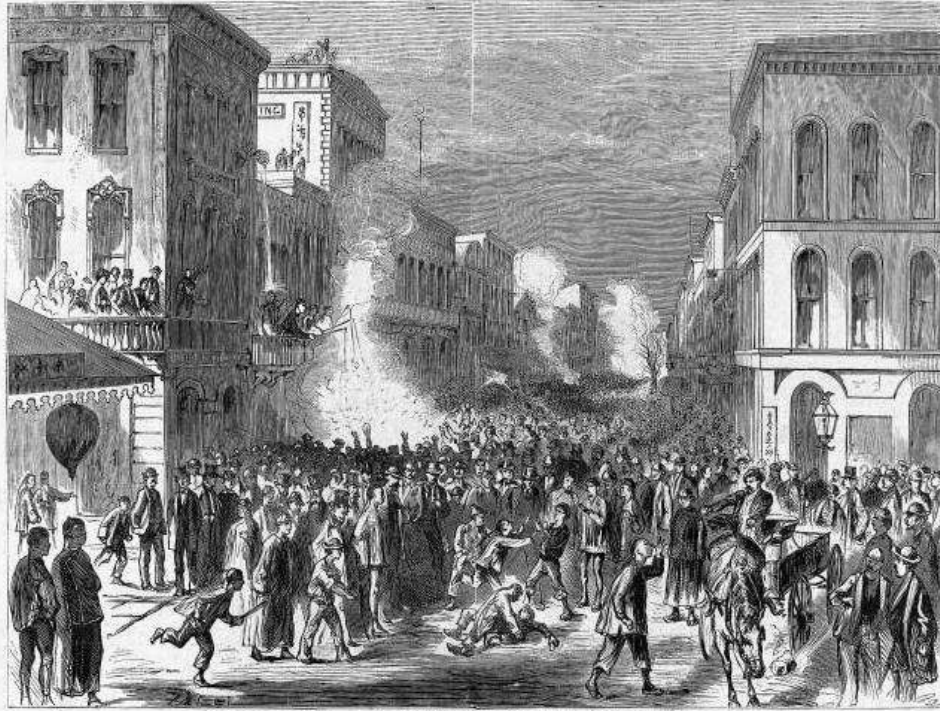


Figure 6.7 “Reminiscence of a Ramble Through the Chinese Quarter of New York,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 25, 1888: 629.



A WEDDING IN THE CHINESE QUARTER—MOTT STREET, NEW YORK.—Drawn by W. A. Rogers.—[See Page 908.]

Figure 6.8 “A Wedding in the Chinese Quarter,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 22, 1890: 908-909.



CHINAMEN CELEBRATING THEIR NEW-YEAR'S DAY IN SAN FRANCISCO.—[SEE PAGE 260.]



ALTAR IN THE CHINESE JOSS-HOUSE, SAN FRANCISCO.—[SEE PAGE 260.]

Figure 6.9 "Chinamen Celebrate Their New-Year's Day in San Francisco," "Altar in the Chinese Joss-House, San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, March 25, 1871: 260.

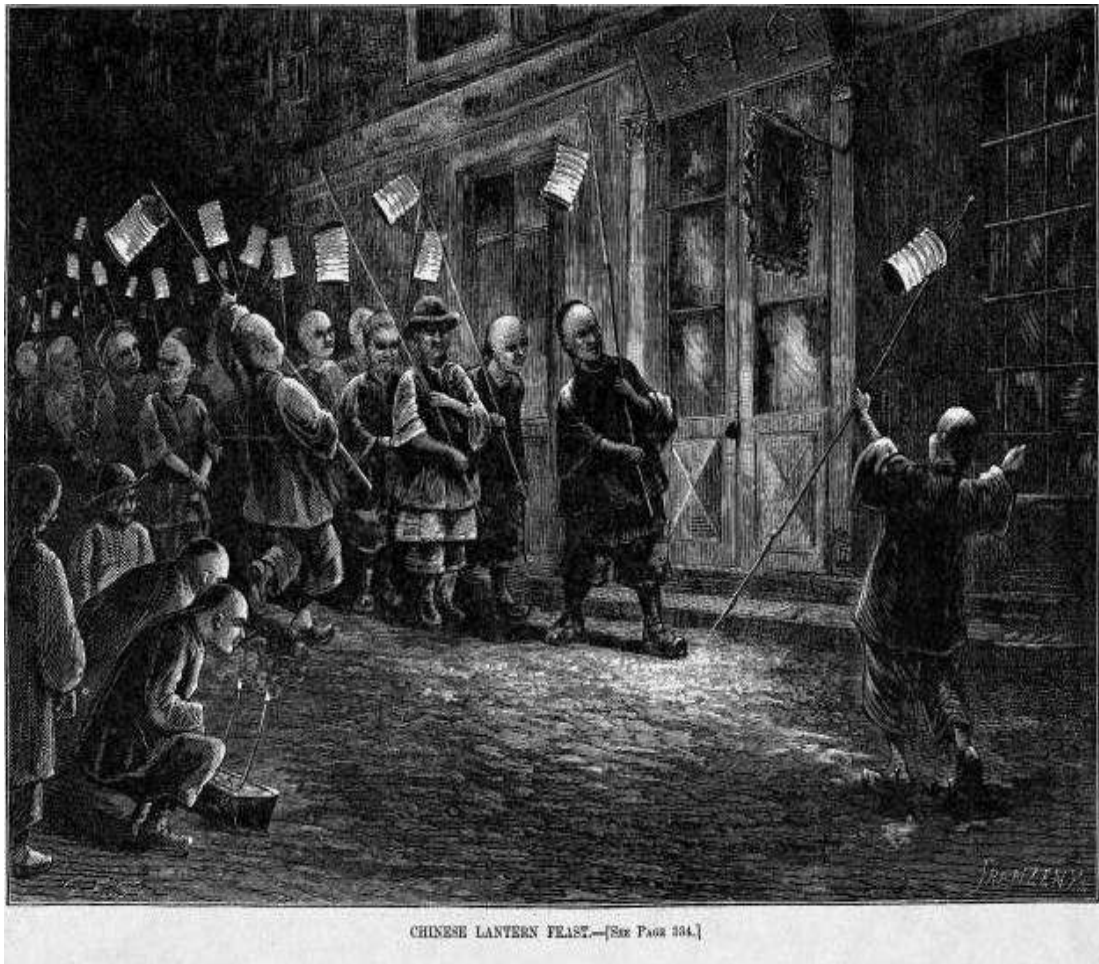


Figure 6.10 "Chinese Lantern Feast," *Harper's Weekly*, April 28, 1877: 332.



Figure 6.11 “Theatrical Performance in Chinatown, San Francisco,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 12, 1883: 296.

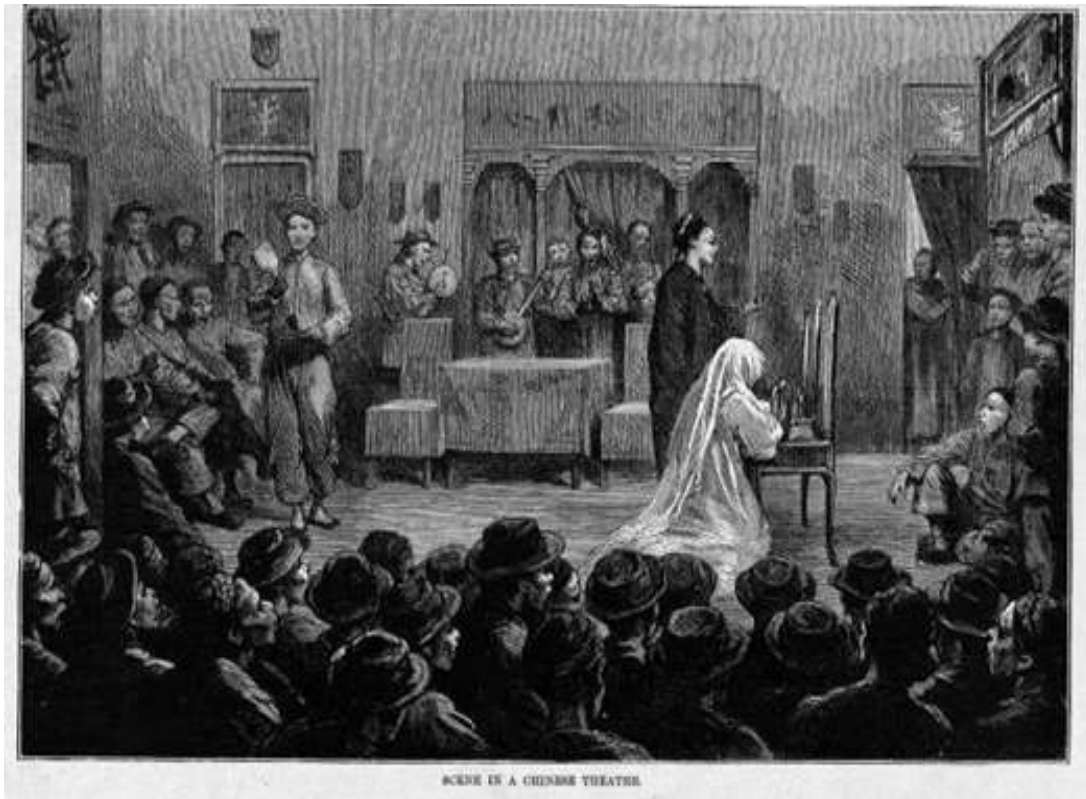
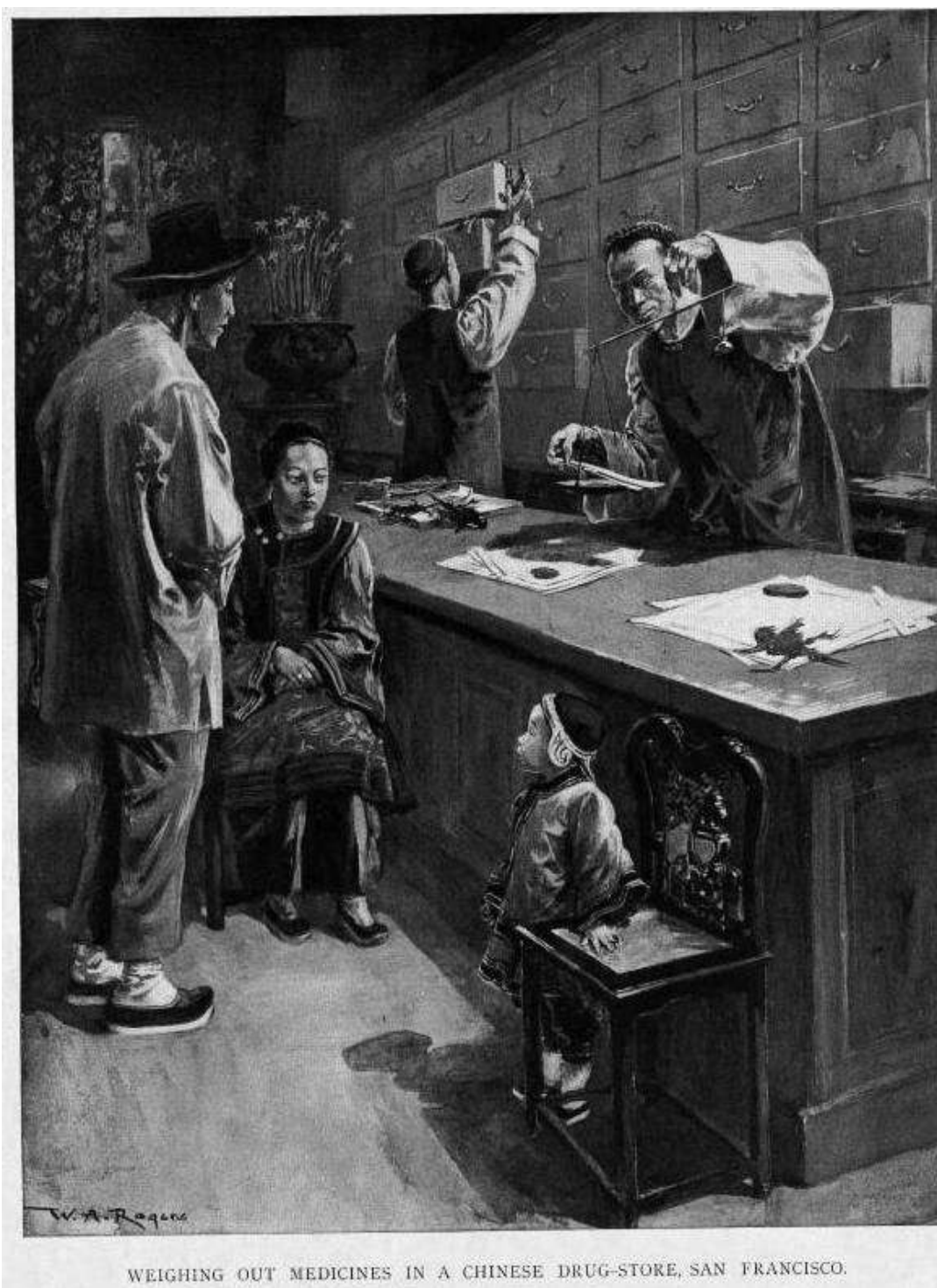


Figure 6.12 "Scene in a Chinese Theatre," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 25, 1879: 77.



WEIGHING OUT MEDICINES IN A CHINESE DRUG-STORE, SAN FRANCISCO.

Figure 6.13 'Weighing out Medicines in a Chinese Drug-store, San Francisco,' *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 9, 1899: 1239.

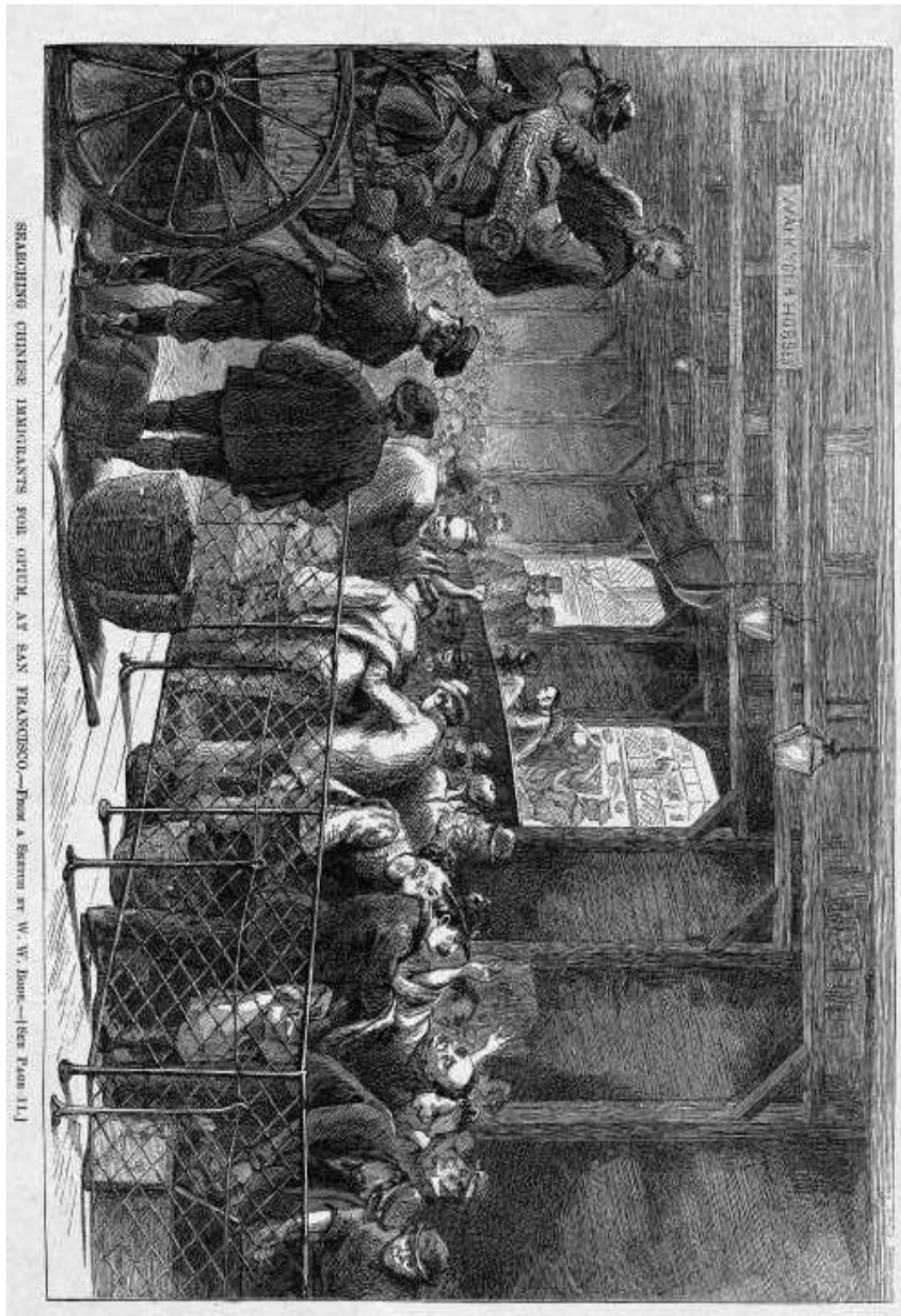


Figure 6.14 “Searching Chinese Immigrants for Opium,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Jan. 7, 1882: 5.

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

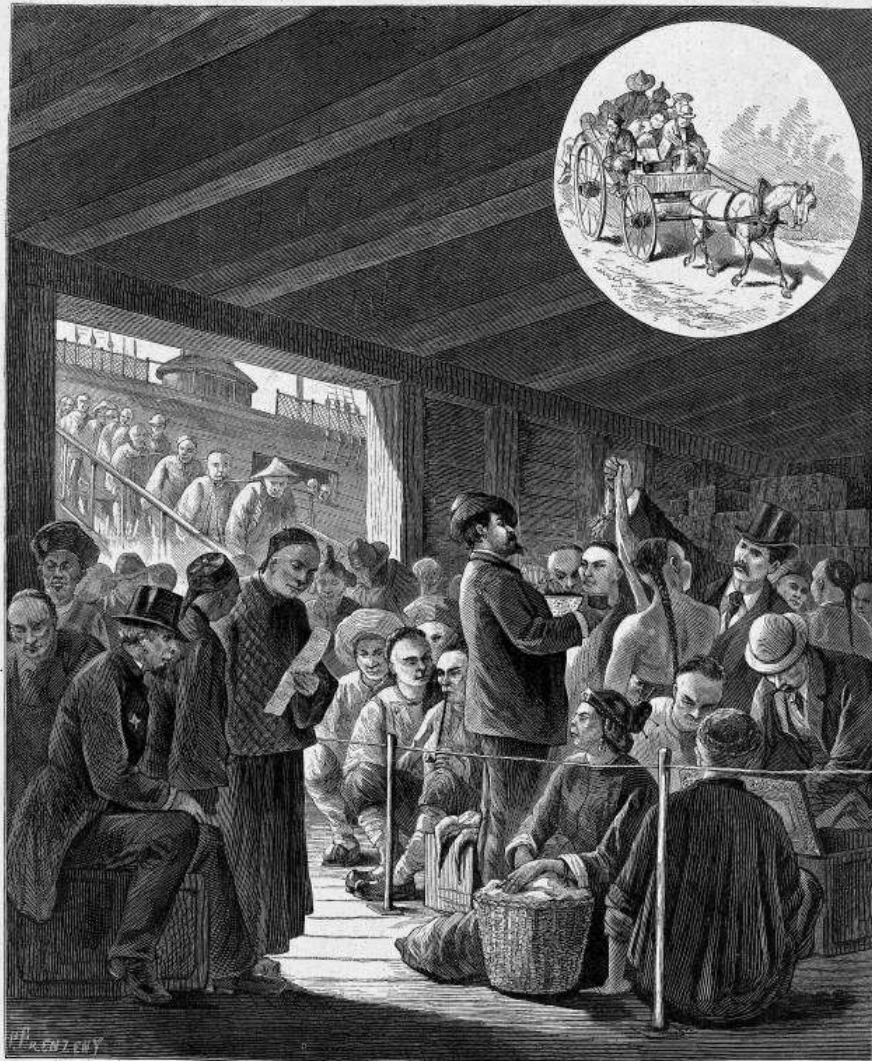
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CHINESE IMMIGRANTS AT THE SAN FRANCISCO CUSTOM-HOUSE.—[SEE PAGE 91.]

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Figure 6.15 “Chinese Immigrants at the San Francisco Custom House,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 3, 1877.

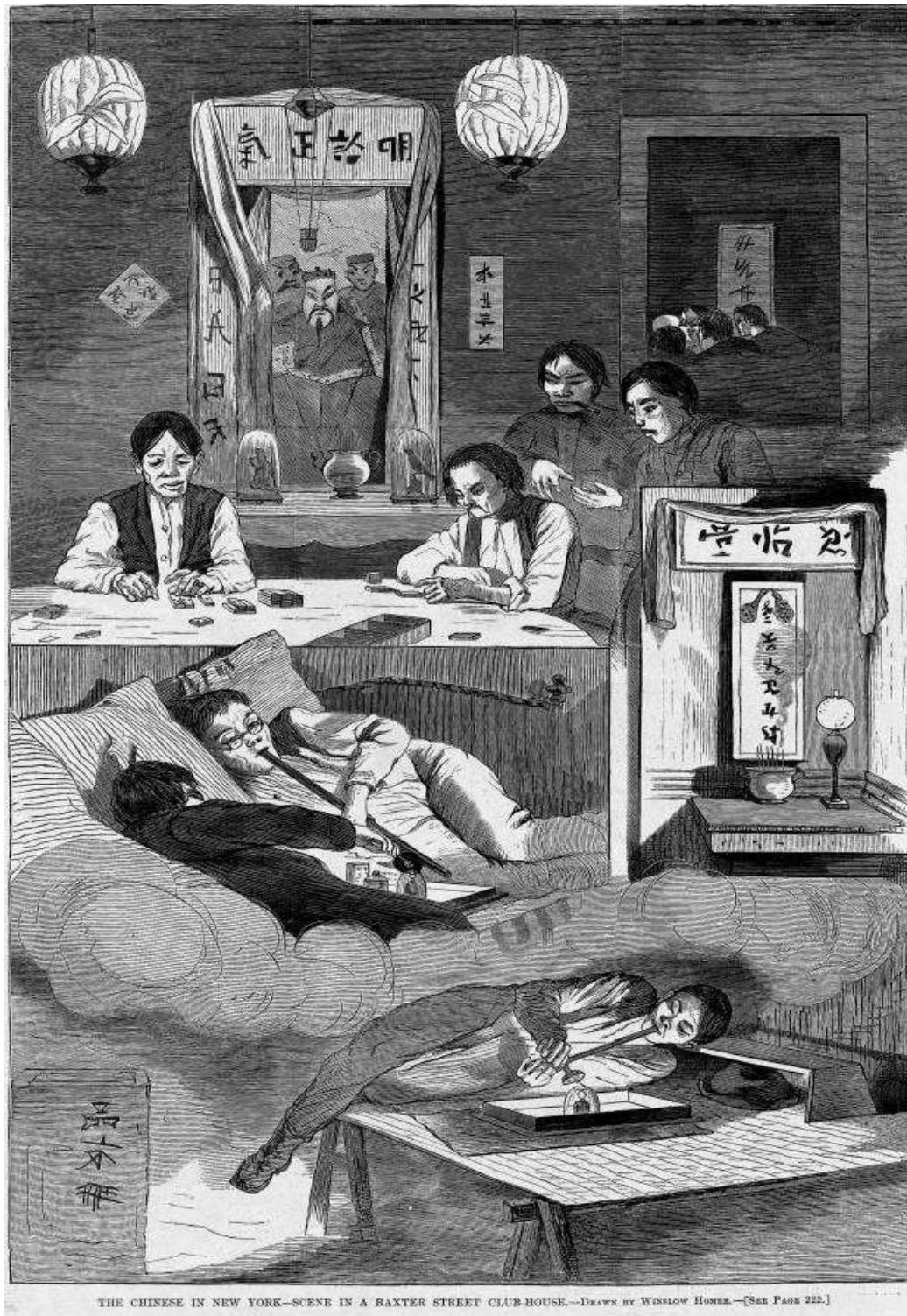


Figure 6.16 “The Chinese in New York—Scene in A Baxter Street Club House,”
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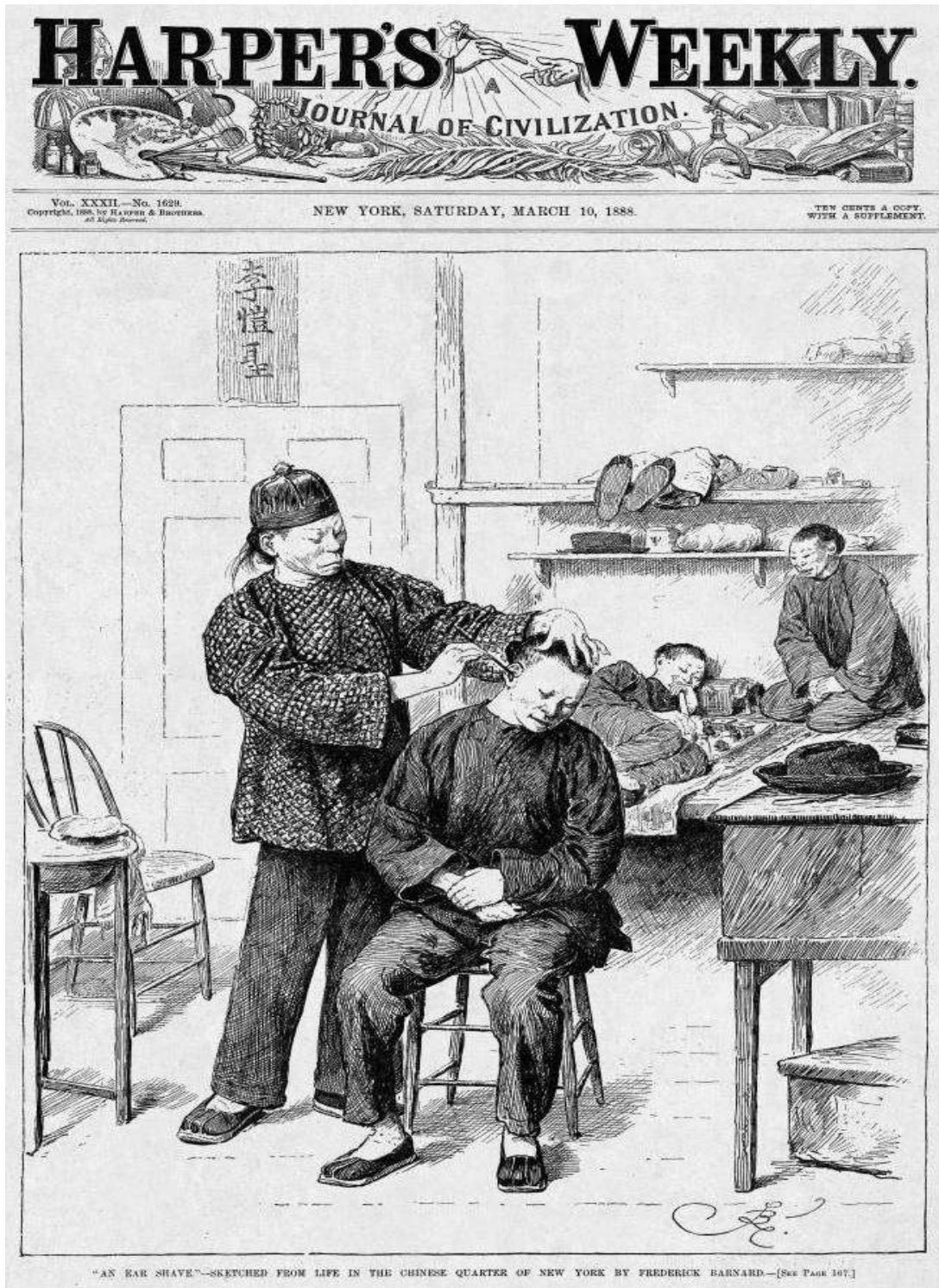


Figure 6.17 "An Ear Shave," *Harper's Weekly*, March 10, 1888.

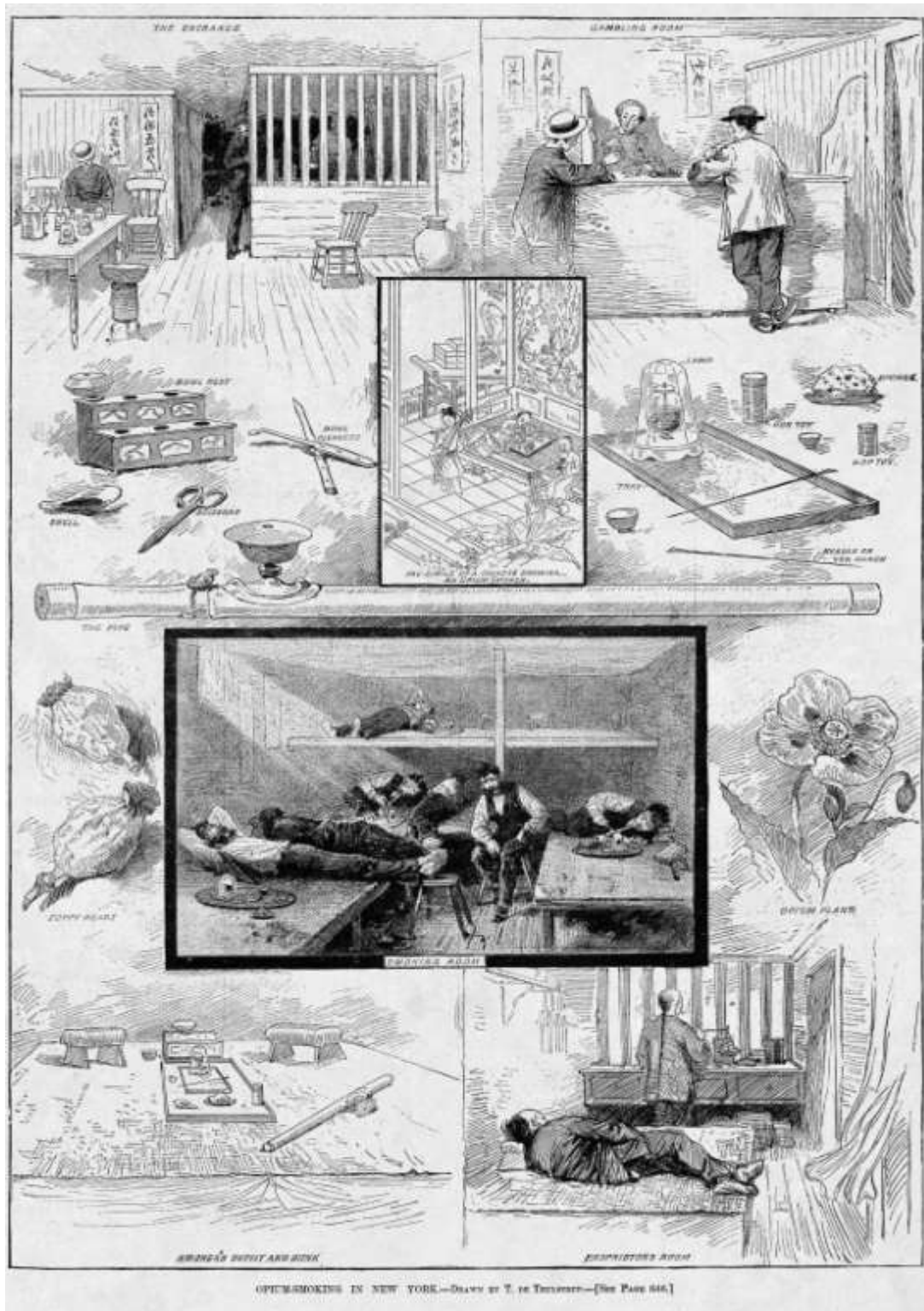


Figure 6.18 “Opium Smoking in New York,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept, 24, 1881: 645.



Figure 6.19 "American Opium Smokers—Interior of a New York Opium Den," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 8: 1881: 684.

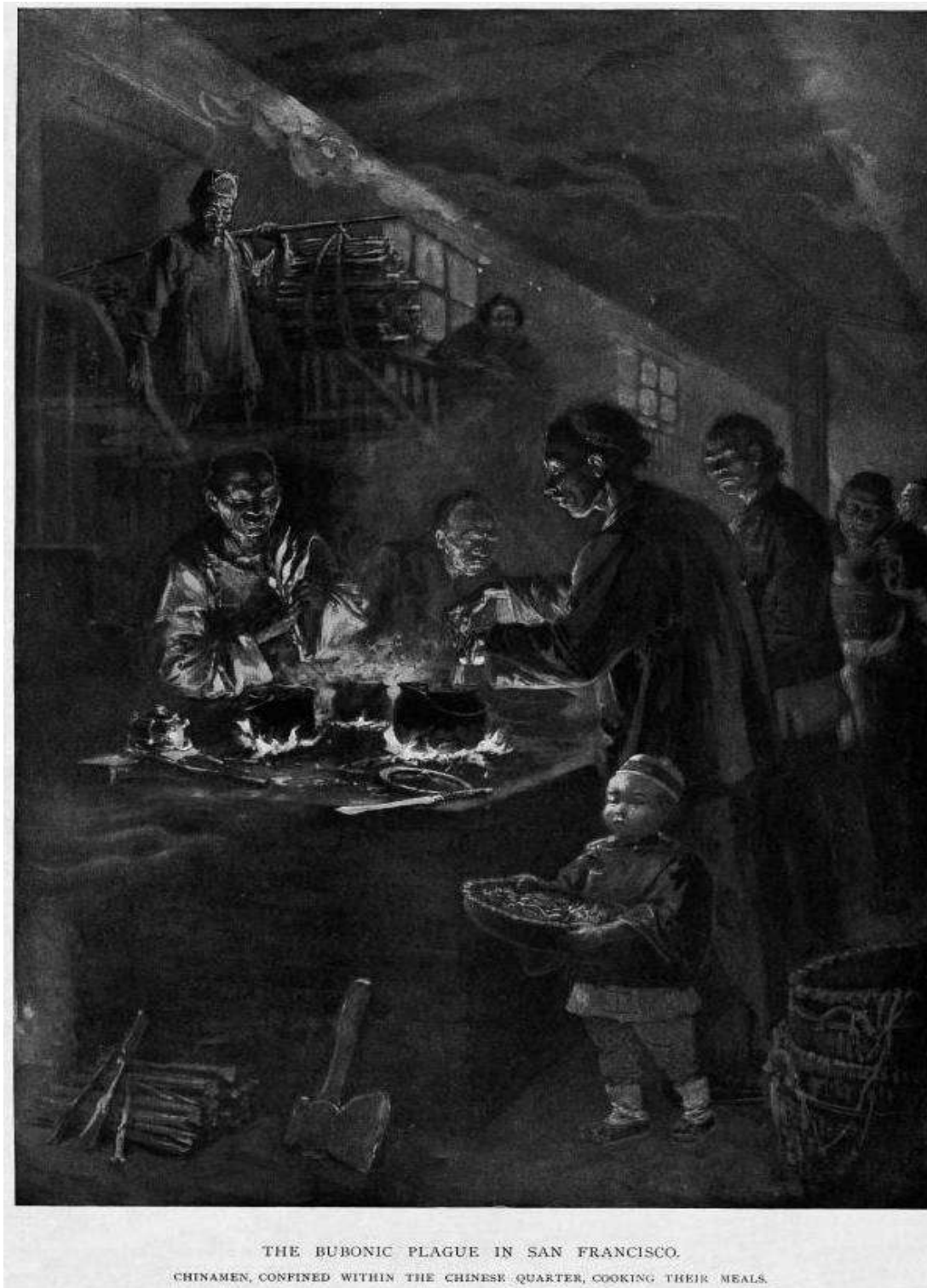


Figure 6.20 "The Bubonic Plague in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, June 2: 1900: 505.

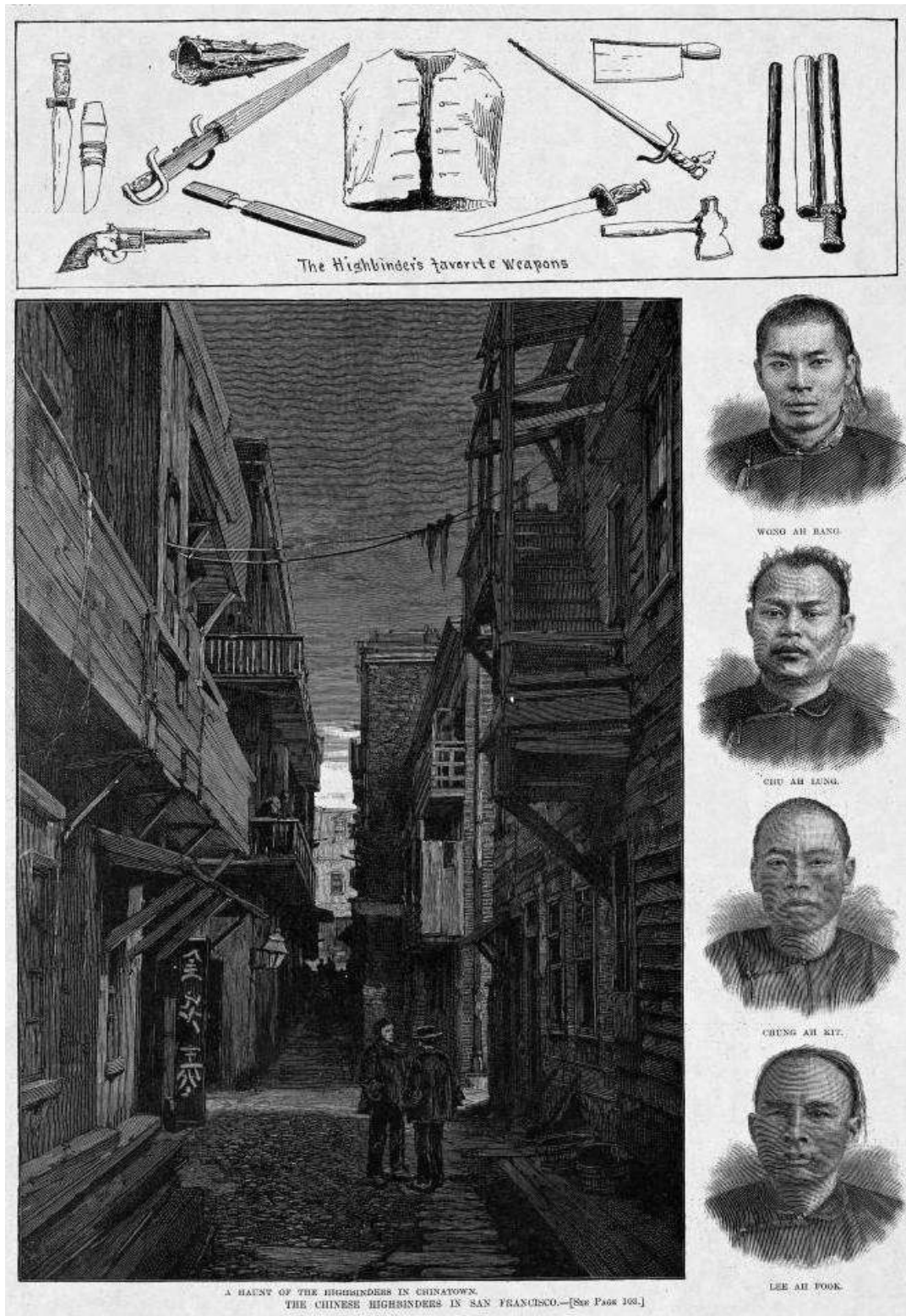


Figure 6.21 “A Haunt of the Highbinders in Chinatown,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1886: 100.

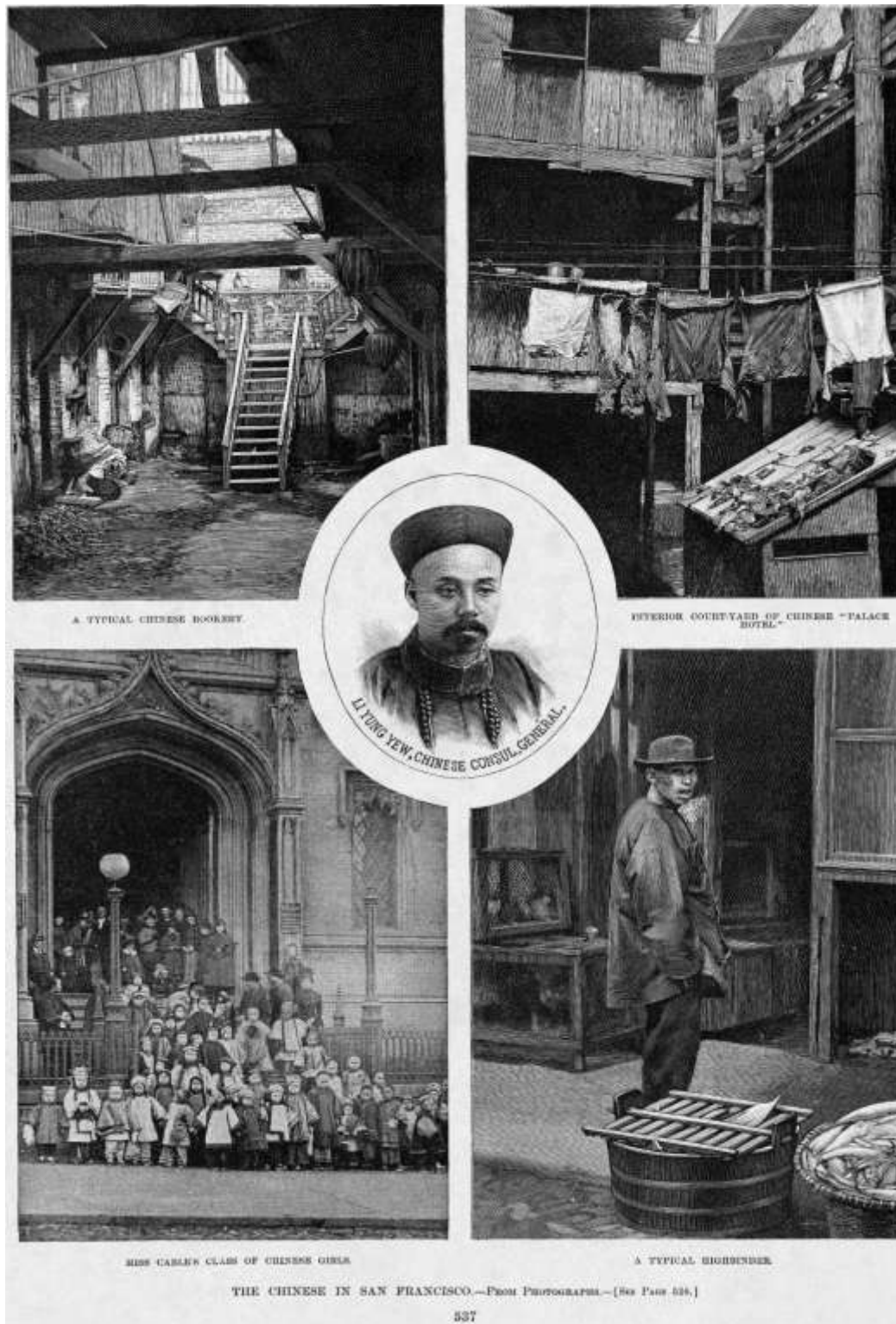


Figure 6.22 “The Chinese in San Francisco,” *Harper’s Weekly* June 3, 1893: 537.

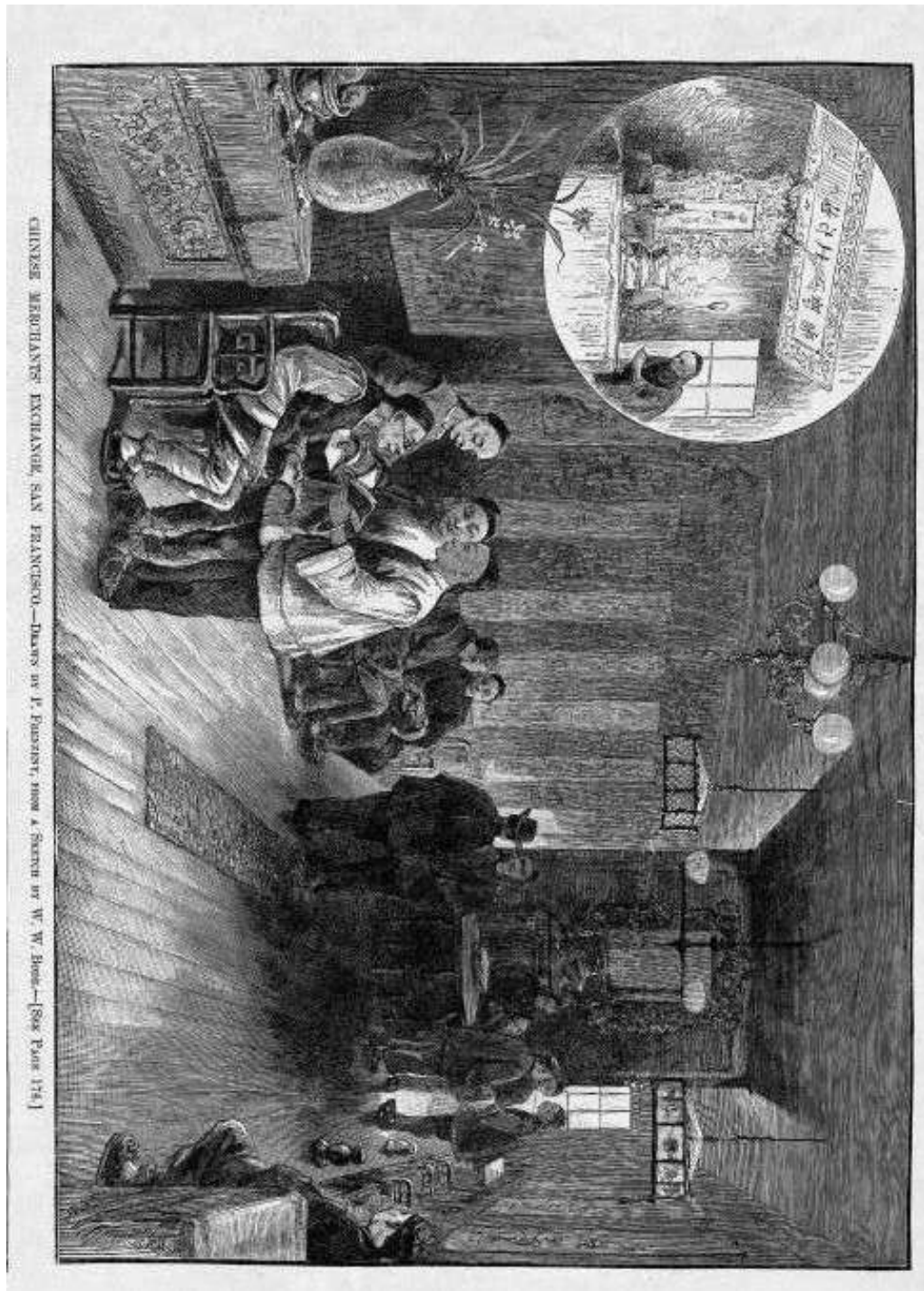


Figure 6.23 “Chinese Merchant’s Exchange, San Francisco,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 18, 1882: 173.

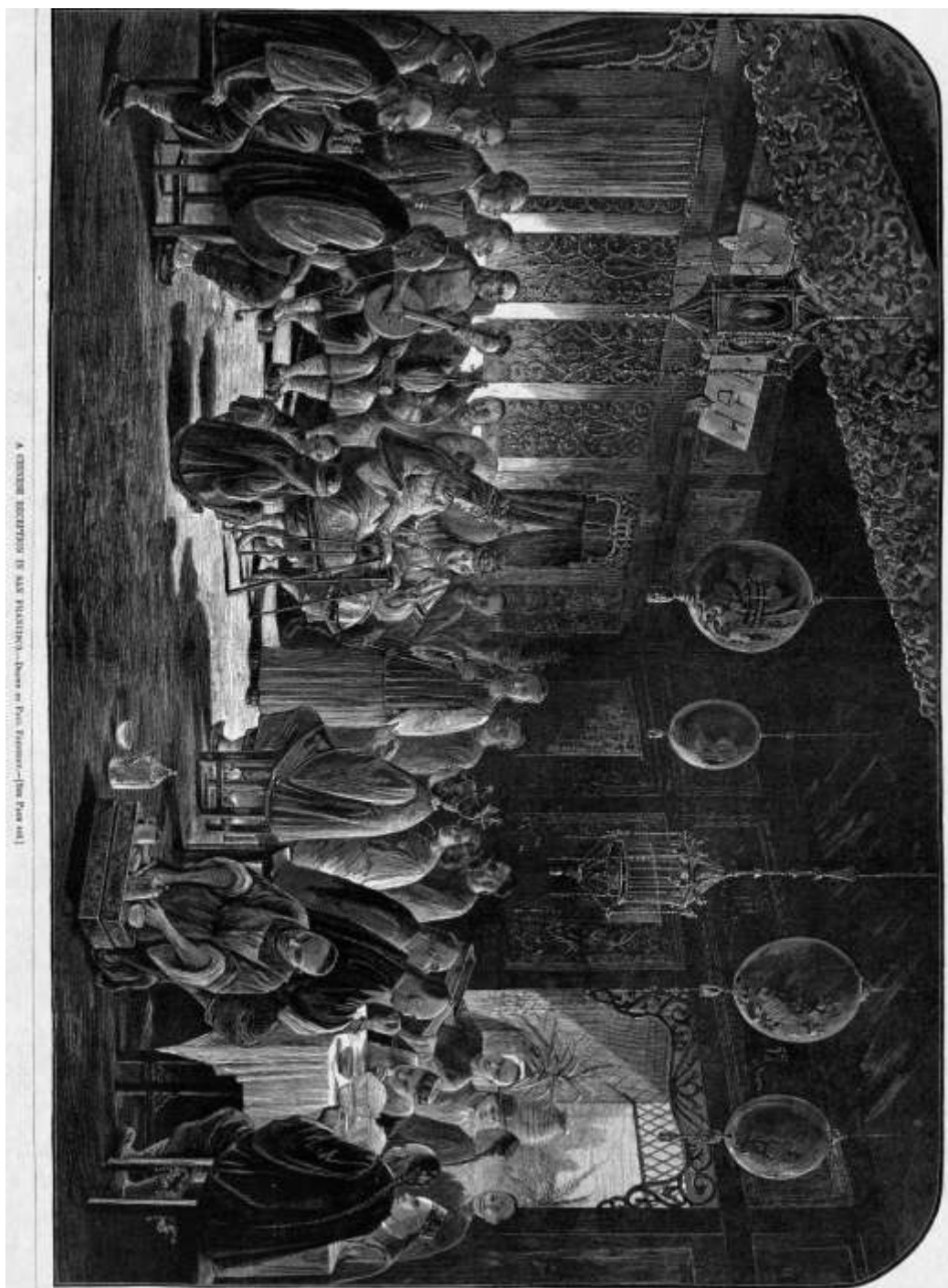


Figure 6.24 “A Chinese Reception in San Francisco,” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 9, 1877: 444-445.



Figure 6.25 “Wong Ching Foo,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 26, 1877: 405.



Figure 6.26 “His Excellency Chun Lan Pin, First Chinese Ambassador to the United States, and His Suite,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 31, 1878: 696.

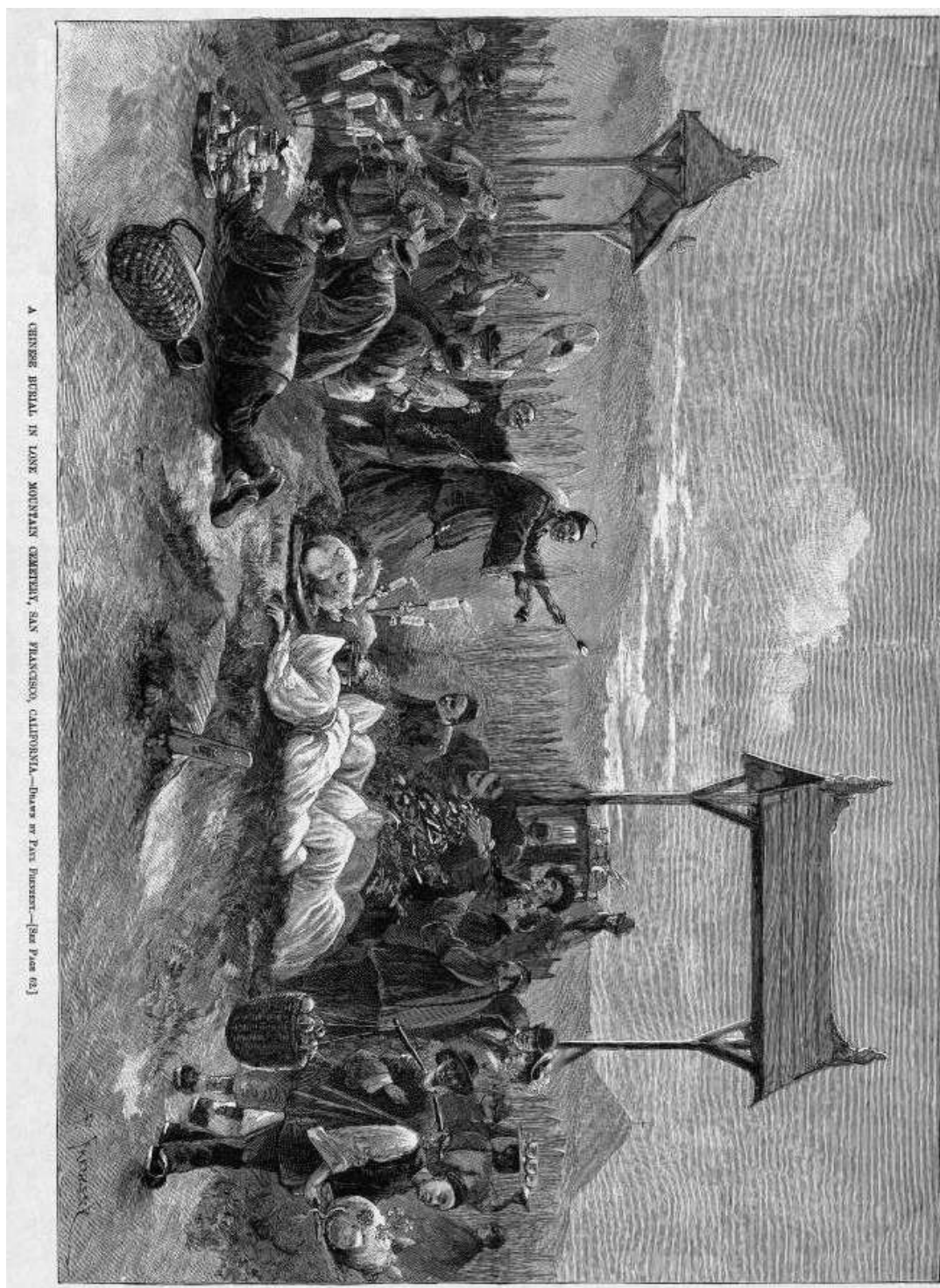
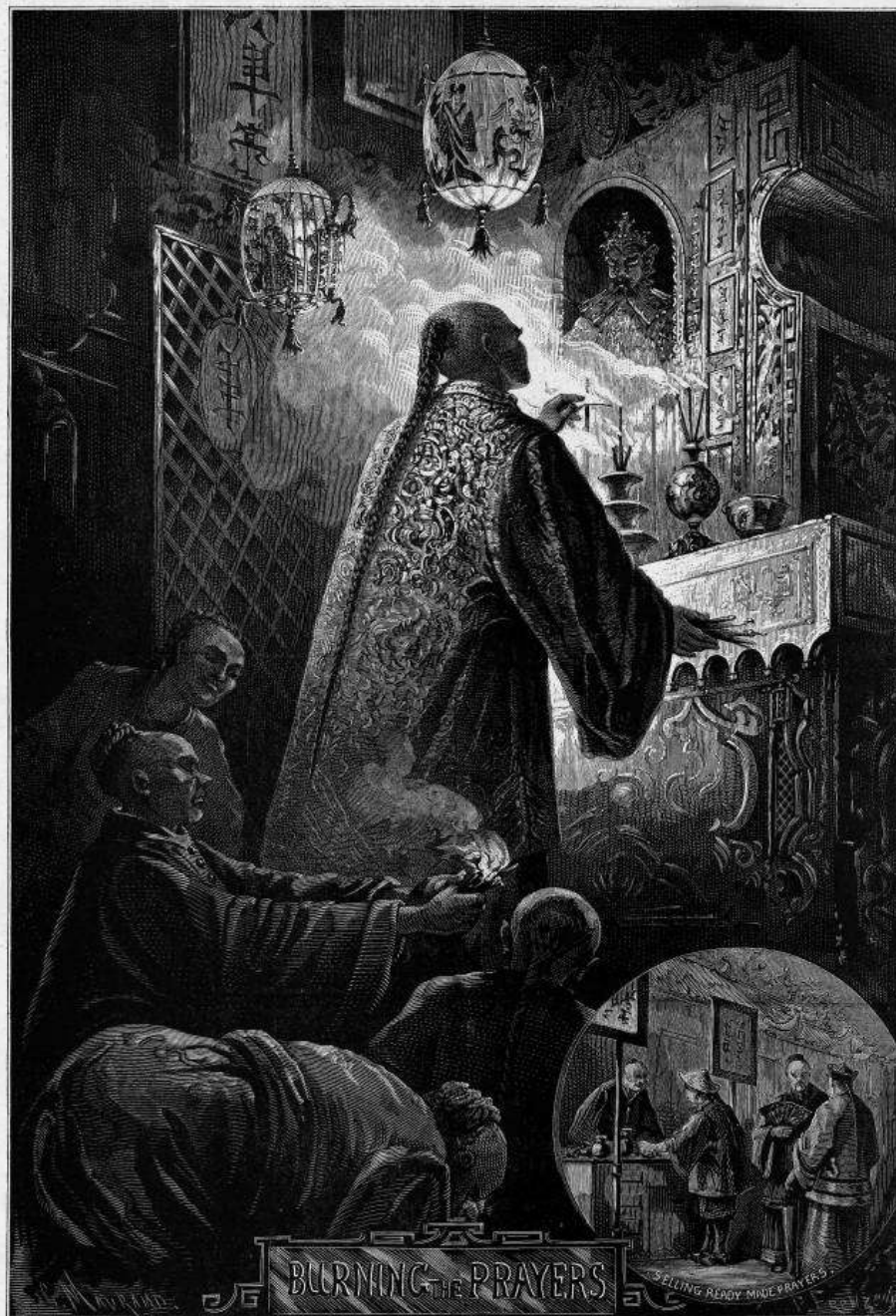


Figure 6.27 “A Chinese Burial in Lone Mountain,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Jan. 28, 1882: 56.



Figure 6.28 "Chinese Feeding the Dead," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 25, 1879: 77.



BURNING THE PRAYERS—CHINESE SUPERSTITIONS.—[SEE PAGE 746.]

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Figure 6.29 “Burning the Prayers—Chinese Superstitions,” *Harpers’ Weekly*, Aug. 23, 1873: 745.

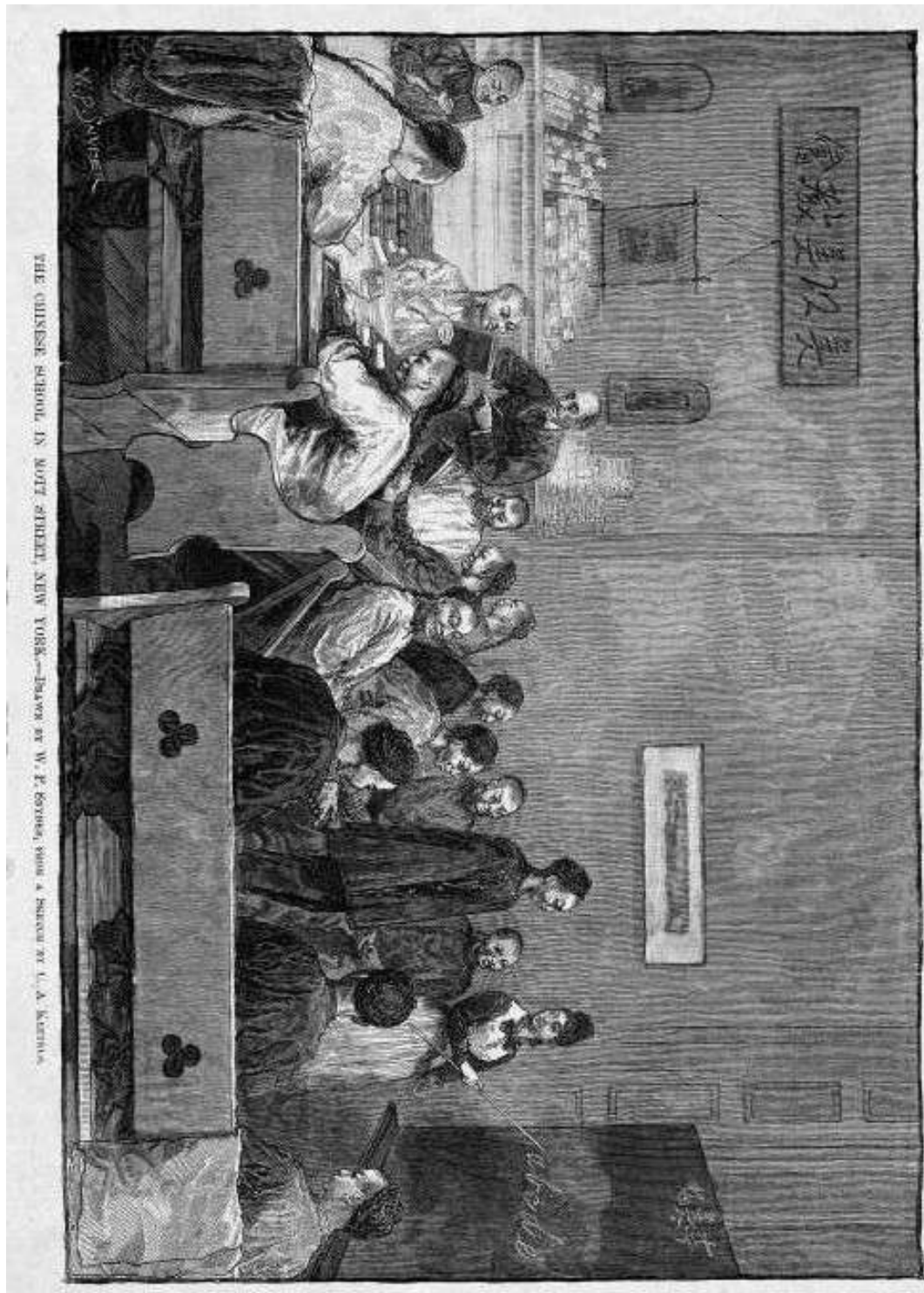


Figure 6.30 “Chinese School in Mott Street, New York,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 19, 1879: 573.

HARPER'S WEEKLY

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1894.

TEN CENTS A COPY.
FOUR DOLLARS A YEAR.



SUNDAY AFTERNOON IN CHINATOWN, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA—SINGING HYMNS IN THE STREET.
DRAWN BY CHARLES MERTL—[SEE PAGE 778.]

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Figure 6.31 "Sunday Afternoon in Chinatown, Los Angeles," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 18, 1894.

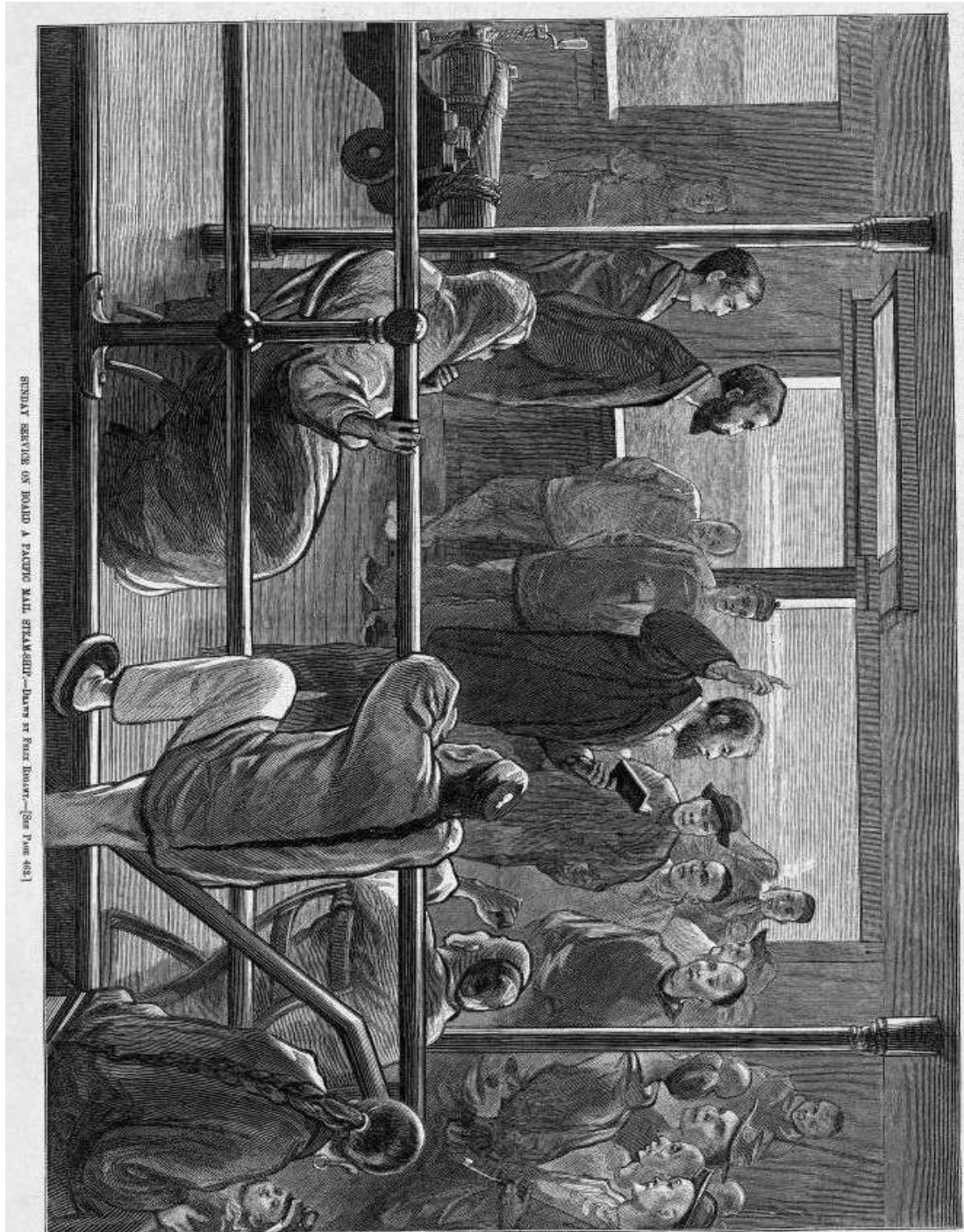


Figure 6.32 “Sunday Service on Board a Pacific Mail Steamship,” *Harper’s Weekly*, June 16, 1877: 461.

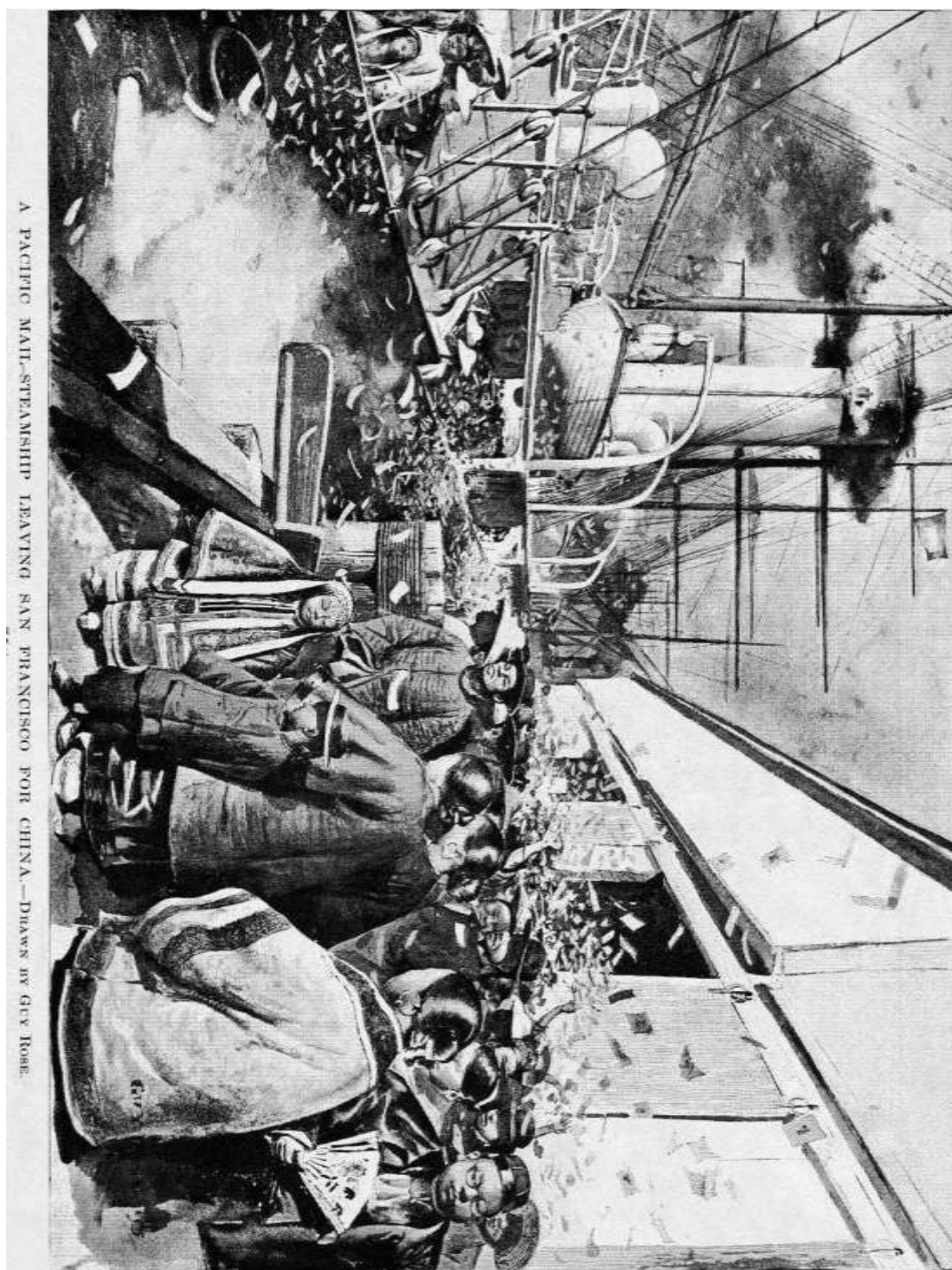


Figure 6.33 “A Pacific Mail-Steamship Leaving San Francisco for China,” Harper’s Weekly, Aug. 10, 1895: 758.

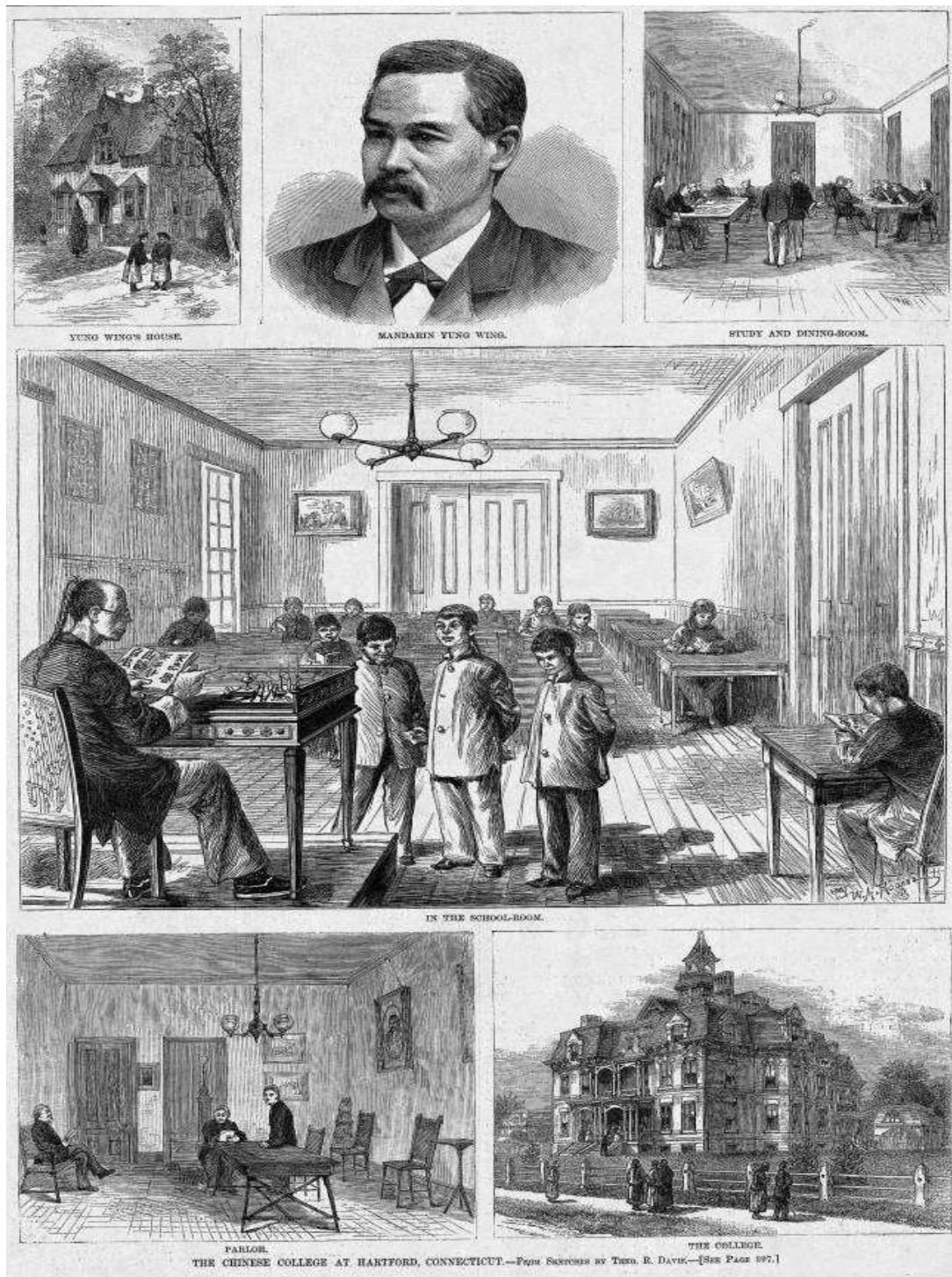


Figure 6.34 “The Chinese College at Hartford, Connecticut,” *Harper's Weekly*, May 18, 1878: 396.

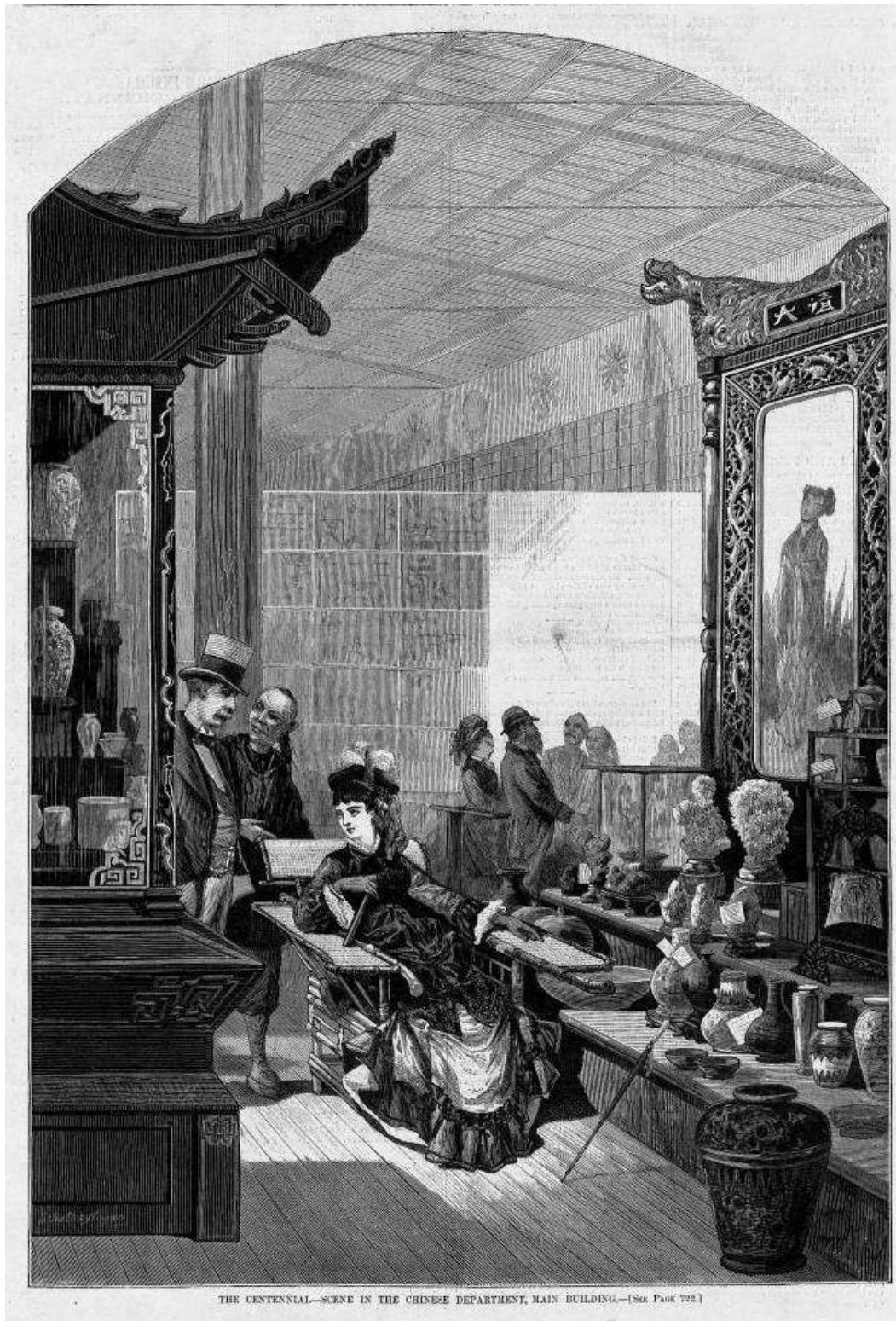


Figure 6.35 “The Centennial Scene in the Chinese Department, Main Building,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept. 21, 1876: 721.



Figure 6.36 “The Chinese Pavilion – Unpacking China Ware,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 13, 1876: 384.



Figure 6.37 *Harper's Weekly*, June 10, 1876: 472.



AU SING.

THE CHINESE IN NEW ENGLAND.

LAST week we gave our readers a sketch of North Adams, where the Chinese shoemakers have settled down, and of the general work-room where they are employed. This week we continue the series, with illustrations that give some insight into the life and ways of this peculiar class of immigrants.

The first illustration is the portrait of Au Sing, the foreman of the band, who is considered one of the most intelligent Chinamen in America. He has lived some time in this country, chiefly in San Francisco, where he attended an evening school, and learned to speak and read and write English with considerable fluency and correctness. He is a smart, wide-awake specimen of a Chinaman, and exhibits no little tact in the management of his countrymen in their new situation.

The Chinese have their own culinary department, as they would find it impossible to adapt themselves to the style of cookery prevalent in most New England towns, which must be acknowledged to be almost as barbarous as their own. They also have a general sleeping apartment, fitted up with bunks very much in the manner of the stowage of an emigrant ship.

These are kept in the neatest order and scrupulously clean. As yet, the Chinese associate but little among the townspeople; though they are not violent in any way, and have their own playground for exercise and recreation. Their quiet behavior and steady application to work have done much to conciliate their neighbors, who begin to feel that even the Chinese in this country, when they behave themselves and attend to their own business, have rights which all are bound to respect.

AN ARAB MEAL.

Two kinds of the Arab meal are used, and has been for centuries, the *roscoos*, also called in different countries *rose* and *roscoof*. The *roscoos* is made of whole wheat flour, which has been ground in portable hand-mills by the women of the camp, and then passed through a sieve, rolled with the fingers, cooked by steam,

and finally sprinkled copiously either with broth or with milk. The richer Arabs add to this preparation mutton, fowl, hard eggs, beans, with artichokes, sugar, dried grapes, and sometimes, when near the coast, potatoes, which they purchase from the Christians. This is, as we have said, the national dish, perfectly suited to the climate and the habits of the people. Rich and poor equally delight in it, and they are never tired of it from one end of the year to the other. It must be well cooked, and it is never eaten cold.

The staple food, however, of the poorest Arabs is the *delicha*—roasted corn—which they pound and then boil with butter; or it may even consist of roasted barley or beans, which they pound also, and then wet with water, and they carry sometimes a supply of it in the corner of their *berceuse*.

In the way of such preparations of meal, the Arab also has the *serous*. The *serous* is made of unripe ears of barley, lightly roasted, and pounded in the hand-mill. These are then moistened with water or milk, and mixed with salt meat and butter. And there is also another compound called the *cherchia*, made of corn boiled in salt and water, with which they provide themselves when on expeditions in countries devoid of resources, and by the aid of which they find they can the most easily dispense with all other kinds of food.

The richer Arabs have, however, excellent bread, while the poorer folk content themselves with flat cakes of meal cooked hastily in earthenware dishes. Bread of new barley is a luxury for every Arab. For sometimes the Arab not only has salt, but he makes abundant use of black and red pepper, of which the quantity he eats is enormous. It is the great delight and joy of the poor Arab: it replaces wine as a tonic;



THE PLAY-GROUND.—(SKETCHED BY THOMAS R. DAVIS.)

goat-skins, acquires a rancid flavor, which, however, as is the case in other parts of the world, becomes preferable to that of fresh butter by acquired taste. The Arabs, too, are passionately fond of all sorts of preparations of milk,

even to their horses, esteeming it better for them than barley, and believing that for horse and man alike it is the most strengthening of all kinds of diet.

Such is the broad and simple basis of an Arab's meal: to which may be added, in the case of richer folk, roasted mutton (*el kebok mousou*), or roasted fowl, partridge, etc. And Arabs are pronounced by General Dumas to be the first rascals in the world. There may be also the *kiblah*, consisting of pieces of mutton roasted on a skewer; or the *terbija*, a stew of mutton, with eggs and tomatoes; *el Mousou*, another kind of mutton stew; *el sabbetter*, a fricasse of fowl, with garbanzo; the *delicha*, a dish of meat stuffed with vegetables, and seasoned slightly with Cayenne pepper; or there may be *el berceuse*, one of the triumphs of the Arab cuisine—a breast of mutton cut up in pieces, and arranged with butter, eggs, wild artichokes, grated cheese, and spices; *el delicha*, a stew of mutton again, to which parsley and onions give the prevailing flavor.

Leaving unnoticed other dishes which form the *pièces de résistance* of an Arab dinner, it may be mentioned that soup also is not wanting in the hospitality of a rich Arab. Nor is the Arab pretty-cook altogether contemptible in the way of cakes and sweetmeats: the crowning glory of his workmanship is said to consist in the *sebou el serous*—the "finger of the birds": a sweetmeat most in renown at Bagdad, but which is said to be unknown in Algeria.

The Arabs, moreover, eat fruit in abundance,



THE MEAL-ROOM.—(SKETCHED BY THOMAS R. DAVIS.)

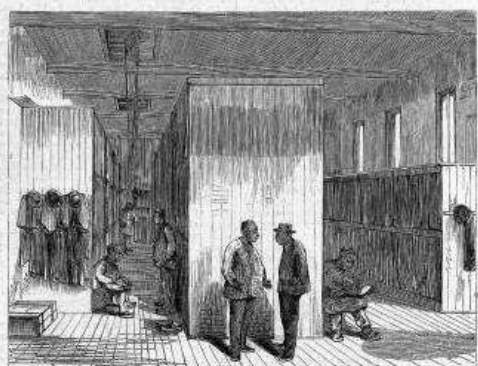
and when an Arab of the poorer sort leaves his tent to go to market to purchase provisions for his family, his wife staid up her list of commodities by crying after him, "And don't forget the pepper."

The butter of the Arabs, from being cured in

and especially of curds and whey; they rarely drink the pure milk of the cow, and, indeed, esteem it injurious. Of goat's milk and ewe's milk they consume a great deal in different fashions. But of all sorts of milk the most prized is that of the camel, which they give



THE KITCHEN.—(SKETCHED BY THOMAS R. DAVIS.)



THE DORMITORY.—(SKETCHED BY THOMAS R. DAVIS.)

Figure 6.38 "The Chinese in New England," Harper's Weekly, July 30, 1870: 493.

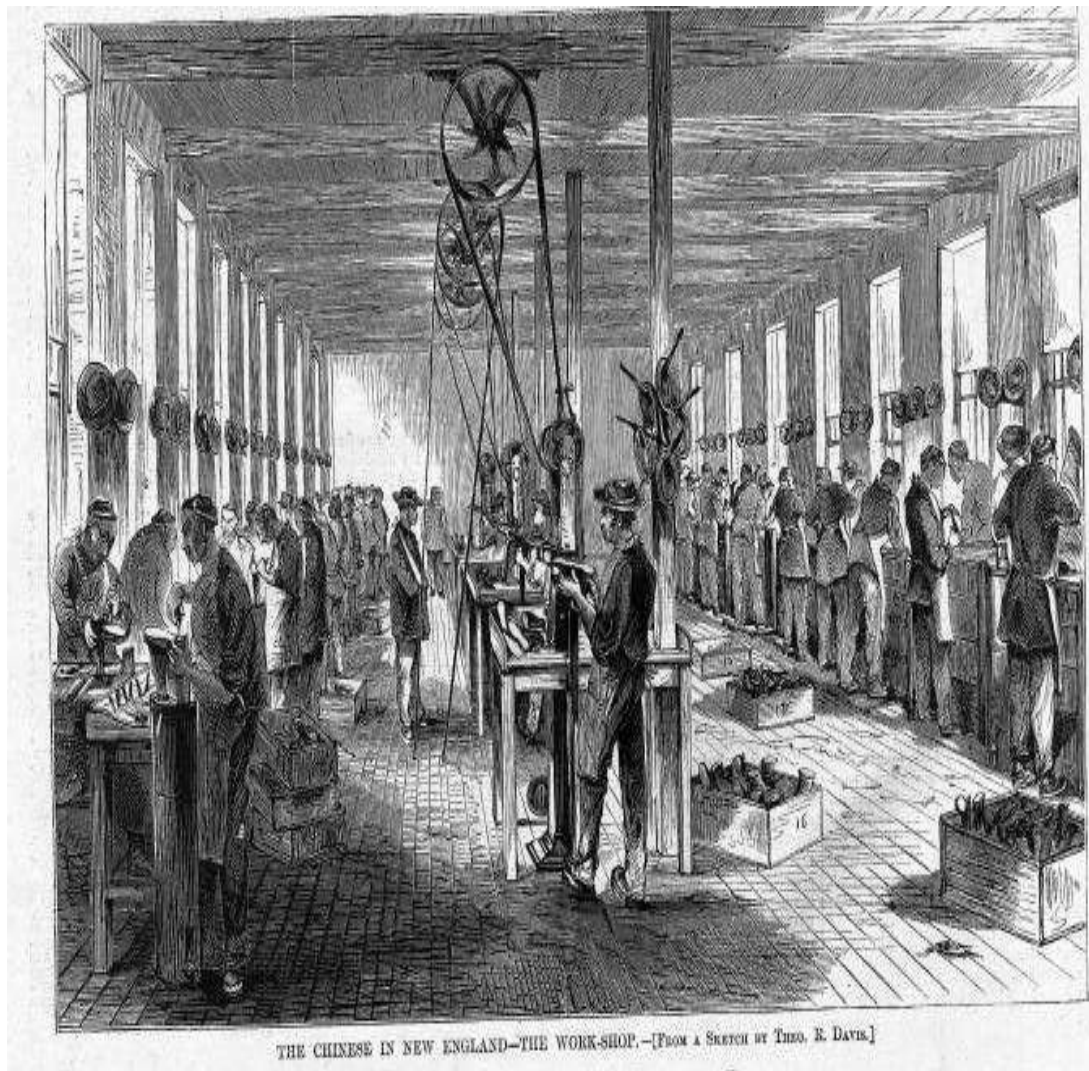


Figure 6.39 "The Chinese in New England," *Harper's Weekly*, July 23, 1870: 468.



Figure 6.40 “The Massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Sept. 26, 1885: 637.

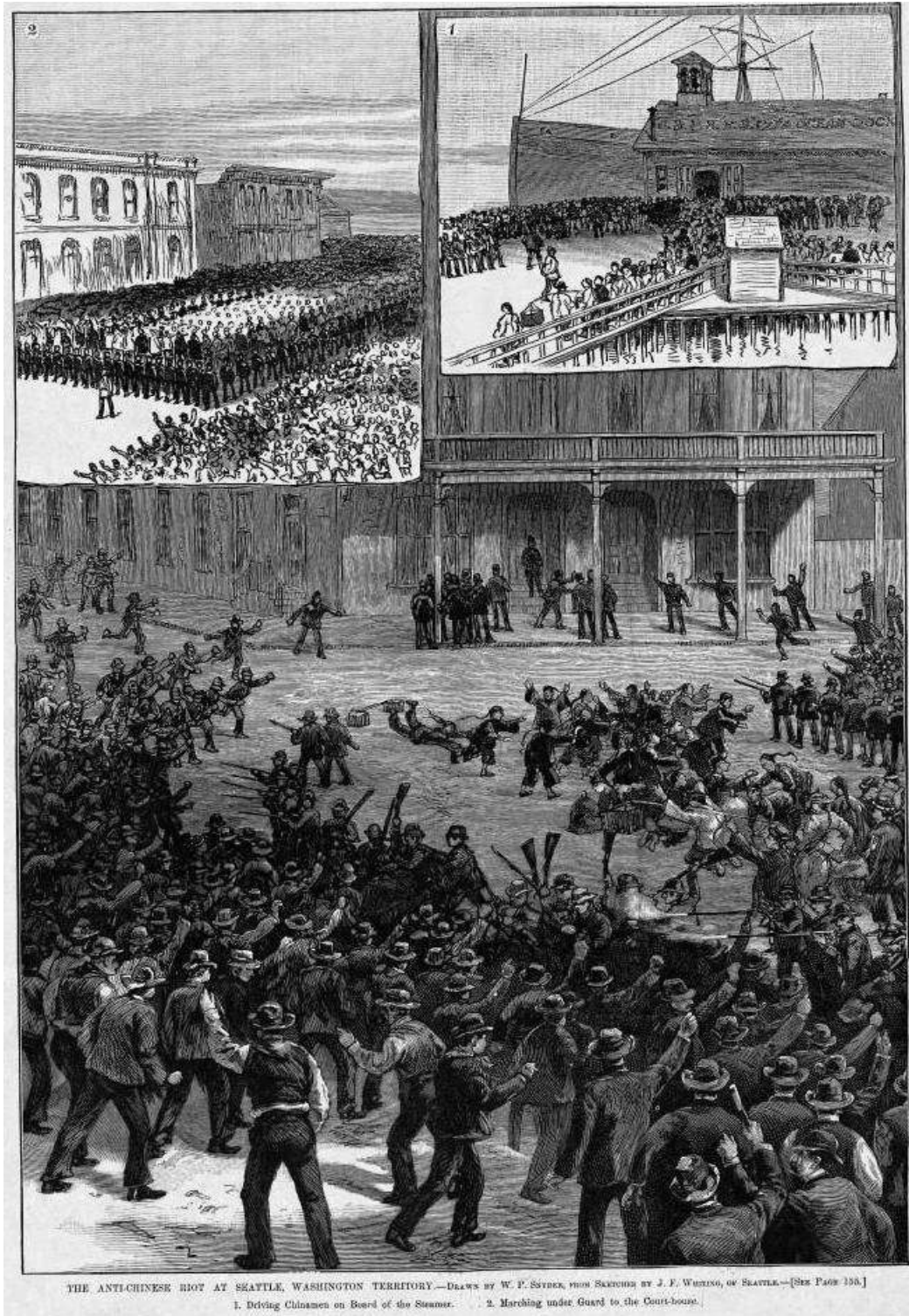


Figure 6.41 “The Anti-Chinese Riot at Seattle, Washington Territory,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 6, 1886: 157.

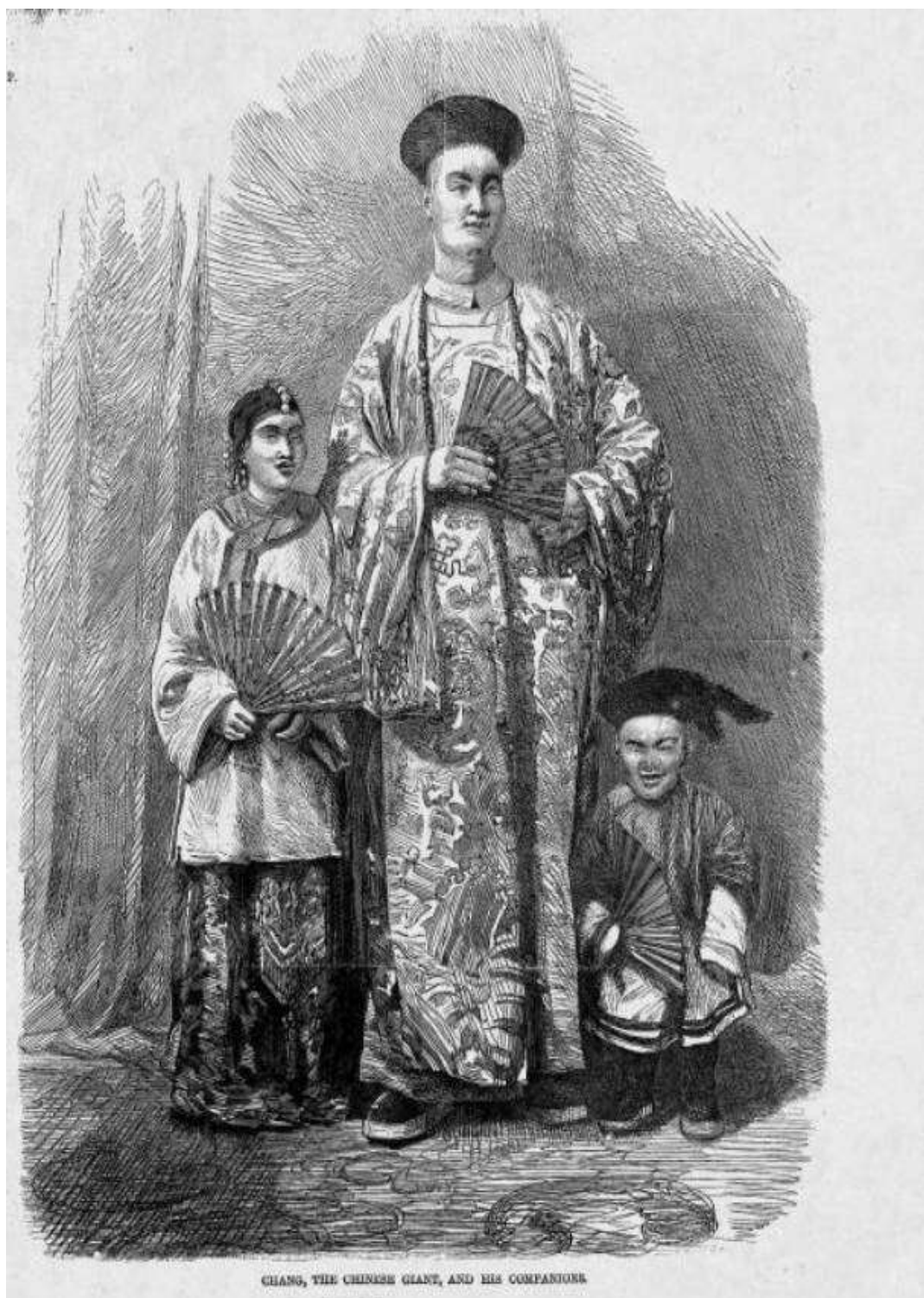


Figure 6.42 "Chang, the Chinese giant, and his companions," *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 28, 1865: 677.



Figure 6.43 "John Chinaman in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, July 10, 1869: 439.



Figure 6.44 "His Last Plea," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 12, 1895: 48.

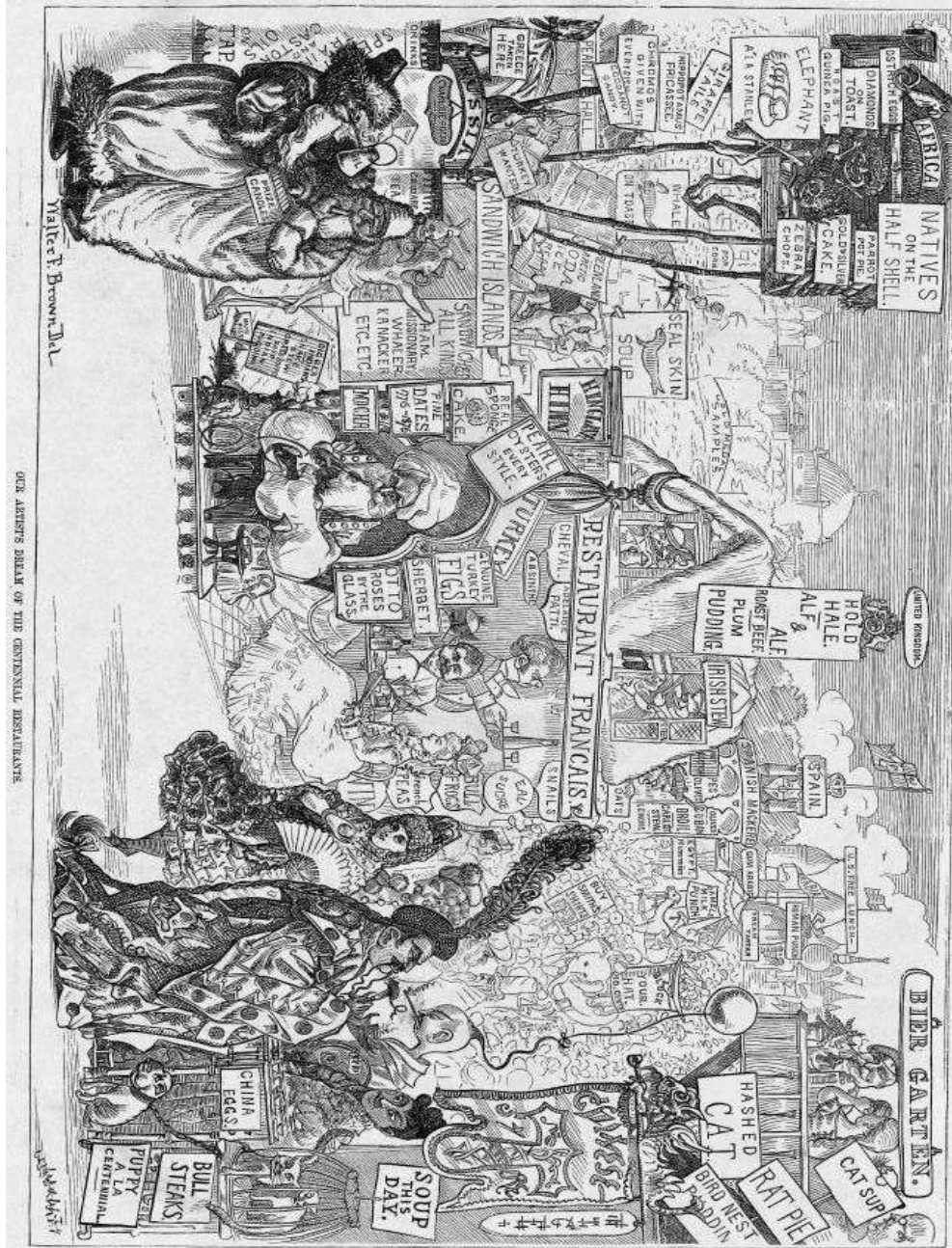


Figure 6.45 “Our Artist’s Dream of the Centennial Restaurants” *Harper’s Weekly*, Supplement, July 1, 1876: 541.

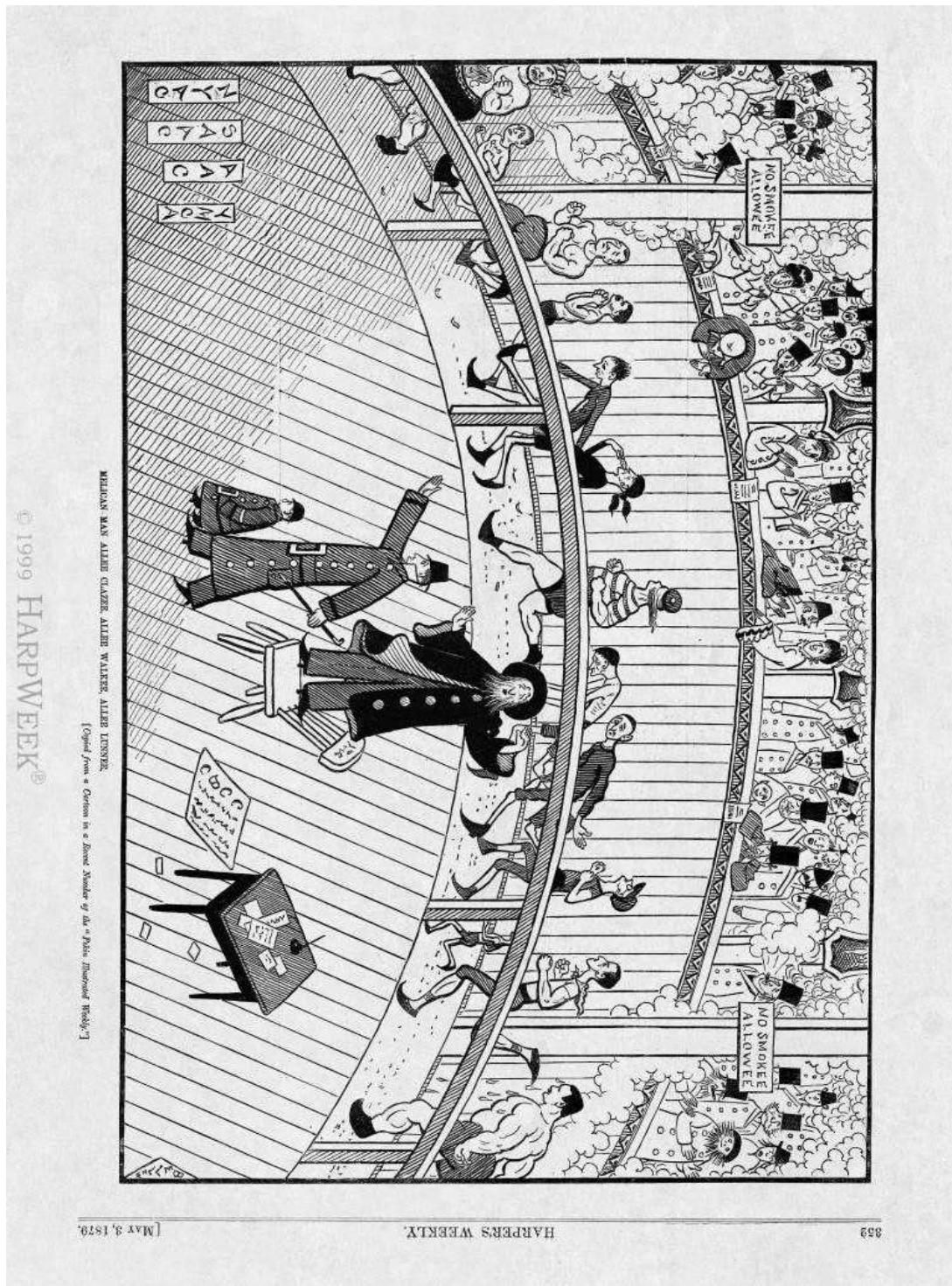


Figure 6.46 “Melican Man Allee Clazee, Allee Walkee, Allee Lunne,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 3, 1879: 352.



Melican leportee man want gabbee, want lite for newsee papee. Chinaman workee, Chinaman no talkee, no gabbee.

[Copied from a Cartoon in a recent number of the "Pekin Illustrated Weekly."]]

Figure 6.47 "Melican Leportee man want gabbee, want lite for newsspapee. Chinaman workee, Chinaman no talkee, no baggee," *Harper's Weekly*, June 14, 1879: 476.



MELICAN MAN BEFORE TABLETS OF HIS ANCESTORS.
 [From a Cartoon in a late number of the "Pekin Illustrated Weekly."]

Figure 6.48 "Melican Man Before Tablets of His Ancestors," *Harper's Weekly*, July 5, 1879: 536.



Figure 6.49 "Uncle Sam's Thanksgiving Dinner," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 20, 1869: 745.



Figure 6.50 "Pacific Chivalry: Encouragement to Chinese Immigration," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 7, 1869: 512.



Figure 6.51 “The Coming Man – John Chinaman,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 28, 1869: 560.



Figure 6.52 "The Last Addition to the Family," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 25, 1869: 624.

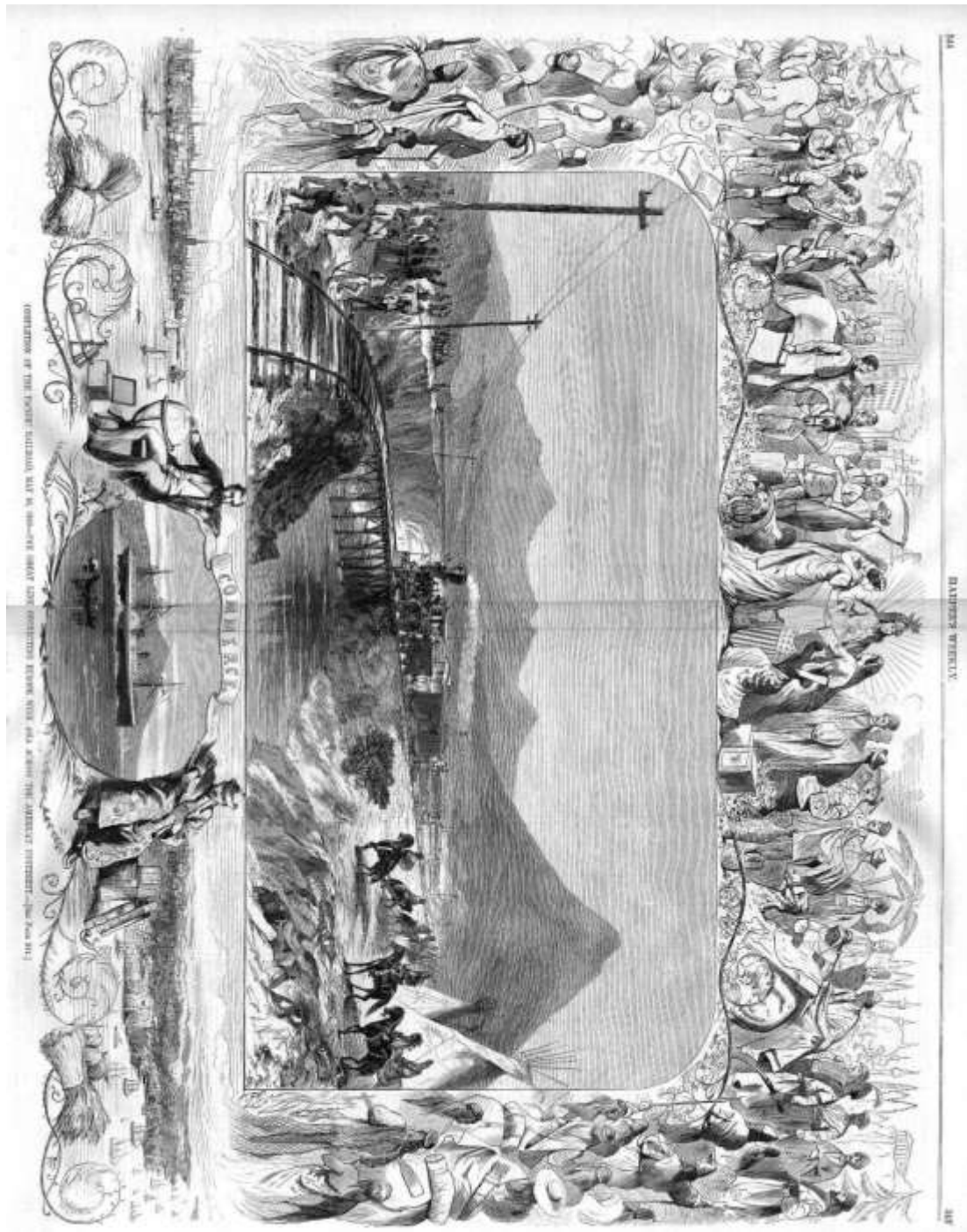


Figure 6.53 “Completion of the Pacific Railroad,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 29, 1869: 344-345.



Figure 6.54 "Pacific Railroad Complete," *Harper's Weekly*, June 12, 1869: 384



Figure 6.55 "The Chinese Puzzle," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1869: 576.

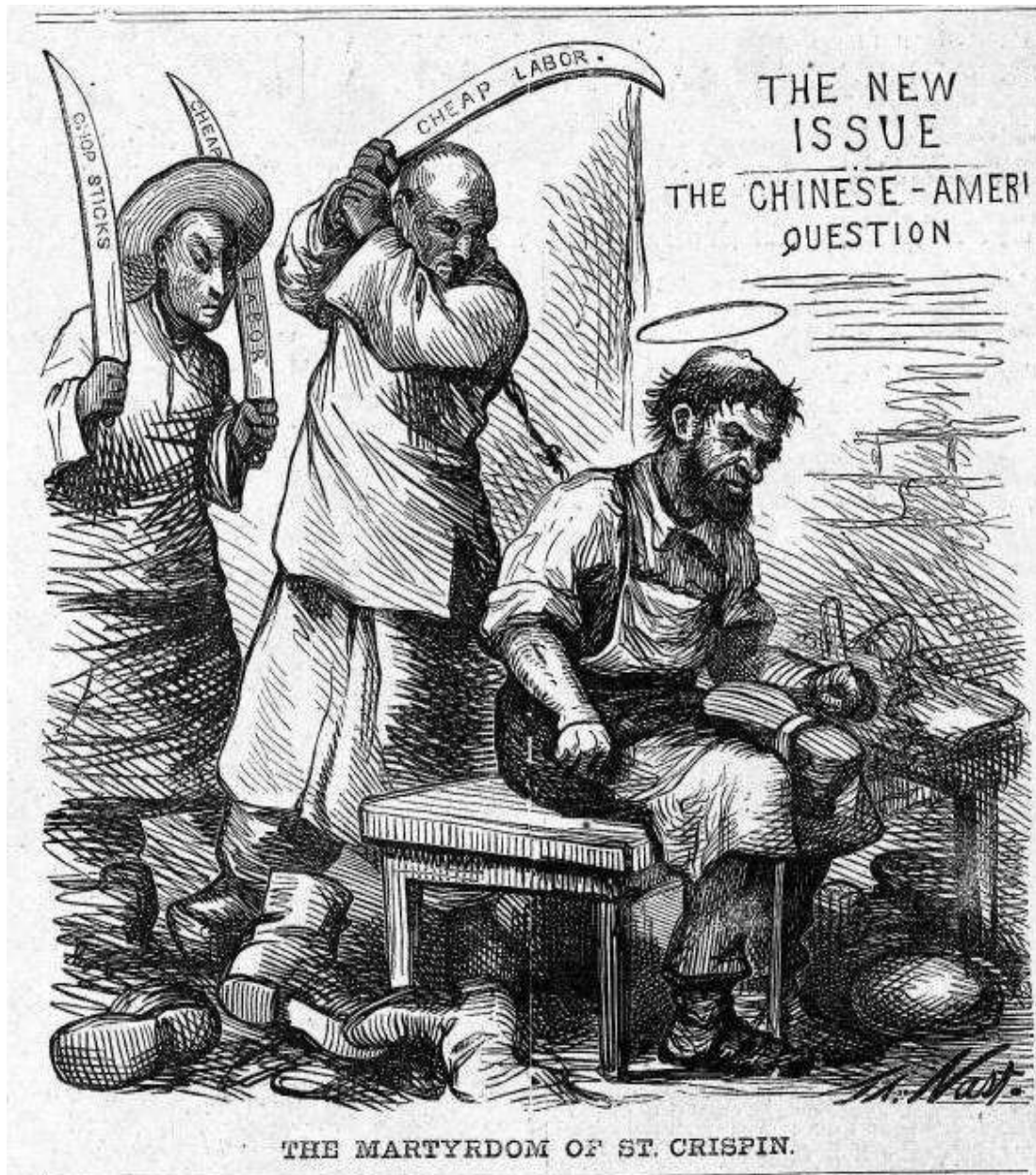
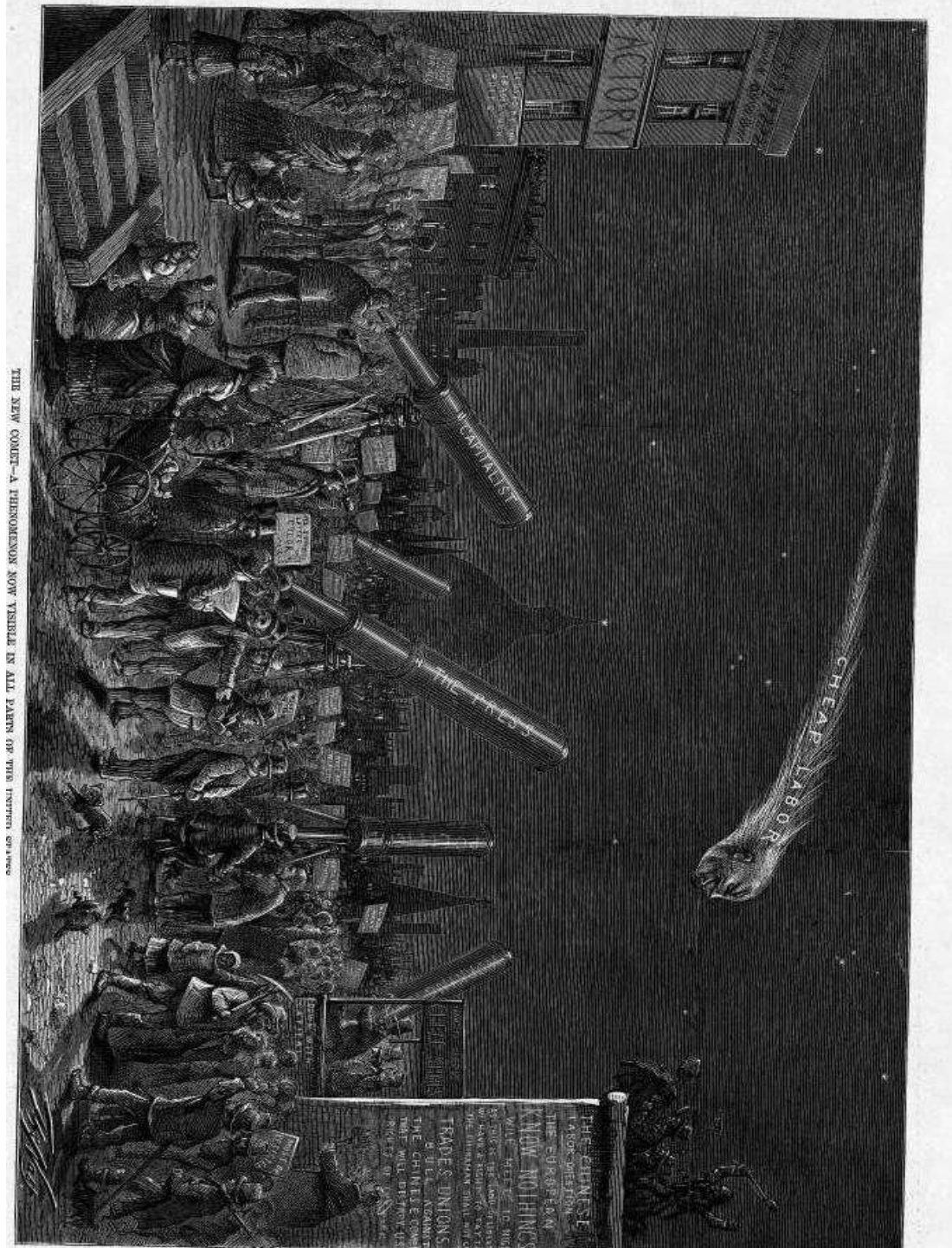


Figure 6.56 'The Martyrdom of St. Crispin,' *Harper's Weekly*, July 16, 1870: 464.



Figure 6.57 "The Latest Edition of Shoo, Fly," *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 6, 1870: 512.



THE NEW COMET—A PHENOMENON NOW VISIBLE IN ALL PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES

Figure 6.58 “The New Comet, a phenomenon visible in all parts of the United States,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Aug. 6, 1870: 505.



Figure 6.59 "Throwing down the ladder by Which They Rose," *Harper's Weekly*, July 23, 1870: 480.



Figure 6.60 “The Chinese Question,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Feb. 18, 1871: 149.

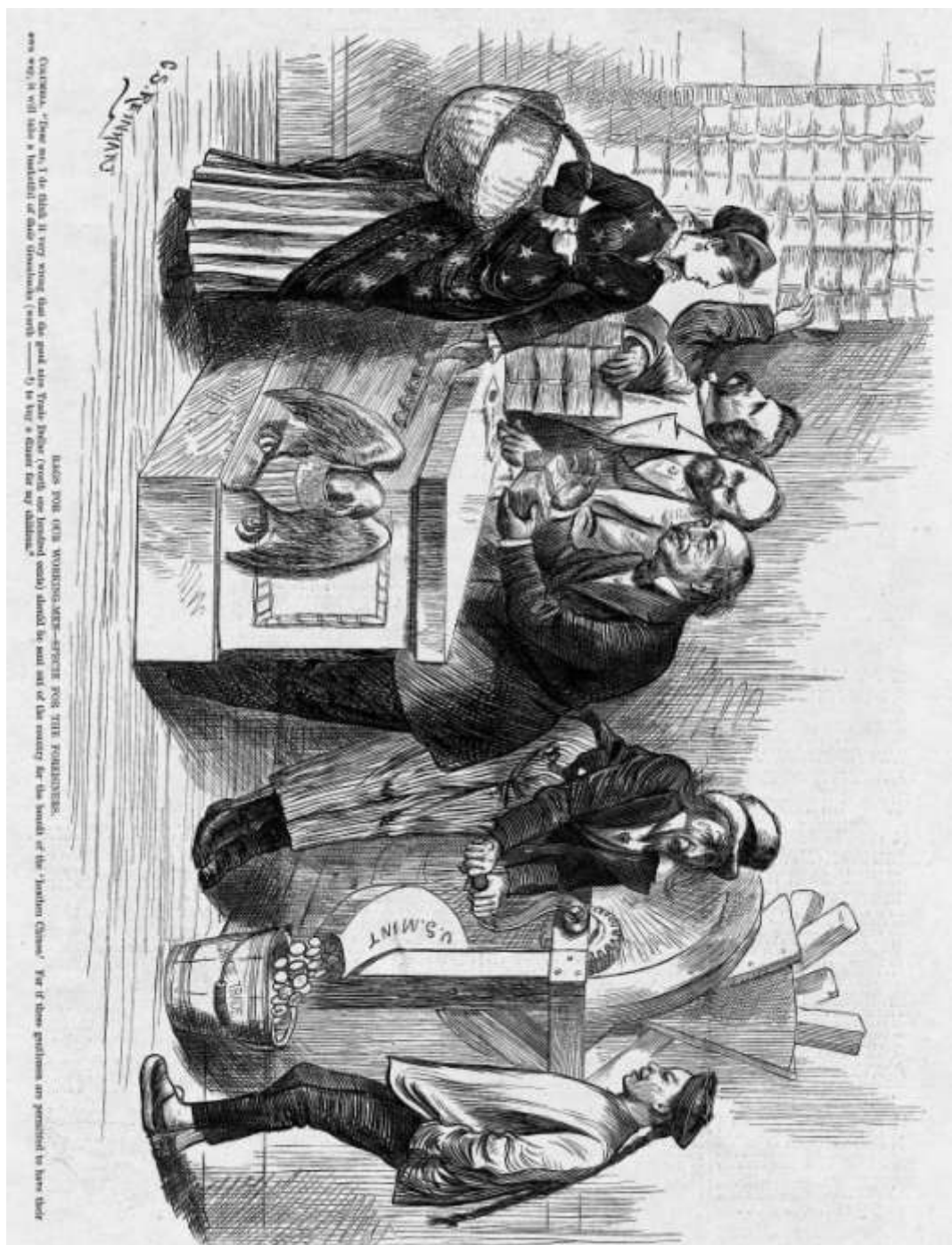


Figure 6.61 "Rags for Our Workingman, Spices for Foreigners," *Harper's Weekly*, April 25, 1874: 353.



Figure 6.62 "A Chinese Puzzle," *Harper's Weekly*, June 10, 1876: 476.



Figure 6.63 "Every Dog Has His Day," *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 8, 1879.

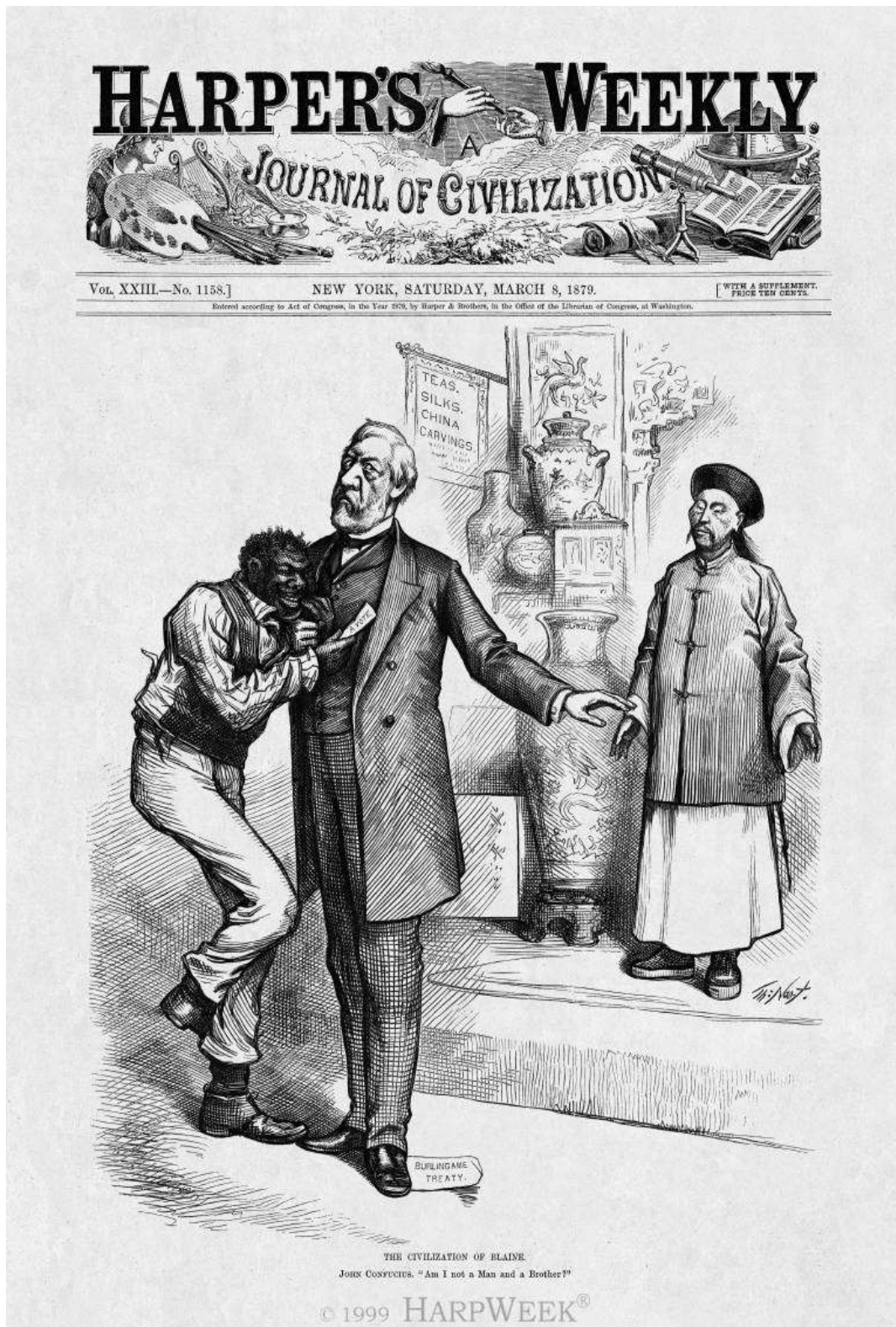


Figure 6.64 "The Civilization of Blaine," *Harper's Weekly*, March 8, 1879.

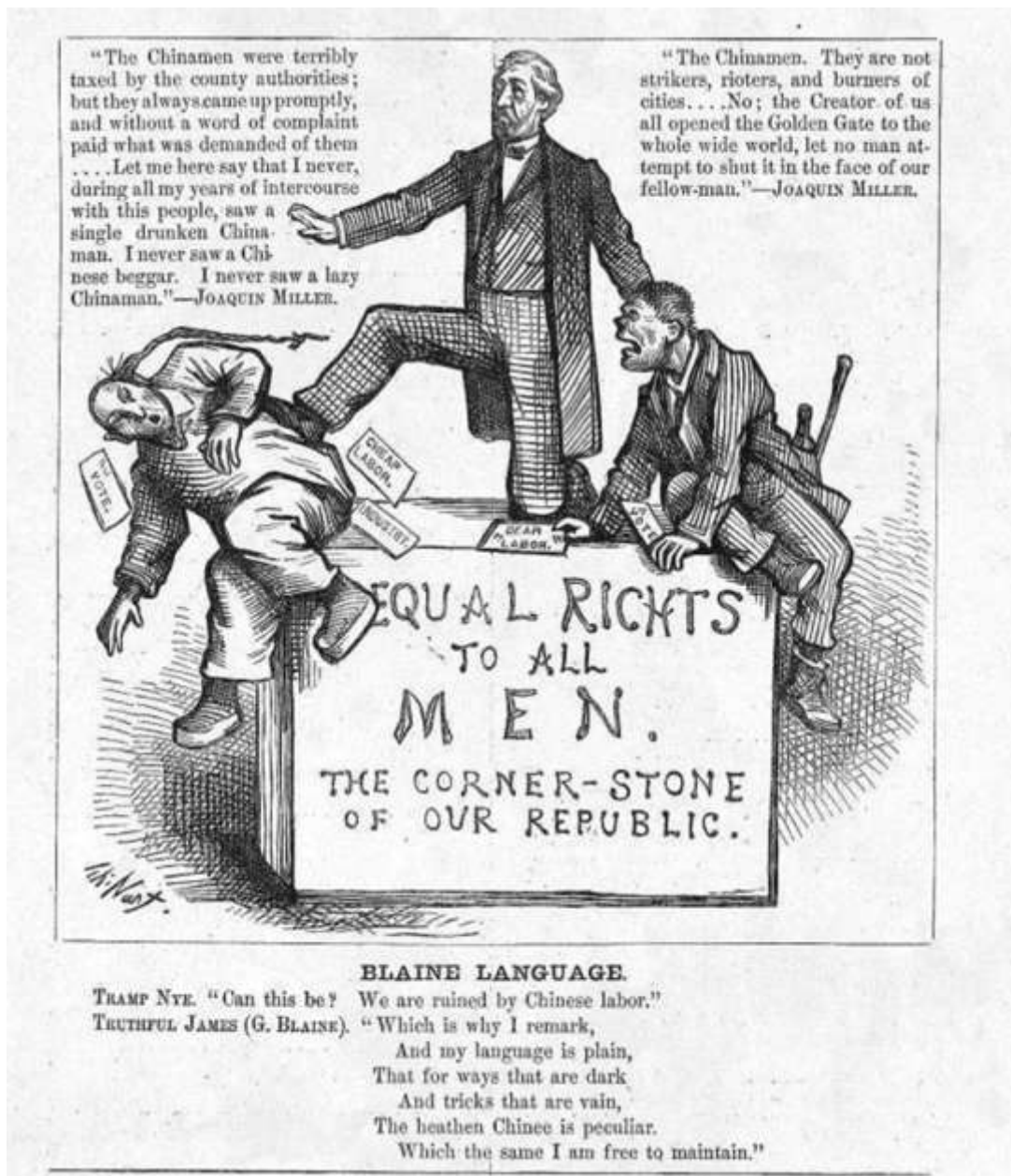


Figure 6.65 "The Blaine Language," *Harper's Weekly*, March 15, 1879: 216.



Figure 6.66 "Ah Sin Was His Name," *Harper's Weekly*, March 8, 1879: 196.

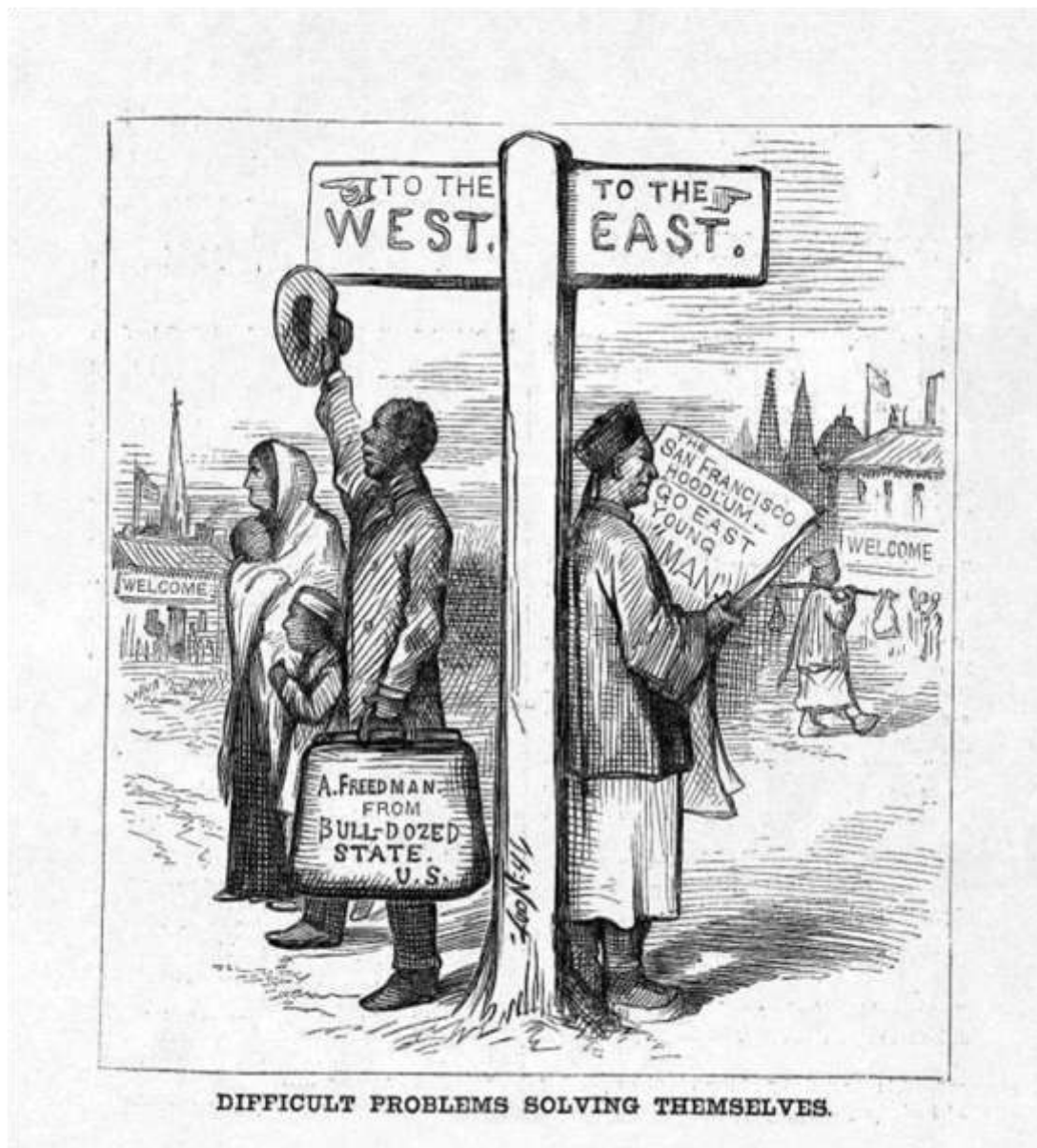


Figure 6.68 "Difficult Problems Solving Themselves," *Harper's Weekly*, March 29, 1879: 256.



Figure 6.69 "The Nigger Must Go and the Chinese Must Go," *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 13, 1879.



Figure 6.70 "Political Capital and Compound Interest," *Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 31, 1880: 68.

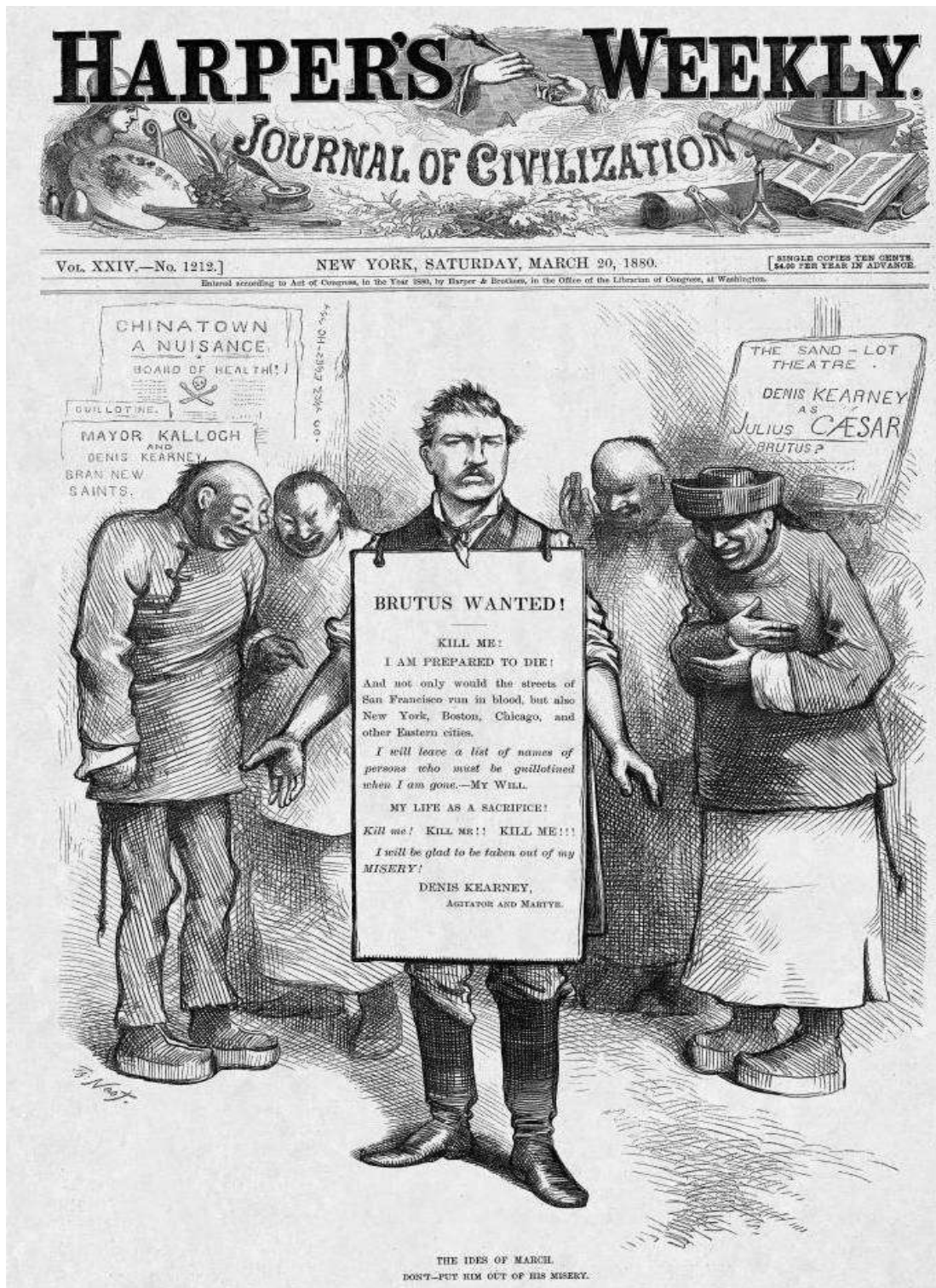


Figure 6.71 “The Ides of March,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 20, 1880.

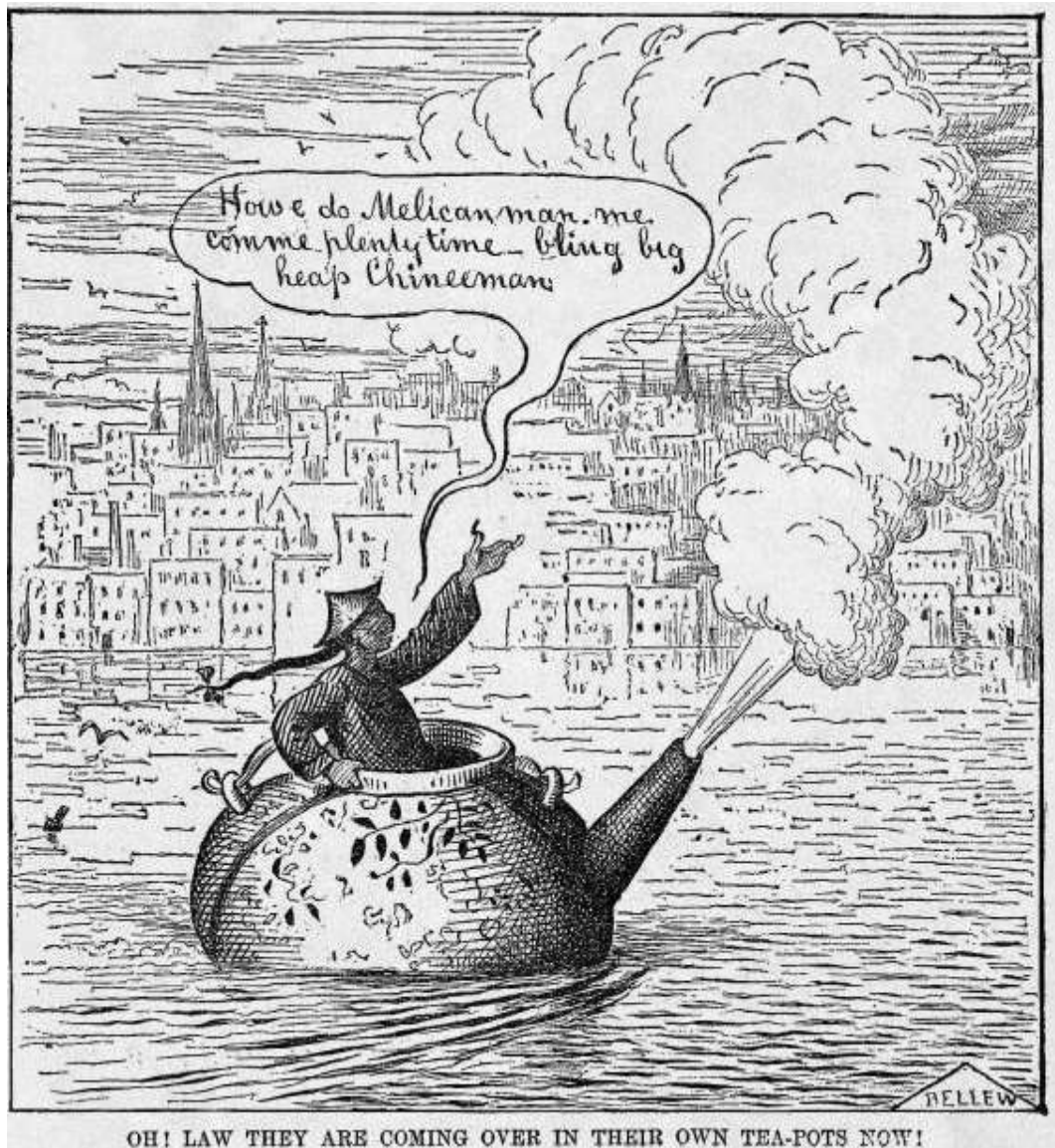


Figure 6.72 "Oh! Law They Are Coming Over in Their Own Tea-pots Now!" *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 2, 1880: 631.



ANOTHER FIELD OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY INVADED BY THE CHINESE.
"No more Washee! Playee Base-ballee! Sellee out Game, allee same Melican man!"

Figure 6.73 "Another Field of American Industry Invaded by the Chinese," *Harper's Weekly*, April 14, 1883: 240.

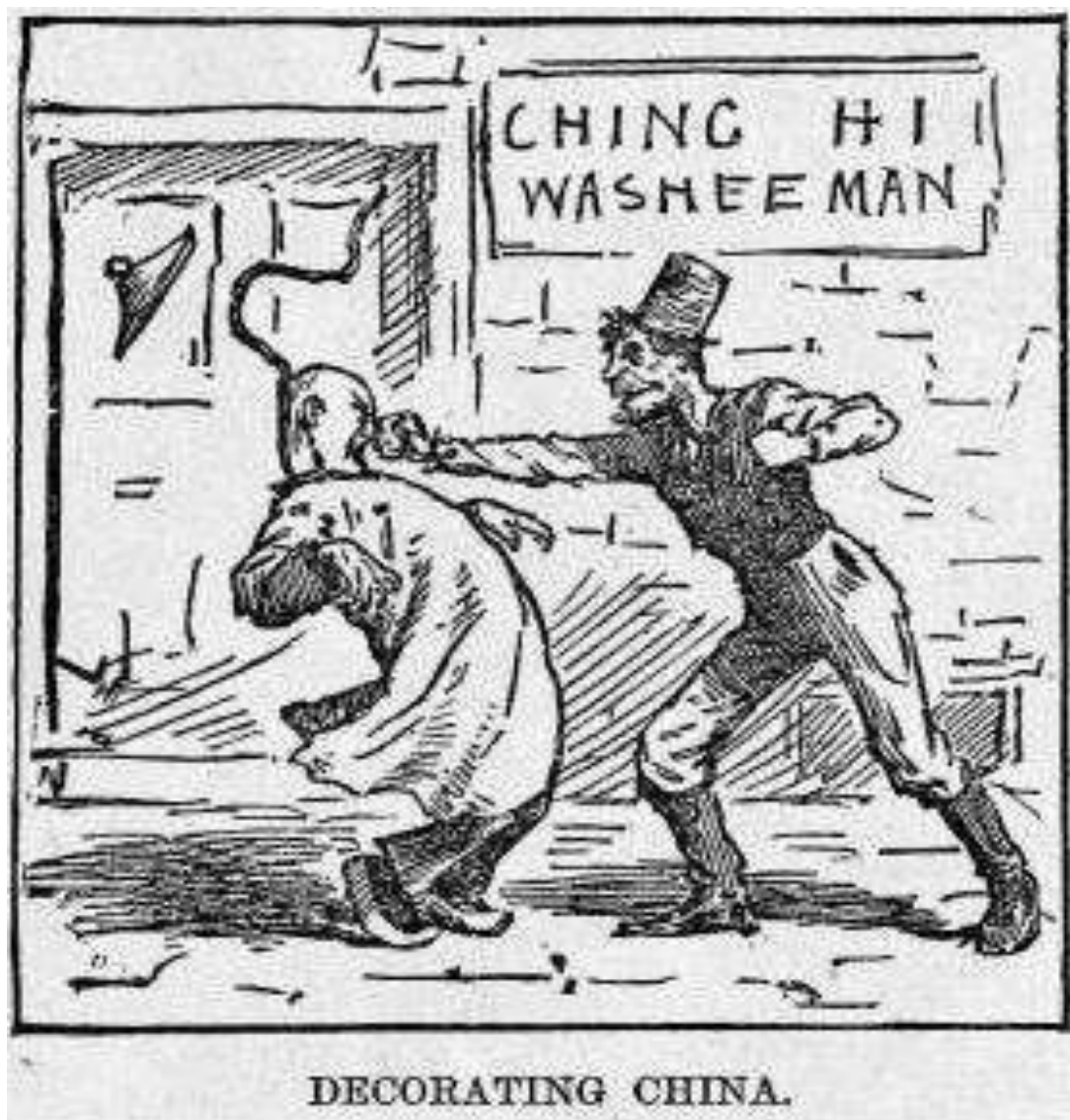


Figure 6.74 "Decorating China," *Harper's Weekly*, January 29, 1881: 79.

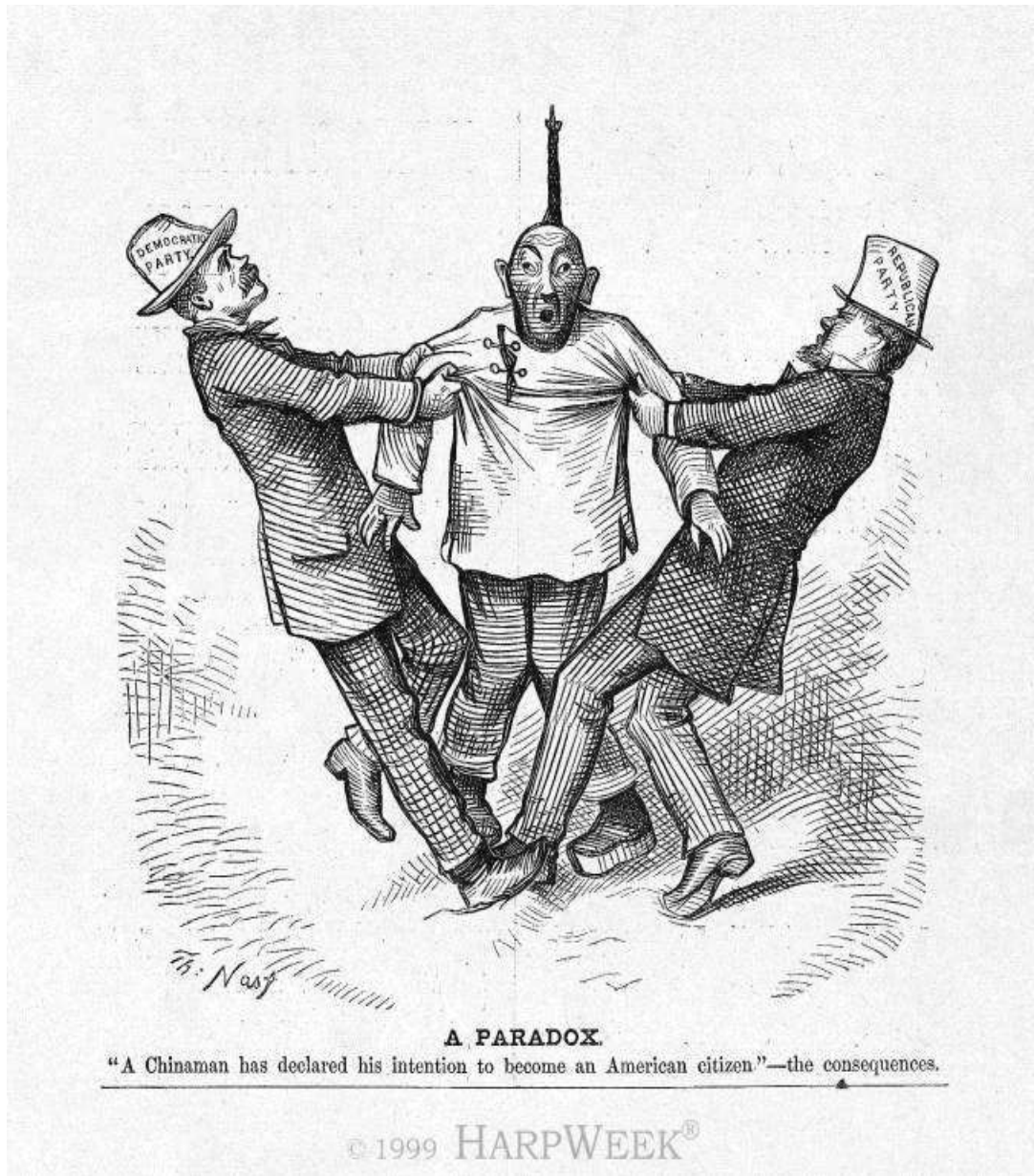


Figure 6.75 "A Paradox," *Harper's Weekly*, May 22, 1880: 336.



Figure 6.76 "Celestial," *Harper's Weekly*, Feb.5, 1881: 96.



Figure 6.77 "A Diplomatic (Chinese) Design Presented to U.S." *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 12, 1881: 100.



Figure 6.78 "The Veto," *Harper's Weekly*, April 15, 1882: 236.

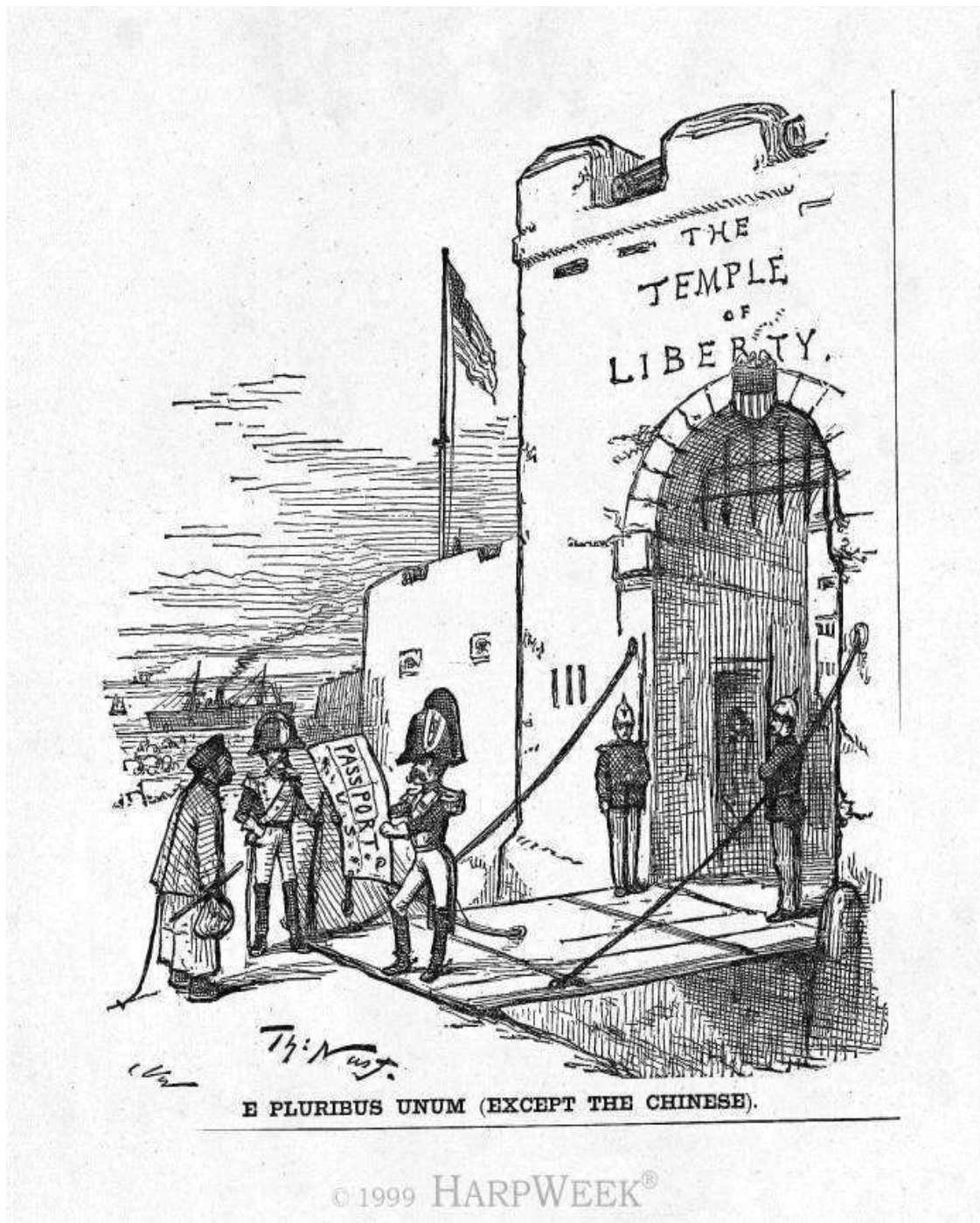


Figure 6.80 "Except the Chinese," *Harper's Weekly*, April 1, 1882: 207.



Figure 6.81 "At Last the Democratic Tiger Has Something To Hang On," *Harper's Weekly*, April 22, 1882: 256.



Figure 6.82 "Now Both Parties Have Something To Hang On," *Harper's Weekly*, May 20, 1882: 317.

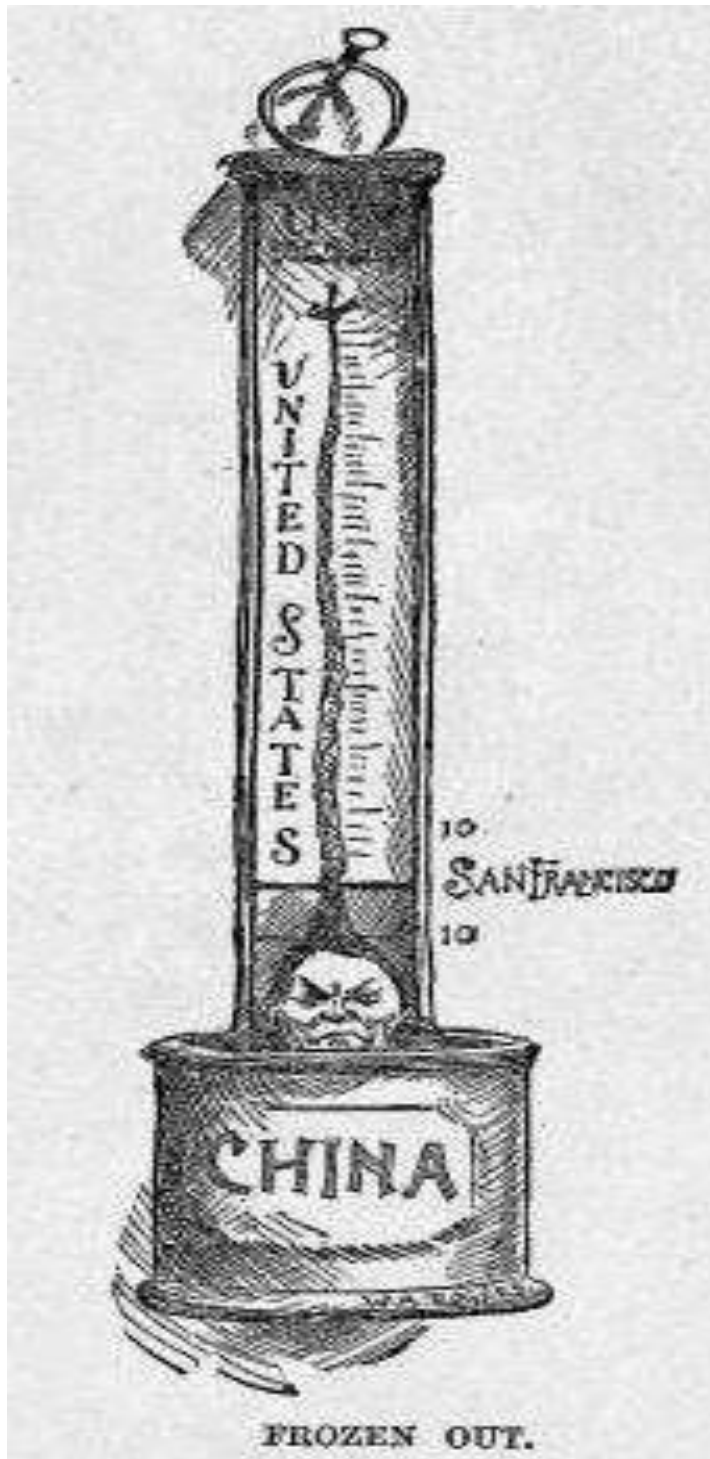


Figure 6.83 “Frozen out,” *Harper’s Weekly*, May 20, 1882: 311.

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