

The Transformation of Satire: Satirical Fiction in Wartime Chongqing (1937-1945)

Chia-ying Shih

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2014

Reading Committee:

John Christopher Hamm, Chair

Yomi Braester

Zev Handel

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Asian Languages and Literature

©Copyright 2014

Chia-ying Shih

University of Washington

Abstract

The Transformation of Satire: Satirical Fiction in Wartime Chongqing (1937-1945)

Chia-ying Shih

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

John Christopher Hamm, Associate Professor

The Department of Asian Languages and Literature

This dissertation investigates the development of satirical fiction published in wartime (1937-1945) Chongqing and its influence on the subsequent development of Chinese satirical fiction. Through the examination of newspapers and literary periodicals published in Chongqing, it identifies the wartime period as a turning point in the politicization of Chinese satirical fiction. "Politicization" here indicates the narrowing of satirical fiction from a range of different cultural, social and political issues to a more dominant concern with political problems. Writers use satire to expose various aspects of government problems or to express their discontent toward political authority. The extent to which writers reflect the expectation of reform from a political system which might self-correct should be judged from the political and social context in which they write and their attitude toward the authority.

Chapter 1 Introduction

I. Modern Chinese Satire: An Important but Understudied Literary Mode

On October 11, 2012, Chinese novelist Mo Yan 莫言 (1955-) was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. His winning of the prize stirred up many debates in China and the West, as his close relationship with the Chinese Communist government presented a major problem for those who claimed he did not deserve to win. His political stance also affects the way literary critics evaluate his novels. When Perry Link¹ and Charles Laughlin,² two U.S. scholars renowned for their studies of modern Chinese literature, argue over whether Mo Yan's novels are satirical, the answer for them is associated with Mo Yan's political stance as well. Their dispute is related to how they frame several characteristics of satire in modern Chinese literature, including the function and goals of satire, and how writers use it. Nevertheless, due to a lack of studies on the topic, our knowledge of modern Chinese satire is deficient. The goal of my project is to contribute to the understanding of this literary mode that has been virtually ignored over a long period of time.

¹ Perry Link (1944-) is the Chancellorial Chair Professor for Innovative Teaching Comparative Literature & Foreign Languages in College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at University of California, Riverside and Emeritus Professor of East Asian Studies at Princeton University. Link's long-term interest is Chinese popular culture. His *Mandarin Ducks and Butter Flies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) is one of the few academic works written in English on modern Chinese popular fiction. After the Tiananmen Square Protests (April 15, 1989- June 4, 1989), Link also paid attention to human rights of Chinese intellectuals in China. Along with Andrew Nathan and Orville Schell, he translated *Tiananmen Papers* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), a book which is believed to contain secret government documents about the Tiananmen Square Protests.

² Charles Laughlin is the Weedon Professor of East Asian Studies at the University of Virginia. He is best known for his thorough exploration of modern Chinese reportage in his *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

On December 6, 2012, when Mo Yan arrived in Stockholm, Sweden, to receive the Nobel Prize five days later, *The New York Review of Books* published Link's essay, "Does This Writer Deserve the Prize?" In this essay, Link describes Mo Yan as a writer "inside the system." He argues that, after 1989, Mo Yan chose to present sensitive historical events with "daft hilarity." These historical events include the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution, in which millions of people died from famine and humiliating torture.³

Laughlin offers a retort to Link's opinions in the essay, "What Mo Yan's Detractors Get Wrong," published in *ChinaFile* on December 11, 2012. For Laughlin, working inside the system does not necessarily mean a writer is a coward or loyal to the Party. Some may choose to function inside the system because "they prefer not to live in exile" and are creating a "stimulating and diverse" Chinese contemporary culture. In addition, Laughlin argues that Mo Yan elected to write about some sensitive moments "because they were traumatic, not because they were hilarious." He claims that Mo Yan's fiction is satirical. It satirizes "the inhumanity of self-serving and hypocritical government officials" and "the style and narrative conventions of the orthodox socialist literature of the past, with its celebration of unbelievable heroes and cartoonish oversimplification of society and history."⁴ In this passage, Laughlin uses the word "satire" to explain the approach that Mo Yan uses as a means of exposing the harm that Chinese experienced in history and the negative political influence on literature.

Link, in turn, fought back against Laughlin in his "Politics and Chinese Language: What Mo Yan's Defenders Get Wrong," also in *ChinaFile* on December 24, 2012. Here Link argues

³ Perry Link, "Does This Writer Deserve the Prize?" *The New York Review of Books*, December 6, 2012, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/dec/06/mo-yan-nobel-prize/> (accessed March 2, 2013).

⁴ Charles Laughlin, "What Mo Yan's Detractors Get Wrong," *ChinaFile*, December 11, 2012, <http://www.chinafile.com/what-mo-yan%E2%80%99s-detractors-get-wrong> (accessed March 2, 2013).

that Mo Yan's language, according to comments of another critic, Sun Xiaodong, is "a jumble of words that juxtaposes rural vernacular, clichéd socialist rhetoric, and literary affectation," which "is hard to read as satire and at least some of it seems quite inadvertent." Link insists that Mo Yan avoids the cruelty of history, seeing only flippancy in Mo Yan's language. For Link, Mo Yan "distorts" history in order "to preserve his career prospects under Party rule."⁵ In other words, in Link's opinion, Mo Yan, as a writer inside the system, cannot possibly satirize problems of that system. In part, the dispute between Link and Laughlin revolves around different understandings of what 'satire' entails or about how to identify it. We will address the question of how to define satire later in this chapter.

When we talk about whether Mo Yan's works are satire, we are also talking about the relationship between a political system and Mo Yan and/or his works. Mo Yan's case is not the only one. In fact, whenever we discuss Chinese satire after 1949, it is almost inevitable that we consider the relationship between the writer, his/ her works, and the government.

For instance, between 1956 and early 1957, in the Hundred Flowers Campaign ("Baihuaqifang yundong" 百花齊放運動), which was launched by Mao Zedong (1893-1976) and during which intellectuals were encouraged to speak out freely, Wang Meng 王蒙 (1934-) made use of satire to expose the drawbacks of officialdom within the Party in his "A Young Newcomer at the Organization Department" ("Zuzhibu xinlaide qingnianren" 組織部新來的青年人), published in *People's Literature* (*Renmin wenxue* 人民文學) in September 1956. Wang's devotion toward the Party can be clearly seen in this story. He seemed to believe that officialdom was a problem involving only a small number of officials. However, the result was that Wang,

⁵ Perry Link, "Politics and Chinese Language: What Mo Yan's Defenders Get Wrong," *ChinaFile*, December 24, 2012, <http://www.chinafile.com/politics-and-chinese-language> (accessed March 2, 2013).

together with other intellectuals who criticized the Party or provided suggestions to the Party, was labeled rightist in the Anti-Rightist Movement of 1957 and sent to *laogai* 勞改 (a labor camp for dissenters).

In the present time, blog articles by Han Han 韓寒 (1982-), a writer influential among young Chinese people since the end of the 20th century, have often been censored for their satiric commentary on government corruption. The faith toward the Party seen in Wang Meng's satirical story cannot be found in Han's works, which seem instead to indicate that the Chinese government is unlikely to correct its mistakes. Meanwhile, among intellectuals, because Han Han's satirical essays point out many political, social, and cultural problems in contemporary China, are embraced by younger generations, and seem to create pressure on the authorities, there are discussions about whether Han Han could be the next Lu Xun.⁶

Works of political satire constantly influence the development of contemporary Chinese literature. In those works, writers use satire to expose various aspects of government problems or to express their discontent toward political authority. The extent to which writers reflect the expectation of reform from a political system which might self-correct should be judged from the political and social context in which they write and their attitude toward the authority.

When did political satire start to play an important role in the development of modern Chinese satire? Various histories of modern Chinese literature note a surge of satirical works expressing the discontent toward the corrupt Nationalist government during the Second Sino-

⁶ Detailed discussion about Wang Meng and Han Han is in Chapter 5.

Japanese Wartime Period (1937-1945). For instance, Chinese scholar, Lu Heng 陸衡, has written a book about the development of Chinese satire in the 1940s.⁷

How did this phenomenon come about in the wartime period? Why did writers focus their satire on targets of political corruption? How has political satire from the wartime period influenced that of the contemporary period? My project intends to understand the formative influences of contemporary political satire through a historical study of political satire in the wartime period.

Fiction is the object on which my project concentrates its research. The wartime period saw a constant flow of works of satirical fiction worthy of our attention. The most famous of these is “Mr. Hua Wei” (“Hua Wei xiansheng” 華威先生) by Zhang Tianyi 張天翼 (1906-1985), which was published in the first issue of *Literary Battleground* (*Wenyi zhendi* 文藝陣地) on April 16, 1938. After 1949, Wang Meng’s short story, “A Young Newcomer at the Organization Department,” and Mo Yan’s fictional works offer representative examples. Therefore, an effective means of understanding the development of political satire in modern Chinese literature can be found through the examination of satirical fiction.

Surprisingly, a tremendous gap remains between the practice of modern Chinese satire and the scholarly attention it receives. Despite the vast number of literary works described as satirical in academic works, there is limited scholarship analyzing the characteristics or issues related to modern Chinese satire.

⁷ See Lu Heng 陸衡, *Sishi niandai fengci wenxue lungao* 四十年代諷刺文學論稿 (A draft discussion about satirical literature in the 1940s) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社, 2008). Though the title of the book indicates it should be about satirical literature in the 1940s, this book actually includes works from the entire wartime (1937-1945) and postwar (1945-1949) periods.

In terms of the study of Chinese satirical fiction in the U.S., only a few scholars have mentioned the important role satirical fiction played in the history of modern Chinese literature. Five decades ago, C. T. Hsia noted that satire played a role in the development of modern Chinese literature. According to Hsia, realist fiction was the dominant literary genre in the history of modern Chinese fiction, and satire offered “the best recourse... against the sentimental and overtly didactic approach to the problems of national decadence and backwardness.” This is why “Lu Xun, Lao She 老舍 (1899-1966), Zhang Tianyi, Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910-1998), and nearly all the other good writers are satirists by choice or necessity, to air their disgust with the ugliness of reality as well as to stave off the strong humanitarian pressures.”⁸ Hsia implies that it was writers’ concern for China that motivated them to write satire.

Marston Anderson also noticed the close relationship between Chinese realism and satire in *The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period* (1990), which offers a brilliant analysis of the development of Chinese literary realism. According to Anderson, realism was introduced into China in the late Qing era because Chinese intellectuals assumed that realism would “encourage its readers to actively involve themselves in the important social and political issues confronting the nation.”⁹ In other words, realism was introduced as a way to save China from its weaknesses. However, Anderson argues, because Chinese intellectuals had set their expectations for realism’s effectiveness too high, they gradually lost confidence in it and

⁸ C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (1961; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 501. My dissertation uses the pinyin system to Romanize Chinese characters. Hsia uses the Wade-Giles system in his book. Therefore, writers’ names in this sentence are originally presented as Lu Hsün (Lu Xun), Lao Shê (Lao She), Chang T’ien-I (Zhang Tianyi) and Ch’ien Chung-shu (Qian Zhongshu). For Hsia’s explanation of the Romanization of Chinese names in his book, see C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, xlvii.

⁹ Marston Anderson, *The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 25.

called for “an activist art that could serve as a tool to unify and organize the Chinese people.”¹⁰ Anderson developed his thesis through the study of four writers: Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), Ye Shaojun 葉紹鈞 (also Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶, 1894-1988), Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), and Zhang Tianyi. What deserves our attention is that, except for Mao Dun, all these writers were known for their fictional works of satire. Many times in his book, Anderson notes that these writers used satire in their realist short stories and novels.

Both Hsia and Anderson agree that Chinese realist writers often use satire in their literary works. However, in terms of the relationship between satire and realism in modern Chinese literature, we do not see any other Western scholars offering further discussions on this issue, not to mention other characteristics of satire.

Compared to U.S. scholars, Chinese scholars have paid more attention to modern Chinese satirical fiction. Many academic works focus on individual satirists or the satirical fiction of a specific period or area. Among those works, *History of Chinese Satirical Fiction (Zhongguo fengci xiaoshuo shi 中國諷刺小說史, 1993)*, by Qi Yukun 齊裕錕 and Chen Huiqin 陳惠琴, and *The Tenth Muse: On Modern Chinese Satirical Fiction (1917-1949) (Di shi wei miaosi: Zhongguo xiandai fengci xiaoshuo lun (1917-1949) 第十位繆思: 中國現代諷刺小說論 (1917-1949), 1998)*, by Wan Shuyuan 萬書元, are two monographs focused on the development of Chinese satirical fiction. *History of Chinese Satirical Fiction* covers satirical fiction from the pre-Qing to the Republican Era. However, more than half of its content deals with satirical fiction in the Republican era. The entirety of *The Tenth Muse* focuses solely on characteristics of modern Chinese satirical fiction. The appearance of these two books demonstrates that Chinese scholars

¹⁰ Ibid., 74.

consider modern Chinese satirical fiction a significant influence on the development of modern Chinese literature.

For researchers of modern Chinese satirical fiction, these two books convey a crucial message: there are many satirical writers and fictional works of satire in the Republican era. The lists they provide of such writers are fairly complete, including famous writers such as Lu Xun, Lao She, Qian Zhongshu, Ye Shaojun, Zhang Tianyi, Shen Congwen 沈從文 (1902-1988), Sha Ting 沙汀 (1904-1992), Shi Tuo 師陀 (1910-1998), and Xiao Hong 蕭紅 (1911-1942). They also include satirists who have received less academic attention, such as Wang Renshu 王任叔 (also Ba Ren 巴人, 1901-1972), Wang Luyen 王魯彥 (1901-1944), Xu Qinwen 許欽文 (1897-1984), Jian Xian'ai 蹇先艾 (1906-1994), Xu Jie 許杰 (1901-1993), Peng Jiahuang 彭家煌 (1898-1933), Fei Ming 廢名 (1901-1967), Lao Xiang 老向, Jiang Muliang 蔣牧良 (1901-1973), Zhou Wen 周文, Wang Xiyan 王西彥 (1914-1999), and Li Jieren 李劫人 (1891-1962). Even popular writers are covered in their discussions, such as Li Hanqiu 李涵秋 (1873-1923), Cheng Zhanlu 程瞻廬 (1879-1943), Xiang Karan 向愷然 (1890-1957), and Zhang Henshui 張恨水 (1897-1967).

In the above two books, Chinese satirical fiction is defined on the basis of theories about satire in Western literature. In their *History of Chinese Satirical Fiction*, based mainly on the Chinese translation of Arthur Pollard's *Satire*, Qi and Chen define the purpose of Chinese satirical fiction as deprecating crime and furthering social reform. They also maintain that Chinese satirical fiction features the use of wit, comedy, fantasy, and humor; but the source of

this idea is not identified in their book.¹¹ Qi and Chen contend that these characteristics of Chinese satirical fiction can be found in the two main types of satirical fiction: one type realistically presents social crime, while the other satirizes social problems through allegory.¹² Similarly, in *The Tenth Muse*, Wan Shuyuan defines modern Chinese satire by citing works from important Western theorists of satire, such as Robert Elliot, Gilbert Hight, North Frye, and Western literary glossaries.¹³ Based on Frye and Hight, Wan holds that the necessary elements in satire are “humor” and a “target for attack” (*gongji mubiao* 攻擊目標).¹⁴

However, it is questionable whether modern Chinese satirists understood satire in the same way Qi and Chen or Wan did. Moreover, while Qi and Chen as well as Wan lump all satirists and fictional works of satire under the same fixed definition, they fail to take into consideration how political, social and cultural situations affected satirists’ practice of satire. In other words, these authors have detached the discussion of modern Chinese satirical fiction from its historical context. As a result, we still know little about what constitutes and shapes modern Chinese satire.

Given the drawback of this approach by Chinese scholars, my study will start by identifying characteristics of modern Chinese satirical fiction within its specific historical context. In the introductory chapter of my dissertation, through the examination of primary sources, including debates and discussions about modern Chinese satire, the ways in which

¹¹ See Qi Yuqun 齊裕錕 and Chen Huiqin 陳惠琴, *Zhongguo fengci xiaoshuoshi* 中國諷刺小說史 (History of Chinese satirical fiction) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe 遼寧人民出版社, 1993), 7-13.

¹² *Ibid.*, 12-13.

¹³ Wan Shuyuan 萬書元, *Di shi wei miusi: Zhongguo xiandai fengci xiaoshuo lun* (1917-1949) 第十位繆思: 中國現代諷刺小說論 (1917-1949) (The tenth Muse: On modern Chinese satirical fiction (1917-1949)) (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe 東南大學出版社, 1998), 25-32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

writers and critics of the Republican era understood satire are uncovered. The rest of the introductory chapter explains why this research investigates satirical fiction in Chongqing during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) (wartime Chongqing or Chongqing hereafter), what materials have been used, and the content arrangement of this dissertation.

II. Definition of Satire

The term ‘satire’ is generally translated into Chinese as *fengci* 諷刺. *Fengci* refers not only to satire in modern Chinese literature, but also to another literary mode in classical Chinese literature. However, characteristics of *fengci* differ greatly depending on which of these two periods is under discussion. The nature of *fengci* in modern Chinese literature is greatly influenced by satire in Western literature. Those interested in satire in English literature usually start with the definition by Robert Elliot (1914-1981), a U.S. scholar reputed for his expertise in satire. According to Elliot, satire employs means of “ridicule, derision, burlesque, irony, parody, caricature, or other methods” to “censure” “human or individual vices, follies, abuses, or shortcomings.”¹⁵ This definition also explains the way satirical works by modern Chinese writers depict their subjects. What distinguish Chinese satire from satire of other areas of the world are the special purposes that modern Chinese writers expected to gain from satire and the debates regarding whether the use of satire could help achieve them. Therefore, to characterize satirical fiction in modern Chinese literature, the following discussion will devote most attention to writers’ goals and concerns in using satire.

Although characteristics of *fengci* in classical and modern Chinese literature differ significantly, the former may have some influence on modern thinking about Chinese satire and

¹⁵ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., s. v. “Satire.”

the translation of ‘satire’ to ‘*fengci*’ in Chinese. Therefore, the following section reviews *fengci* in classical Chinese literature before focusing on the term in a modern context.

A. *Fengci* in Classical Chinese Literature

Fengci in modern Chinese, according to Gao Mingkai 高名凱 (1911-1965) and Liu Zhengtan 劉正燊, is a “return graphic loan,” which refers to “classical Chinese-character compounds used by the Japanese to translate modern European words, which were then reintroduced into modern Chinese.”¹⁶ However, Gao and Liu also explain that *fengci* is a Chinese word which exists in classical Chinese.

The earliest discussion of *fengci* in classical Chinese literature is in the “Greater Preface” (“Daxu” 大序) of *Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 詩經):

Those in high position, by means of suasive force (*feng*) transform (*hua*) those below them, and those below, by means of critical persuasion (*feng*) seek to redirect (i.e. *tz’u* [*ci*], “prod, needle”) those above them. In these endeavors (i.e. the *tz’u*, or prodding from subordinates), the principal feature is to be artistry (*wen*) to render the criticism oblique. In this way, the one who speaks out does so without offense (n.b. a typical Han concern), and yet the one criticized hears enough to be warned. Thus, (as for the first principle of poetry), it is called Persuasion (*feng*).¹⁷

¹⁶ Gao Mingkai 高名凱 and Liu Zhengtan 劉正燊, *Xiandai hanyu wailai ci yanjiu* 現代漢語外來詞研究 (Studies of loanwords in modern Chinese) (Beijing: Wenzhi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社, 1958), 84. The translation of this passage follows that by Lydia Liu. See Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 302.

¹⁷ Donald A. Gibbs, “Notes on the Wind: The Term ‘Feng’ in Chinese Literary Criticism,” in *Transition and Permanence: Chinese History and Culture: A Festschrift in Honor of Dr. Hsiao Kung-ch’üan*, ed. David C. Buxbaum and Frederick W. Mote (Hong Kong: Cathay Press, 1972), 288, 293.

上以風化下，下以風刺上，主文而譎諫，言之者無罪，聞之者足以戒，故曰風。¹⁸

Fengci 風刺 in the “Greater Preface” actually refers to *fengci* 諷刺. *Fengci* 風刺 is the ancient form of *fengci* 諷刺.

Lu Deming’s 陸德明 (ca. 550-630) phonetic gloss indicates that the pronunciation of *feng* in *fengci* 風刺 is the combination of the upper part (initial) of the phonetic transcription of the syllable *fu* 福 and the lower part (final) of *feng* 鳳 (i.e., the pronunciation of the character *feng* was marked as “fu feng fan” 福鳳反).¹⁹

The character *feng* also appears in a passage of the “Lesser Preface” (“Xiaoxu” 小序) of the song “Guanju” 關雎 in *Book of Songs*:

The word “wind” [*fēng*] means “power to change” [*fèng*], it means “teaching” [*jiao*]; just as wind moves things, teaching transforms things.²⁰

風，風也，教也，風以動之，教以化之。²¹

The pronunciation of the second *feng* in the quoted sentence is also marked as *fu feng fan* (福鳳反).²² Ruan Yuan’s 阮元 (1764–1849) collation note to this *feng* points out that when the pronunciation of *feng* is transcribed as *fu feng fan*, *feng* indicates the ancient form of *feng* 諷.²³

¹⁸ Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), ed., *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Jiangxi shuju 江西書局, 1816. Rpt. Shanghai: Shijie shuju 世界書局, 1935; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1980), 1:271.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Donald A. Gibbs, “Notes on the Wind,” 288.

²¹ Ruan Yuan, ed., *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1:269.

Donald A. Gibbs indicates that, in the above passage, *feng* in *fengci* is a noun, and *ci* is a verb.²⁴ Thus, *fengci* means that, by means of critical persuasion (*feng*), those who are in a lower position seek to redirect (*ci*) those in a higher position. Clearly, in the compound word *fengci*, the noun *feng* is not a subject but has an adverbial function. This is how *fengci* is understood in classical literature.

The above discussion of *fengci* lurks subtly within ideas of when to use *fengci* and the purpose of *fengci*. When those in an upper position need to be redirected, there is an implication that they have failed to maintain certain moral standards. The goal of redirecting those in the upper position is to correct problems of their government. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1917), a scholar on the Late Qing era and an expert of Chinese classics exegetics, lists poems in *The Book of Songs* marked with the use of *ci* in annotations. According to Wang, almost all of them target the King of You 幽 (785-771 BC) in the Western Zhou 周 dynasty (1046-771 BC), who brought about the ruin of the Western Zhou.²⁵

Although *fengci* in classical Chinese literature uses the means of critical persuasion, in real practice, Wang Xianqian finds that “there are some pieces which contain compliments (*mei*) in the entire piece; however, they actually prod (*ci*).” (“Yiyou quanpian jie mei er shi ci zhe” 亦有全篇皆美而實刺者).²⁶ What Wang notices is the contradiction between the superficial meaning of a piece of work and the subtler meaning it intends to convey, which is how irony is

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 1: 275.

²⁴ Donald A. Gibbs, “Notes on the Wind,” 293.

²⁵ Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Shi sanjiayi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju 明文書局, 1988), 3.

²⁶ Wang Xianqian, “Shi sanjiayi jishu xuli” 詩三家義集疏序例, in *Shi sanjiayi jishu*, 2.

created. Wang's explanation of *fengci* would mean that *fengci* is the equivalent of our modern term, irony.

It is likely that, in the modern era, the Japanese adopted the term '*fengci*' to translate the Western term 'satire' because '*fengci*' in classical Chinese literature and 'satire' in Western literature were perceived to some extent as similar.

Nevertheless, many differences distinguish *fengci* in classical Chinese literature from satire in Western literature. In Elliot's definition, satire sometimes carries "an intent to inspire social reform."²⁷ However, in his classic work on satire, *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art*, he notes that sometimes the power of satire may extend beyond a satirist's control: "His practice is often sanative, as he proclaims; but it may be revolutionary in ways that society cannot possibly approve, and in ways that may not be clear even to the satirist."²⁸ Elliot's words imply the potential of satire to threaten a political power.

Regarding satire in Western literature, other scholars also make note of the sense of morality that a satirist should have. In *A Companion to Satire*, a collection of articles presenting the latest scholarship about satire in Western literature, the editor Ruben Quintero contends that satire's moral standard is the key factor in deciding whether a literary work is satirical. Quintero argues that satirists write satire "not merely out of personal indignation, but with a sense of moral vocation and with a concern for the public interest." Therefore, "a boundary between truth and libel [must] be respected."²⁹

The goal of a better society and the value of morality in Western satire, on the surface, is shared by *fengci* in classical Chinese literature; in effect, however, *fengci* places a different

²⁷ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., s. v. "Satire."

²⁸ Robert Elliot, *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 275.

²⁹ Ruben Quintero, ed. *A Companion to Satire* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 1-2.

emphasis on these two ideas. *Fengci* attempts to redirect the deeds of those in high positions, which may serve the goal of solving social problems caused by their wrong deeds, thus improving society. However, the actual goal of *fengci* is to consolidate an existing political power, while in Western literature, satire may contain the seeds to overthrow a regime. Modern Chinese writers who accepted the idea of satire imported from Japan expected satire to provoke social reform. The next portion will demonstrate that modern Chinese writers' thoughts about satire were influenced more by the definition of satire in Western literature than by that in classical Chinese literature.

B. Satire in Modern Chinese Literature

Satire is a literary mode that Chinese writers have often used to expose various national, social, and cultural problems since the late Qing dynasty. The purpose of satire in modern Chinese literature seems to stick to what Elliot highlights in his definition; that is, satire is used to “censure” “human or individual vices, follies, abuses, or shortcomings.” In effect, Chinese writers expected more from satire. Whether the purpose of satire is social exposure per se or social exposure in service of social reform was the major issue in several debates about satire in the Republican era. Those who supported the use of satire claimed social improvement as the goal of satire, which would contribute to the cause of saving the nation, while opponents argued that satire only passively exposed problems and served no constructive purpose. Those debates reveal a message that when literature was involved in the project of reforming society and saving the nation, writers became anxious about whether satire was a worthy tool. They hoped that, rather than simply exposing problems, satire could bring about improvement.

Evidently, satire in modern Chinese literature is distinctive. Only through the exploration of Chinese writers' discussions and debates over satire do we realize how writers understood satire and their opinions about the relationship between satire and social reform. This is exactly the purpose of the following section.

1. Lu Xun on Satire

In terms of establishing the definition of satire in modern Chinese literature, Lu Xun plays a pivotal role. In his book, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* (*Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* 中國小說史略, 1924), the first history of Chinese fiction written in Chinese language, the title of Chapter 23 is "Satirical Fiction in the Qing Dynasty" (Qing zhi fengci xiaoshuo 清之諷刺小說).³⁰ The modern definition of satire in Chinese literature makes its first appearance in this chapter.

The discussion below will demonstrate that Lu Xun's ideas about satire were greatly influenced by definitions of satire in Western literature. However, Lu Xun did not address how he came upon his theories about satire in Western literature; neither do scholars of the Lu Xun study, although it is widely accepted that works and theories of Western literature deeply

³⁰ In this Chapter, Yang Xianyi (Yang Hsien-yi 楊憲益) and Gladys Yang's (Dai Naidie 戴乃迭) famous translation of Lu Xun's *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* is widely used. Most of their translation conveys the meaning of the original text well. However, regarding the translation of the title of Chapter 23, "Qing zhi fengci xiaoshuo" 清之諷刺小說, I do not follow Yang and Yang's. They translate the title to "Novels of Social Satire in the Qing (Ching) Dynasty." Although this translation names the target of those satirical novels, the Chinese title does not indicate this clearly. Therefore I omit the word "social" in my translation. See Lu Hsun (Lu Xun), *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959), 288. Later when Yang and Yang's translation of this book is mentioned in notes, only the last names, i.e., Yang and Yang, will be used.

affected Lu Xun's literary thought.³¹ Nevertheless, since Lu Xun read Japanese and the Japanese used the classical Chinese-character compound word *fengci* as a translation for the word satire, it is reasonable to speculate that Lu Xun was introduced to theories of satire in Western literature through reading Japanese translations. Thereafter, Lu Xun used the word *fengci* to refer to a type of classical Chinese fiction he considered satirical in *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*.

In Chapter 23, Lu Xun traces the dawn of the tradition of Chinese satirical fiction back to the Jin and Tang dynasties. The use of satire considerably increased in “the novels of manners” (*renqing xiaoshuo* 人情小說) in the Ming dynasty.³² However, not until the Qing dynasty did refined satirical fiction appear in *The Scholars* (*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史, completed ca. 1750, first extant edition 1803 [the Qing dynasty]) by Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓 (1701-1754). Lu Xun argues,

The Scholars is the first novel in which a writer criticizes social abuses without any personal malice, directing his attack mainly at the literati. The style is warm and humorous, gentle and satirical.”³³

迨儒林外史出，乃秉持公心，指擿時弊，機鋒所向，尤在士林；其文又戚而能諧，婉而多諷。³⁴

³¹ See Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 3-24 (chapter 1); Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice*, 45-76 (chapter 2).

³² Lu Xun, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* 中國小說史略 (A Brief History of Chinese Fiction) in *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 (Collected works of Lu Xun) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學出版社, 2005), 9: 228. The translation of “*renqing xiaoshuo*” follows that by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang. See Yang and Yang, 288.

³³ Yang and Yang, 288-289. The translation of this passage does not completely follow Yang and Yang's translation. Yang and Yang translated *feng* 諷 to “ironic,” which I change to “satirical.” Irony is an important feature of satire. But based on Lu Xun's analysis of *The Scholars*, I contend that Lu Xun intended to talk about characteristics of satire in classical Chinese fiction, rather than simply focus on irony. Considering that satire is created through not only irony but also, as Elliot defines, ridicule, derision, burlesque, parody, caricature, and other methods, translating *feng* 諷 to “satirical” is better than “ironical.”

³⁴ Lu Xun, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* in *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 9: 228.

The Scholars may be the only novel which qualifies as satirical fiction by Lu Xun's standards. Regarding the content of fictional works preceding *The Scholars*, he notes, "One suspects that the writer's bitterness springs from some private grudge rather than from public-spirited indignation, which motivated him use his pen to attack social iniquities."³⁵ *Zhong Kui, the Ghost Catcher* (*Zhong Kui zhua gui zhuan* 鍾魁抓鬼傳) is one which "comes closest to criticizing society as a whole."³⁶ Nevertheless, its language is not "warm and humorous, gentle and ironical" as *The Scholars*. Lu Xun criticizes that the author "did not know the fine art of innuendo [*wanqu* 婉曲, which literally means to be euphemistic]."³⁷

There is another group of late Qing novels which expose social problems and share a similar purpose with *The Scholars*. However, although they do "expose social abuses and lash out at contemporary politics, sometimes at social conventions as well,"³⁸ Lu Xun does not categorize them as satirical fiction, preferring to label those late Qing novels as "novels of excoriation" (*qianze xiaoshuo* 譴責小說).³⁹ The key is the difference in rhetorical style between

³⁵ Yang and Yang, 288.

³⁶ Ibid..

³⁷ Ibid..

³⁸ Ibid., 372.

³⁹ Yang and Yang's translation of Chinese word *qianze xiaoshuo* is "novels of exposure." David Wang in *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911* points out that *qianze* literally means "chastise or excoriate." When Yang and Yang translate *qianze* to "exposure," they are focusing on the "discursive method of that narration," while "chastise or excoriate" indicate "the assumed posture of narration." See David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 183.

I do not follow Yang and Yang's translation in this dissertation since it is confusing. English words "to expose" and "exposure" literary mean *pulu* 暴露 in Chinese. Later in this chapter, I will talk about the debate *Pulu yu fengci* 暴露與諷刺 in the second Sino-Japanese War period. In this debate, *pulu* is translated into "to expose" or "exposure." For writers in the wartime period, when satire, i.e., *fengci*, discloses national or social problems of which people are (or choose to be) unaware and encourages them to face and solve those problems, what satire is doing is to expose, i.e., *pulu*, those problems. Translating *pulu* to "expose" or "exposure" best expresses its

these works and *The Scholars*. Lu Xun asserts that their criticisms “were made openly without innuendo, sometimes even exaggerated to suit the popular mood, and the spirit of these works is intolerant.”⁴⁰ Lu Xun’s “four novels of excoriation in the late Qing” include *Exposure of Officialdom* (*Guanchang xianxing ji* 官場現形記, 1905), *Eyewitness Reports on Strange Things from the Past Twenty Years* (*Ershi nian mudu zhi guaixianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀, 1906), *The Travels of Lao Can* (*Lao Can youji* 老殘遊記, 1907), and *A Flower in the Sea of Sins* (*Nie hai hua* 孽海花, 1905).

Lu Xun’s criticism of the “four novels of excoriation” indicates that he ranks these novels of exposure lower than *The Scholars*. However, the quality of *heimu xiaoshuo* 黑幕小說, which literally means “black-curtain novels,” is even lower. Yang Xianyi (Yang Hsien-yi 楊憲益) and Gladys Yang (Dai Naidie 戴乃迭) translate the terms to “gossip-columns,” which well indicates the content of this kind of novel. Lu Xun charges that these “gossip-column” novels are simply imitations of the “four novels of excoriation in the late Qing.” Not only “hastily written and unfinished,” in such novels “there is a great deal of criticism of society but little genuine literature.” Some of them even attack individuals and are “ingenious in writing invective, but weak in narrative.”⁴¹

Lu Xun’s definition proved very influential. It makes two significant points about satire that touch upon core value of modern Chinese satire and the contradictory aspects of satire’s use in modern China. First, a writer of satire “criticizes social abuses without any personal malice”⁴²

meaning in the debate. Thus I do not translate *qianze* to “exposure” but to “excoriation.” See Yang and Yang, 372.

⁴⁰ Yang and Yang, 372.

⁴¹ Ibid., 388.

⁴² Ibid., 288-289.

and acts “from public-spirited indignation which made him use his pen to attack social iniquities.”⁴³ This point indicates that when using satire, writers manifest their concerns about social problems as members of the public and for the public good rather than satirizing out of personal maliciousness or spite. When studying satirical fiction, later scholars pay attention to this characteristic. However, it was a prevailing tendency for writers to be concerned about the drastic changes they saw in society and the fate of China. In other words, Lu Xun’s ideas about satire actually reflect this general literary tendency.

The powerful influence of Lu Xun’s definition should be associated with his works of satirical fiction that proved to be of enormous importance in the development of modern Chinese literature and in transmitting his ideas about satire. His first collection of short stories, *Call to Arms* (*Nahan* 吶喊, 1923), was published four months ahead of *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*. It is comprised of his short stories written between 1918 and 1922, including representative works of his satirical fiction, such as “A Madman’s Diary” (“Kuangren riji” 狂人日記, 1918), “Kong Yiji” 孔已己 (1919), and “The True Story of Ah Q” (“Ah Q zhengzhuan” 阿Q正傳, 1921). These three famous short stories satirize problems of traditional Chinese culture and backward national characteristics that iconoclastic young intellectuals at that time hoped to bring down.

The second important point about satire that Lu Xun lays down is that language of satire must be euphemistic and should not attack openly. This idea has drawn debate among scholars, who argue over whether Lu Xun’s definition is too narrow. *A History of Chinese Fiction of Satire*, by Qi Yuqun and Chen Huiqin, offers detailed account of scholars’ reactions to Lu Xun’s

⁴³ Ibid., 288.

definition. According to Qi and Chen, some historians, such as Guo Zhenyi 郭箴一 (n. d.) and Meng Yao 孟瑤 (1919-2000)⁴⁴, followed Lu Xun's criteria for categorization in assembling their histories of Chinese fiction.

Other researchers, however, found the line of distinction between novels of excoriation versus satirical fiction, based on whether the writer knows the “art of innuendo,” to be too problematic. For instance, when introducing the development of Chinese literature from 1872 to 1922 for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of *Shen Bao* 申報 (also *Shun Pao* or *Shanghai News*), Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) devotes a large account to novels of satire. In addition to *The Scholars*, he classifies the late Qing novels of excoriation as satirical fiction as well.⁴⁵ In *New History of Chinese Literature (Xinbian Zhongguo wenxueshi 新編中國文學史, 1935)* by Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧 (1901-), both *The Scholars* and late Qing novels of excoriation are placed in the category of “Satirical Fiction.”⁴⁶ In addition, while Lu Xun claimed that only *The Scholars* met the standards of satirical fiction, Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 (1898-1989) categorized 27 novels of the

⁴⁴ For the original text about satirical fiction in these two books, see Guo Zhenyi 郭箴一, *Zhongguo xiaoshuoshi 中國小說史 (History of Chinese fiction)* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1939. Rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海書店, 1984), 2:451-454, 454-581. Meng Yao 孟瑤, *Zhongguo wenxueshi 中國文學史 (History of Chinese Literature)* (Taipei: Da Zhongguo tushu gongsi 大中國圖書公司, 1974), 727-729, 737-742.

⁴⁵ Hu Shi 胡適, *Wushinian lai Zhongguo zhi wenxue 五十年來中國之文學 (Chinese literature in the recent fifty years)* (Shanghai: Shenbao guan 申報館, 1924), 58, 63-74.

⁴⁶ Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧, *Xinbian Zhongguo wenxueshi 新編中國文學史 (New history of Chinese literature)* (Shanghai: Guangming shuju 光明書局, 1936), 347-351. In *History of Chinese Satirical Fiction (Zhongguo fengci xiaoshuoshi 中國諷刺小說史)*, Qi Yuqun 齊裕錕 and Cheng Huiqin 陳惠琴 say that Tan Zhengbi accepts Lu Xun's categorization. This is only partially correct, because in Tan's work there is no category of Chinese fiction called “novels of excoriation.” Those novels which are classified as “novels of excoriation” by Lu Xun are categorized as “satirical fiction” by Tan. See Qi Yuqun and Chen Huiqin, *History of Chinese Satirical Fiction*, 1-2.

Qing dynasty under the heading of satirical fiction in his *Index of Chinese Popular Fiction* (*Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo shumu* 中國通俗小說書目, 1933).⁴⁷

Still, regardless of whether scholars have accepted Lu Xun's criteria for distinguishing between satirical fiction and novels of excoriation, his definition has always served as their basis for thinking about what qualifies as satirical fiction. In fact, even in the present day, David Wang is still trying to reevaluate the novels of excoriation from the late Qing, arguing that their value is not lower than that of *The Scholars* and that their exaggerated narration testifies to the collapse of social order witnessed by those late Qing writers.⁴⁸

More importantly, Lu Xun's admonition that satire should not attack openly implies that he was already aware of the potential pitfalls of satire to be avoided, implying that satire could sink to a mere vituperation against the target. Ironically, for those who have attacked Lu Xun's miscellaneous essays, whether he engages in this practice is the main issue. They have questioned whether Lu Xun's satirical essays simply sprang from malice and would not benefit any people.⁴⁹ But Lu Xun and his attackers were not the only people who worried about the negative effects of satire. Later in this chapter, we see this issue was raised repeatedly in discussions about satire. Critics doubted whether satire could really further social reform, contending that it amounted to mere degradation of the target.

2. Debates in the Early 1930s

In two essays from 1935, Lu Xun talks about the function and targets of satire in terms different from those of *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*. "On Satire" ("Lun fengci" 論諷刺)

⁴⁷ Qi Yuqun and Chen Huiqin, *History of Chinese Satirical Fiction*, 1-2.

⁴⁸ David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor*, 195-198.

⁴⁹ Debates between Lu Xun and his attackers are discussed later in this chapter.

was published in *Literature Monthly* (*Wenxue yuekan* 文學月刊) in April 1935; “What is Satire?” (“Shenme shi fengci” 什麼是諷刺), appeared in a monthly *Miscellaneous Essays* (*Zawen* 雜文) in September 1935.⁵⁰ These two essays address more than satirical fiction. In the first half of the 1930s, two debates over satire took place, both of them surrounding Lu Xun’s satirical essays, which Lu Xun had written in reprisal for various attacks. Therefore, they are significant in the further understanding of Lu Xun’s ideas about satire.

Both “On Satire” and “What is Satire?” were written in 1935, at a time when Lu Xun’s satirical essays were subjected to heavy fire. In the afterword of his *Zhun fengyue tan* 准風月談 (1934), Lu Xun quoted many essays attacking him. While one claimed that he wrote satire because everything was disgusting to him and another asked him to spend more time writing great works than dwelling on other writers’ defects,⁵¹ the bulk of these comments reveal that Lu Xun’s satire was considered a sour response to that which he detested. Hence, in the two essays above, Lu Xun offers an extensive defense of his satire by explaining that he draws attention to common occurrences which people do not want others to be aware of or record. In “On Satire,” Lu Xun focuses most of his discussion on this characteristic of satire.

What are common topics of satire? In “What is Satire?” Lu Xun specifies as follows:

⁵⁰ This miscellaneous essay was later collected into Lu Xun’s *Miscellaneous Essays of Qiejieting II* (*Qiejieting zawen erji* 且介亭雜文二集). Based on the information given in the afterword of this work and note for this essay as well as the afterword by editors of People’s Literature Publishing House (Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學出版社), publisher of the *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, this essay was written in 1935 for a book, *One Hundred Questions about Literature* (*Wenxue baiti* 文學百題), edited by Fu Donghua 傅東華 (1895-1971) and Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958) to celebrate the second anniversary of *Literature Monthly* (*Wenxue yuekan* 文學月刊). However, it was banned and did not appear in the book. Despite this, the essay did appear in *Miscellaneous Essays* (*Zawen* 雜文) in September 1935. See Lu Xun, *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 6: 342, 463, 479.

⁵¹ Lu Xun, *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 5: 420-423.

The events described take place publicly and frequently, but since they are usually considered quite commonplace they are naturally passed over. Yet these events are irrational, ridiculous, disgusting or even detestable. It is only because they have gone on till men are accustomed to them that even in public and among the masses they occasion no surprise, yet specially pointed out they create a sensation.⁵²

In addition, in “What is Satire?” Lu Xun claims that the function of satire is to press for improvement in the satirized target. In the afterword of *Zhun fengyue tan*, he quotes Zhou’s 洲 essay, “Various Feelings” (“Zagan” 雜感), published in *Central Daily* (*Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報) on October 31, 1933. In this essay, Zhou criticizes Lu Xun’s satirical essays as containing only cynicism.⁵³ In response, “What is Satire?” distinguishes satire from cynicism in terms of function. Lu Xun argues, “Although the satirist is generally hated by those whom he satirizes, his intentions are often good. He writes hoping that these men will change for the better, not to push some group underwater.”⁵⁴ According to Lu Xun, when a work “lacks a positive aim and genuine passion, merely convincing its readers that there is nothing good in the world, nothing worth doing,” even though it may look satirical, then it is “cynicism,” not satire.⁵⁵

In Chapter 23 of *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, Lu Xun explains that the target of satire should be social abuse, practices that can be seen everywhere, with the goal being positive change. Collectively, these works of Lu Xun underscore his main point: satire should further social reform.

⁵² Lu Xun, *Lu Xun: Selected Works*, trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang, 3rd ed. (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980), 4: 190.

⁵³ Lu Xun, *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 5:420-421.

⁵⁴ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun: Selected Works*, 4: 191.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 4: 192.

Lu Xun's opinions about the relationship between literature and society and the role satire plays in literature become even clearer in the debate between him and Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895-1976). Lin Yutang promoted the use of humor whereas Lu Xun promoted use of satire. Starting from 1932, Lin promoted his views in *Analects Fortnightly* (*Lunyu banyuekan* 論語半月刊), a literary periodical under his editorship in which he published his famous essay, "My Words: On Humor" ("Wo de hua: Lun youmo" 我的話: 論幽默, 1934) printed in the 33rd and 35th volumes. In the essay, Lin claims that humor originates from calm and aloof (*lengjing chaoyuan* 冷靜超遠) observation from the sidelines. It displays a humorist's insightful understanding toward life, making people laugh and feel comfortable rather than angry.⁵⁶ Satire's function of social reform was of little interest to Lin. He ranked humor higher than satire, because satire, he felt, was acrimonious (*suanfu* 酸腐).⁵⁷

"My Words: On Humor" can be seen as a response to Lu Xun's long-term attack of humor, against which he had publicly expressed his antipathy from the time Lin Yutang began promoting it. In his "From Satire to Humor" ("Cong fengci dao youmo" 從諷刺到幽默, 1933), an essay first published in "Free Talks" ("Ziyoutan" 自由談), the supplementary of *Shen Bao* 申報, on March 7, 1933 under the penname He Jiagan 何家幹,⁵⁸ Lu Xun somewhat archly notes that humor became popular in 1932 – exactly the time when Lin's *The Analects Fortnightly* began publication. Lu Xun hypothesizes that because satirists make enemies easily, some writers prefer to use humor and merely make people laugh, rather than use satire and risk offending

⁵⁶ Lin Yutang 林語堂, "Wo de hua: Lun youmo" 我的話: 論幽默 (My words: On humor), *Lunyu banyukan* 論語半月刊 (*The Analects Fortnightly*), January 16, 1934, 438.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ See Lu Xun, *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 5:47.

them.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Lu Xun asserts that, since “‘humour’ is not one of our native products, the Chinese are not a ‘humorous’ people, and this is not an age in which it is easy to have a sense of humour,” the popularization of humor “cannot go on for long.”⁶⁰

It is obvious that Lin Yutang’s essay on humor did not persuade Lu Xun. In a letter to Cao Juren 曹聚仁 (1900-1972), written on 13th August, 1934, seven months after the publication of Lin’s “My Words: On Humor,” Lu Xun says that he once encouraged Lin to give up *The Analects Fortnightly*, but Lin remained immersed in it. “With my small power,” wrote Lu Xun, “I cannot pull him out.”⁶¹

Though Lu Xun made a concerted effort to promote satire, interestingly, he was not entirely convinced of his own claim that it furthered social reform. In “What is Satire?” although he expressed the hope that satirized people would change for the better, Lu Xun was pessimistic about the degree of change that could be made. He says, “By the time a satirist appears in a group, however, that group is already doomed. Certainly writing cannot save it.”⁶² In other words, once a problem has become so entrenched that a satirist can reference it and an audience recognize it, there is little hope that writing alone can cure it.

Lu Xun’s self-contradictory ideas about satire remind us of the mix of optimism and pessimism evinced in his short stories. In his analysis of “A Madman’s Diary,” Leo Ou-fan Lee finds that Lu Xun seemed to suggest the “alternative tradition of alienated dissent, epitomized by the perennial frustration of doomed prophets who, invariably ahead of their time, must suffer the

⁵⁹ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun: Selected Works*, 3: 258-259; the text in Chinese see *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 5:46-47.

⁶⁰ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun: Selected Works*, 3: 259; the text in Chinese see *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 5:47.

⁶¹ Lu Xun, *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 13:198.

⁶² Lu Xun, *Lu Xun: Selected Works*, 4: 191; the text in Chinese see *Collected Works of Lu Xun*, 6:341.

fate of being misunderstood and persecuted by the very people they wish to serve.”⁶³ Lu Xun’s pessimistic thoughts about the effect of satire on society may stem from his unique views about the relationship between the prophet and ordinary people or the dissenter and the whole of society. As a result, he revealed doubts about satire not unlike those of his contemporaries – intellectuals in the Republican era who worried that satire, especially as malicious attack or abuse, might produce a negative effect while depicting the ugliness of the target, but without offering a positive tool for the betterment of society.

Intellectuals, on the one hand, expected that satire could further social reform, and on the other, worried about its negative effects. In the wartime period, these two perspectives on satire became more complicatedly intertwined in the “Debate over Exposure and Satire” (*fengci yu pulu lunzheng* 諷刺與暴露論爭).

3. The “Debate over Exposure and Satire”

The “Debate over Exposure and Satire,” occurring between 1938 and 1941, is significant to our understanding of modern Chinese satire in the wartime period. The name of the debate, widely used in academic works, came from the title of an October 1938 essay about this debate by Mao Dun. It was the longest debate about satire in the Republican era, involving the most participants, with the goal of establishing the validity of using satire in the wartime period. The vast majority of participants were leftist writers and critics, because the debate came about in response to leftist camp’s promotion of use of satire. Obviously, there were comrades who doubted this idea and the appropriateness of promoting the use of satire during a time of war. Debaters discussed in depth the function of satire and the relationship between satire and realism.

⁶³ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Voices from the Iron House*, 54.

This debate was triggered by “Mr. Hua Wei,” a short story written by Zhang Tianyi, published in the first issue of *Literary Battleground* on April 16, 1938. Renowned for his satirical fiction in the prewar period, Zhang Tianyi crafted satire characterized by comparison and exaggerating details of characters’ actions to such an extent that the ridiculousness of the satirized target was highlighted. In this manner, Zhang successfully created Mr. Hua Wei to satirize bureaucrats who did not really care about fighting the Japanese but used the war as an occasion to grasp at power. “Mr. Hua Wei” became Zhang’s most influential fictional work of the wartime period.

In the story, Mr. Hua Wei participates in a provincial anti-Japanese cultural association and is busy joining all the meetings this association holds, claiming to be incredibly passionate about anti-Japanese work. Ironically, he is always late to meetings, leaves early, and hardly listens to a word of people’s reports about their works.

For example, one time, Mr. Hua Wei arrives at the meeting held by the “Refugee Relief Association”:

As usual, all the people have been sitting in the meeting room waiting for him. When he gets off the rickshaw and arrives at the entrance, he quickly steps on the bell pedal (*taling* 踏鈴) as usual, which makes the sound “ding!”

In the above scene, Mr. Hua Wei apparently tries to grasp meeting participants’ attention by treading on the bell pedal. However, instead of the expected welcome, he encounters anger:

The comrades look at each other: “Uh! Mr. Hua Wei arrives.” Some feel relieved, but others stare at the entrance sternly. One comrade even seems to prepare to duel— he clenches his fists with an angry stare.

In the above passage, the comrades' angry facial expressions contrast comically with Mr. Hua Wei's happiness and confidence, as implied in his attempt to draw people's attention by quickly stepping on the bell pedal. However, the end of the story exposes Mr. Hua Wei's real mental situation when he realizes other people's true opinions about him.

In this part of the plot, two young men working in the association tell Mr. Hua Wei that he is not invited to a meeting about Japanese issues. Mr. Hua Wei jumps from his chair, crying, "What? What? Is there a meeting about Japanese issues? Why do I not know about it? Why didn't you tell me? ...Great! You take secret actions!" He stares at them. "Tell me the truth—what is the background of this meeting? Tell me the truth!" The young men are provoked by Mr. Hua Wei's scolding and false accusation. "What is its background? It's all about Chinese people! The administrative meeting decided it! How is that a secret action? ... Mr. Hua Wei never joins any meeting. Even when you come, you never stay to the end. We also can never find you... We cannot stop our works, anyway." The narrator first exaggeratedly describes Mr. Hua Wei's furious response toward the young men's seemingly disrespectful answer. However, their sharp retort actually uncovers Mr. Hua Wei's irresponsible attitude toward works in the association.

Embarrassed by these two young men, Mr. Hua Wei bursts out in a storm of abuse. "You bastards!" He gnashes the teeth and his lips tremble. "You better watch out! You...um...You! You!..." Soon, he falls on the sofa, not facing the two men, and mutters, "Damn it! This...This...You young people!..." He seems afraid to look at these two men who have seen through his mask of a man passionately dedicated to the war effort. Five minutes later, he wakes up from the sofa, looking around with fear. When he finds that they have left, he pulls himself together. In front of the other guests, who have seen what happened earlier, he takes a deep breath and says, "Wow! How to deal with today's young people?!" In fact, Mr. Hua Wei's heart

is broken when he realizes that he is not as important as he thinks and, on the contrary, is viewed as irresponsible about anti-Japanese works. That night, he drinks a lot, cursing the young men, and breaks a tea cup. The ridiculousness of Mr. Hua Wei's craving for power is exposed by his absurd response when he feels that he may lose power.⁶⁴

The publication of Zhang Tianyi's "Mr. Hua Wei" was actually part of a delicately designed project. The same issue of *Literature and Art Front* also published an essay, "Broad Realism" ("Guang xianshi zhuyi" 廣現實主義) by Li Nanzhuo 李南桌 (1912[?]- 1938). In this essay, Li argues the necessity of satiric exposure in the wartime period. In other words, the first issue of *Literary Battleground* supported exposure and satire by publishing not only a literary work but also an essay explaining the concept. Li asserts that exposing national problems is like diagnosing one's disease, which is the first step toward treating the illness. When a writer exposes, "he indeed unconsciously writes down his and his companions' symptoms, disclosing the disease hidden in his heart! Speaking of its function, this is the first step of knocking over the disease."⁶⁵ Li's comparison between exposure and diagnosing a disease is important, because supporters of literary exposure in the debate would also use this comparison to defend their stance.

In this essay, Li Nanzhuo points out that exposure is necessary in light of the extensive criticism of over-optimism displayed in a lot of literary works in the early wartime period. He criticizes this tendency to encourage people to "see the positive side and keep everything negative secret." Li invites more literary exposure to change this situation. He claims, "To

⁶⁴ Zhang Tianyi 張天翼, "Hua Wei Xiansheng" 華威先生 (Mr. Hua Wei), *Wenyi zhendi* 文藝陣地 (Literary battleground) 1, no.1 (April 16, 1938): 3-5.

⁶⁵ Li Nanzhuo 李南桌, "Guang xianshi zhuyi" 廣現實主義 (Broad realism), *Literary Battleground* 1, no.1 (April 16, 1938): 13-15.

expose negatively, in fact, is sometimes more powerful and important than to construct positively. ...Therefore, in the present time, when a writer transforms his pessimistic feelings into art, even if he tends to think we will lose the war, he should be welcomed.”⁶⁶

“Mr. Hua Wei” provoked discussions within the leftist camp soon after its appearance. The core issue was whether it was appropriate to promote the use of satire and exposure in the wartime period. Two essays about “Mr. Hua Wei” by Lin Huanping 林煥平 (1911-2000) and Li Yuzhong 李育中 (1911-) in the newspaper *Salvation Daily* (*Jiuwang ribao* 救亡日報), published in April and May 1938 in the Shanghai Settlement, not only initiated a series of discussions, but establish the ideas both pro and con that formed the basis of other discussions.⁶⁷ These two essays are “Reading the First Issue of *Literary Battleground*” (“Du Wenyi zhendi chuanganhao” 讀文藝陣地創刊號), by Lin Huanping, published in *Salvation Daily* on April 24, 1938, the month when “Mr. Hua Wei” came out, and “Humor, Seriousness, and Love: Reading Zhang Tianyi’s ‘Mr. Hua Wei’” (“Youmo yansu he ai: du Zhang Tianyi de ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’” 幽默嚴肅和愛: 讀張天翼的華威先生), by Li Yuzhong, published in *Salvation Daily* on May 30, 1938. Lin Huanping regarded satirizing bureaucracy in the Nationalist Area as “absolutely necessary,”⁶⁸ while Li Yuzhong argued that satire and exposure are insufficient and that writers should “bring extra light to the endless darkness.” However, Li does not completely negate the use of exposure and satire. He maintains that “Zhang Tainyi’s way does not deserve

⁶⁶ Ibid..

⁶⁷ Regarding titles of the essays, who, and what newspapers and periodicals are involved in this debate, see Index I.

⁶⁸ Lin Huanping 林煥平, “Du Wenyi zhendi chuanganhao” 讀文藝陣地創刊號 (Reading the first issue of *Literature and Art Battlefield*), in *Kangzhan wenyi pinglun ji* 抗戰文藝評論集 (The collection of criticism about wartime literature and art) (Hong Kong: Minge chubanshe, 1939), 156.

question. Certainly he will keep going this way.” What he calls for from Zhang’s works is just “more warmth.”⁶⁹

Mao Dun, who in 1938 was the chief editor of *Literature and Art Front*, published three essays from July to October 1938 supporting the use of exposure and satire in the wartime period. These essays are “On Intensifying Criticism” (“Lun jiaqiang piping gongzuo” 論加強批評工作), published in *Resistance Literature and Art (Kangzhan wenyi 抗戰文藝)* on July 16, 1938 (Volume 2, Issue 1), “Thoughts in August” (“Bayue de ganxiang” 八月的感想) in *Literary Battleground* on August 16, 1938 (Volume 1, Issue 9), and “Exposure and Satire” (“Pulu yu fengci” 暴露與諷刺) in *Literary Battleground* on October 1, 1938 (Volume 1, Issue 12). Mao Dun considers corrupt bureaucrats, local bullies, evil gentry, war profiteers, and traitors to be the major wartime problems. He emphasizes that it is necessary to expose and satirize such behavior as a way to treat those problems and open the way to rejuvenate the nation. In other words, Mao Dun believed that exposure and satire were effective tools for intellectuals to wield for the sake of social reform even during the war. His viewpoints seem to represent the official stand of the leftist camp. After the publication of these three essays, although essays discussing exposure and satire continued to appear in newspapers and periodicals until the early 1941, most of them repeated the viewpoint that it was necessary to use exposure and satire in the wartime period. The only exception was Lin Lin 林林 (Lin Yangshan 林仰山, 1910-2011), secretary of Guo

⁶⁹ Li Yuzhong 李育中, “Youmo yansu he ai: du Zhang Tianyi de ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’” 幽默嚴肅和愛: 讀張天翼的華威先生 (Humor, seriousness, and love: Reading Zhang Tianyi’s “Mr. Hua Wei”), in *Wenxue lilun shiliao xuan* 文學理論史料選 (Selected materials about literary theories), ed. Su Guangwen 蘇光文 (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe 四川教育出版社, 1988), 228-229.

Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) and an editor of *Salvation Daily* in the first half of the wartime period.

Lin Lin raised questions about the promotion of exposure and satire in his essay, “Reading ‘Mr. Hua Wei’ in Japan” (“Du Hua Wei Xiansheng” dao riben 讀華威先生到日本), in *Salvation Daily* in Guilin on February 22, 1939, asserting that exposure and satire would reveal national weakness to the Japanese. In this essay, Lin Lin introduces the Japanese translation of “Mr. Hua Wei” in the Japanese literary magazine *Literature and Art* (*Bungei* 文藝), published by the Reconstruction Company (Kaizōsha 改造社) in Tokyo in December 1938.⁷⁰ The translator, Wataru Masuda 增田涉 (1903-1977), had been Lu Xun’s student and a translator of many of his works. Regardless of the close relationship between Lu Xun and Masuda, Lin Lin did not believe that Masuda stood by the Chinese when he translated “Mr. Hua Wei.” In “translator’s note” at the end of the translation, Masuda explains that he translated “Mr. Hua Wei” because, compared with works which describe Chinese people’s heroic deeds in the war, “Mr. Hua Wei” “boldly describes ugliness inside a defeated China.” This indicates that the author of “Mr. Hua Wei”

⁷⁰ Regarding the transmission of “Mr. Hua Wei” to Japan and Lin Lin’s bringing back this information to China, see Paek Yong-Gil 白永吉, “Pulu yu fengci lunzheng zhong de Guo Moruo yu Mao Dun” 暴露與諷刺論爭中的郭沫若與茅盾 (Guo Moruo and Mao Dun in the debate of “exposure and satire”), *Guo Moruo xukan* 郭沫若學刊 (Journal of Guo Moruo studies), no. 73 (2005):14-21. With primary sources, Paek corrects some mistakes in the information Lin Lin offered in “Reading ‘Mr. Hua Wei’ in Japan.” According to Lin, the translation of “Mr. Hua Wei” was published in the magazine *Reconstruction* (*Kaizō* 改造) in November 1938 in Japan. However, Paek Yong-Gil finds out that the translation actually published in *Literature and Art* (*Bungei* 文藝) in December 1938. *Reconstruction* and *Literature and Art* were both published by the Reconstruction Company (Kaizōsha 改造社) in Tokyo. But there is no document that tells us how Lin Lin made this mistake notwithstanding.

“faces the reality better” and “possesses serious courage.”⁷¹ Although the features of “Mr. Hua Wei” that Masuda points out seem coincide with those Chinese critics had seen, Lin Lin still questions the purpose of the Japanese translation. He argues that the translator’s intention was to divulge to the Japanese that “there are officials like this one, who carries out nothing in wartime China,” rather than promoting good Chinese literary works. Accordingly, Lin holds that “acclaiming the light is more strategic than exposing the dark in the sacred national liberation war.” He even considers that “some materials like ‘Mr. Hua Wei,’ which could be used as anti-propaganda by the enemy, not only shouldn’t go broad, but had better not appear in some places like Hong Kong.”⁷²

However, Lin Lin’s questions were soon resolved by Zhang Tianyi, the author of “Mr. Hua Wei,” in his essay, “About ‘Mr. Hua Wei’ Goes to Japan: The Author’s Opinions” (“Guanyu ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’ fu Ri: zuozhe de yijian” 關於華威先生赴日: 作者的意見), published in *Salvation Daily* in Guilin on March 15, 1939. After that, opinions opposed to promoting the use of exposure and satire rarely appeared in the leftist camp. Following Li Nanzhuo, who likened exposure and satire to the first step in treating national disease, Zhang compares satirizing people like Mr. Hua Wei to pointing out a sore on a leg. Zhang’s theory is that it is only when one has slight illness that one can accurately point it out. When one has too many diseases, one is unlikely to point out all of them and heal them. Therefore, according to Zhang, when only a small sore is found, it means that one is basically healthy and can recover after the sore is cured. Based on this theory, Zhang does not think exporting “Mr. Hua Wei” to

⁷¹ Paek Yong-Gil, “Guo Moruo and Mao Dun in the Debate of ‘Exposure and Satire,’” 18-19. Paek put both Japanese text and Chinese translation of the “translator’s note” in this article.

⁷² Lin Lin 林林, “Reading ‘Mr. Hua Wei’ in Japan” (“Du Hua Wei Xiansheng” dao riben 讀華威先生到日本), in *Selected Materials about Literary Theories*, 240-242.

Japan would jeopardize the cause of the War of Resistance. The Japanese would not be so foolish as to “happily find out small problems of the opponent” but “be unable to see their home country’s incurable diseases.”⁷³ When Zhang’s essay came out, Lin Lin soon realized that his opinions ran against the leftist mainstream. In a later essay, “A Writer Has to Know His Home Country” (“Zuojia yao shenzhi zuguo” 作家要深知祖國), published in *Salvation Daily* on March 26, 1939, Lin Lin drastically changed his position, agreeing with Zhang Tianyi and emphasizing the significance of exposure to social reform.

Debaters of exposure and satire also discussed their relationship with realism in the earliest stages of the debate, using it to demonstrate the validity of exposure and satire in the wartime period. In “Broad Realism,” Li Nanzhuo makes the criticism that literature in the early wartime period too overtly followed formulae and principles as well as tending to reflect only an optimistic view of the war, both characteristics that distanced literature from reality. Li claims that literature should abandon those formulae and principles and writers should also write about the dark side of society. He argues that no writers can separate themselves from reality: “A writer, in the broad sense, must be a realist, no matter how reluctant he or others may be to admit that.” Hence, “If we have to have a ‘principle,’ let it be the broadest sense of ‘realism.’” Based on Li’s essay, broad realism seeks to create literature based on reality, including the dark side of the society, rather than from following a given set of formulae and principles.⁷⁴

The relationship between exposure and satire and realism Mao Dun built up in these three essays he wrote in 1938 formed the basis of later essays concerning this issue, except that in

⁷³ Zhang Tianyi, “Guanyu ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’ fu Ri: zuozhe de yijian” 關於華威先生赴日: 作者的意見 (About “Mr. Hua Wei” goes to Japan: the author’s opinions), in *Selected Materials about Literary Theories*, 245-247.

⁷⁴ Li Nanzhuo, “Broad Realism,” 13-15.

them, Mao Dun would suggest the opposite relationship between light and dark. In the 1938 essays, he claims that exposure and satire target aspects of the dark side of the society, taking the first steps of “removing the ugliness.”⁷⁵ When writers choose to describe only the “light side” (*guangmingmian* 光明面), namely, “bloody and valiant fights,” Mao Dun argues, they are only reflecting half the sphere of reality.⁷⁶ After the appearance of these essays, many other essays about exposure and satire contain references to light versus dark. They also describe exposing social problems as exposing the dark side of the society.

According to the debate, the nation would be become lighter only after its problems were exposed and eliminated. “On Problems Regarding ‘Mr. Hua Wei’ Going Abroad and What to Write” (“Guanyu ‘Hua Wei Xiansheng’ chuguo ji chuangzuo fangxiang wenti” 關於華威先生出國及創作方向問題) published in *July* (*Qiyu* 七月) in December 1939 (Volume 4, issue 4) by Zhou Xing 周行 (1910-1946) displays ideas typical of leftist writers about how China can achieve the light: “If darkness can be exposed thoroughly, what we obtain may not be less than to extol the light heartedly. Because light is difficult to reach if we do not knock down the darkness.”⁷⁷

In sum, in the debate, leftist writers reached a consensus concerning the relationship between satire, realism, and the goal of saving the nation. Their satire targeted national and social problems, which were frequently referred to as national and social darkness. Pointing out

⁷⁵ Mao Dun 茅盾, “Bayue de ganxiang” 八月的感想 (Thoughts in August), *Literary Battleground* 1, no. 9 (August 16, 1938): 281-285; here 284.

⁷⁶ Mao Dun, “Lun jiaqiang piping gongzuo” 論加強批評工作 (On Intensifying Criticism), *Kangzhan wenyi* 抗戰文藝 (Resistance literature and art) 2, no.1 (July 16, 1938): 2.

⁷⁷ Zhou Xing 周行, “Guanyu ‘Hua Wei Xiansheng’ chuguo ji chuangzuo fangxiang wenti” 關於華威先生出國及創作方向問題 (On problems regarding ‘Mr. Hua Wei’ going abroad and what to write), *Qiyu* 七月 (July) 4, no. 4 (December 1939): 191.

the dark side of the nation was like pointing out the illness of the nation. Only once the illness is identified can people treat it and the nation recovers from it. Therefore, satire could contribute to the goal of saving the nation rather than disrupting national unity by emphasizing problems.

As for the concern that the content of satire might become material for anti-propaganda or be used by the enemy, leftist writers did not seem to view it as a problem. As Zhang Tianyi claimed, Chinese national problems were only minor illnesses to China. Therefore, it was not necessary to fear that the enemy would learn of Chinese weaknesses through satire and exposure.⁷⁸ In practice, these thoughts about the relationship between satire, realism, and saving the nation influenced the development of satirical fiction by leftist writers in the wartime period. This will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

C. Definition of Satire and Satire in Popular Literature

Based on previous discussions, satire in modern Chinese fiction refers to a literary mode that writers use to expose various national, social, and cultural problems by means of ridicule, derision, burlesque, irony, parody, caricature, and other methods. Whether the purpose of the use of satire is exposure per se or to further social reform and benefit the cause of saving the nation is repeatedly at the center of debates, which demonstrates that the pragmatic value of satire is a significant concern for Chinese satirists.

Satire was used not only by writers of new literature but also those of popular literature. Works of popular satirical fiction constitute some of the main materials of this research project. Although a few scholars in the present time have already challenged the prevailing viewpoint that popular writers were passive to the transformation of the society and that popular literature

⁷⁸ Zhang Tianyi, "About "Mr. Hua Wei" Goes to Japan: the Author's Opinions," 245-247.

existed simply for entertainment, the study of popular satire in my dissertation is still valuable in the re-examination of the relationship between satire and popular literature. Habitual views about popular literature continue to dominate many people's opinions about satire in popular literature. A good example is *A History of Modern Chinese Popular Literature* (*Zhongguo jinxiandai tongyu wenxueshi* 近現代通俗文學史), which covers more primary sources than others, edited by Fan Boqun 范伯群, a Chinese scholar renowned for his studies of Chinese popular literature. This book contains a section called "Humor and Comedy" ("Youmo huaji bian" 幽默滑稽編). According to author of this section, Tang Zhesheng 湯哲聲, fictional works of humor and comedy can, in effect, be described as satirical. However, Tang argues, fiction of humor and comedy cannot be defined as satirical fiction because it supports conservative and traditional social values rather than progressive thought.⁷⁹ Opinions about popular satire throughout this book are rooted in the viewpoint that popular literature in the Republican era embraces conservative ideologies.

Such texts remind us of the way satire in modern Chinese fiction has been understood in the past. While there was no authoritative definition of satire, studies related to satirical fiction indicate that only when a fictional work employing a satirical mode is also claimed as progressive and revolutionary can it be regarded as satirical. In cases where satire and progressive, revolutionary thoughts do not appear simultaneously, scholars have shown reluctance to categorize a literary work as satire.

⁷⁹ Fan Boqun 范伯群, ed., *Zhongguo jinxiandai tongyu wenxueshi* 中國近現代通俗文學史 (A history of modern Chinese popular literature) (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe 江蘇教育出版社, 2000), 378-387.

However, as soon as we abandon the assumption that modern satire must be progressive and revolutionary, we find that popular writers in the Republican era by no means isolated themselves from drastic political, social, and cultural transformation. On the contrary, they repeatedly used satire to expose various political, social, and cultural problems. Furthermore, anxiety about the fate of China that manifested in popular fiction in wartime Chongqing was not an aberration in the development of popular literature in the twentieth century. Rather, it is the product of a continuous tradition.

III Materials: Newspapers and Periodicals in Wartime Chongqing

For my dissertation, works of satirical fiction first published in newspapers and periodicals in wartime Chongqing comprise the major primary materials.⁸⁰ Those published in *Xinmin News* (*Xinmin bao* 新民報), *Xinmin Evening News* (*Xinmin wanbao* 新民晚報), *Nanjing Evening News* (*Nanjing wanbao* 南京晚報) and *Phenomena Weekly* (*Wanxiang zhoukan* 萬象周刊)⁸¹ are discussed separately. Zhang Henshui, Zhang Youluan 張友鸞 (1904-1990), Zhang Huijian 張慧劍 (1904-1970) and Zhao Chaogou 趙超構 (1910-1992) had a close relationship with these four newspapers and the periodical, serving as journalists, editors, and contributors of fictional works and essays in them. All four worked for the *Xinmin News* group and have thus

⁸⁰Appendix II lists the 68 periodicals and appendix III the 23 newspapers published in wartime Chongqing that I have collected. Index IV lists the works of satirical fiction from these periodicals and newspapers.

⁸¹There is no evidence to prove that *Phenomena Weekly* had any relationship with *Phenomena Monthly* (*Wanxiang Yuekan* 萬象月刊) of Shanghai, a much more well-known popular-literature journal established by Ping Jinya 平襟亞 (1892-1980), a famous publisher of the Republican era, though it was published from July 1941 to July 1945, almost the same period when *Phenomena Weekly* was published. More information about Chongqing's *Phenomena Weekly* is offered later in this section of chapter 1, as well as in chapters 2 and 4.

been referred to as “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” (San Zhang yi Zhao 三張一趙) since the wartime period. In my dissertation, these figures are viewed as a literary group that will properly be introduced in chapter 2. The present section focuses on issues concerning primary materials. Firstly, for what reason does wartime Chongqing deserve our attention? Secondly, why should the satirical works associated with “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” be discussed separately? This issue is related to the distinction between popular literature and New Literature in wartime Chongqing.

A. The Importance of Chongqing to Satirical Fiction in the Wartime Period

The wartime period deserves our attention because in it we witness the flowering of fictional works of political satire. Yet none of the current scholarship develops the observation that Chongqing, a city which had never played a significant role in literary development, became one of the major stages for satirical fiction in the wartime period. Newspapers and literary magazines in Chongqing published many essays that played an important role in the “Debate over Exposure and Satire.” Many satirical works still referenced today were first published in newspapers or periodicals in wartime Chongqing as well. This section of chapter 1 concentrates on the number, characteristics, and importance of those essays and literary works to demonstrate that a review of relevant activity in wartime Chongqing is crucial to an understanding of wartime satirical fiction. The second chapter will discuss in depth the reasons why wartime Chongqing nurtured such a great number of important essays and satirical works.

1. Essays about the “Debate over Exposure and Satire”

The “Debate over Exposure and Satire” was waged most fiercely from April 14, 1938, when “Mr. Hua Wei” was published, to early 1941. In my collection, 66 essays contributing to this debate were published during this period. Of these, 51 were first published in Chongqing. Therefore, when studying this debate, Chongqing is impossible to ignore.⁸²

These numerous essays published in Chongqing provide important insight into how leftist writers supported the use of satire and exposure. For instance, many essays by Huang Sheng 黃繩 (1914-1998), Lou Shiyi 樓適夷 (1905-2001), Lu Hongji 廬鴻基 (1910-1985), and Luo Sun 羅蓀 (1912-1996) were published in Chongqing. These writers were more enthusiastic than others in supporting the use of satire and exposure, each having published multiple essays on the topic. Luo Sun contributed five pieces, while Huang Sheng, Lu Hongji and Lou Shiyi each wrote three essays. All but one of these fourteen essays were first published in Chongqing.

In addition, literary periodicals with a close relationship to the Nationalist government distinguish Chongqing’s role in the debate, as their stance on exposure and satire was opposite to that of leftist writers. These periodicals include *Literature Monthly* (*Wenyi yuekan* 文藝月刊), *Cultural Pioneer* (*Wenhua xianfeng* 文化先鋒) and *Literary Pioneer* (*Wenyi xianfeng* 文藝先鋒). All of them were associated with Zhang Daofan 張道藩 (1897-1968), a central figure of the Nationalist Party who also held many high ranking positions in the Nationalist government. He was the chief committee member of the Cultural Movement Committee of the Nationalist Party (*Zhongguo guomindang wenhua yundong weiyuanhui* 中國國民黨文化運動委員會) from 1941 to 1949, the year when the Nationalist government fled to Taiwan. *Literature Monthly* was published by the Chinese Literature and Art Publisher (*Zhongguo wenyi she* 中國文藝社),

⁸² The essays first published in periodicals and newspapers in wartime Chongqing are marked in the list of essays in Index I.

which was established by Zhang Daofan in 1932. As for the other two periodicals, Zhang Daofan was the publisher of both as well. In Vol.1 no. 1 of *Cultural Pioneers* (September 1, 1942), Zhang presents official policies toward literature in his famous article, “The Literary Policy We Need” (“Women suo xuyao de wenyi zhengce” 我們所需要的文藝政策).⁸³

From 1938 to 1940, there were no essays touching on the debate in *Cultural Pioneers* and *Literary and Art Pioneers*. Only *Literary and Art Monthly Magazine* featured eleven short essays, all of which came out against the use of satire and exposure. The three periodicals also contain only a small number of satirical works. Of the eleven essays in *Literary and Art Monthly*, five of them appeared in the column, “Short Criticism”(“Duan ping” 短評), in Vol. 3 no. 10-11 (September 16, 1939). After essays by Kefei 克非, Shayan 沙雁, Zheng Zhiquan 鄭知權, and He Rong 何容 (1903-1990) came the essay “For the Sake of the War of the Resistance” (“Dou ying weile kangzhan” 都應為了抗戰) written by “the editorial office” (“Bianji shi” 編輯室), according to the byline at the column’s end. This essay can be viewed as the conclusion of the previous four essays. It advises writing more about the light than the dark, since focusing on the dark may lead to the danger of exaggerating it, drawing pessimism, and causing counterpropaganda.⁸⁴ Clearly, opinions in “Short Criticism” resemble those by leftist writers who worried about the side effects of using satire, though in the leftist camp, such ideas were suppressed, while among writers close to the Nationalist government, they were emphasized. The attitude of *Literature and Art Monthly Magazine*, *Cultural Pioneers* and *Literary and Art*

⁸³ Zhang Daofan 張道藩, “Women suo xuyao de wenyi zhengce” 我們所需要的文藝政策 (The literary policy we need), *Wenhua xianfeng* 文化先鋒 (Cultural pioneer) 1, no.1 (September 1942): 5-16.

⁸⁴ “Bianji shi” 編輯室 (The editorial office), “Dou ying weile kangzhan” 都應為了抗戰 (For the Sake of the War of the Resistance), *Wenyi yuekan* 文藝月刊 (Literature monthly) 3, no. 10-11 (September 16, 1939): 208-212.

Pioneers toward the use of satire in the wartime period underscores the political nature of the promotion and the opposition of using satire.

2. Satirical Fiction

In my collection, works of satirical fiction from periodicals and newspapers published in wartime Chongqing number as many as 244 pieces. They include many satirical works still discussed in the present time. Examining the evolution of Chongqing's satirical fiction is essential to an understanding of satirical fiction in the wartime period.

Regarding the number of works of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing, my list is far from complete. Many materials were lost or destroyed due to the bombing or Japanese occupation.⁸⁵ Moreover, during and following the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), countless literary periodicals were burned or destroyed since they were considered “poisonous weeds” which were “feudal, capitalist, revisionist” with contents about “the four olds” or “black materials.”⁸⁶ Who knows how many satirical works or periodicals and newspapers were lost to the world forever during this nationwide cultural demolition? Therefore, it is almost impossible to compare the number of satirical works in Chongqing with that in the entirety of China in the wartime period. Neither can we know whether my 244 pieces compose a large or small percentage of the total number of satirical fiction works of the wartime period.

⁸⁵ Wang Yuguang 王余光 and Wu Yonggui 吳永貴, *Zhongguo chuban tongshi 8: Minguo juan* 中國出版通史 8: 民國卷 (General history of Chinese publishing 8: The volume about the Republican era) (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe 中國書籍出版社, 2008), 127-128.

⁸⁶ Liu Zengren 劉增人, et al., *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan shilun* 中國現代文學期刊史論 (On history of modern Chinese literary periodicals) (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe 新華出版社, 2005), 9.

The loss of a significant percentage of literary periodicals published in wartime Chongqing is demonstrated by the disparity between the numbers of extant literary periodicals listed in published indices and the conjectured number of periodicals. The Chongqing Library and Shanghai Library in China and the Library of Congress in the U.S. maintain respectively edited indices for their holdings of literary periodicals from the wartime period.⁸⁷ Seventy titles of literary periodicals appear in these indices. However, according to *On the History of Modern Chinese Literary Periodicals* (*Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan shilun* 中國現代文學期刊史論, 2005) by Liu Zengren 劉增人 et al., there were 120 literary periodicals established in Chongqing from 1937 to 1945. When one adds those periodicals which had been established in other cities and moved to Chongqing during the war, the number of periodicals published in Chongqing could far exceed 120. This indicates that more than fifty literary periodicals have been lost, most likely gone forever.

Calculating the actual number of works of satirical fiction published in Chongqing versus the whole of China to arrive at the ratio of the two seems an impossible task. However, from present scholarship about wartime satirical fiction, one still can claim that Chongqing produced a notably high proportion of the total works for that period. Lu Heng's *A Draft Discussion about the Satirical Literature in the 1940s* (*Sishi niandai fengci wenxue lungao* 四十年代諷刺文學論

⁸⁷ Chongqing shi tushuguan 重慶市圖書館 (Chongqing Library), ed., *Kangzhan qijian Chongqing ban wenyi qikan pianming suoyin* (*Chongqing shi tushuguan guancang bufen*) 抗戰期間重慶版文藝期刊篇名索引 (重慶市圖書館館藏部分) (Title index of works in literary and art periodicals in wartime Chongqing: The portion in Chongqing Library) (Chongqing: Chongqing shi tushuguan 重慶市圖書館, 1984); Han Chu Huang, et. al. eds, *Chinese Periodicals in the Library of Congress: A Bibliography* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1988); Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館 (Shanghai Library), ed., *Shanghai tushuguan guancang jin xiandai zhongwen qikan zongmu* 上海圖書館館藏近現代中文期刊總目 (The complete indices of holdings of modern Chinese periodicals in Shanghai Library) (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe 上海科學技術文獻出版社, 2004).

稿, 2008), the only scholarly work in the present time which attempts to sketch a picture of the development of satire in the wartime and post wartime periods, lists all of the works of satirical fiction which she considers important. On her list, 26 out of 50 important satirical works in the wartime period were published in the great hinterland. Among those 26 pieces, 13 were published in Chongqing.⁸⁸ In other words, the number of significant works published in the entirety of the great hinterland outside of Chongqing is the same as those published in Chongqing. In fact, on Lu Heng's list, Chongqing surpasses all other cities, including Shanghai, in terms of number of satirical works produced. Based on this information, we can speculate that, in terms of total amount of satirical fiction, Chongqing probably published much more than other cities.

When considering the achievements of wartime satirical fiction, works published in Chongqing cannot be ignored. The most well-known examples are two works by Sha Ting and one by Zhang Henshui. Those by Sha Ting are "In the Qixiangju Teahouse" ("Zai qixiangju chaguan li" 在其香居茶館裏), published in Vol. 6 no. 4 of *Resistance Literature and Art* (December 1, 1940), and "Shaojibei" 燒箕背, part of his novel *Report on Panning for Gold* (*Tao jin ji* 淘金記, 1943), which first appeared in Vol. 7 nos. 2-3 of *Literary and Art Front* (September 30 and October 31, 1942). Satirized characters in Sha Ting's stories generally tend to be local agents of the Nationalist government and local gentries, while the narrator's approach to observing reality is cold and indifferent.⁸⁹ These stories present typical characteristics of satirical fiction by leftist writers in the wartime period. The satirical novel by Zhang Henshui, *Eighty-one Dreams*, was serialized in the Chongqing edition of *Xinmin News* from December 1, 1939 to

⁸⁸ Lu Heng, *A Draft Discussion about Satirical Literature in the 1940s*, 270-272.

⁸⁹ Marston Anderson, *The Limits of Realism*, 191-192.

April 25, 1941, and is one of the few popular novels canonized by mainstream literary histories. Hence, it is reasonable to say that understanding Chongqing's contribution is crucial to understanding the development and characteristics of satirical fiction in the wartime period.

B. Popular Literature vs. New Literature

1. “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” and Popular Literature in Wartime Chongqing

Works of satirical fiction in newspapers and the periodical associated with “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” have not received mention by any scholarly work at all, except those referencing *Eighty-one Dreams* by Zhang Henshui. In fact, *Eighty-one Dreams* has also received scant scholarly attention. This situation indicates much long-term ignorance toward popular literature in the Nationalist area in the wartime period. Popular literature in the Republican era refers to literary works whose readership included the middle class of big cities, an audience whose tastes and preferences were catered to by popular writers for the sake of profit. However, since the 1980s scholars have noticed that popular literature in the Republican era is a field worthy of investigation. Perry Link and Rey Chow conducted groundbreaking research on popular literature in as early as the 1980s.⁹⁰ Since then, U.S. and European scholars such as Denise Gimpel, Michel Hockx, and Nicole Huang, and Chinese scholars, such as Fan Boqun and Chen Jianhua 陳建華, have devoted their work to this field.⁹¹ However, their studies, whether of the prewar or wartime periods, concentrate on popular literature in Shanghai.

⁹⁰ See Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*; Rey Chow, *Women and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between East and West* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

⁹¹ For important works in the field of popular literature in the Republican era, see Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); Michel Hockx, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and*

However, it is clear that popular literature in newspapers and the periodical associated with “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” deserves scholarly attention, because it was written by the only group of popular writers in wartime Chongqing. Since a large, middle class readership was necessary for the commercial success of popular literature, even after the war broke out, the vast majority of popular writers remained in Japanese-occupied coastal cities. The only exception was Zhang Henshui, author of *Fate in Tears and Laughter* (*Tixiao yinyuan* 啼笑因緣, 1930), a bestseller in Republican China. Zhang moved to Chongqing, the city which had hitherto known no connection to the popular literary tradition, where he continued writing novels – more than ten.⁹² In other words, the popular writers connected to “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” were the only group who brought the Shanghai-centered popular tradition to Chongqing.

One characteristic distinguishing the newspaper supplements and periodical associated with “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” from others is their use of both classical Chinese (*wenyan* 文言) and vernacular Chinese (*baihua* 白話). Zhang Henshui’s *Eighty-one Dreams* offers a typical example. The majority of it is written in vernacular Chinese, but some mixes in classical Chinese, even classical poems. *New Strange Tales from Liaozhai* (*Xin Liaozhaizhiyi* 新聊齋志

Literary Journals in Modern Chinese, 1911-1937 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Fan Boqun ed., *History of Modern Chinese Popular Literature*; Chen Jianhua 陳建華, *Cong geming dao gonghe: Qing mo zhi Mingguo shiqi wenxue, dianying he wenhua de zhuanxing* 從革命到共和: 清末至民國時期文學, 電影和文化的轉型 (*From Revolution to the Republic: The Transformation of Literature, Film and Culture in the Late Qing and Republican Period*) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009).

⁹² This number is based on the chronology of Zhang’s works in *Zheng Henshui yanjiu ziliao* 張恨水研究資料 (Research materials about Zhang Henshui), ed. Zhang Zhanguo 張占國 and Wei Shouzhong 魏守忠 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe 天津人民出版社, 1986), 377-687.

異), serialized in 1945 in *Nanjing Evening News*, by Qiu Qi 丘七 (n. d.), was written exclusively in concise classical Chinese language.

This mixed use of classical and vernacular language is an important characteristic of popular literature in the Republican era. It demonstrates popular writers' mild language reform, which stands in contrast to the drastic language revolution promoted by May Fourth writers, who espoused the complete abandonment of all classical language in modern Chinese literature.⁹³ Chen Jianhua argues that classical language lost its place in popular literature around the early 1920s because, following the May Fourth period, use of vernacular Chinese gradually became mainstream; moreover, the Nationalist government promoted the use of the National language (*Guoyu* 國語), which accelerated the death of classical language.⁹⁴ However, the newspaper supplements and periodical associated with "Three Zhangs and One Zhao" continued to use classical language. Chen Mingde 陳銘德 (1897-1989), the owner of *Xinmin News Press* in the Republican era, contended that the popularity of supplements was the reason for the success of his newspapers.⁹⁵ This demonstrates that classical language in literature still held a place in the market in the wartime period.

The newspaper supplements and periodical associated with "Three Zhangs and One Zhao" are also distinctive in staking out literary supplements as an arena in which journalists could air social and political opinions as well as provide a pastime for their readers. This

⁹³ Xu Xueqing, "The Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School," in *Literary Societies of Republican China*, ed. Kirk A. Denton and Mickel Hockx (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), 65-68.

⁹⁴ Chen Jianhua, *From Revolution to the Republic: The Transformation of Literature, Film and Culture in the Late Qing and Republican Period*, 200.

⁹⁵ Chen Mingde 陳銘德 and Deng Jixing 鄧季惺 (1907-1995), "Xinmin bao ershi nian" 新民報二十年 (Twenty years of *Xinmin News*), in *Xinmin bao chunqiu* 新民報春秋 (A history of *Xinmin News*), ed. Chen Mingde, Deng Jixing and et al. (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe 重慶出版社, 1987), 1-85, here 23.

constitutes another important characteristic of popular literature in the Republican era, as researchers have pointed out: popular literature did not merely provide an idle pastime for readers but displayed a complicated relationship with their drastically changing society. Through works for entertainment, popular writers educated readers⁹⁶ and helped them process the many changes in their society.⁹⁷ In addition, popular writers expressed their concerns regarding social or political issues via their works.⁹⁸

Topics of popular works of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing range from corrupt officials to the negative effect of backward policies and war profiteers. Writers produced satirical fiction on these topics to a large extent because they were popular among readers. However, we cannot deny the likelihood that works on these topics demonstrate that popular writers were also concerned about political and social situations and their impact on the life of common people. In other words, it is reasonable to say that, on the one hand, through writing works of satirical fiction, wartime Chongqing writers expressed their concern regarding political and social problems; on the other hand, by reading popular works, readers found a bit of relief from their discontent toward those problems.

Nevertheless, in the popular newspapers and periodical in my discussion, some works do seem to offer merely pastimes. These include anecdotes of historical figures, gossip about celebrities, and stories explaining literary allusions or general knowledge about daily life. The

⁹⁶ Xu Xueqing, "The Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School," 61.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 72.

⁹⁸ See Li Oufan 李歐梵 (Leo Ou-fan Lee), "'Piping kongjian' de kaichuang: cong *Shen Bao* 'Ziyou tan' tanqi" "批評空間"的開創: 從申報 "自由談" 談起 (The establishment of "public space": On "Free Talks" in *Shen Bao*), *Ershiyi shiji* 二十一世紀 (Twenty-first century) 19 (October 1993): 39-51; Chen Jianhua, "*Shen Bao* 'Ziyou tanhuahui': Min chu zhengzhi yu wenxue de piping gongneng 申報 "自由談話會": 民初政治與文學的批評功能" (The "Free-talk colloquium" in *Shen Bao*: Political criticism in literature in the early Republican era), in *From Revolution to the Republic*, 121-140.

second page of Issue no. 2 of *Phenomena Weekly*, published on July 3, 1943, collects a typical sampling of these kinds of works. At the top of this page are several advertisements outlined in small boxes. Below one of the advertisements, on the upper-middle part of this page, is an item about a famous actor, Jin Yan 金焰 (1910-1983), and actress Wang Renmei 王人美 (1914-1987), seen riding in a car in Chengdu. Under this piece is a short essay of less than 400 characters entitled, “Jia House: the Status of Maids (On Trivia about [Dream of] the Red Chamber)” (“Jia fu: Yahuan de diwei (Honglou tanxie)” 賈府: 丫鬟的地位 (紅樓談屑)). The first two sentences read:, “The status of maids of the Jia House in *Dream of the Red Chamber* is more honorable than that of other servants. Therefore, they are also called “pseudo lady” (*fu xiaojie* 副小姐).” The rest of the essay simply expands on these two sentences. Below this essay is an advice column entitled “Ways of Selecting Friends” (“Ze you zhi dao” 擇友之道) by Su Feng 蘇鳳, which lists thirteen questions to be asked when making friends. “Is there any similarity or sameness between you and him?” is the first question. The author also provides standard answers below each question. For this one, it reads, “Must be yes.”

Bits like these indicate that the newspaper supplements and periodical associated with “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” were still offering entertainment, a feature of popular literature inherited from the prewar period because, in addition to supporting the war against the Japanese and surviving air raids, citizens in Chongqing still needed to relax with leisure activities. These soft news items provided a good temporary distraction from worry about the continuous rise of food prices, fear of losing home and loved ones in bombings, and general anxiety about the fate of China.

2. New Literature in Wartime Chongqing

Other literary periodicals and newspaper supplements circulated in wartime Chongqing are not defined as popular literature, but as having inherited the New Literature tradition. One distinction between them and the popular newspaper supplements and periodical in Chongqing is that they used vernacular Chinese exclusively – a hallmark of the New Literature Movement.

In discussing popular literature in the Republican era, it is inevitable to talk about the attack upon the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School from writers of New Literature in the Literary Association (Wenxue yanjiuhui 文學研究會), such as Mao Dun, Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958), and Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967). The phrase Mandarin Duck and Butterfly originally referred to popular love novels. In articles by members of Literary Association, it is expanded to refer to all kinds of popular literature. Writers of New Literature, who considered themselves progressive, criticized works of popular literature as vulgar and backward. By their standards, such works did not even deserve reading, in part because popular writers did not write with serious attitude but just for leisure and fun. In the present time, the goal of the Literary Association' attack is generally regarded as expanding the readership of New Literature.⁹⁹

In the wartime period, leftist writers supporting New Literature continued to dismiss popular literature with the attitude of contempt. In August 1944, a literary periodical, *Small Waves* (*Weipo* 微波), started its publication in Chongqing with famous leftist writers contributing the majority of its very first issue. Those writers include Yao Xueyin 姚雪垠 (1910-

⁹⁹ See Michel Hockx, “The Chinese Literary Association (*wenxue yanjiu hui*),” in *Literary Societies of Republican China*, 79-102; Qian Liqun 錢理群, Wen Rumin 溫儒敏, and Wu Fuhui 吳福輝, *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue sanshinian* 中國現代文學三十年 (Thirty Years of Modern Chinese Literature) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 1998), 93-94.

1999), Mao Dun, Nie Gannu 聶紺弩 (1903-1986), Tian Zhongji 田仲濟 (1907-2002), Ye Yiqun 葉以群 (1911-1966), and Luo Sun 羅蓀 (1912-1996). In this issue, an essay “The Sale of Books” (“Shu de xiaolu” 書的銷路) by Yun 雲 argues that popular novels were outselling works of New Literature because the readership of the latter was mainly public servants, people in cultural circles (*wenhuaren* 文化人), and students – none of whom had money to buy books. As for popular novels, their readers were “winners of the time, businessmen, local gentries, wives and daughters of some local gentries.” Yun criticizes that they “are rich, but their taste is low.”¹⁰⁰ It is obvious that Yun was attacking Zhang Henshui, because the sales of works of New Literature were far lower than sales of popular literature such as his.

In the wartime period, Zhang Henshui also joined the All-China Resistance Association of Writers and Artists (*Zhonghua quanguo wenyijie kangdi xiehui* 中華全國文藝界抗敵協會, *wenxie* hereafter), an organization dedicated to uniting all writers and artists in the wartime period to fight against the Japanese. Superficially, his doing so was intended to symbolize reconciliation between popular writers and writers of New Literature. In reality, works by New Literature writers never appeared in the newspaper supplements and periodical associated with “Three Zhangs and One Zhao.” By the same token, names of contributors to those popular newspaper supplements and periodical seldom appear in periodicals and newspaper supplements of New Literature. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the satirical fiction of popular literature and New Literature separately.

Writers of New Literature intended to further social reform through literature, with the ultimate goal of saving the nation. Realism had been the mainstream literary trend associated

¹⁰⁰ Yun 雲, “Shu de xiaolu” 書的銷路 (The Sale of books), *Weipo* 微波 (Small Waves) 1 (August 1944): 29-30.

with these purposes of modern Chinese literature. In the wartime period, these purposes continued to dominate New Literature. In order to save China from the Japanese, New Literature writers set about trying to make literature serve the War of Resistance, an effort that eventually led to the break out of the “Debate over Exposure and Satire” in the leftist camp as leftist writers argued over whether exposing weaknesses of the nation would negatively impact national unity and provide fodder for anti-propaganda among the Japanese.

The “Debate over Exposure and Satire” within the leftist camp occupied the entire literary circle with the question of how to “fill old bottles with new wine” (Jiu ping zhuang xin jiu 舊瓶裝新酒). Writers discussed how to use folk forms and language understood by the masses to feed them propaganda of fighting against the Japanese.¹⁰¹

Inevitably, this pragmatic framework for the goals of literature led to a limitation of range, topics, and artistry in wartime literature, which has caused it to be considered of inferior quality even in the present time. In fact, several writers foresaw this problem early in the wartime period. The debate referred to as “Irrelevant to the War of Resistance” (“Yu kangzhan wuguan” 與抗戰無關) provoked by Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋 (1903-1987) was related to the negative effects of valuing service to the war ahead of high literary quality.

The “Irrelevant to the War of Resistance” debate was triggered by Liang’s “Editor’s Words” (“Bianzhe de hua” 編者的話), published in “Dawn” (“Pingming” 平明), the literary supplement of *Central Daily* (*Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報), in Chongqing on December 1, 1938, when he took over the editorship. Liang declares that topics of literature need not be always

¹⁰¹ For discussions on the practice of “filling old bottles with new wine” (Jiu ping zhuang xin jiu 舊瓶裝新酒), see Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

related to the War of Resistance. “If [the content of] a work is true and [its language] is fluent, it is good as well. It does not have to be associated with the War of Resistance.” This passage implies that Liang did not welcome works of wartime propaganda whose contents were otherwise empty to be contributed to the “Dawn” supplement. “They do not benefit anyone,” says Liang.¹⁰² Liang’s call for good quality contributions drew fire from other writers for failing to support the War of Resistance.¹⁰³ Two essays by Luo Sun articulate opinions of those opposing Liang Shiqiu. They include “Irrelevant to the War of Resistance” (“Yu kangzhan wuguan” 與抗戰無關) in *L’Impartial* (*Dagong bao* 大公報, also known as *Ta Kung Pao*) on December 5, 1938 and “More Opinions About ‘Irrelevant to the War of Resistance’” (“Zai lun ‘Yu kangzhan wuguan’” 再論與抗戰無關) in *L’Impartial* on December 9, 1938. In these two essays, Luo Sun maintains that, during the wartime period, there could be no topic that was not about the War of Resistance.¹⁰⁴ The debate can be viewed as ended by Liang’s frustration. He resigned from his position on April 1, 1939. Literature from the great hinterland thereafter is still criticized for its low quality.

¹⁰² Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋, “Bianzhe de hua” 編者的話 (Editor’s words), *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (Central Daily), December 1, 1938.

¹⁰³ There are several anthologies of essays related to literary theories and debates in Republican China which collect essays about the debate on “Irrelevant to the War of the Resistance.” See Zhao Jiabi 趙家璧, Ding Jingtang 丁景唐, and et al., *Zhongguo xinwenxue daxi 1937-1949* 中國新文學大系 1937-1949 (*Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, 1937-1949*) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe 上海文藝出版社, 1990), 2: 3-64; Su Guangwen 蘇光文, ed., *Wenxue lilun shiliao xuan* 文學理論史料選 (Selected documents about literary theories) (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), 274-300; Beijing daxue 北京大學 (Peking University), et al., *Wenxue yundong shiliao xuan* 文學運動史料選 (Selected documents about literary activities) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe 上海教育出版社, 1979), 4: 242-316.

¹⁰⁴ Luo Sun 羅蓀, “Yu kangzhan wuguan” 與抗戰無關 (Irrelevant to the War of the Resistance), *Dagong bao* 大公報 (*L’Impartial*), December 5, 1938; “Zai lun ‘Yu kangzhan wuguan’” 再論與抗戰無關 (More Opinions about “Irrelevant to the War of the Resistance”), *L’Impartial*, December 9, 1938.

However, to assert that literature in the wartime period lacks value for scholarly discussion is too simplistic and arbitrary. When writers of New Literature thought about how to popularize their ideas to ordinary people, they did not stop thinking about the relationship between literature, reforming society, and saving the nation. Their thoughts, first of all, were manifested in the leftist camp's discussions about the development of realism. In "Continuous Discussions on Disputing Literary Form in the War Period" ("Xu zhanzhengqi de yige zhandou de wenyi xingshi" 續戰爭期的一個戰鬥的文藝形式) published in no. 6 of *July* (January 1939), Hu Feng 胡風 (1902-1985) warns that shouting "to overthrow Japanese Imperialism" only demonstrates the author's overwhelming passion but cannot move the masses. When an anti-Japanese general is deified, readers understand how his strong will raised his life from previous obscurity.¹⁰⁵

Hu Feng and his followers disagreed with mainstream leftist writers in many respects.¹⁰⁶ However, all of them agreed on the value of representing an object by including description of its negative side. According to "On Intensifying Criticism" ("Lun jiaqiang piping gongzuo" 論加強批評工作) published in Vol. 2, no. 1 of *Resistance Literature and Art* (July 16, 1938) by Mao Dun, literature in the early wartime period failed to create realistic characters because writers focused only on the light side of a character. Readers were not convinced of the authenticity of the character, not to mention the message conveyed in the story. Mao Dun also contended that

¹⁰⁵ Hu Feng 胡風, "Xu zhanzhengqi de yige zhandou de wenyi xingshi" 續戰爭期的一個戰鬥的文藝形式 (Continuous Discussion on Disputing literary form in the war period), *July* 6 (January 1, 1938): 162-164.

¹⁰⁶ Shu Yunzhong, *Buglers on the Home Front: The Wartime Practice of the Qiyue School* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), 4-5.

writers should go further and describe “how to conquer the darkness, or for what reason one consequently cannot conquer the darkness.”¹⁰⁷

This demand for describing the darkness coincides with the appeal for writing exposure and satire in the wartime period. In his monograph re-evaluating leftist realism in the 1980s, Wen Rumin 溫儒敏 sharply points out that the central issue of the “Debate over Exposure and Satire” lay in whether one should use exposure and satire to uncover social problems. Hence, in broader terms, this debate explored ways to understand reality and what aspects of reality should be uncovered. Wen also notices that Mao Dun believed that exposure and satire could benefit the war if they could reveal “the essence of societal decay while showing the trend of history by which China must win the War of the Resistance.” Based on Mao Dun’s ideas, Wen finds that, in the debate, exposure and satire established their relationship with socialist-realism in this way.¹⁰⁸

Intellectuals’ mentality reflected in literature also demonstrates the complexity of literature in the wartime period. Intellectuals comprised one of the main targets of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing, some characters caring only about their own future and earning more money, while others are corrupt officials. Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 notices that this is a general feature of any wartime satire. According to Chen, intellectuals become the target of satire because they cannot join real battles. Hence the satirized image of intellectuals was pale and powerless.¹⁰⁹ The analysis of New Literature satirical fiction in the third chapter of this dissertation demonstrates that Chen’s suggestion partly explains why intellectuals were an

¹⁰⁷ Mao Dun, “Lun jiaqiang piping gongzuo”: 2-3.

¹⁰⁸ Wen Rumin, *Xinwenxue xianshi zhuyi de liubian* 新文學現實主義的流變 (Transformation of Realism in the New Literature) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1988), 171-176; here, 174.

¹⁰⁹ Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Chen Pinyuan xiaoshuoshi lunji* 陳平原小說史論集 (Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Fiction by Chen Pingyuan) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe 河北人民出版社, 1997), 1: 165-166.

important target of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing. This feature of New Literature satirical fiction also shows that the characteristics of such writing cannot be reduced to merely serving the war. On the contrary, it was developed to reflect intellectuals' self-contradictory mental state. In the wartime period, intellectuals tried to find a language that could reach the masses easily. Nevertheless, they did not seek to converse with or listen to the masses, but only to transmit information they wanted the masses to receive. Intellectuals still maintained distance from the masses. On the other hand, given the fact that they did not participate in real battles to fight against the Japanese, intellectuals felt that they were useless in the war and thus satirized themselves.

IV. Reading Strategies and Chapter Arrangement

To read satirical fiction of wartime Chongqing, I take the approach of contextual study. As mentioned earlier, political satire flowered in wartime Chongqing. Therefore, understanding the political, social, and cultural backgrounds of wartime Chongqing is essential to my analysis of the motives behind political satire and why writers favored satirizing certain targets.

In order to discern how political, social, and cultural backgrounds of Chongqing influenced the production of satirical fiction, I explore literary periodicals and newspapers published in wartime Chongqing. This archival research of primary sources offers material unavailable from more commonly consulted anthologies. Periodicals and newspapers are not simply containers of various literary texts; they carry complicated messages about the interrelationship of a literary environment and literary production. Their editors and contributors occupied varying political positions, had a range of literary ideas, and maintained various connections with different literary societies. These factors, on the one hand, influenced editors'

selection of fictional works of satire to be published and, on the other hand, were associated with the stand a newspaper or periodical took in a literary debate. Therefore, by reading satirical works in the original context of periodicals and newspapers, and decoding messages about the relationship of literary production to political, social, cultural, and material environments, one can begin to grasp the complex interplay of forces shaping the development of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing.

My primary sources come mainly from the Shanghai Library and Chongqing Library in China. The Shanghai Library contains abundant periodicals published in Republican China, while the Chongqing Library holds more newspapers published in wartime Chongqing than any other library in China. From these two libraries, I collected 24 newspapers and 68 periodicals. In U.S. scholarship about modern Chinese literature, my research is among the few to examine periodicals and newspapers published in wartime Chongqing as primary sources. These primary source materials will demonstrate not only the flowering of satirical fiction but also evidence of vigorous literary activities in wartime Chongqing.

Cultural, political, and social backgrounds of wartime Chongqing are introduced in chapter 2. The first section establishes the literary scene in Chongqing and its phenomenally fast literary development during the war. Before the war broke out, Chongqing had been literarily insignificant. But over the course of the wartime period, it transformed to become the city publishing the most works of satirical fiction in all of China. The arrival of many writers and fast growth of publishing industry in Chongqing are key factors in this accelerated literary development. However, due to out-of-control inflation and corruption within the Nationalist government, intellectuals' discontent toward the government gradually increased. At the same

time, censorship bore down with increasing strictness on all speech and publication directly expressing criticism. This situation furthered the writing of political satire.

In other words, although its promotion by the leftist camp did play an important role in the development of satire in the wartime period, satire served as much more than a mere tool for leftist writers. In Chapter 3, I suggest that satirical fiction also reflected another aspect of intellectual mentality. The majority of works of satirical fiction in the early wartime period, in fact, do not focus on corruption in the government. On the contrary, they reveal intellectuals' anxiety about their worthiness in contributing to the war effort. Not until the final two years of the war did political satire become the trend for satirists in Chongqing, as the corruption and apparent incompetence of the government combined with the endlessness of the war to leave intellectuals feeling hopeless about the future of the nation.

As for works written by leftist writers, they thinly camouflage the political purposes of the leftist camp. Leftist writers maintained that satire helps to expose the disease of the nation and treat it. However, most of the satirical works by leftist writers targeted corrupt bureaucrats who took bribes and embezzled public funds, even those entering a government organization as fresh new officials. These stories imply that the Nationalist government itself was the disease responsible for the nation's political and social problems.

Chapter 4 is about popular satirical fiction in the newspapers and periodical associated with "Three Zhangs and One Zhao." Based on memories of editors and the texts of satirical works, we can infer that popular writers' reasons for writing satirical fiction were not exactly the same as those of New Literature writers. These writers were also journalists of newspapers who used literature to express political ideas that could not be openly articulated in news commentaries. Therefore, topics of their political satire are not limited to corrupt officials, but

also the negative effect of ill-considered policies on common peoples' lives. On the other hand, there are stories satirizing rich people's parties or the coldness of common people toward the homeless in Chongqing. In those stories, the satirized are not bureaucrats, but phenomena or social problems Chongqing citizens were concerned about. These issues appear in works of satirical fiction by popular writers who were sensitive to both what topics their readers cared about and the market value of those topics.

A general tendency of popular satirical fiction was to contemplate the influence of the cultural transformation to wartime China. *Eighty-one Dreams* by Zhang Henshui stands as the only one novel among those works of satirical fiction. It occupies a longer length to present the author's opinions beyond just satirizing social problems. The protagonist of this novel, a journalist named Mr. Zhang, should be considered an incarnation of the author, Zhang Henshui. In many chapters, Mr. Zhang is the onlooker of events in the stories. In Chapter 13, "The Seventy-seventh Dream: Winter in Beiping" ("Di qishiqi meng: Beiping zhi dong" 第七十七夢: 北平之冬), Mr. Zhang witnesses May Fourth intellectuals publicly announcing their passionate determination to reform society. However, privately, they confess that they actually hope to take advantage of the social reform to get themselves good positions in politics.¹¹⁰ This explains why Mr. Zhang prefers to consult ancient historical figures over contemporary intellectuals for how to solve the national crisis.¹¹¹

Chapter 5 includes three parts: the first part offers a concluding overview of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing, the second examines the demise of satirical fiction at the close of the war, and the third looks at the post-Mao revival of Chinese satirical fiction and the

¹¹⁰ Zhang Henshui, "Di qishiqi meng: Beiping zhi dong" 第七十七夢: 北平之冬 (The 77th dream: Winter in Beijing), in *Eighty-one Dreams*; here 245-251.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 162-183.

development of satirical fiction in Taiwan. The chapter closes with a brief look at contemporary Chinese satire as represented by the young and vastly popular writer, Han Han.

Although leftist writers had satirized government officials in the great hinterland, Mao Zedong later set many restrictions against the use of satire in “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art” (“Yan’an wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua” 延安文藝座談會上的講話, hereafter “The Talks”). His actions effectively brought about the death of satire within the Communist area, although it was still used by writers when they wanted to express their discontent to the Nationalist government. After the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (hereafter PRC), however, writers were persecuted for writing satire. For instance, Wang Meng was sentenced to *laogai* – a labor camp for criminals – because he satirized bureaucracy as writers were encouraged to do in the Hundred Flowers Campaign of 1957.

After the 1980s, as satirists began to reflect their thoughts about various cultural and social issues in their works, political satire resurfaced as influential to the development of satire overall. Not only did writers resume writing political satire, but also political satire gained much attention from the market and academia. This does not mean that satire was no longer viewed as threatening to the Chinese government as it had been in the past. On the contrary, like writers in wartime Chongqing, writers in contemporary China still challenge authority through satire and encounter censorship as a result. They urge readers to notice the problems they expose and create pressure on the authorities. This is why what Mo Yan has received such wide attention. In this regard, after the 1980s, satirists inherited the tradition of political satire that arose in the wartime period, which lets us see the great influence satire from wartime Chongqing still exerts on the development of contemporary Chinese literature.

Since the Nationalist government in wartime Chongqing had censored any material – much of it written by leftists – considered disadvantageous to its rule, after Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalist government under his leadership were defeated in the civil war and fled to Taiwan, that government continued its guarded stance toward satirical fiction – a relationship that should be discussed as a part of the development of Chinese satirical fiction.

Finally, as indicated by the strong element of satire in the bestselling works of contemporary author Han Han, as well as the degree to which his writings are still censored by the Chinese government, the development of Chinese satirical fiction is a story that continues to unfold today.

Chapter 2: Chongqing and the Flowering of Satirical Fiction

Chapter two discusses the ways in which cultural, economic, and social backgrounds of wartime Chongqing influenced the development of satire. In terms of the flourishing of satire, the relocation of presses and printing houses, the development of newspapers and periodicals, and the influx of writers to Chongqing combined to create a unique literary environment. As for why writers chose increasingly to write satire, the trend should be seen in light of the complex relationship between intellectuals and the Nationalist government. Chongqing was the wartime capital, where policies issued by the government were implemented more strictly or thoroughly than in other cities. Thus it is reasonable that intellectuals in Chongqing would have more strong reaction to government problems.

I. The Literary Scene

A. The Relocation of Publishers

The Japanese occupied Beijing, Wuhan, Shanghai, and Nanjing – four of China’s biggest cities and political, commercial, and cultural centers – as early as at the end of 1937. Among them, Beijing and Shanghai had been the two largest cultural centers before the war broke out. Many cultural institutions located in those coastal cities followed the Nationalist government in retreating first to Wuhan, and then, after the fall of Wuhan on October 25, 1937, to Chongqing. Chongqing absorbed a great influx of relocated presses, newspaper offices, and printing houses in a short period of time. As most influential newspapers in the great hinterland and numerous

periodicals were soon published out of wartime Chongqing, it became the new center of the publishing industry.¹¹²

The publishing industry in prewar Chongqing had been somewhat underdeveloped. Statistics show that in 1935 there were only “seventeen large printing houses and forty-odd large and small bookstores” in Chongqing.¹¹³ Compared with other cities in southwest China, the total number of publishers in Chongqing was large;¹¹⁴ yet Chongqing had still been relatively undeveloped on a national scale. For instance, Shanghai contained at least 120 publishers in 1936.¹¹⁵ That year, 71% of publications in China were published by these Shanghai publishers.¹¹⁶ The rate rose to 86% in 1937.¹¹⁷ But even when compared with those of Nanjing, Beijing, and Tianjin, the three other major centers of publication, the number of publications originating in prewar Chongqing lagged far behind.¹¹⁸

By contrast, during the wartime period there were as many as 404 publishers located in Chongqing.¹¹⁹ These included the three biggest publishers of prewar China: Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館), Zhonghua Books (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局) and World

¹¹² Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 133. Minge zhongyang Sun Zhongshan yanjiu xuehui Chongqing fenhui 民革中央孫中山研究學會重慶分會, ed., *Chongqing kangzhan wenhuashi* 重慶抗戰文化史 (Cultural history of Chongqing in the War of Resistance) (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe 團結出版社, 2005), 177.

¹¹³ A bookstore in China is called a “shudian” 書店. This term can be used for a store selling books or a publisher. A “shudian” also can also publish as well as sell books. Three biggest bookstores in the Republican China, Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館 (Commercial Press), Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 (Zhonghua Books) and Shijie shuju 世界書局 (World Books) are good examples. See Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 81.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

¹¹⁷ Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 207.

¹¹⁸ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 87-93.

¹¹⁹ Minge zhongyang Sun Zhongshan yanjiu xuehui Chongqing fenhui, ed., *Cultural History of Chongqing in the War of Resistance*, 177.

Books (Shijie shuju 世界書局).¹²⁰ Other publishers included several that had been very large and famous in prewar Shanghai, such as Dadong Bookstore (Dadong Shuju 大東書局), Kaiming Bookstore (Kaiming shudian 開明書店), The Young Companion Book Company (Liangyou tushu gongsi 良友圖書公司), and Zhengzhong Bookstore (Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局).¹²¹ These big publishers may have had minor branches in Chongqing during the prewar period,¹²² and then relocated their central headquarters there in the wartime period.

In fact, when, early in the wartime period, the Japanese occupation took over an extensive coastal area, publishers in cities of this area fled in multiple directions, relocating to as many as two dozen cities.¹²³ Hong Kong was also a choice for relocation. For instance, when the war broke out, Commercial Press and Zhonghua Books moved their head offices to Hong Kong.¹²⁴ It was not until the outbreak of the Pacific War at the end of 1941 and the fall of Hong Kong in December 1941 that these two publishers relocated their headquarters to Chongqing. In addition, Guilin also gathered as many as 180-odd publishers and book companies, earning it the

¹²⁰ Christopher Reed in his award-winning book, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, discusses how these three publishers became the largest in Shanghai and the fierce competition among them. See *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 203-256 (Chapter Five).

¹²¹ Chongqingshi xinwen chubanju 重慶市新聞出版局, ed., *Chongqingshi zhi: Chubanzhi (1840-1987)* 重慶市志: 出版志 (1840-1987) (Gazetteer of the Chongqing City: Chronicles of publication [1840-1987]) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2007), 68-82.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 130-131.

¹²⁴ Jean-Pierre, Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai, 1897-1949* (Paris: Memories de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1978). Leung Wai-kei 梁偉基, “Cong Shanghai dao Xianggang: Kangzhan qianhou de Zhonghua shuju (1931-1941)” 從上海到香港: 抗戰前後的中華書局 (1931-1941) (From Shanghai to Hong Kong: A Study of Zhong Hua Shu Ju [Zhonghua Books], 1931-1941), *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州學林 (*Chinese Culture Quarterly*) 5, no.2 (2007): 107-129.

name, “City of Culture” (“Wenhua cheng” 文化城) in the wartime period.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, Chongqing eventually located the majority of publishers and formed the center of the publishing industry in the great hinterland.

Publishers elected to relocate in Chongqing partially because they preferred to congregate in a city with convenient transportation, an array of educational institutions, and people whose work involved cultural production (“wenhuaren 文化人”).¹²⁶ However, freedom of speech and the press is always important to publication industries. Thus, these reasons do not explain why publishers did not choose Guilin, Guangxi or Kunming, Yunnan. Yunnan and Guangxi were controlled by Nationalist Party cliques who cooperated with, yet remained independent from, the control of Jiang Jieshi. Such a relationship made censorship from the Nationalist government in Guilin and Kunming less strict than that in Chongqing.¹²⁷

Compared to other publishers, leftist-owned publishers and periodicals seemed most reluctant to move to Chongqing. Cultural Life Publisher (Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe 文化生活出版社), a major leftist-established publisher, and *Literary Battleground*, a leading literary periodical, offer good examples. The leading figures of Cultural Life Publisher were Wu Langxi 吳朗西 (1904-1992), owner of the publishing house, and Ba Jin 巴金 (1904-2005), one of the

¹²⁵ Wei Hualing 魏華齡, *Guilin wenhua shihua* 桂林文化史話 (History of Guilin as a cultural city) (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe 廣西人民出版社, 1987), 1.

¹²⁶ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 132.

¹²⁷ For how political relationships among the Guangxi clique (*Guixi* 桂系) and Jiang Jieshi influenced freedom of speech in wartime Guilin, see Wei Hualing, *History of Guilin as a Cultural City*, 4-7. For more on speech freedom in Kunming, see John Israel, *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 90-94. This book is about the history of Lianda, a university composed of Peking University, Tsinghua University, and Nankai University, three top universities in China, lasting from 1937 to 1945. Analyses of how the attitude of Long Yun 龍雲 (1884-1962), warlord of Yunnan and governor of the Yunnan Province from 1927 to 1945 and associated with the Liberalistic atmosphere in Lianda, are scattered throughout the book.

most influential writers in the history of modern Chinese literature. After the Japanese occupied Shanghai on November 12, 1937, Ba Jin established a branch in Guangzhou. After Guangzhou fell on October 23, 1938, Ba Jin fled to Guilin to establish another branch. Another branch was established in Chongqing in 1941. However, leadership of Cultural Life Publisher did not head to Chongqing until after the fall of Guilin on November 10, 1944, apparently as a last resort.

Similarly, *Literary Battleground* was established in Guangzhou on April 16, 1938. Between 1938 and 1940, it was published in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, where it circulated half-underground. In 1940, because most of the big coastal cities had become occupied by the Japanese and the printing and circulation of *Literary Battleground* had become increasingly difficult, this periodical changed its location of publication to Chongqing and its chief editor to Mao Dun, the first editor of this periodical before Lou Shiyi took over early in 1939. However, censorship did soon affect the publication of *Literary Battleground* in Chongqing. After the publication of Vol. 5, no. 1 & 2 (issued in July and August, 1940), the Chongqing government banned *Literary Battleground*, using the excuse that it was not registered for legal publication. Briefly, after it received its “Certificate from the Chongqing Municipal Committee for the Censorship of Books and Periodicals” (“Chongqingshi tushu zazhi shencha weiyuanhui shenchazheng” 重慶市圖書雜誌審查委員會審查證) on December 19, 1940, *Literary Battleground* resumed publication with Vol. 6, no. 1 on January 10, 1941. Nevertheless, it was ultimately forced to terminate operations following the publication of Vol. 7, no. 4 on November 20, 1942.^{128, 129}

¹²⁸ For stories about the publication of *Literary Battleground* mention herein, see Lou Shiyi 樓適夷, “Mao gong yu Wenyi zhendi” 茅公與文藝陣地 (Mr. Mao and *Literary Battleground*), *Xin wenxue shiliao* 新文學史料 (Historical Materials about New Literature) 12 (August 1981): 170-179.

That this publisher and periodical settled in Chongqing despite apparent reluctance indicates that publishers relocated to Chongqing as a result of the gradual expansion of the Japanese occupation in China and the Pacific areas. As another example, the Commercial Press and Zhonghua Books moved their headquarters to Hong Kong in 1937, but both moved to Chongqing at the end of 1941 after British forces in Hong Kong surrendered to the Japanese on December 25, 1941. According to the memoirs of Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888-1979), who led the Commercial Press throughout its golden age from the 1920s to 1940s,¹³⁰ he decided to move the Commercial Press to Hong Kong because it already had its own printers in Hong Kong when the war broke out. In order to move it to a city in the great hinterland, he would need to build up new printers first.¹³¹ Wang's explanation about moving to Hong Kong rather than other cities may also explain why Zhonghua Books relocated its headquarters to Hong Kong in 1937. Zhonghua Books also had its own printers in Hong Kong before the war broke out.¹³² Therefore, we can infer that publishers who originally chose not to relocate to Chongqing finally moved there because it was their last resort when the war became increasingly intense.

¹²⁹ Although *Literary Battleground* ceased its publication in late 1942, it actually published three more issues under the general title, *New Literary Battleground* (*Wenzhen xinji* 文陣新輯) each with its own subtitle. They are *Leaving the Country* (*Qu guo* 去國), in November 1943; *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage and others* (*Haluoerde de luxing ji qita* 哈羅爾德的旅行及其他), in February 1944; and *Cross the Front and Rear Line* (*Zongheng qian hou fang* 縱橫前後方), in March 1944. From 1938 to 1944, *Literature and Art Front* lasted for six years and published 63 issues.

¹³⁰ For how Wang Yunwu made Commercial Press the biggest publishing company in the Republican China, see Jean-Pierre, Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai, 1897-1949*.

¹³¹ Wang Yunwu, *Lu Yu xinsheng* 旅渝心聲 (Feelings about my sojourn in Chongqing), 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1946), 224.

¹³² Wang Yi 王益, Preface to *Lufei Kui yu Zhonghua shuju* 陸費逵與中華書局 (Lufei Kui and Zhonghua Books), ed., by Yu Xiaoyao 俞筱堯 and Liu Yanjie 劉彥捷 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 2.

Another reason not to be overlooked regarding publishing companies' relocating in Chongqing would be the good relationship between the Nationalist government and presses in the 1930s. In a study about the development of the printing industry and its relationship to the prosperity of publishing companies in Shanghai from late Qing to the eve of the war, Christopher Reed finds that the Nationalist government's increasing control over the publishing industry in the 1930s did not hurt the development of this industry in Shanghai. On the contrary, it was because of government's intervention that the cutthroat competition for profit between publishing companies was brought under control.¹³³ Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that relocating their headquarters to Chongqing would not pose too difficult a decision for those big publishers in prewar Shanghai.

B. Limitations to the Development of the Printing Industry

Prewar Chongqing was home to 12 printing houses with lead-type presses and 100 odd ones with techniques of stone-based lithography.¹³⁴ During the wartime period, printing houses with either lead-type presses or techniques of stone-based lithography proliferated to about 400 units.¹³⁵

What deserves our attention is that some publishers in wartime Chongqing still preferred to print in Shanghai or Hong Kong. In other words, although their publishing houses were located in Chongqing, their publications were not necessarily printed in Chongqing. This is because quality of publications printed in Chongqing was generally not good.¹³⁶ When big

¹³³ Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 203-256 (Chapter Five).

¹³⁴ Chongqingshi xinwen chuban ju, ed., *Gazetteer of the Chongqing City: Chronicles of publication (1840-1987)*, 316.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 311.

¹³⁶ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 130.

publishers transported their machines to Chongqing and the number of printing houses in Chongqing increased to four times what it had been before the war broke out, why would the quality of printing in Chongqing fail to meet the standards of some publishers? There is no explanation for this phenomenon to be culled from the extant references.

I speculate, however, that the first reason publishers did not print in Chongqing was associated with bombing raids. From the first bombing attack on October 4, 1938, to the last on August 23, 1943, the Japanese bombed Chongqing as many as 216 times.¹³⁷ Once a printing factory was bombed, publishers' schedules for publishing new books, periodicals, and newspapers were seriously impaired. Compared with periodicals and books, newspapers publishers would have suffered more severely from bombing, since newspapers need to keep up circulation every day. The bombing raid that affected newspapers most seriously occurred on May 3 through 4, 1939. This extended raid wreaked havoc on most buildings of the entire city, including the offices of publishers and printing factories. For presses, the first impact was the publication of newspapers. For instance, offices or printing factories of *L'Impartial*, *Xinhua Daily*, *Xinmin News*, *Southwest Daily* (*Xinnan ribao* 西南日報), and *Kuo Ming Kung Pao* (*Guomin gongbao* 國民公報) were damaged to varying degrees.¹³⁸ As a result, from May 6 to August 12, 1939, nine newspapers in Chongqing had to stop publishing independently. Instead, they banded together to publish the *Joint Version of Chongqing Newspapers* (*Chongqing gebao lianheban* 重慶各報聯合版), consisting of four pages in one folio per day. These nine newspapers were *Central Daily*, *L'Impartial*, *The China Times* (*Shishi xinbao* 時事新報),

¹³⁷ Zhou Yong 周勇 ed., *Chongqing tongshi* 重慶通史 (General history of Chongqing) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2002), 904-908.

¹³⁸ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 128.

Saodang News, New Sichuan News, Xinmin News, Southwest Daily, Commercial Daily (Shangwu ribao 商務日報), and *Kuo Ming Kung Pao*.

The other reason for the low quality of printing in Chongqing, as I see it, is that press machines were not moved to Chongqing with the relocation of publishers. Many factors are associated with this reason. Serious damage to press machines from the bombing of fallen cities and the Japanese confiscation of those machines forced many publishers to abandon their presses when they relocated to safer cities.¹³⁹ Even if publishers were lucky enough that their presses escaped ruination by bombing or seizure by the Japanese, it is possible that only the big publishers, such as Commercial Press, Zhonghua Books, and Zhengzhong Books in Shanghai, could afford the cost of shipping these heavy machines to Chongqing.¹⁴⁰ As a result, although Chongqing gathered a lot of publishers in a short period of time, printing techniques to meet their standards did not accompany them.

The outbreak of the Pacific War forced printing factories in Hong Kong and Shanghai to migrate to the great hinterland. In addition to Chongqing, Guilin was also a favored choice.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Ibid., 127.

¹⁴⁰ Chongqingshi xinwen chubanjue, ed., *Gazetteer of the Chongqing City: Chronicles of publication (1840-1987)*, 322-327.

¹⁴¹ Zhao Jiabe 趙家璧 (1908-1997) analyzes that Guilin was a selection for publishers and printing factories because it was more convenient for transportation and publishers received support from the Guilin government. In his “Memories of Guilin: Cultural City in the War Period” (“Yi Guilin: Zhanshi de wenhuacheng” 憶桂林: 戰時的文化城), in *L’Impartial*, on May 18, 1947, Zhao mentions that Guilin at that time featured complicated networks of public roads and railroad transportation. Therefore, publishers could easily send out periodicals and books to other cities in the great hinterland. He also appreciated the encouragement and support from the Guilin government. Undoubtedly, Zhao refers to less control in speech and publication in Guilin. This explains why wartime Guilin gathered a group of leftist writers and artists. Those who lived in Guilin for most of the wartime period include Ba Jin, Ouyang Yuqian 歐陽予倩 (1889-1962), Sima Wensen 司馬文森 (1916-1968), Tian Han 田漢 (1898-1968), and Wang Luyan 王魯彥 (1901-1944). Shao Quanliln 邵荃麟 (1906-1971) arrived in Guilin in 1941 and lived there until the war ended. Therefore, less control of speech and publication is usually interpreted as a sign

However, when Guilin fell on November 10, 1944, Chongqing became the sole haven for publishing companies and printing factories. It seems as if Chongqing should have welcomed its golden age of printing. Unfortunately, obtaining paper of better quality became a serious problem when domestic and international transportation became very hazardous during second half of the war and following the outbreak of the Pacific War, by which time the Japanese had occupied almost half of China. At the same time, provisions in the great hinterland, including supplies of paper, had become even scarcer than during the first four years of the war.¹⁴² Publishers had no choice but to print books and periodicals on a very low-quality pulp paper (*tuzhi* 土紙), a yellow and crispy sort of paper with a rough surface on which printed words appear blurry. Books and periodicals printed with this kind of *tuzhi* are unquestionably difficult to preserve.

C. The Fast Growth of Newspapers

The number of newspapers in Chongqing increased rapidly in the wartime period as well. In 1936, there were only about a dozen local newspapers in Chongqing. During the wartime period, the number increased to 133, including the most influential newspapers of the great hinterland, such as *Central Daily*, *L'Impartial*, *Xinhua Daily* (*Xinhua ribao* 新華日報), and

that the Guangxi Clique in the Nationalist Party did not completely follow demands of the Nationalist government and tried to develop their own power. See Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 133-135. Wei Hualing, *History of Guilin as a Cultural City*.

Zhao was famous for being one of the chief editors of *The Young Companion* (*Liangyou huabao* 良友畫報), the most popular periodical in 1930s China, from 1932 to 1942, and chief editor of *Compendium of New Chinese Literature* (*Zhongguo xinwenxue daxi* 中國新文學大系).

What really made Zhao's name was the editorship of this groundbreaking literary compendium. It is influential in establishing New Literature as the main literary trend in the history of modern Chinese literature. See Chapter 8 of Lydia Liu's *Translingual Practice*, 214-238.

¹⁴² Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 130.

Xinmin News, all of them published in Chongqing throughout the entire wartime period.¹⁴³

Literary supplements in newspapers offered a showcase for literary writings, including fictional works of satire.

Undoubtedly, newspaper presses relocated to Chongqing because it comprised the political center of the great hinterland. Reporters in Chongqing could obtain information about

¹⁴³ There is a plethora of research available on these four newspapers. I merely provide their dates and the time of their publication in wartime Chongqing in this dissertation.

L'Impartial published its very first issue on June 17, 1902 in Tianjin and is still in publication in Hong Kong at the present time. It was published in wartime Chongqing from December 1, 1938 to August 4, 1952. For studies about *L'Impartial*, see Fang Hanqi 方漢奇, ed., *Dagongbao bainianshi (6/17/1902-6/17/2002)* 大公報百年史 (6/17/1902-6/17/2002) (One-century history of *L'Impartial* [6/17/1902-6/17/2002]) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe 中國人民大學出版社, 2004).

Central Daily began its first issue on February 1, 1928, in Nanjing, continued its publication in Taiwan after 1949, and stopped publication on June 1, 2006. The main office of *Central Daily* moved to Chongqing in 1938 and the Chongqing edition started on September 15, 1938. After the victory of the War of Resistance against the Japanese, its main office moved back to Nanjing and resumed its publication in Nanjing on September 10, 1945. See Cai Mingze 蔡銘澤, *Zhongguo guomindang dangbao lishi yanjiu* 中國國民黨黨報歷史研究 (Study of the history of official newspaper of the Nationalist Party) (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe 團結出版社, 1998).

Xinhua Daily was established in Wuhan and started its first issue on January 11, 1938. The first issue of the Chongqing edition began on October 25, 1938 and stopped on February 28, 1945. It resumed its publication on April 30, 1949 in Nanjing and continues to the present time. See Han Xinru 韓莘茹, *Xinhua ribao shi* 新華日報史 (History of *Xinhua Daily*) (Beijing: Zhongguo zhanwang chubanshe 中國展望出版社, 1987).

Xinmin News was established by Chen Mingde and Deng Jixing. The first issue of *Xinmin News* was published in Nanjing on September 9, 1929. The main office moved to Chongqing in 1937 and resumed its publication on January 15, 1938 in Chongqing. The *Xinmin News* Press developed into a big press in the wartime period. In 1946, *Xinmin News* had the Beijing, Chengdu, Chongqing, Nanjing, and Shanghai editions. They gradually closed between 1946 and 1949 due to strict censorship from the Nationalist government. After the Beijing edition stopped its publication in April 1952, the Shanghai edition became the only one. The Shanghai edition changed its name to *Xinmin Evening News* on April 1, 1958, and continues its publication to the present time. For the study of *Xinmin News*, see Xinmin wanbao shi bianzuan weiyuanhui 新民晚報史編纂委員會, ed., *Feiru xunchang baixing jia: Xinmin bao, Xinmin wanbao qishinian shi* 飛入尋常百姓家: 新民報, 新民晚報七十年史 (Flying to houses of common people: Seventy-year history of *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News*) (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe 文匯出版社, 2004).

military actions, new policies, and other news about the war and government much faster than they could in other cities. It is also predictable that the main offices of official newspapers of the Nationalist Party (i.e., *Central Daily*) and the newspaper owned by the National Army (i.e., *Saodang News* [*Saodang bao* 掃蕩報]) would move to Chongqing, the location of the central government. The Nationalist-Party-owned Zhengzhong Books and Chinese Literature and Art Press¹⁴⁴ moved to Chongqing for the same reason. Similarly, when the Office of the Eighth Route Army of the Communist Party became located in Chongqing, it is reasonable that *Xinhua News* would relocate there as well.

D. The Drastic Increase of Literary Periodicals

Before the war, Chongqing had never been considered important in the development of modern Chinese literature. According to “A Stroll through Chongqing’s Literary Scene” (“Chongqing wentan sanbu” 重慶文壇散步) by Sha Yan,¹⁴⁵ on the eve of the war, there were

¹⁴⁴ The establishment of the Chinese Literature and Art Press was for the publication of *Literature Monthly*, a literary periodical bearing the mission of broadcasting the Nationalist Party’s political ideas. Its chief editors were Wang Pingling 王平陵 (1898-1964) and Xu Zhongnian 徐仲年 (1904-1981). The first issue of *Literature Monthly* was made public on August 15, 1930 in Nanjing. At the same time, Chinese Literature and Art Press was also founded by Zhang Daofan and Ye Chucang 葉楚傖 (1887-1946) and core figures of *Literature Monthly*. All of them played important roles in broadcasting and implementing literary and art policies issued by the Nationalist government. *Literature Monthly* changed its name to *Literature Monthly: Wartime Special Edition* (*Wenyi yuekan zhangshi tekan* 文藝月刊戰時特刊) in the wartime period. The first issue of the special edition was published on October 21, 1937 in Chongqing and the last issue on November 10, 1941, which also marked the end of this periodical.

¹⁴⁵ Sha Yan 沙雁, “Chongqing wentan sanbu” 重慶文壇散步 (“A Stroll through Chongqing’s literary scene”), *Wenyi yuekan zhangshi tekan* 文藝月刊戰時特刊 (*Literature monthly: Wartime special edition*) 2, no.1 (August 1938): 300-301.

only four literary periodicals regularly published in Chongqing.¹⁴⁶ They were *Mountain City* (*Shancheng* 山城), *Salon* (*Shalong* 沙龍), *Black Day* (*Heizhou* 黑晝), and *Spring Clouds* (*Chunyun* 春雲). *Mountain City* was first published in 1935, which is most likely the year *Salon* was established as well, while *Black Day* and *Spring Clouds* were first published in 1936.¹⁴⁷ Compared with the wealth of periodicals published in Shanghai at that time, the number in Chongqing is very meager. In 1935, there were 61 new literary periodicals published in Shanghai. In 1936, the number rose to 74. The small number of literary periodicals in Chongqing indicates the scarcity of literary activities transpiring there. In 1937, when new literary periodicals appearing in Shanghai numbered 64, that appeared in Chongqing numbered only one.¹⁴⁸

However, over the course of the wartime period, there were at least 604 periodicals published in Chongqing.¹⁴⁹ Among those, at least 68 were literary. This rapid rise in the number of Chongqing's literary periodicals can be seen as a result of the gathering of writers and publishers there. Dates of general publication and periods during which they were published in

¹⁴⁶ *On History of Modern Chinese Literary Periodicals*, by Liu Zenren, mentions that a weekly *Splendor* (*Lanman* 爛漫) was first published in Chongqing in May 1935. Its last issue was no. 14 in August 1935. However, I did not find this magazine in either Shanghai Library or Chongqing Library. See Liu Zengren, et al., *On History of Modern Chinese Literary Periodicals*, 369.

¹⁴⁷ *Mountain City* began in May 1935 (No. 1) and the last issue I found was published in March 1937 (New no. 2). As for *Salon*, the only issue I found is Vol. 2 no.1, published in September 1935. It is possible that the first issue was published in 1935 as well. The publication of *Black Day* extended from November 1936 (No. 1) to January 1937 (No. 6). *Spring Clouds* lasted longer than the other three. It was first published in December 1936 and ended in April 1939 (Vol. 5 no.1).

¹⁴⁸ According to *On History of Modern Chinese Literary Periodicals* edited by Liu Zengren, both *Spring Clouds* and *Poetry News* (*Shi bao* 詩報) were first published in Chongqing in 1937 (see page 409 and 422). However, in the page for the table of contents of *Sprint Clouds*' first issue, the date of publication shown is December 20, 1936. Therefore, only *Poetry News* was first published in Chongqing in December 16, 1937 (see page 422).

¹⁴⁹ Minge zhongyang Sun Zhongshan yanjiu xuehui Chongqing fenhui, ed., *Cultural History of Chongqing in the War of Resistance*, 177.

Chongqing are displayed in the chart in Appendix II. Based on this chart, all the literary periodicals published in Chongqing started their publication during the wartime period, except for *Eastern Miscellany* (Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌), *Wind of the Cosmos* (Yuzhoufeng 宇宙風), *Literature and Art Monthly*, and *Sino-Soviet Culture* (Zhongsu wenhua 中蘇文化).

The outbreak of the war is a decisive factor for the end of periodicals published in the 1930s. Termination of *Analects Fortnightly*, *Youth Circle* (Qingnian jie 青年界), and *Literature* (Wenxue 文學),¹⁵⁰ all influential periodicals for literary development published in Shanghai in the 1930s, furnish the best examples. They started publication in the early 1930s, but when Shanghai collapsed, all three of them stopped publication at once. It is not difficult to link the collapse of Shanghai to the disappearance of these periodicals. When writers fled and the offices and presses of publishers were destroyed or occupied by the Japanese, Shanghai could no longer offer the cultural production environment it had sustained so impressively in the 1930s. For a periodical to continue its publication in wartime Shanghai was extremely difficult, unless its core figures continued editing from another city.

¹⁵⁰ *Analects Fortnightly* was a periodical significant to the development of modern Chinese prose and the promotion of humor in Chinese literature. It was established by Lin Yutang in Shanghai in September 1932 and halted publication after No. 117 on August 1, 1937. No. 118 was published on December 1, 1946, while the last issue, No. 177, was published in May 1949 – all issues being published in Shanghai. For study of Lin Yutang and the periodicals he established, see Qian Suoqiao, *Liberal Cosmopolitan: Lin Yutang and Middling Chinese Modernity* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Both *Youth Circle* (Qingnian jie 青年界) *Literature* (Wenxue 文學) were dedicated to promoting New Literature. *Youth Circle* was edited by Li Xiaofeng 李小峰 (1897-1971) and Zhao Jingshen 趙景深 (1902-1985). It was established in Shanghai on March 10, 1931 and halted in 1937 (Vol. 12 no.1) due to the fall of Shanghai. It resumed publication in January 1946 (New Vol. 1 no.1) and the last issue was published in January 1949 (New Vol. 6 no. 5).

Literature was established by Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Zhen Zhenduo, and et al, in Shanghai in July 1933. Because of the fall of Shanghai, it ceased publication after Vol. 9 no. 4 (on November 10, 1937).

As was the case with newspapers, periodicals that survived the wartime period did not necessarily choose to be published in Chongqing. For instance, *Wind of the Cosmos* did not settle in Chongqing until 1945, after migrating from Shanghai to Guangzhou, to Guilin, finally arriving in Chongqing in June 1945, close to the end of the war. As for *Eastern Miscellany*, it traveled from Shanghai to Changsha, to Hong Kong, finally arriving in Chongqing in 1943. Cities to which these two periodicals fled before arriving in Chongqing were common choices among publishers who did not relocate in Chongqing.

As for *Literature and Art Monthly* and *Sino-Soviet Culture*, they relocated to Chongqing for clear reasons: their publishers had close relationships with the Nationalist government. *Literature Monthly* was published by the Literature and Art Monthly Publisher, established by Zhang Daofan,¹⁵¹ while the president of the Sino-Soviet Culture Association (Zhongsu wenhua xiehui 中蘇文化協會) was Sun Ke 孫科 (also Sun Fo, 1891-1973), son of Sun Yet-sen and President of the Legislative Yuan from 1932 to 1948.¹⁵²

E. Influx of Writers

The relocation of newspaper and periodical headquarters in Chongqing is also related to the influx of writers to Chongqing. Contributors of literary works published in these newspapers and periodicals did not have to live in Chongqing. However, only once Chongqing had gathered many writers as well as publishers did it become possible for the area to produce quality

¹⁵¹ Note 34 of Chapter 2 of this dissertation offers detailed information about *Literature and Art Monthly*, its publisher, and founders.

¹⁵² Sino-Soviet Culture Association was established in Nanjing in October 1935 by Zhang Ximan 張西曼 (1895-1949), a sympathizer of leftists in the Nationalist party. I have not found materials concerning why it was established by a member of the Nationalist party. However, this association became gradually left-leaning and was permeated with Communists in the wartime period. Therefore, in 1946, it was declared an illegal society by the Nationalist government.

periodicals and newspaper literary supplements, which in turn motivated still more writers in other cities to contribute their works to these publications.

The change of contributors to a local literary periodical, *Spring Clouds*, demonstrates the influence of the influx of writers to Chongqing. I use *Spring Clouds* as an example because among local developed literary periodicals from this period, more issues of *Spring Clouds* are preserved in the present time. The last issue of *Spring Clouds* I reviewed was Vol. 4 no. 3, published on September 25, 1938. At its time of publication, the war had been underway for 15 months.

In the inaugural issue of *Spring Clouds*, published before the outbreak of the war, the editor's note explains that works included in this small, local periodical originate from groups of friends in Chongqing or adjacent regions.¹⁵³ Names of writers often appearing in *Spring Clouds* prior to the war are Li Huafei 李華飛 (1914-1998), Tiesheng 鐵生, Xiangzi 翔子, Tuhua 禿華, Shaoyong 少庸, Chen Jingpo 陳靜波 and Li Siqi 李斯琪.

However, starting with Vol. 2 no. 5 (November 1937), the profile of contributors to *Spring Clouds* changed. The table of contents of each issue began to list writers who had never before been active in Chongqing and Sichuan in the prewar period. They include Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), Shen Qiyu 沈起予 (1903-1970), Xie Bingying 謝冰瑩 (1906-2000), Xu Ying 徐盈 (1912-1996), Chen Baichen 陳白塵 (1908-1994), Ye Shengtao, Liang Shiqiu, Lao She, Yao Pengzi 姚蓬子 (1891-1969) and Wei Mengke 魏猛克 (1911-1984). Before its fall in late October 1938, these writers were active in Hankou. With Chongqing having been named the wartime capital in November 1937, a poem "Iron Virgin" ("Tie de chunu" 鐵的處女), written by

¹⁵³ "Shi ming" 釋名 (Explaining the title), *Chunyun* 春雲 (Spring clouds) 1, no.1 (December 1936): 1.

Guo Moruo, appeared in *Spring Clouds* that same month, indicating that Chongqing had drawn the attention of famous writers at that time. After Hankou was occupied by the Japanese, all the writers mentioned above chose to flee, and by the time the last issue of *Spring Clouds* was published in April 1939, all were residing in Chongqing.

However, as with publishers and printing houses, the frequent migration of writers was common in the wartime period. Not all writers arriving in Chongqing early in the war stayed throughout the rest of it. Xie Bingying exemplifies those writers who moved constantly during the war period. After she arrived at Chongqing, Xie edited “Bloody Tides” (“Xiechao” 血潮), a supplement of *Xinmin News* in Chongqing, starting in January 15, 1938. However, on March 5, 1938, in “Bloody Tides,” Xie announced that she was leaving the “depressing” (“chenmen” 沉悶) town of Chongqing on that day. She labeled Chongqing “depressing” because “social life is exactly the same as that of the prewar period. It is not as impassioned [“tongkuai” 痛快] as that on the front line!” She also announced that Shen Qiyu would be taking over the editorship after her departure.

Writers both staying in and leaving Chongqing brought changes and influences to the development of literature and publishing industry. Xie Bingying’s abandoning Chongqing brought about a change not only to the editorship of “Bloody Tides,” but also to its style. Xie Bingying showed a preference for essays on social criticism or articulating ideas on writing. After Shen Qiyu took over editorship, “Bloody Tides” soon began introducing essays on topics with which the leftist camp was concerned. On March 7, 1938, it published “Extol and Criticize” (“Gesong yu pipan” 歌頌與批判) by Jiahe 佳禾. The combination of these two key words characteristically appears in essays by leftist writers, meant to indicate that literature should not

only extol brave soldiers in the battlefield but also criticize social problems. In leftist writers' essays, social problems usually were attributed to the rule of the Nationalist government. On March 14, "Bloody Tides" published "Chat about 'Curling Hair' and Others" ("Xianhua 'tangfa' dengdeng" 閒話 "燙髮" 等等) by Pan Jienong 潘子農 (1909-1993), in which Pan criticizes the policy against women getting their hair permed. On March 24, it published "Brief Talk about Sin Wenz and an Introduction to 'Elementary Sin Wenz'" ("Luetan Sin Wenz bing jieshao 'Sin Wenz chubu'" 略談新文字並介紹 "新文字初步"), by Bai Lao 白勞. Sin Wenz was the plan for the written-language reform offered by the leftist camp.¹⁵⁴

Migrating from one city to another was normal for writers in the wartime period. Yet, a large scale of migration between January 4th and 14th of 1941, resulting from the Nationalist – Communist clash known as the New Fourth Army Incident, deserves our attention.¹⁵⁵ After this incident, the Communist Party evacuated its comrades to other cities, primarily to Yan'an and Hong Kong. There is no accurate estimation of writers leaving Chongqing due to the incident. Nevertheless, those who left Chongqing include famous writers Mao Dun,¹⁵⁶ Sha Ting, Ye Yiqun 葉以群 (1911-1966), Ouyang Shan 歐陽山 (1908-2000) and Cao Ming 草明 (1913-

¹⁵⁴ See Jerry Norman, *Chinese* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Chen Ping, *Modern Chinese: History and Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁵⁵ The New Fourth Army Incident refers to a Nationalist-Communist military clash during the War of Resistance. The New Fourth Army originally was the remaining force staying in formerly Communist southern area after the Long March (October, 1934-October, 1936). Although it accepted Chongqing's designation, the New Fourth Army refused to deploy to the north of Yangtze River. In January 1941, Nationalist forces encircled the New Fourth Army in a sudden ambush and then annihilated it. This incident consequently caused a propaganda campaign between Chongqing and Yan'an.

¹⁵⁶ However, after the fall of Hong Kong on the Christmas Day in 1941, Mao Dun left Hong Kong in the early 1942, arrived at Guilin in March 1942, and finally Chongqing in December 1942, where he stayed until the end of the war. See Zha Guohua 查國華, *Mao Dun nianpu* 茅盾年譜 (Chronicle of Mao Dun) (Wuhan: Changjiang wenyi chubanshe 長江文藝出版社, 1985), 244-267.

2002). Their leaving had little impact on the development of literature in Chongqing, since they could still mail their drafts to Chongqing for publication in magazines or newspapers. Mao Dun's leaving likewise had little effect on the editorship of *Literary Battleground*. Before he left Chongqing, the magazine had already built up an editorial team of seven, so it was able to hand over the editorship to Kong Luosun almost seamlessly,¹⁵⁷ with little change to its style or character.

The New Fourth Army Incident also influenced the flowering of small publishing houses in Chongqing in the second half of the war period. After this incident, leftist literary and art books were far more likely to be banned, and publishers shut down by the government. Thus, leftists started to publish books through small publishers that adopted different names, often as a disguise. For instance, between 1942 and 1945, Shenghuo Bookstore (Shenghuo shudian 生活書店) changed its name to Emei 峨嵋, Wenlin 文林 and Shengsheng 生生 Bookstores.¹⁵⁸ Leftists

¹⁵⁷ According to Lou Shiyi, actual editors of *Literary Battleground* between the early 1941 and the end of 1942 were Ye Yiqun and Kong Luosun. However, Ye Yiqun also went to Hong Kong after the New Fourth Army Incident. Therefore, the actual editor of *Literary Battleground* in 1941 would be Kong Luosun. See Lou Shiyi, "Mr. Mao and *Literary Battleground*," 170-179.

¹⁵⁸ *Chongqing chubanzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui* 重慶出版志編纂委員會, ed., *Chongqing chubanzhi jishi* 重慶出版紀實 (Records of publishing in Chongqing) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1988), 170.

Shenghuo Bookstore together with Dushu 讀書 and Xinzhi 新知 Bookstores were three biggest publishers under the leadership of the Communist Party in the Republican era. They merged into Joint Publishing (Sanlian shudian 三聯書店) in October 1948. There is no authoritative monograph about these bookstores. However, in the last two decades, Joint Publishing in Beijing attempted to establish histories of them. It published *Xinzhi shudian de zhandou licheng* 新知書店的戰鬥歷程 (History of fights of Xinzhi Bookstore) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1994); *Shenghuo shudian shigao* 生活書店史稿 (Draft history of Shenghuo Bookstore) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1995); Fan Yong 范用, ed., *Zhandou zai Baiqu: Dushu chubanshe 1934-1948* 戰鬥在白區: 讀書出版社 1934-1948 (Fights in the Nationalist Area: Dushu Publisher, 1934-1948) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001); and Zhong Qiuyuan 仲秋元, ed., *Shenghuo, Dushu, Xinzhi, Sanlian shudian wenxian shiliao ji* 生活讀書新知三聯書店文獻史料集 (Collection of

also established new small presses. For instance, Li Gongpu 李公樸 (1900-1946) established Northgate Publisher (Beimen chubanshe 北門出版社), Guo Moruo Qunyi Publisher (Qunyi chubanshe 群益出版社), and Huang Yanpei Guoxun Publisher (Guoxun chubanshe 國訊出版社).¹⁵⁹ New publishers in Chongqing established by leftists between 1941 and 1943 numbered as many as 29. In 1943, under the leadership of the Communist Party, they established the “New Publishing Fellowship” (Xin chubanye lianyihui 新出版業聯誼會), combining them in a united front with increased power against large publishers moving to the area from Shanghai.¹⁶⁰

There were also a number of non-leftist writers residing in Chongqing for the entire wartime period. Some writers’ major literary achievements are largely related to their lives in Chongqing. While leftist writers stayed in Chongqing in accordance with the arrangement of the Party, non-leftist writers lived in Chongqing for various reasons. For instance, as the central figure of *wenxie*, Lao She lived in Chongqing working for *wenxie* for eight years after the fall of Hankou. Though literary developments in wartime Chongqing have been little noted by scholars, the importance of *wenxie* to the development of literature and unity of writers, and Lao She’s role in *wenxie*, seem to be one of few things to which scholars have devoted attention when talking about literature in wartime Chongqing. Studies are much more abundant on *wenxie* than on any other literary organizations and activities in Chongqing.¹⁶¹

Also living in Chongqing for eight years, throughout the entire wartime period, was the writer, Liang Shiqiu. After his arrival, in addition to serving as editor of “Pingming,” a literary

documents and historical materials about Shenghuo, Dushu, Xinzhi, Joint Publishing) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004).

¹⁵⁹ *Chongqing chubanzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui*, ed., *Records of Publishing in Chongqing*, 187.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁶¹ For the study about *wenxie*, see Charles A. Laughlin, “The All-China Resistance Association of Writers and Artists,” in *Literary Societies of Republican China*, 379-412.

supplement of *Central Daily*, he also became a member of the People's Political Council and Editorial Committee of Textbooks in the Ministry of Education. Starting from 1943, Liang also served as a professor of the National Social-Education College, where he taught the history of Western drama. Undoubtedly, his work for the Nationalist government influenced his choice to remain in Chongqing.

His experience in Chongqing also plays a vital role in his most important literary work, the collection of prose pieces, *Sketches of a Cottager* (*Yashe xiaopin* 雅舍小品). Liang bought a house in Beibei 北碚, a suburb of Chongqing, which he called “yashe” 雅舍, and after which he named works of prose he published in different magazines from 1940 onward.¹⁶² *Sketches of a Cottager* successfully inherits characteristics of *xiopinwen* 小品文, a style of Chinese prose. The pieces' language is concise and elegant. Their topics may appear trivial and their tones plain, but their meanings resonate richly, establishing Liang as an important prose writer in modern

¹⁶² *Sketches of a Cottagers* were first published in *Weekly Criticism* (*Xingqi pinglun* 星期評論, from November 1940 to February 1942 [no. 1 to no. 42]) established by Liu Shiyong 劉士英 (n.d.) in Chongqing. After the magazine ceased publication, Liang still used the name *Sketches of a Cottager* for many more pieces of prose. Regarding Liang's literary works and thoughts, there is no thorough study in English. Liang received most scholarly attention in Taiwan. In addition to many research results, *Qiu zhi song: Liang Shiqiu xiansheng jinian wenji* 秋之頌: 梁實秋先生紀念文集 (Autumn Carol: A festschrift for Mr. Liang Shiqiu) (Taipei: Jiuge chubanshe 九歌出版社, 1988) edited by Yu Guangzhong 余光中 (1928-) contains detailed studies of Liang's life and works. Papers presented in a conference celebrating Liang's centennial birthday, held in Taipei, Taiwan in 2002, are collected in *Yashe de chunhua qiushi* 雅舍的春華秋實 (A Cottage's Spring blossoms and Autumn fruits) (Taipei: Jiuge chubanshe, 2002), edited by Li Ruiteng 李瑞騰 and Cai Zongyang 蔡宗陽. Scholars from mainland China have paid attention to Liang since the beginning of the 21st century. Two years after the conference in Taipei, Beijing, China also held a conference on Liang. Papers presented at this conference are collected in *Liang Shiqiu yu zhongxi wenhua* 梁實秋與中西文化 (Liang Shiqiu and Chinese and Western Cultures) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007) edited by Gao Xudong 高旭東. Gao Xudong also is the author of *Liang Shiqiu: Zai gudian yu langman zhijian* 梁實秋: 在古典與浪漫之間 (Liang Shiqiu: Between Classicalism and Romanticism) (Beijing: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社, 2005).

Chinese literature. Topics from Liang's life in Chongqing in *Sketches of a Cottager* seem to be unassociated with the War of Resistance, for which he received many attacks in literary circles in the wartime period. His counter-argument maintained that literature did not have to be about the War of Resistance, and that "If [the content of] a work is true and [its language] is fluent, it is good, as well."¹⁶³ In fact, the majority of literary works written to encourage people to contribute to the war have been forgotten or relegated to the status of mere political tools of little aesthetic value. Compared with these works, Liang's *Sketches of a Cottager* endure, successfully displaying his ideas about good literature.

Yet another group of writers stayed in Chongqing throughout the entire wartime period, were journalists who, for the most part, wrote to fill in the blanks in supplements of newspapers. While their role in the development of wartime literature has gained sparse attention, it is one of the major goals of this dissertation to highlight the significance of this group of writers for satirical fiction. They are the writers of newspapers and periodicals associated with "Three Zhangs and One Zhao," to whom the next portion of this chapter is devoted.

II. "Three Zhangs and One Zhao" and Associated Writers, Newspapers, and Periodical

Chapter one explains that, because literary works published in *Xinmin News*, *Xinmin Evening News*, *Nanjing Evening News*, and *Phenomena Weekly* distinguish themselves from other literary works because they followed popular-literature tradition, satirical works published in these three newspapers and the magazine are discussed separately in this dissertation (See Chapter four). This section of Chapter two introduces the core writers of these popular works and

¹⁶³ Liang Shiqiu, "Editor's Words," *Central Daily*, December 1, 1938. For details about the debate over Liang's literary idea, generally called "Irrelevant to the War of Resistance," see chapter 1 of this dissertation.

the newspapers and magazine mentioned herein, with an emphasis on their relationship with wartime Chongqing.

A. “Three Zhangs and One Zhao”

“Three Zhangs and One Zhao” refers to four writers who arrived at Chongqing in the first two years of the wartime period and became central figures of newspapers they edited: Zhang Henshui, Zhang Youluan, Zhang Huijian and Zhao Chaogou. At one point all four journalists edited the *Xinmin News* for the Xinmin News Press (hereafter the Xinmin).¹⁶⁴ Then, when the *Xinmin Evening News* branched off on November 1, 1941, Zhang Youluan and Zhang Huijian became its editors, while Zhang Youluan edited social news, and Zhang Huijian edited the supplement, “Evening Talks in the West (“Xifang yetan” 西方夜談).

The original appearance of the phrase “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” is unknown. However, it could not have been coined before Zhao Chaogou started to work for the Xinmin in July 1938, because he was the last of the foursome to join the Xinmin.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the phrase “Three Zhangs (“san Zhang” 三張) had already appeared no later than in 1936.

According to Zhang Youluan, when Zhang Henshui and he planned to found the *Nanjing People’s News* (*Nanjingren bao* 南京人報) in early 1936, they invited Zhang Huijian to join them. Therefore, to announce the official launching of the *Nanjing People’s News* on April 8, 1936, the *Crystal News* (*Jing bao* 晶報) in Shanghai published a headline reading, “Three

¹⁶⁴ The full name of the Xinmin News Press shown on the first page of the Chongqing edition of *Xinmin News* under the title “Xinmin bao” is Nanjing *Xinmin bao she gufen youxian gongsi* 南京新民報社股份有限公司 (Nanjing *Xinmin News* Press Co. Ltd.). In the present dissertation, it is abbreviated to the Xinmin News Press.

¹⁶⁵ Zhang Linlan 張林嵐, *Zhao Chaogou zhuan* 趙超構傳 (Biography of Zhao Chaogou) (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 1999), 39.

Zhangs Work Shoulder to Shoulder for *Nanjing People's News*" ("San Zhang gongjian Renbao" 三張共肩人報). For some reason, however, Zhang Huijian turned down the invitation, preferring to continue working for *Morning Journal* (*Zhao bao* 朝報) in Nanjing, where Zhao Chaogou was his colleague. Hence, there were only "two Zhangs" to found the *Nanjing People's News*.¹⁶⁶

Not until the wartime period did the "Three Zhangs" work together for a news press. Shortly after the war broke out, at the end of 1937, as the owner of *Xinmin News*, Chen Mingde, was preparing to relocate its main offices from Nanjing to Chongqing, he invited Zhang Youluan to go to Chongqing as his editor.¹⁶⁷ In 1938, when Zhang Youluan headed to Chongqing, he also invited Zhang Henshui and Zhang Huijian to work together with him.¹⁶⁸ Later that same year, Zhang Huijian brought Zhao Chaogou onboard to participate in the editorship of *Xinmin News*. Since then, when referring to the "three Zhangs" in the Chongqing period, people added "One Zhao" after it.

"Three Zhangs and One Zhao" became a widely recognized nickname, not only because they worked together for the same news press but also because they had been noted journalists before they got together in Chongqing. Zhang Linlan 張林嵐, a veteran journalist who worked for the Xinmin Press for about half a century, starting in 1945, explains this clearly in *Biography*

¹⁶⁶ Zhang Youluan 張友鸞, "Laodage Zhang Henshui" 老大哥張恨水 (Big brother Zhang Henshui), in *Research Materials about Zhang Henshui*, 100-103, here 102.

¹⁶⁷ Chen Mingde and Deng Jixing, "Twenty years of *Xinmin News*," in *A History of Xinmin News*, 1-85, here 22.

¹⁶⁸ Zhang Youluan, "Big brother Zhang Henshui," in *Research Materials about Zhang Henshui*, 102.

of Zhao Chaogou (*Zhao Chaogou zhuan* 趙超構傳), written for his long-term colleague.¹⁶⁹

According to Zhang Linlan, by the time “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” arrived at Chongqing, Zhang Henshui and Zhang Youluan had already established their reputation as famous journalists and newspaper editors. Moreover, Zhang Henshui had already become well-known for his popular fictional works, and Zhang Huijian was called “Wizard of the Supplements” (“Fukan shengshou” 副刊聖手) for his success in editing supplements in several newspapers in the prewar period. As for Zhao Chaogou, he was young and promising.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, it was

¹⁶⁹ Zhang Linlan worked for the Chongqing edition of *Xinmin News* from August 1945. In 1946, together with Zhao Chaogou, Zhang was transferred to the Shanghai branch, where both worked for *Shanghai Xinmin Evening News* (*Shanghai Xinmin bao wankan* 上海新民報晚刊) with Zhao as chief editor. On May 1, 1946, *Shanghai Xinmin Evening News* published its first issue, continuing its publication after 1949, though it was nationalized in 1953. Other editions of *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News* were terminated in early 1950s. In 1958, the Chinese name of *Shanghai Xinmin Evening News* was changed to *Xinmin wanbao* 新民晚報 (*Xinmin Evening News*). It is still published in Shanghai at the present time. After 1949, Zhang and Zhao still worked for *Shanghai Xinmin Evening News*, which later became *Xinmin Evening News*. Zhao was assigned as the president and held this position until his death in 1992. Zhang was editor until he retired in 1991. Before retirement, Zhang’s highest position was associate managing editor.

See Chen Mingde and Deng Jixing, et al., *The History of Xinmin News; Xinmin wanbao shi bianzuan weiyuanhui*, ed., *Flying into Homes of Common People: Seventy Years of Xinmin News and Xinmin Evening News*; Zhang Linlan, *Biography of Zhao Chaogou*; and Yi Zhang 一張 and Zhang Linlan, *Gushi xinwen: Zhang Linlan jiushi nian huiyi lu* 故事新聞: 張林嵐九十年回憶錄 (Old news are stories: Ninety years’ recollection of Zhang Linlan) (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe 東方出版中心, 2012).

¹⁷⁰ In the prewar period, Zhang Henshui had been the journalist and news editor of *Wan River Daily* (*Wan Jiang ribao* 皖江日報) in Wuhu, Anhui in 1918-1919, *Social Welfare* (*Yishi bao* 益世報) in Beijing and Tianjin in 1919-1923, *Today News* (*Jin bao* 今報) in Beijing (1923-1924), *Globe Evening News* (*Shijie wanbao* 世界晚報) in Beijing in 1924, *World Daily* (*Shijie ribao* 世界日報) in Beijing in 1925-1930, *Lihpao Daily* (*Li bao* 立報) in Shanghai in 1935. In 1936, Zhang Henshui founded *Nanjing People News* (*Nanjing ren bao* 南京人報) with Zhang Youluan. Its period of publication was from April 8, 1936 to November 27, 1937. See Zhang Henshui, “Zhang Henshui nianpu” 張恨水年譜 (Zhang Henshui chronicle), in *Xiezuoshengya huiyi* 寫作生涯回憶 (Reminiscences of my life as a writer) (Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe 北岳文藝出版社, 1993), 141-181. Zhang was also the author of *Fate in Tears and Laughter*, one of the

considered a “major event for the press in the great hinterland” that “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” worked together for the Xinmin News Press. Chen Mingde was quite proud of this.¹⁷¹

The reasons Zhang Huijian retreated to Chongqing could not be verified due to lack of materials. Yet the reunion of Zhang Youluan, Zhao Chaogou and Zhang Henshui in Chongqing may illustrate one of the reasons that Chongqing drew so many journalists to continue their career in the wartime period: Chongqing offered rare job opportunities because of the relocation of presses. When Chen Mingde prepared to relocate his press from Nanjing to Chongqing, he invited Zhang Youluan to work for him just as Zhang Youluan planned to shut down the

most well known works of popular fiction in the Republican era. When it was serialized in *News Journal* (*Xinwen bao* 新聞報) in Shanghai from March 17 to November 30, 1930, according to the reminiscence of Zhang Youluan, the number of sales of *News Daily* skyrocketed. Advertisers also requested their advertisements be located in columns close to the novel. Zhang Henshui became “the God of Wealth of *News Daily* and readers’ idol.” See Zhang Youluan, “Zhanghui xiaoshuo dajia Zhang Henshui” 章回小說大家張恨水 (Master of popular fiction Zhang Henshui), in *Research Materials about Zhang Henshui*, 117-146, here 123.

In the prewar period, Zhang Youluan was the editor of *Livelihood News* (*Minsheng bao* 民生報) in Nanjing in 1928 and 1934. In 1934 and 1935, he edited *Commercial Daily* (*Shangye ribao* 商業日報) and *Rotary Daily* (*Fulun ribao* 扶輪日報) in Nanjing, and *Lihpao Daily* in Shanghai. He also served as the chief editor of *World Daily* in Beijing from 1925 -1927 and *Xinmin News* in Nanjing from 1929 -1933. Then he founded two newspapers in Nanjing. One was *Nanjing Morning News* (*Nanjing zaobao* 南京早報), which lasted from 1934 to 1935, the other was the *Nanjing People’s News*, cofounded with Zhang Henshui. See *Zhang Youluan xiansheng nianpu* 張友鸞先生年譜 (The chronicle of Mr. Zhang Youluan), in *Zhang Youluan jinian wenji* 張友鸞紀念文集 (Memorial publication honoring Zhang Youluan), ed. Zhang Youluan jinain wenji bianjizu 張友鸞紀念文集編輯組 (Editing group of *Memorial Publication Honoring Zhang Youluan*) (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2000), 1-12.

Zhan Huijian edited supplements of *Southeastern Daily* (*Dongnan ribao* 東南日報) in Hangzhou, Zhejiang, *The China Times* (*Shishi xinbao* 時事新報) in Shanghai, and *Morning Journal* (*Zhao bao* 朝報) in Nanjing in the prewar period. See Zhang Linlan, *Biography of Zhao Chaogou*, 40-41.

Zhao Chaogou worked for *Morning Journal* and served as the editor of international news from 1934. *Morning Journal* stopped its publication due to the Japanese occupation of Nanjing. Zhao also left Nanjing at that time. After his journey to Hankou in Hubei and Zhengzhou 鄭州 in Henan, Zhao finally went to Chongqing and began working for *Xinmin News* in July 1939. See Zhang Linlan, *Biography of Zhao Chaogou*, 36-39.

¹⁷¹ Zhang Linlan, *Biography of Zhao Chaogou*, 40-41.

publication of *Nanjing People News*. Therefore, Zhang Youluan accepted the offer and went to Chongqing.

The story of Zhao Chaogou is different. Zhao, it seems, had not planned to go to Chongqing even after his *Morning Journal* ceased its publication with Nanjing's fall to the Japanese. His father, Zhao Biaosheng 趙標生, had been transferred to Chongqing as a high-ranked officer working for the Nationalist Government Military Commission.¹⁷² However, Zhao did not go with his father. Before arriving at Chongqing in July 1939, he tried to settle in first Hankou, then Zhengzhou 鄭州, Henan, but in neither of these cities could he find a suitable job. Finally, he “followed the stream of people flowing west” and reunited with his father in Chongqing. Upon his arrival, a former colleague from the *Morning Journal*, Zhang Huijian, introduced him to Chen Mingde. Zhao accepted the invitation from Chen to work for *Xinmin News*, which initiated his fifty-plus year relationship with that publication.¹⁷³

Zhang Henshui went to Chongqing, according to his reminiscences, merely to repay the money he owed a friend.¹⁷⁴ Several months before the fall of Nanjing, the *Nanjing People's News* started to develop serious financial problems. Zhang Henshui explains that, with Nanjing under evacuation due to the forthcoming Japanese attack, he lost a great deal of income from advertisers and customers, so in order to keep up regular operations of the newspaper, he borrowed money from a friend – as much as two-thousand-odd *yuan*.¹⁷⁵ Because this friend had

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

¹⁷⁴ The name of the friend who lent Zhang Henshui money is unnamed Zhang's *Reminiscences of the Life as a Writer*. Also, there is no other material about Zhang Henshui's life providing any information about this friend.

¹⁷⁵ Two thousand *yuan* was a large amount of money at that time. At the end of 1937, one family in Chengdu, Sichuan's cost of living for a month was only 24 *yuan*. See Tan Wenxi 譚文熙,

retreated to Chongqing, Zhang decided to go to Chongqing to repay the money. He shipped the printing machines for the *Nanjing People's News* from Nanjing to Chongqing via the Yangtze River, sold them in Chongqing, and used the money to pay off his debt. While he was in Chongqing, Zhang Youluan invited him to work for *Xinmin News*. Zhang Henshui claims that, since he had nothing else to do at that time, he accepted the invitation.¹⁷⁶ As a result, Zhang Henshui ended up staying in this mountain city for eight years until the war ended and he returned to Nanjing.

All of the “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” had worked in Nanjing before the outbreak of the war that forced them to leave and reassembled them in the wartime capital of Chongqing. Working together for the *Xinmin News Press*, their friendships became even closer. Their combined contributions also created a brilliant period for the *Xinmin News Press*, a golden era still remembered by later generations.

B. Associated Newspapers and the Periodical

Xinmin News, *Xinmin Evening News*, *Phenomena Weekly*, and *Nanjing Evening News* were all closely related publications. Both *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News* belonged to the *Xinmin Press*, with *Xinmin News* terminating its publication in Nanjing several days before the city fell to the Japanese on December 13, 1937 and resuming in Chongqing on January 15, 1938. According to the memoirs of Chen Mingde and his wife Deng Jixing, the number of journalists and editors who worked for the *Xinmin Press* gradually increased as the business grew. When the *Xinmin* relocated to Chongqing at the end of 1937, the staff had numbered about

Zhongguo wujiashi 中國物價史 (History of Prices in China) (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1994), 311.

¹⁷⁶ Zhang Henshui, *Reminiscences of My Life as a Writer*, 70-72.

ninety. By 1942, that figure had more than doubled to two hundred. In order to make more profit to pay his employees, Chen founded *Xinmin Evening News* in 1941.¹⁷⁷

Chen and Deng considered *Xinmin Evening News* a successful venture, for income from its advertisements was rich and its circulation reached a high of over 40,000.¹⁷⁸ According to Chen Liyuan 陳理源 (1920 [?] - 1990 [?]), one of the editors of *Xinmin News* in wartime Chongqing, 40,000 was a number not easy to reach at that time.¹⁷⁹ Chen and Deng assert that because of the success of *Xinmin Evening News*, the Xinmin put more emphasis on developing evening news outlets.¹⁸⁰ They founded another edition of the *Xinmin Evening News* in Chengdu, Sichuan's provincial capital, the first issue of which was published on June 18, 1943. When the war ended and the Xinmin Press returned to Nanjing, the Xinmin Press published its first post-war, Nanjing issue of *Xinmin Evening News* on January 1, 1946, while the standard *Xinmin News* did appear again in Nanjing until October 10, 1946. Also in 1946, the Xinmin Press established a branch in Shanghai which published only *Xinmin Evening News*, beginning on May 1.¹⁸¹ The capital to establish so many editions of *Xinmin News* came from the profit that *Xinmin Evening News* had earned in the wartime period.¹⁸² At its zenith, the Xinmin Press had branches in Nanjing, Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing and Chengdu respectively,¹⁸³ publishing as many as eight newspapers.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ Chen Mingde and Deng Jixing, et al., *The History of Xinmin News*, 23.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 170.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 23.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 183.

¹⁸² Ibid., 23.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 45 and 182.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 183-184.

But the empire that Chen and Deng had built up fell during the drastic political changes of 1948 and 1949. Following the war, leftist staff working in the Xinmin News Press often published news reflecting poorly on the government's authority. As a result, on July 8, 1948, *Xinmin News* in Nanjing was shut down by the Nationalist government and leftist journalists from various branches arrested. According to Chen and Deng, this incident seriously impaired the business health of the Xinmin Press. In 1949, after the establishment of People's Republic of China (PRC), the Nanjing branch resumed its business. Nevertheless, it closed in April 1950, together with the Chengdu branch, and followed by the Chongqing branch in January 1952. As for the Beijing and Shanghai branches, both were taken over by the Communist government in 1952. The Beijing branch was shut down, but *Xinmin Evening News* in Shanghai was allowed to continue its publication, although in 1958, the name was changed to *Xinmin wanbao* 新民晚報 (originally *Xinmin bao wankan*). It is still published in Shanghai at the present time.

Phenomena Weekly debuted on June 26, 1943, with its last issue, number 110, published on July 28, 1945.¹⁸⁵ Its publisher, Chen Choufu 陳疇甫 (1913-?) and chief editor, Liu Ziqin 劉自勤 (n.d), both had been journalists of *Xinmin News*. Authors of many works in *Phenomena Weekly* overlap journalists of *Xinmin News*. Miscellaneous essays, fictional writings, and news commentaries by “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” are often to be found in it. Although a first issue of *Phenomena Weekly* is no longer in existence and we do not know the purpose of the establishment of this periodical or its relationship with the Xinmin, the evidence herein is sufficient for us to regard *Phenomena Weekly* as a periodical closely related to “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” and journalists of the Xinmin Press.

¹⁸⁵ The information of the publication dates of *Phenomena Weekly* is based on issues preserved in Chongqing Library. What I saw was its scanned copy, which is accessible to the public.

Phenomena Weekly was a periodical published once a week, the first issue appearing on June 26, 1943. Although *Phenomena Weekly* was a periodical, unlike other periodicals which commonly are in the form of books, its format was more like that of a newspaper. Each issue consisted of one sheet of paper printed on both sides. This paper was folded into two halves, with pages one and four on one side, and pages two and three on the other. Basically, page one contained reviews and comments on recent news; pages two and three featured works of prose, essay, fiction and comic for leisure; page four offered information ranging from the latest scientific developments to “how to climb mountains in autumn.”¹⁸⁶ Some contents of each issue cannot be clearly categorized; pages two to four may contain material which theoretically should appear on other pages. Therefore, works of satirical fiction in *Phenomena Weekly* could appear anywhere from page two to four.

The actual dimensions of *Phenomena Weekly* remain unknown, because only the electronic version is accessible to the public.¹⁸⁷ Presumably each issue was printed on quarto paper, the size used by *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News*. The basis of this presumption is the close relationship of the *Phenomena Weekly*, *Xinmin News*, and *Xinmin Evening News*, and the similar formats of all of them. Each issue of *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News* was printed on both sides of one sheet of quarto paper. Moreover, similar to *Phenomena Weekly*, each sheet of paper for *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News* was folded the same way to create four similar pages.

Nanjing Evening News had close relationship with Zhang Youluan. Established in Nanjing by Zhang Youluan’s younger brother, Zhang Youhe 張友鶴 (1907-1971), its first issue

¹⁸⁶ Xiguo 西郭, “Qiugao ruhe qu dengshan” 秋高如何去登山 (How to climb mountains in autumn), *Wangxiang zhoukan* 萬象周刊 (*Phenomena Weekly*), no. 21 (November 13, 1943): 4.

¹⁸⁷ Here I refer to the *Phenomena Weekly* held in the Chongqing Library.

came out on May 16, 1929. When the war broke out, the paper relocated to Chongqing, with the first Chongqing issue published on August 1, 1938. Throughout the wartime period, *Nanjing Evening News* was managed by Zhang Youhe and under the general editorship of Liu Ziqin, who would later work for *Xinmin Evening News* and *Phenomena Weekly*.¹⁸⁸ In the postwar period before 1949, it moved back to Nanjing, where Zhang Youlun took over its management. “Zhangu” 戰鼓 (War drum) was the supplement of *Nanjing Evening News*. According to Zhang Pinglu 張萍廬, who served as editor of “War Drum” in Chongqing, the editor of “War Drum” before the move to Chongqing had been Zhang Youlun, as well.¹⁸⁹

III. The Effects of Inflation

Serious inflation was a key factor in the socioeconomic context that influenced the writing of satirical fiction, since it created two forms of tension. First of all, the conditions of inflation were exploited by a large number of corrupt officials and war profiteers, who comprise one of the major topics of satirical fiction. Secondly, inflation motivated the writing of satire because those corrupt officials and war profiteers misappropriated a lot of money through bribery, embezzlement, and hoarding, while writers and ordinary people were hard pressed to survive on their meager incomes. Thus, writers used satire to express their discontent toward this situation. This section examines the ways inflation led to the corruption of officials and hoarding by businessmen, as well as how inflation aroused discontent among writers and ordinary people.

¹⁸⁸ Wen Luping 文履平 and et al., *Chongqing shi zhi: Baoye zhi* 重慶市志: 報業志 (Gazetteer of Chongqing: Records of the press) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000), 44.

¹⁸⁹ Zhang Pinglu 張萍廬, “Bianyu” 編餘 (Editor’s words), *Nanjing Evening News*, August 1, 1938.

The war transformed Chongqing into a center of commerce and industry.¹⁹⁰ Chongqing had been significant in commerce since the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), as it was the starting point of the Yangtze shipping route. Commodities produced in Sichuan were usually accumulated in Chongqing and then shipped to Wuhan, the main freight transfer station.¹⁹¹ In the wartime period, when the capital was moved to Chongqing, the population of Chongqing exploded, material demands increased dramatically, thus commerce in Chongqing became far busier than in the past.¹⁹²

The Nationalist government also moved the core institutions of its financial system to Chongqing. They were “Big Four Banks,” i.e., Central Bank of China, Bank of China, The Bank of Communications, and Farmers Bank of China, and “Two Bureaus,” i.e., Central Trust of China and Postal Savings and Remittance Bureau of China. With that, Chongqing became the financial center of the great hinterland.¹⁹³

Meanwhile, Chongqing’s under-developed prewar industry also made rapid progress during the wartime period. China’s major factories had been concentrated in the coastal cities, but when the war broke out, of the 450 factories that relocated to the great hinterland, 243 relocated to Chongqing.¹⁹⁴ There are no statistics on what percentage of China's overall pre-war industry is represented by these 450 factories.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the factories moved to Chongqing

¹⁹⁰ Zhou Yong, ed., *General History of Chongqing*, 874.

¹⁹¹ Wei Yingtao 魏瀛濤, ed., *Jindai Chongqing chengshi shi* 近代重慶城市史 (Modern history of Chongqing city) (Sichuan: Sichuan daxue chubanshe 四川大學出版社, 1991), 20-21.

¹⁹² Zhou Yong, ed., *General History of Chongqing*, 1114.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1056.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1004-1009.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1007.

were enough to bring rapid industrial development, causing at least twelve industries, including iron and steel, textiles, and others to gain a strong footing.¹⁹⁶

However, this economic growth was accompanied by ever-worsening inflation. The rise of prices started off slowly when the war began in 1937, but by the second half of 1940, it had reached devastating proportions in the Nationalist area.¹⁹⁷ As British historian Hans van de Ven notes, Chongqing was one of the major locations to fuel such inflation.¹⁹⁸ The level of prices in Chongqing in 1945, for instance, was 1585 times that of 1937.¹⁹⁹ Reasons for inflation in Chongqing were the same as those for other cities in the great hinterland; the government paid numerous wartime expenditures by adopting the unconventional monetary policy of printing treasury notes without limitation.²⁰⁰ As a result, each unit of currency (*yuan* in *Fabi*, legal currency issued by the Nationalist government) could buy fewer goods, and people's trust of *Fabi* continuously fell. Provision dealers started hoarding grain and speculating to avoid loss and gain more profit.²⁰¹ What made the situation even worse were poor harvests.²⁰² Moreover, the Japanese blocked transportation between China and its neighboring countries after the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1940, making the import of food and materials much more difficult than

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1009-1039.

¹⁹⁷ Han Yuhui, *Economy of the Wartime Chongqing*, 225.

¹⁹⁸ Hans J. van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China 1925-1945* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 269.

¹⁹⁹ Zhou Yong, ed., *General History of Chongqing*, 1342.

²⁰⁰ Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945," in *The Cambridge History of China*, eds. John K. Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13: 584.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 586-587.

²⁰² *Ibid.*.

before.²⁰³ All these factors caused serious shortages of food and materials, which in turn accelerated the rate of inflation.

As a result, inflation seriously impacted Chongqing's economy in a negative way. The cost of industrial production dramatically increased, causing first the development of industry to decline, then the rate of commerce. Finally, inflation brought Chongqing's economy into a disastrous state.²⁰⁴

However, this skyrocketing inflation offered a prime opportunity for speculators, including businessmen and bureaucrats, to increase their wealth. A large amount of capital went into business activities such as hoarding food provisions and then selling them later, or engaging in black market trade.²⁰⁵

Public servants received such low stipends that, to afford their living expenses, they began to embezzle public funds. According to Lloyd Eastman, corruption started with a few high-ranking officials. Gradually, the number of officials embezzling increased, "because it was easy to rationalize malfeasance when their superiors engaged in gross conspicuous consumptions."²⁰⁶ Embezzlement had been a part of the government culture even before the war. However, Eastman's words indicate that inflation and low salaries greatly increased the prevalence of embezzlement in comparison to the past. These conditions pressed even middle-to-low ranking public servants, who had never joined their supervisors in embezzling public funds, to start putting public money into their pockets.

²⁰³ Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945," in *The Cambridge History of China*, 585. Han Yuhui, *Economy of the Wartime Chongqing*, 225.

²⁰⁴ Zhou Yong, ed., *General History of Chongqing*, 1143.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1125-1127.

²⁰⁶ Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945," in *The Cambridge History of China*, 13: 591.

As for those uncorrupted officials and teachers, they lived in hunger and poverty. Chongqing was the location of all central government institutions. Numerous officials were concentrated in this city. Also, among the many schools of various levels relocated in Chongqing, most were public schools. As a consequence, there were many teachers who relied on wages from the government as well. Eastman cites an observation from Zhang Jiaao 張嘉璈 (also Chang Kia-ngau, 1889-1979), a banker and ministerial official in the Nationalist government, that officials frequently lived in “abject poverty.” Eastman further notes that teachers and students generally suffered from malnutrition. Due to long-term poverty, many officials and intellectuals nursed a growing discontent with the government.²⁰⁷ Based on Eastman’s account, it is fair to infer that, in wartime Chongqing, there must have been a large group of people bearing strong resentments and criticisms toward their government.

The Nationalist government was well aware of the situation, enacting bills of various kinds intended to stabilize prices and control inflation, which, unfortunately had little effect.²⁰⁸ At first, the government took measures to control the economic factors that were forcing up prices. Important measures taken in the early wartime period were “Measures to Evaluate Prices and Ban Financial Speculation in the Emergency” (“Feichang shiqi pingding wujia ji qudi touji caozong banfa” 非常時期評定物價及取締投機操縱辦法), enacted in 1939, and “Measures to Ban Engrossing Daily Necessities in the Emergency” (“Feichang shiqi qudi riyong zhongyao wupin tunji juqi banfa” 非常時期取締日用重要物品囤積居奇辦法), enacted in 1940. All of them failed. Prices kept on rising. Changing its tactics, the government next attempted to stabilize prices by simply forbidding the rise of prices. In 1943, the Nationalist government

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 590-591.

²⁰⁸ Han Yuhui, *Economy of the Wartime Chongqing*, 226-227.

enacted “The Bill on the Reinforcement of Price Control” (“Jiaqiang wujia guanzhi fang’an” 加強物價管制方案) to limit the rise of prices. Once again, little improvement resulted.

Implementation of this bill did not freeze inflation but caused a wild black market trade to erupt instead.²⁰⁹ Consequently, while the standard of living for common people was in rapid decline, there were plenty of speculators and corrupt officials enjoying a life of luxury and dissipation.

This economic landscape provided the context for writing satirical fiction in Chongqing.

Inflation also made the economic environment difficult for the survival of writers and the publishing industry. The situation became much more serious after 1944 when the publication of books decreased dramatically, not only in Chongqing but throughout entire great hinterland. Due to the long-term lack of various kinds of materials, prices of goods rose much more rapidly than in previous years. In *General History of Press in China*, Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui point out the clear relationship between inflation and the depression of publishing industry: amid the rising cost of materials and goods that drove up the cost of publication, funding shortages and low purchasing power led to the depression of publishing industry in the great hinterland after 1944.²¹⁰ As a result, writers making a living through remuneration and royalties must have lived under extremely trying conditions. Therefore, it is reasonable that they would use satire of topics associated with inflation to express their discontent toward this situation.

IV. Discontent Intellectuals and Censorship

A. Discontent Intellectuals

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 115-116.

²¹⁰ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 87-93.

Many intellectuals were discontent with the inability of the government to deal with inflation and corruption. As a way of venting such discontent, newspaper editorials and essays often attacked the corrupt bureaucracy and mismanaged government.

Intellectuals held Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙(also H. H. Kung, 1880-1967) and Song Ziwen 宋子文 (1891-1971), brothers-in-law of Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石(also Chiang Kai-shek, 1887-1975) and two of most powerful and richest men in wartime China, responsible for much of the corruption of the government. Among those attacking Kong and Song, the most famous were an economist, Ma Yingchu 馬寅初 (1882-1982), and a historian, Fu Sinian 傅斯年 (1896-1950).²¹¹

Kong Xiangxi, also known as H. H. Kung, was the husband of Song Ailing 宋靄齡 (also known as Eling Soong, 1889-1973), herself the younger sister of Song Meiling 宋美齡 (also known as May-ling Soong or Madame Chiang Kai-shek, 1898-2003). In the Nationalist government, Kong served as Governor of the Central Bank of China from 1933 to 1945 and Minister of Finance from 1933 to 1944.²¹² During the wartime period, the corruption and abuse of public resources practiced by him and his family became a public issue. Ma Yinchu was among those who criticized Kong most severely, accusing him of “making money by taking advantage of national crisis” (“fa guonan cai” 發國難財) on several different occasions. As a

²¹¹ Regarding Fu Sinian’s life, thought, and relationship with the Nationalist government, see Wang Fan-sen, *Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Axel Schneider, *Wahrheit und Geschichte: Zwei chinesische Historiker auf der Suche nach einer modernen Identität für China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997). Schneider’s book was translated into Chinese by Guan Shan 關山 and Li Maohua 李貌華. See *Zhenli yu lishi: Fu Sinian, Chen Yinke de shixue sixiang yu minzu rentong* 真理與歷史: 傅斯年, 陳寅恪的史學思想與民族認同 (Truth and history: Fu Sinian, Chen Yinke’s historical thoughts and national identities) (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, 2008).

²¹² Guo Rongsheng 郭榮生 ed., *Kong Xiangxi xiansheng nianpu* 孔祥熙先生年譜 (Chronicle of Mr. Kong Xiangxi) (Taipei, 1979), 81, 201-202, 219.

result, he was secretly arrested on December 6th, 1940, and detained in a prison for political dissenters in Xifeng 息峰, Guizhou, for two years, until his release in August, 1942.²¹³

The other who dared to criticize Kong and Song publically in the wartime period was historian Fu Sinian. His most famous criticism appeared in three essays attacking Song, published in early 1947. On February 15, 1947, Fu's "Song Ziwen Has to Go Away!" ("Zhege yangzi de Song Ziwen fei zoukai buke!" 這個樣子的宋子文非走開不可) appeared in *Century Criticism* (*Shiji pinglun* 世紀評論)²¹⁴ in Nanjing. One week later, on February 22, 1947, another essay, "The Failure of Song Ziwen" ("Song Ziwen de shibai" 宋子文的失敗), was published,

²¹³ For details about the arrest of Ma Yinchu 馬寅初, see Sun Daquan 孫大權, "Kangzhan shiqi 'Ma Yinchu bei bu an' youguan jige wenti de bianxi" 抗戰時期'馬寅初被補案'有關幾個問題的辨析 ((Analysis of several concerns about "the arrest of Ma Yinchu" in the period of War of Resistance), *Sichuan daxue xuebao: zhexue shehui kexue ban* 四川大學學報: 哲學社會科學版 5 (2003): 229-232.

²¹⁴ *Century Criticism* was a magazine of political and economic criticism. Its first issue was published on January 4, 1947, in Nanjing and its last issue on November 13, 1948. Economist He Lian 何廉 (Franklin Ho, 1895-1957) raised money to establish it. Its editor was a political scientist Zhang Chumin 張純明 (1902-1984). Although both He and Zhang had worked for the Nationalist government, *Century Criticism* criticized the government straightforwardly and virulently. Fu Sinian's "Song Ziwen Has to Go Away!" is a typical example. Fu's essay brought about the fight between *Century Criticism* and censors. According to He Lian, on February 15, 1947, on the day *Century Criticism* was published, it disappeared from the market immediately. He understood that this was not due to a drastic increase of readers. Rather, certain people bought up all of them. On that day, he went to see the chief editor of *L'Impartial*, Hu Lin 胡霖 (courtesy name, Zhengzhi 政之, 1889-1949) and asked Hu to publish Fu Sinian's essay in *L'Impartial*. Therefore, on February 16, the essay appeared in *L'Impartial* again. See He Lian, *He Lian Huiyilu* 何廉回憶錄 (Reminiscences of He Lian), interviewed and edited by Zhu Youci 朱佑慈, Yang Daning 楊大寧 and Hu Longchang 胡隆昶; documents translated by Wang Wenjun 王文鈞 and Yu Zhenji 俞振基 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe 中國文史出版社, 1988), 276.

He Lian did not mention who these buyers were. However, He's memory indicates that whoever it was did not want readers buy and read this magazine. Based on the political situation at that time, they were censors.

He Lian asked Hu Lin to publish Fu's essay, not other essays, in the next day's *L'Impartial*. This also demonstrates that He knew it was Fu's essay which had troubled the censors.

again in *Century Criticism*. On March 1, 1947, a third essay attacking Song, “On Powerful Family the Capital has to Eradicate” (“Lun haomen ziben zhi bixu chanchu” 論豪門資本之必須鏟除), came out in *The Observer* (*Guancha* 觀察).²¹⁵ Although Fu’s main target was Song Ziwen, all three essays criticized the corruption of Kong, Song, and their families from the start of the wartime period. In “Song Ziwen Has to Go Away,” Fu asserts that, if the government did not ask Song to leave, the government would fall. Because of Fu’s three essays, Song was forced

²¹⁵ *The Observer* was established by a famous Chinese liberal, Chu Anping 儲安平 (1906-1966). The political idea that Chu advocated in *The Observer* was precisely the liberalism that Chinese Democratic League (Zhongguo minzhu tongmeng 中國民主同盟) proposed. The League was established by Luo Longji 羅隆基 (1896-1965), Zhang Bojun 章伯鈞 (1895-1969) and other intellectuals of similar political inclination on March 19, 1941 in Chongqing. They suggested a political system somewhere between capitalism and communism, which was usually called “The third way” (“Di san tiao daolu” 第三條道路):

Politically, it adopts [a system] relatively close to British and American style liberalism and democracy. In the meantime, economically, it adopts Soviet Union style planned economy and socialism.

在政治方面比較上多採取英美式的自由主義與民主主義; 同時在經濟方面比較上多採取蘇聯式的計劃經濟與社會主義。

Century Criticism, mentioned before, also supported this liberalist political system. *The Observer* started publication on September 1, 1946. Its attack on the corruption of the Nationalist government was fiercer. Therefore, by the command of Jiang Jieshi, *The Observer* was closed on December 25, 1948. After the establishment of PRC, *The Observer* restarted its publication on November 1, 1949. Chu Anping was still the chief editor. In May 1950, *The Observer* was ordered to change its name to *The New Observer*, and Chu left his original position. In the Hundred Flowers Campaign, Chu expressed the criticism that “The Party dominated the world.” Therefore, in the Anti-Rightest Campaign, he was labeled a rightest. During the period of the Cultural Revolution, he received numerous criticism and denouncements. In 1966, he went missing and was never found. For research on Chu Anping and *The Observer*, see Young-Tsu Wong, “The Fate of Liberalism in Revolutionary China: Chu Anping and His Circle, 1946-1950,” *Modern China*, 19 no.4 (October 1993): 457–490; Xie Yong 謝泳, *Chu Anping yu Guancha* 儲安平與觀察 (Chu Anping and *The Observer*) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe 中國社會出版社, 2005); and Xie Yong ed., *Chu Anping he tade shidai* 儲安平和他的時代 (Chu Anping and his time) (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gongsi 秀威資訊科技公司, 2009).

to leave his position as Executive Yuan President (“Xingzhengyuan zhang” 行政院長) in March 1947.

In the second half of the war, government corruption and the seeming endlessness of the war aroused fear among intellectuals about the doom of China. When writing about the development of popular drama in the wartime period, Chang-tai Hung noticed that a main topic of current historical dramas centered on the Southern Ming in the 17th Century, with emphasis on the resistance of the Ming royalty to the Manchus and the failures caused by their scandalous behavior and factionalism. Hung claimed that those dramatists paralleled the situation of the Southern Ming in contemporary China,²¹⁶ the dramas reflecting intellectuals’ common feelings about contemporary situation of China.

Guo Muoruo’s famous article, “In Memoriam of March 19, 1644” (“Jiashen sanbainian ji” 甲申三百年祭), serialized in *Xinhua Daily* from March 19 to 22 in 1944, focused on the collapse of the Ming dynasty as well. On March 19, 1644, rebels led by Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606-1645) had captured Beijing and the last Ming emperor, Emperor Chongzhen 崇禎 (Zhu Youjian 朱由儉, 1627-1644), had hanged himself from a tree in the imperial garden. The first third of Guo’s article argues that frequent rebellions in the late Ming stemmed from political corruption. The late Ming in this part of the article is implicitly connected with the corrupt Nationalist government. The rest of the article points to Li Zicheng’s failure after entering Beijing. According to Guo, because Li Zicheng ignored suggestions from Li Yan 李岩 (1610-1644), who asked Li Zicheng to strengthen military discipline in Beijing, Li Zicheng lost the hearts of his generals and of the common people, and finally lost battles with the Manchus. This

²¹⁶ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 84-85.

part of Guo's article was considered a warning to the Communist Party that corruption and the loss of intellectuals' hearts would also cause it to lose the very power it seized. Yan'an paid much attention to this article. On April 18 and 19, 1944, its full text was published in *Jiefang Daily* (*Jiefang ribao* 解放日報), the official newspaper of the Yan'an government.

Guo Moruo and other core figures of wartime drama were left leaning. Nevertheless, they were not the only intellectuals pointing out parallels between 20th century wartime China and the fall of the Ming dynasty. Tai Jingnong's (臺靜農, 1902-1990) last fictional work, "History of Collapse of the Ming" ("Wang Ming jiang shi" 亡明講史), was also written in Chongqing at about the same time that Guo Moruo's article came out. Tai's novel was never published, but his manuscript is preserved in the National Taiwan University Library. Liao Zhaoheng 廖肇亨, a Researcher of Academia Sinica in Taiwan and expert on Tai Jingnong, has read the original manuscript. According to Liao, like Guo's article, this novel is about the collapse of the Ming dynasty. However, while Guo laid his emphasis on the tragedy of Li Yan, who died under the order of Li Zicheng, Tai's novel focuses on the events of March 19, 1644. Guo's emphasis implies that leftist intellectuals viewed Li Yan as a role model, but Tai's novel depicts an intellectual's anger and sadness about his country's having become so hopeless.²¹⁷ In chapter 3 of this dissertation, we will see works of satirical fiction revealing similar feelings about the situation of wartime China. Therefore, what Tai presented in his last novel may echo the feelings of non-leftist intellectuals in Chongqing.

²¹⁷ Liao Zhaoheng 廖肇亨, "Xiwang, juewang, xuwang: Shi lun Tai Jingnong 'Wang Ming jiang shi' yu Guo Moruo 'Jiashen sanbainian ji' de renwu tuxiang yu wenhua quanshi" 希望, 絕望, 虛妄: 試論臺靜農“亡明講史”與郭沫若“甲申三百年祭”的人物圖像與文化詮釋 ("Vision, Desperation, Delusion: A Comparative Study between Tai Jingnong's *Wong[sic] Ming Jiang Shi* and Guo Moruo's *Jia Shen San Bai Nian Ji*"), *Ming dai yan jiu* 明代研究 (Research on the Ming dynasty) 11 (December 2008): 95-118.

B. Censorship in Chongqing

Inflation, corruption, and endless war provoked intellectuals' disappointment in the rule of the Nationalist government and fears of the impending collapse of the Republic of China. This phenomenon explains why, in the second half of the war, an increasing number of works of satirical fiction appeared, targeting mismanagement and corruption in the government. However, as Eastman points out, the more discontent the people expressed, the more the government cracked down to maintain its authority. Speech control is one of the main methods of political repression.²¹⁸ For satirists who highlighted ridiculousness of the corrupted bureaucrats, their works were in the danger of being banished from publication in newspapers or periodicals.

As early as in 1934, the Nationalist government had enacted strict censorship laws for the press and publishers. Once a censor disallowed the publication of a certain portion of a newspaper, periodical, or book, it had to be deleted. There were also numerous books on the market confiscated by censors in the Nanjing decade (1927-1937).²¹⁹

In the wartime period, a strict approach to censorship of the press and publishing continued to be enforced by the government. In March 1939, the ruling party enacted "Draft for the Examination of Manuscripts of Books and Magazines by the Committee of Book-and-magazine Examination in the Nationalist-party Central Committee" ("Guomindang zhongyang dangbu tushu zazhi shencha weiyuanhui tushu zazhi yuangao shencha gangyao" 國民黨中央黨

²¹⁸ Lloyd E. Eastman, "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945," in *The Cambridge History of China*, 13: 603-604.

²¹⁹ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 168-169.

部圖書雜誌審查委員會圖書雜誌原稿審查綱要).²²⁰ This draft became the basis for implementing censorship in the wartime period, followed by as many as 20 plus associated measures enacted as well.²²¹ According to this law, censors decided which books and magazines could be published. They examined the contents of book manuscripts and magazines before they were sent to the printers. In addition, in order to verify whether forbidden thoughts were being disseminated, censors could publically or secretly visit and investigate publishers, bookstores, and their employees.²²²

According to this draft, goals of censorship were to “avoid unallowable speeches and unify national thoughts for the demands of the war” and to “establish a culture centered on the Three Principles of the People.”²²³ Both goals were associated with preventing the dissemination of leftist thought – probably the core task of censors. After the enactment of the draft, three confidential letters were sent to the local Nationalist party headquarters on July 26, 1939, requesting that local Party headquarters pay special attention to bookstores which had close relationship with leftists, because they supported leftist activities and sold banned books.²²⁴

As for how many books passed examination, one can refer to statistics from 1942. Among records open to the public, only those from 1942 provide detailed statistics. That year,

²²⁰ Meng Guanghan 孟廣涵, ed., *Kangzhan shiqi guogong hezuo jishi* 抗戰時期國共合作紀實 (Records of the Second United Front in the wartime period) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1992), 1: 790-799.

²²¹ Wang Xuhua 王煦華 and Zhu Yibing 朱一冰, eds., *1927-1949 nian jinshu (kan) shiliao huibian* (1927-1949 年禁書[刊]史料彙編) (Collection of historical documents about banned books and magazines in 1927-1949) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe 北京圖書館出版社, 2007), 2: 675-790.

²²² Meng Guanghan, ed., *Records of the Second United Front in the Wartime Period*, 1: 790-799.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 1:790.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 802-804.

there were 3,879 books published in the Nationalist China, 1,292 of them in Chongqing.²²⁵ In the entirety of Nationalist China, only 196 books are listed as being denied publication and 120 books as confiscated.²²⁶ On the surface, it appears the vast majority of books passed censors' examination. However, whether the public statistics are complete is questionable. According to *General History of Press*, from 1927 to 1945, in Shanghai, many books and magazines were banned and destroyed without record.²²⁷ By the same token, complete statistics about how many books were not allowed to be published or banned in Chongqing may be impossible to acquire.

There are also no accurate statistics about how many news items or essays in newspapers were ordered to be omitted or modified in the great hinterland or wartime Chongqing. In fact, estimating the number of omitted or modified news items or essays is much more difficult than number of banned books. In most cases, newspapers do not show any indication of having been modified or offer information about omitted essays. Occasionally, news editors intentionally left some columns blank in protest, which was called "opening the skylight" ("kai tianchuang" 開天窗). Editors did so to alert readers that censors had forbidden the release of some news or work.²²⁸ Many newspapers in Chongqing, such as *Xinhua Daily*, *L'Impartial*, *Xinmin News*, and *Xinmin Evening News*, include this kind of blank columns, except for the official newspaper of the Nationalist Party, i.e., *Central Daily*, and army-owned *Saodang News*. Most of the blank columns are small, occupying only a few lines of space on the page where part of the essay or news item was stricken by censors. This kind of blank column appears only a few times a year.

²²⁵ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 133.

²²⁶ Minge zhongyang Sun Zhongshan yanjiu xuehui Chongqing fenhui, ed., *Cultural History of Chongqing in the War of Resistance*, 205.

²²⁷ Wang Yuguang and Wu Yonggui, *General History of Press in China* 8, 168.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 164-165.

Large blank columns in newspapers were rare. However, *Xinhua Daily* is well-known for having twice left a large blank column. The first of these appeared on January 6, 1940, when the editorial of that day contained nothing more than eight big characters: “The War of the Resistance is the Priority. Victory is the Priority” (“kangzhan diyi, shengli diyi” 抗戰第一, 勝利第一). Because the blank column occupies whole upper part of the first page, these eight characters are very eye-catching. At the left side of the blank column lies a two-line note in small font explaining the reason for the blank column in the editorial. According to the note, the editor tried to submit his editorial to censors twice, but neither version was accepted. The editor was too late to write a third version, so *Xinhua Daily* on that day featured no editorial.

The second time the *Xinhua Daily* left a large blank column was on January 18, 1941, several days after the famous New Fourth Army Incident. On that day, the column for the editorial contains nothing but a famous poem by Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898-1976), titled, “Mourning Martyrs Sacrificing for Their Country in the South of Yangtze” (“Wei Jiang nan si guonan zhe zhi ai” 為江南死國難者致哀). The poem runs as follows:

Eternal injustice it suffered,
The only leaf floated in the Southern Yangtze.
Family members attacked with arms.
For one to cook the other, why in haste?

Qianggu qiyuan 千古奇冤,
Jiang nan yi ye 江南一葉,²²⁹
Tong shi cao ge 同室操戈,
Xiang jian he ji 相煎何急。²³⁰

²²⁹ “Jiang nan yi ye” (The only leaf floated in the Southern Yangtze) takes on a double meaning. The only leaf means New Fourth Army, which was the only Communist army left in the Southern Yangtze region. The only leaf also refers to the army commander of the New Fourth Army, Ye Ting 葉挺 (1896-1946). The meaning of Ye Ting’s last name is “leaf.” He was captured in the incident.

²³⁰ The last line comes from “For one to cook the other, why such haste?” (“Xiangjian he tai ji” 相煎何太急), the last line of “Seven Step Verse” (“Qibu shi” 七步詩) by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232), a famous gifted poet in the state of Cao Wei 曹魏 (220-265) in Three Kingdoms period

According to Chinese scholars, after the New Fourth Army Incident, the Nationalists asked all of the presses to define New Fourth Army the rebel force and attack it in editorials on January 18, 1941. *Xinhua Daily* refused to follow the demand and planned to put an editorial of the other subject. The censor did not permit this editorial to be published and detained it. The

(220-280). Cao Zhi, whose courtesy name was Zijian 子建, was a native of Qiao 譙 in the state of Pei 沛 (modern Bozhou 亳州 in Anhui). He was one of the sons of Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220), posthumously honored as Emperor Wu 武 of Wei, and a younger brother of Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226), Emperor Wen 文 of Wei.

“Seven Step Verse” first appears in *The New Account of the Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語) by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444) in the Liu Song 劉宋 Dynasty (420-479) of the Southern Dynasties (420-589). Cao Cao was so fond of Cao Zhi that Cao Cao thought about making Cao Zhi the crown prince when Cao Cao was alive. Therefore, after Cao Pi ascended the throne, Cao Pi regarded Cao Zhi a threat to his kingship. For this reason, Cao Pi asked Cao Zhi make a poem in seven steps or he would receive the most serious punishment. As a talented poet, Cao Zhi wrote a poem as instructed and then recited,

Boiled beans are taken to make a soup, Strained lentils used for stock. While stalks beneath the pot are blazing up,	Zhu dou chi zuo geng 煮豆持作羹, Lu shu yi wei zhi 漉菽以為汁。 Qi zai fu xia ran 萁在釜下然， The beans within the pot shed tears. Originally from the same root grown, For one to cook the other, why such haste?	Dou zai fu zhong qi 豆在釜中泣。 Ben shi tong gen sheng 本是同根生， Xiang jian he tai ji 相煎何太急。
---	--	--

In this poem, beans and stalks imply brothers. After hearing this poem, Cao Pi felt ashamed and let Cao Zhi leave. Zhou Enlai uses this allusion in his four-syllable traditional poem. It indicates that Zhou considered fights between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party to be like fights between brothers. Obviously, it was the Nationalist Party which persecuted the Communist Party.

See Liu Yiqing, *Shi shuo xin yu jiao jian* 世說新語校箋 (Collated and annotated *New Account of the Tales of the World*), collated and annotated by Yu Jixi 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 1: 288-289.

For the English translation of this poem, see Liu I-chi'ing (Liu Yiqing), *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*, with commentary by Liu Chün 劉峻 (462-521), translated with introduction and notes by Richard B. Mather, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: Center of Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2002), 133-134.

editor also watched the editing of *Xinhua Daily* to avoid editors leaving the column for the editorial blank. Therefore, *Xinhua Daily* prepared a newspaper with a safe editorial for the censor to examine, but sneaked out the version with Zhou Enlai's poem for the printer. Thus, *Xinhua Daily* successfully transmitted its position in the New Fourth Army Incident to the public.²³¹

In addition to *Xinhua Daily*, the *Xinmin Press* was the other press that dared to challenge censors. According to reminiscence of Cheng Liyuan, one of the news editors of *Xinmin News* in the wartime Chongqing, during November and December of 1941, the first two months of the publication of *Xinmin Evening News*, sixty-five blank columns appeared in its pages.²³² This was rare among newspapers in Chongqing. These blank columns are not as big as the two in *Xinhua Daily*, consisting of small blank columns in the essays or, if sentences were deleted by the censor from the middle of a piece of news or essay, as many square blocks to replace characters which were deleted. An extreme case appeared on November 24, 1941, when *Xinmin Evening News* published three blank columns on the fourth page. Nevertheless, most of the time, there were only one or two blank columns to be found in a page.

According to Chen Liyuan, editor of social news of *Xinmin Evening News*, Zhang Youlun, was angry about this strict censorship. Therefore, Zhang wrote a miscellaneous essay "A Weeding Maniac" ("Jian cao kuang" 剪草狂), published in *Xinmin Evening News* on November 25, 1941, to satirize censors.²³³ The entire essay is about a cartoon from *Punch*, a weekly humor and satire magazine published in London, in early 1940. In Zhang's description, this cartoon satirizes censors in England, who were overly zealous at striking and modifying

²³¹ Chongqing ribao she 重慶日報社, ed., *Kangzhan shiqi de Chongqing xinwenjie 抗戰時期的重慶新聞界* (The press in wartime Chongqing) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1995), 172.

²³² Chen Liyuan, "Chongqing xinmin bao shihua" 重慶新民報史話 (History of *Xinmin News* in Chongqing) in *A History of Xinmin News*, 170.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 169-170.

news, as a character who appears to be a weeding maniac. This man is so obsessive that he even tries to weed a woman's hair. Zhang concludes that although British journalists did not like their reports being censored, they had no way to fight it. Thus they could only satirize censors as revenge.²³⁴ In Zhang's essay, there is no single word mentioning censorship in Chongqing. However, it actually was Zhang's targeted topic.

Zhang's "A Weeding Mania" had, in effect, already been published in *Xinmin Evening News* on the previous day, November 24. However, Zhang's comment on the cartoon does not appear in that printing. Rather, the vanished part of this essay is one of the three blank columns on the fourth page of that day's *Xinmin Evening News*. According to Chen Liyuan, after the publication of the incomplete essay, Zhang Youluan wrote a letter to the Xinmin Press and asked to have the complete essay re-published the following day. Zhang promised to take full responsibility for the publication of the complete essay.²³⁵ This allowed readers not only to see two versions of the essay, but, by comparison, to see which part of this essay had been censored.

²³⁴ Zhang Youluan, "Jian cao kuang" 剪草狂 (A weeding maniac), *Xinmin Evening News*, November 25, 1941.

²³⁵ Chen Liyuan, "History of *Xinmin News* in Chongqing" in *A History of Xinmin News*, 170.



Figure 1: Zhang Youluan, “A Weeding Maniac,” *Xinmin Evening News*, November 24, 1941
 Source: Chongqing Library

Near the end of November 1941, other essays satirizing censorship were published in *Xinmin Evening News*. Chen Liyuan asserts that Zhang Youluan’s “A Weeding Maniac,” along with other satirical essays, influenced censors to be less aggressive. According to Chen, the number of omitted or modified news and essays decreased dramatically from 40 in November, 1941, to 25 in December, 1941.²³⁶ From then on, there were fewer blank columns appearing in *Xinmin Evening News* – only a few times each year.

Due to a lack of materials, we can only speculate on the reason for fewer blank columns in *Xinmin Evening News*. There still might have been many news or essays intended for publication in *Xinmin Evening News* that were deleted, for which editors chose not to leave blank columns, perhaps because that they did not want to disparage censors in public anymore. The other possibility is that editors examined the news themselves before sending censors newspaper

²³⁶ Ibid.

drafts. In this way, there would be less chance that news would be omitted or modified. Either reason can be fully supported by the policy of news editorship that was drawn up by the Xinmin News Press in 1943. As *Ximin News* and *Xinmin Evening News* had continued to increase their criticism of the Nationalist government since the middle of the wartime period, an almost palpable tension between the Xinmin Press and the government had been building up. Then, in 1943, the Xinmin Press announced its famous editorial slogan: “To be nonaligned but left leaning. Escape from rock when seeing it.” (“Ju zhong pian zuo, yu jiao ji bi” 居中偏左, 遇礁即避). This slogan means: When editing news, they were politically neutral but with more sympathy toward the leftists; while there was pressure from the Nationalist government, they would avoid direct confrontation with authority. The owner of the Xinmin News Press, Chen Mingde, explains honestly that the purpose of the slogan was to perpetuate the survival of the Xinmin. He should avoid the Xinmin Press being shut down due to its opposition to the government.²³⁷ Therefore, it is likely that *Xinmin Evening News* tried to avoid further provocation of the authorities by either not leaving so many blank columns or editing the news in a way that could pass censors’ examination easily.

We should note, however, that the fact that *Xinhua Daily* and *Xinmin Evening News* occasionally dared to leave blank columns to protest censorship does not mean they displayed all effects of modification and deletion to their readers. Based on statistics, censors detained *Xinhua Daily*’s news and punished the newspaper for unacceptable news items 148 times.²³⁸ This number represents calculations by censors and staff of *Xinhua Daily* at that time, but can’t be detected from reading wartime *Xinhua Daily*. In addition, in the present time, *Xinhua Daily* is the

²³⁷ Chen Mingde, Deng Jixing, and et al., *A History of Xinmin News*, 37.

²³⁸ Chongqing ribao she, ed., *The Press in Wartime Chongqing*, 11.

only press which shares with the public its number of censored news items. No other presses provide such statistics. Therefore, it is almost impossible to verify how many pieces of news and essays were deleted or modified.

Generally, censors banned works by deleting or modifying original drafts. *Eighty-one Dreams* poses an exception. In the middle of its serialization, censors just verbally asked *Xinmin News* to stop publishing it. They did not delete *Eighty-one Dreams* before the printing of the newspaper. No record shows that censors dealt with any other banned news or literary works in the same way as they did *Eighty-one Dreams*. In any case, it is certain that, few, if any, other writers were dealt with in this manner.

According to Zhang Youluan, when Zhang Henshui expressed his discontent toward Chongqing society in *Eighty-one Dreams*, many Chongqing dignitaries denied that the characters in the stories mirrored them. Therefore, those who thought they were being unfairly satirized in *Eighty-one Dreams* compelled censors to ban this novel. Censors asked *Xinmin News* to stop serializing *Eighty-one Dreams*, stating that it “harms national unity for the War of Resistance.” Zhang Henshui repeatedly ignored those requests. He argued, “Let’s ask who harms national unity for the War of Resistance. If those people were to stop doing those things, what could I write about?”²³⁹

Zhang Youluan’s reminiscences indicate two things. First, though censors often requested that *Xinmin News* stop serializing *Eighty-one Dreams*, they never successfully removed the story before the printing of the newspaper. Second, Zhang Henshui never obeyed the request from censors and continued writing *Eighty-one Dreams*. Chongqing being the headquarters for the central government during this period, there is no doubt that publication censorship was strictly

²³⁹ Zhang Youluan, “Master of Traditional Fiction Zhang Henshui,” in *Research materials about Zhang Henshui*, 117-146; here, 135-136.

enforced. Yet somehow, Zhang Henshui dared to defy censors. The best explanation is that Zhang was of high status in literary circles (*wentan* 文壇) at that time. A senator of *wenxie*, Zhang Henshui was the only famous and popular writer who retreated to Chongqing. Therefore, censors did not dare to take initiative to remove his novel from the newspaper.

The story about termination of the serialization of *Eighty-one Dreams* makes the above guess more convincing. Zhang Henshui stopped the serialization of this satirical novel after the fourteenth story, “The eightieth dream: Come back to Nanjing” (“Di bashi meng: Huidao le Nanjing” 第八十夢: 回到了南京), published on April 25, 1941, about seventeen months after its first publication in *Xinmin News*. Based on Zhang’s autobiography, Zhang decided to stop his serialized publications because of a threat from a “friend” in a banquet:

Perhaps “A Trip to the Heaven” (“Tiantang zhi you” 天堂之游) and “I am Sun Wukong” are the pieces which aroused most echoes from readers. In the book, there is a giant gate which connects the way to the sky. I put a board named “Kong’s way leads to heaven” on it. My friends said that it was too obvious. Moreover, Sun Wukong fails to outmaneuver “Reaching-heaven Goddess.” My friends observed that this might be a loophole (“louzi” 漏子) as well. Because of them, someone invited me to a really good place, treated me a good meal and wine, and tried to persuade me for the whole evening. Finally, he asked me whether I want to go to Xifeng 息烽, in Guizhou, to take a two-year vacation. I smiled but still had to agree to give it up. Therefore, *Eighty-one Dreams* ends at “Come back to Nanjing” (“Huidao le Nanjing” 回到了南京).²⁴⁰

大概書裏的《天堂之游》、《我是孫悟空》幾篇，最能引起讀者的共鳴。書裏我寫著一個豪門，有一條路可通半空，給它添上個橫額，《孔道通天》。朋友都說，這太明顯了。又孫悟空和一位通天聖母鬥法而失敗，朋友也說這可能是個“漏子”。某君為此，接我到一個很好的居處，酒肉招待，勸了我一宿。最後，他問我是不是有意到貴州息烽一帶，去休息兩年？我笑著也就只好答應“算了”兩個字。於是《八十一夢》，寫了一篇《回到了南京》，就此結束。

²⁴⁰ Zhang Henshui, *Reminiscence of My Life as a Writer*, 74.

Xifeng was the location of a prison for political dissenters. Therefore, Zhang Henshui, in effect, was threatened with imprisonment if he continued serializing his work. According to Zhang Henshui's biography by his son Zhang Wu 張伍, this "friend" was a native of Anhui, Zhang's ancestral home.²⁴¹ Chinese scholar Kong Qingdong 孔慶東 clarifies that this person actually is Zhang Zhizhong 張治中 (1890-1969), who served as head of the Board of Political Training at the Military Commission, a member of the National Military Council, and Secretary-General of the Youth Corps San Min Chu I in 1940-1945.²⁴² Kong does not allude to where his information comes from. Nevertheless, whether this person was Zhang Zhizhong or not, from the above information, we can speculate that the person who asked Zhang Henshui to stop writing *Eighty-one Dreams* was not a common censor but a high-ranking official in the central government. In other words, only a threat from a high-ranking official could force Zhang stop serializing *Eighty-one Dreams*.

For any writer in Chongqing, the threat of censorship meant that his/ her works might not be published if they did not pass censors' examination. Such a risk was even higher for satirical works whose target was the government. However, documents show that most of the books passed examination and were published. Furthermore, we can see that many fictional works satirizing the government did appear in newspapers and periodicals. On the surface, they demonstrate that censors still tolerated this kind of story. Zhang Henshui was forced to stop serializing his novel because it had already crossed over the line. In fact, there might have been

²⁴¹ Zhang Wu, *Yi fuqin Zhang Henshui xiansheng* 憶父親張恨水先生 (Memories of my father Mr. Zhang Henshui) (Beijing: Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe 北京十月文藝出版社, 1995), 216.

²⁴² Kong Qingdong, *Chaoyue yasu* 超越雅俗 (Transcend elegance and vulgarity) (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2008), 116.

more satirical works which were denied publication. In short, the large amount of works of fiction satirizing the government in Chongqing testifies that, even in a city where the government's speech control was most strict, intellectuals' discontent was too intense to be repressed and had to find its way out.

Chapter 3: Satirical Fiction in the New Literature Tradition

The most well-known work of satirical fiction of New Literature produced in the great hinterland is “Mr. Hua Wei,” by Zhang Tianyi. It was written for the promotion of satire by the leftist camp. These leftist writers and critics engaged in a famous debate on exposure and satire, which causes their efforts toward the promotion of satire to be remembered in connection to satirical fiction in the great hinterland. Characteristics of works by leftist writers seem to represent those of all satirical works in the great hinterland, while the corruption among government officials seems these satirists’ sole concern. Nevertheless, through scrutinizing the satirical fiction of New Literature in wartime Chongqing, this chapter will uncover a more complex history of satirical fiction in the great hinterland, one that points toward a transformation of mentality among intellectuals in the great hinterland as well. This chapter discusses an array of different factors influencing the development of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing.

I. Introduction

This chapter examines 145 works of satirical fiction of New Literature in wartime Chongqing. The chart below shows the number of pieces of satirical fiction published in wartime Chongqing per year:

Year	Number of Works
1938	4
1939	15
1940	19

1941	12
1942	15
1943	19
1944	24
1945	37

Chart 1: Works of Satirical Fiction of New Literature published in Wartime Chongqing per year

This chart reflects three factors influential to the amount change of satirical fiction mentioned previously in this dissertation. First of all, the leftist camp affected the prevalence of satire. “Mr. Hua Wei” was published in *Literary Battleground* in April, 1938. Other works of satirical fiction also started to appear in Chongqing in 1938. The connection of the publication of “Mr. Hua Wei” to the flowering of satirical fiction in Chongqing becomes clearer when we arrange the list of satirical works by their date of publication. Appendix IV shows the other satirical works published in 1938 were published around or after the publication of “Mr. Hua Wei.” The second factor is the relocation of the capital at the end of 1938, which influenced the arrival of publishers, newspapers, and writers at around the same time (see Chapter 2). This factor explains why in 1938 there were only 4 satirical works published in Chongqing, whereas from 1939 to 1943, between 12 and 19 pieces of satirical fiction were published there every year. In 1944 and 1945, the number of satirical fiction publications soared. This can be explained by the third factor: intellectuals’ discontent toward the rule of the Nationalist government, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The increase in the number of satirical fiction reflects this increasing degree of dissatisfaction. The next portion of this chapter introduces which newspapers and magazines published works of satirical fiction.

A. Newspapers

Among the 23 newspapers in my collection, three of them are associated with “Three Zhang and One Zhao” and will be discussed in the next chapter. As for other 20 newspapers, 7 of them contain works of satirical fiction. These seven newspapers are *L’ Impartial*, *Xinhua Daily*, *Central Daily*, *Ta Kung Evening News* (*Dagong wanbao* 大公晚報), *National Gazette* (*Guomin gongbao* 國民公報), *New Shishi Post* (*Shishi xinbao* 時事新報), and *New Sichuan News* (*Xin Shu bao* 新蜀報). Other newspapers did not publish works of satirical fiction, either because of the general features of their supplements or the nature of their political stands.

All the newspapers in my collection feature supplements, except for the *Joint Version of Chongqing Newspapers*,²⁴³ which was published on one large sheet of paper. This paper is divided into four pages, two of them devoted to news while the other two display advertisements. This newspaper was created in the aftermath of the bombing on May 3 and 4, 1939, from which many newspapers suffered serious losses, their offices being hit and printing machines destroyed. The *Joint Version* was clearly an emergency measure adopted to deal with this difficult situation. Therefore, it makes sense that it contained only news and advertisements without any supplement, because supplements, as their name indicates, are not an essential component for any newspaper. Its circulation also lasted only three months. As soon as newspaper offices were reestablished and machines fixed or replaced, individual presses resumed publishing their own newspapers.

Still, not all newspaper supplements published literary works. One variety of newspaper supplements focused on profound discussions about some discipline or ideology, or offered academic essays on literature, art, history, or philosophy. This kind of supplement usually was

²⁴³ Also see Chapter 2 for the short introduction of *Joint Version of Chongqing Newspapers*.

published once a week or every few weeks. It also was usually composed of one to two full pages, because each article in it would occupy half a page, or even an entire page. The most famous of this kind of supplement in wartime Chongqing is “Zhanguo ce” 戰國策 in *L’ Impartial*, published once a week or every few weeks from December 3, 1941 to July 1943. The main contributors were such professors as Chen Quan 陳銓 (1903-1969), Lin Tongji 林同濟 (1906-1980) and Lei Haizong 雷海宗 (1902-1962). They were thought to ideologically support the rule of the Nationalist government, promulgating the main idea that national interests must come before all others and promoting the preservation of national spirit and heroism.²⁴⁴ Since this kind of supplement was not published daily, newspapers that carried them might also contain another kind of supplement published every day. *L’ Impartial* is the best example. In addition to the “Zhanguo ce” supplement, it also published a daily literary supplement, titled, “Battlefront” (“Zhanxian” 戰線).

Yet another kind of supplement was generally published every day, supplying general information about science, geography, and history related to war and protecting the nation. These supplements might also have contained pieces of prose describing in elegant language the geography or history of an area in China. The purpose of these essays was to enhance readers’ devotion and loyalty toward China against the Japanese. This type of supplement may also have published anti-Japanese propaganda. For instance, the supplement of *Jialing River Daily*

²⁴⁴ Before the “Zhanguo ce” supplement was published in *L’ Impartial*, the “Zhanguo ce” School published a semi-monthly *Zhanguo ce* in Kunming, Yunnan from April 1940 to July 1941. For the introduction of Zhanguo ce School, see Wen Rumin and Ding Xiaoping 丁曉萍, eds., *Shidai zhi po: Zhanguo ce wenhua lunzhu jiyao* 時代之波: 戰國策文化論著輯要 (The wave of the time: Selected works of Zhanguo ce School on literature) (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe 中國廣播電視出版社, 1995) and Ji Jin 季進 and Zeng Yiguo 曾一果, *Chen Quan: Yibang de jiejing* 陳詮: 異邦的借鏡 (Chen Quan: Learning from foreign countries) (Beijing: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社, 2005).

(*Jialingjiang ribao* 嘉陵江日報) printed folk songs with lyrics about resisting the Japanese. The target readers for this kind of supplement were those who wanted to broaden their knowledge about life, society, and culture and reinforce the sense that they cared about the War of Resistance against the Japanese. Since this kind of supplement was published every day, newspapers including it generally did not contain an additional literary supplement. Newspapers with supplement of this kind include *Jialing River Daily*, *Ji Chuan Gazette* (*Ji Chuan gongbao* 濟川公報), *Southwest Daily* (*Xinan ribao* 西南日報), *Southwest Evening News* (*Xinan ribao wankan* 西南日報晚刊), *New Sichuan Evening News* (*Xin Shu yebao* 新蜀夜報), and *Chinese Commentary* (*Zhongguo pinglun bao* 中國評論報).

Works of satirical fiction were generally published in literary supplements. A literary supplement published works of fiction, poetry and prose, as well as literary criticism, and was concerned with important literary issues. Works of famous writers were usually published in literary supplements. In addition to seven newspapers containing satirical fiction, newspapers providing literary supplements include *Finance Report* (*Jinrong daobao* 金融導報), *Renmin Daily* (*Renmin ribao* 人民日報), *Saodang Post* (*Saodang bao* 掃蕩報), *Journal of Commerce* (*Shangwu ribao* 商務日報), *Social Welfare* (*Yishi bao* 益世報) and the jointed version of the *Central Daily* and *Saodang Post* (*Zhongyang ribao Saodang bao lianhe ban* 中央日報掃蕩報聯合版). While these six newspaper supplements all published literary works, none of them included any works of satirical fiction.

Whether a literary supplement included works of satirical fiction depended on the political stand of the newspaper. Those literary supplements containing no works of satirical fiction were owned or edited by individuals who maintained a close relationship with the

Nationalist government or were anti-Communist. For instance, the publisher of *Finance Report* was He Yiren 何伊仁 (1902-2005), a famous scholar of finance and banking in the Republican era who always kept up a good relationship with the Nationalist government. After 1949, he went to Taiwan and established the College of Law and Business at the National Chung Hsing University in Taipei (known today as the National Taipei University). As for the *Saodang Post*, it was owned by the Nationalist army. The *Journal of Commerce*, in the wartime period, was owned by Gao Yunbin 高允斌, a member of Paramilitary Special Force owned by Kang Ze 康澤 (1904-1967). Paramilitary Special Forces were crucial to suppressing the Communists in Jiangxi around the end of 1930 and early 1931. Regarding *Social Welfare*, it was owned by the Roman Curia, which remains anti-Communist to this day.

However, among newspapers that did publish works of satirical fiction, *L' Impartial* and *National Gazette* were considered supportive of the Nationalist government.²⁴⁵ The *Central Daily* also featured satirical works. In addition, *New Shishi Post*, controlled by Kong Xiangxi, contained satirical works as well.

The next portion of this chapter will talk about the intellectual mentality reflected in satirical fiction. It will be proved that satirical fiction not only was for leftist propaganda but also revealing intellectuals' various concerns with the fate of China. The appearance of works of satirical fiction in *L' Impartial*, *National Gazette*, *Central Daily*, and *New Shishi Post*, seem to demonstrate that newspapers had close relationship with the Nationalist government still allowed the use of satire if satirical works were not for leftist propaganda. However, when we examine the time when satirical works were published, we see a complicated history of the development

²⁴⁵ Chongqing ribao she, *The Press in Wartime Chongqing*, 23-24.

of satirical fiction. The number of works of satirical fiction published in seven newspapers mentioned above per year is shown as below:

Newspaper	Number of satiric works published per year							
	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
<i>Central Daily</i>		1	5	1				
<i>L'Impartial</i>		1	2		2	1	2	1
<i>National Gazette</i>			1			2	4	3
<i>New Shishi Post</i>			3				4	6
<i>New Sichuan Daily</i>	1	3		1	4	2	1	2
<i>Ta Kung Evening News</i>								15
<i>Xinhua Daily</i>			1		3	1	2	6
Total Number	1	5	12	2	9	6	13	33

Chart 2: Works of Satirical Fiction of New Literature appearing in each newspaper per year in Wartime Chongqing

There are two features deserving of our attention in Chart 2. First is the pattern of satirical works appearing in the *Central Daily*. In 1940, five satirical works were published in the *Central Daily*, while only one appeared in 1939 and 1941, respectively. After 1942, satirical fiction disappeared from the *Central Daily* completely.

The relative surge of five works of satirical fiction during 1940 may be explained by the support of the editor of the “Pingming” supplement. From June 20, 1938 to November 30, 1938, the general editors of the “Pingming” supplement were Cheng Cangpo 程滄波 (1903-1990) and Chu Anping. From December 1, 1938 to April 1, 1939, the general editor was Liang Shiqiu. And from April 3, 1939 to September 29, 1940, during which period the five works were published, the general editor was Duanmu Luxi 端木露西 (1912-1998). We do not know much

about Duanmu except that she was the first wife of Chu Anping and a feminist.²⁴⁶ Probably her ideas about women's pursuit of independence reflected her critical thinking about society, leading her to publish more works of satirical fiction in the "Pingming" supplement.

As for the complete disappearance of satirical fiction in *Central Daily*, that can be explained by the announcement of an official literary policy by the Nationalist government. In September of 1942, Zhang Daofan published "Literary Policy We Need" in the first issue of *Cultural Pioneer*, requesting that literary authors "Don't just write about the dark side of society" ("Bu zhuaxie shehui de hei'an" 不專寫社會的黑暗).²⁴⁷ Apparently, later editors of the "Pingming" supplement felt that satiric fiction fell within this discouraged category.

The second feature of note is the soaring number of satirical works in 1944 and 1945 in the *New Shishi Post* and *National Gazette*. The reason that *National Gazette* published seven pieces of satirical fiction in these two years should be connected with the Communist control of this newspaper.²⁴⁸ As for the *New Shishi Post*, it had had Communists bent to it since 1939. This explains why in 1940, it suddenly featured three pieces of satirical work. However, the *New Shishi Post* was controlled by Kong Xiangxi throughout the entire wartime period, which would have tended to repress a leftist voice in the newspaper. Nevertheless, Kong did not really interfere his journalists' ways of dealing with news, since they did not often cross the line of his tolerance.²⁴⁹ In 1943, Kong embezzled five hundred billion US dollars that the Nationalist government had borrowed from the United States. Public opinion in the great hinterland and the

²⁴⁶ Zhou Lei 周蕾, "Duanmu Luxi de nuxing sixiang" 端木露西的女性思想 (Duanmu Luxi's feminist thoughts), in Xie Yong ed., *Chu Anping and His Time*, 365-376.

²⁴⁷ Zhang Daofan, "Literary Policy We Need," *Literary Pioneer* 1:1 (September 1942), 5-16; here 8-9.

²⁴⁸ Chongqing ribao she, *The Press in wartime Chongqing*, 25-26.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-40.

US government reacted furiously to Kong's embezzlement, after which Kong started losing power.²⁵⁰ At the end of 1944, he resigned from his position as Finance Minister, which he had held for eleven years. In May 1945, he quit his job as the Deputy Premier of Executive Yuan, at which he had worked from 1939 to 1945. And in July 1945, he resigned as Governor of Central Bank, a position he had held from 1933 to 1945. Under these circumstances, the *New Shishi Post* published 10 works of satirical fiction in 1944 and 1945. This indicates that Kong did not have enough energy to deal with matters of the *New Shishi Post* and was not powerful enough to control the newspaper's leftist journalists.

As for *Ta Kung Evening News*, it published 15 works of satirical fiction in the last year of the war. Before then, *Ta Kung Evening News* had not published any works of satirical fiction in Chongqing. Certainly this is due to the fact that *Ta Kung Evening News* was published in other cities before 1944: in Hong Kong from November 1941 to March 1942, and in Guilin, Guangxi from April 1942 to June 1944. In June 1944, when Guilin announced an emergency evacuation under the Japanese attack, *Ta Kung Evening News* retreated from to Chongqing. In September 1944, the Chongqing edition of *Ta Kung Evening News* started its publication.

The chief editor of *Ta Kung Evening News* in both Guilin and Chongqing was Xu Zhucheng 徐鑄成 (1907-1991). Xu's change of attitude toward the Nationalist government, causing him to publish 15 works of satirical fiction in Chongqing, offers the best example of the shift in intellectual mentality in the late wartime period.

Xu was selected as chief editor of the Guilin edition of *L' Impartial* in 1942 by the newspaper's founder, Hu Lin 胡霖 (who is usually called by his courtesy name, Zhengzhi 政之,

²⁵⁰ Wang Fan-sen, *Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics*, 167-170.

1889-1949).²⁵¹ At that time, *L' Impartial* was friendly toward the Nationalist government. Xu was even personally acquainted with many government officials, including Jiang Jingguo 蔣經國 (1910-1988), son of Jiang Jieshi.²⁵²

Nevertheless, after the end of the war, when Chu Anping invited Xu to contribute to the *Observer*,²⁵³ Xu rejected the offer, claiming that he did so because he had been left leaning at that time.²⁵⁴ Xu's complete disappointment and antipathy toward the Nationalist government can be traced back to 1944, en route from Guilin to Chongqing. According to his memoir, he saw that the Nationalist army behaved like a group of bandits and social order was completely gone. What he experienced destroyed his last confidence in the rule of Nationalist regime in every aspect, including politics, society, education, and military affairs.²⁵⁵ His change of attitude toward the Nationalist government explains why he turned to support the Nationalist Party's political opponent and published 15 works of satirical fiction in just 8 months during 1945.

B. Periodicals

Among the 68 periodicals in my collection (see Appendix II), in addition to *Phenomena Weekly*, a magazine of popular literature, there are 22 magazines containing works of satirical fiction. The number of works of satirical fiction published in each periodical per year is shown below:

²⁵¹ Xu Zhucheng 徐鑄成, *Xu Zhucheng huiyilu* 徐鑄成回憶錄 (Memoir of Xu Zhucheng) (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1999), 97.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 99, 105.

²⁵³ For the introduction of the *Observer*, see note 104 of Chapter 2.

²⁵⁴ Dai Qing 戴晴, *Chu Anping, Wang Shiwei, Liang Shuming* 儲安平, 王實味, 梁漱溟 (Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe 江蘇文藝出版社, 1989), 168.

²⁵⁵ Xu Zhucheng, *Memoir of Xu Zhucheng*, 107.

	Title	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
1	* <i>Kangzhan wenyi</i> 抗戰文藝 (Resistance literature and art)	2	6	1	1		1	1	
2	* <i>Qingnian wenyi</i> 青年文藝 (Youth literature and art)							2	
3	* <i>Qiyue</i> 七月 (July)		1	1	2				
4	<i>Shi yu chao fukan</i> 時與潮副刊 (Times and tide supplement)					1			
5	<i>Shi yu chao: wenyi</i> 時與潮: 文藝 (Times and tides: Literature and art)						3	1	
6	<i>Tianxia wenzhang</i> 天下文章 (World literature)						5	2	
7	* <i>Weipo</i> 微波 (Small waves)							1	
8	* <i>Wenfeng</i> 文風 (Literary atmosphere)						1		
9	<i>Wenhua xianfeng</i> 文化先鋒 (Cultural pioneer)					1			
10	* <i>Wenshao</i> 文哨 (Literary sentry)								
11	* <i>Wenxue</i> 文學 (Literature)						1	1	1
12	* <i>Wenxue xinbao</i> 文學新報 (Literature new report)								
13	* <i>Wenxue xiuyang</i> 文學修養 (Literary cultivation)						1	1	1
14	* <i>Wenxue yuebao</i> 文學月報 (Literature monthly reports)			3	3				
15	<i>Wenyi qingnian</i> 文藝青年 (Youth of literature and art)				2				
16	<i>Wenyi xianfeng</i> 文藝先鋒 (Literary pioneer)						1	1	
17	<i>Wenyi yuekan</i> 文藝月刊 (Literature monthly)			1	1				
18	* <i>Wenyi zazhi</i> 文藝雜誌 (Literature and art magazine)								
19	* <i>Wenyi zhendi</i> 文藝陣地 (Literary Battleground)					2			2
20	<i>Wenzhai zhanshi xunkan</i> 文摘戰時旬刊	1	3						

	(The wartime digest trimonthly)								
21	<i>Xiandai duwu</i> 現代讀物 (Modern reader)			1	1				
22	* <i>Zhongyuan</i> 中原 (Central plains)							1	
	Total Number	3	10	7	10	4	13	11	4

Chart 3: Works of Satirical Fiction of New Literature in Wartime Chongqing in each magazine per year

It is not easy to judge whether a magazine published satirical works through information about its political stand, although, among these 22 magazines, 13 of them, marked with asterisks prior to their titles, are left-leaning, to judge based on their editors, publishers, and contributors. Their editors and most of their contributors were leftist writers, and their publishers were established by leftist writers, such as the Shenghuo Bookstore, Xinzhi Bookstore, and Quyi Publisher, mentioned in Chapter 2.

For instance, *July* was edited by Hu Feng, *Literary Battlegrounds* by Mao Dun, and *Central Plains* by Guo Moruo. These are famous leftist literary magazines edited by renowned leftist writers. *Literary Sentry* was edited by Ye Yiqun, one of the editors of *Literary Battlegrounds*. As for *Literature and Art Magazine* by Wang Luyan 王魯彥 (1901-1944), it is a noted leftist literary magazine relocated from Guilin to Chongqing in 1944.

For those periodicals that do not list the names of their chief editors, we can gauge whether they were left-leaning by their publishers and contributors. For instance, the publisher of *Youth Literature and Art*, another magazine relocated from Guilin to Chongqing in 1944, was the Xinzhi Bookstore. Contributors included such leftist writers as Mao Dun, Sha Ting, Ai Wu 艾蕪 (1904-1992) and Shao Quanlin 邵荃麟 (1906-1971), among others. The publisher of *Literature*

was also the Xinzhi Bookstore; for the *Literature Monthly Reports*, the Dushu Shenghuo Bookstore, and for *Literature New Report*, Qunyi Publisher. As for *Literary Atmosphere*, both its editor and publisher are listed as “Literary Atmosphere,” the title of the magazine. Still, we can surmise that it was left-leaning because its contributors were famous leftist writers, such as Luo Sun, Mei Lin 梅林 (1908-1986), and Yao Pengzi 姚蓬子 (1906-1969). The contributors to *Small Waves* were also notably leftist writers. As for *Resistance Literature and Art*, although it was the official periodical of *wenxie*, the close relationship of *wenxie* to the leftist camp has been pointed out by scholars.²⁵⁶

There are another nine non-left-leaning magazines containing satirical fiction, some of which even had publishers maintaining close relationships with the Nationalist government or the Nationalist Party. For instance, *Times and Tide Supplement* and *Times and Tide: Literature and Art* were established by Qi Shiyong 齊世英 (1899-1987). Qi had been the secretary and a member of the Central Political Committee (Zhongyang zhengzhi weiyuanhui 中央政治委員會), as well as being a member of the Central Executive Committee (Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui 中央執行委員會) in the Nationalist Party during the Republican era.²⁵⁷ Even *Cultural Pioneer* and *Literary Pioneer*, whose publisher was Zhang Daofan, contain works of satirical fiction. Some of the works appeared even after 1942, the year when Zhang Daofan announced the literary policy of not writing about the dark side of society. This probably indicates that censors were less strict regarding magazines than newspapers, which had more

²⁵⁶ See Charles Laughlin, “The All-China Resistance Association of Writers and Artists,” in *Literary Societies of Republican China*, 379-412.

²⁵⁷ For the life of Qi Shiyong, see Lin Zhongsheng 林忠勝 and et al., *Qi Shiyong xiansheng fangwen jilu* 齊世英先生訪問紀錄 (Records of interview with Mr. Qi Shiyong) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, 1990).

readers and were published every day. Therefore, writers who were members of the Nationalist Party or had close relationship with the Nationalist government but nonetheless were not satisfied with political and social situations in the wartime period could express their ideas through literary works more easily in magazines.

Similarly, other magazines refrained from publishing satirical works not necessarily because they were anti-Communist. The *National Language Monthly* (*Guowen yuekan* 國文月刊) provides the best example. It was edited by the *Society of National Language Monthly* at the Normal School in the National Southwest Associated University. The magazine's goal was to improve the teaching of Chinese and to provide students with materials for learning Chinese.²⁵⁸ Its content included articles on language teaching and linguistics as well as criticism of classical and modern literature. On the surface, it seems to have excluded works by leftist writers in favor of supporting the rule of the Nationalist government by promoting the use of National literature (*Guowen* 國文). However, the 11th issue contains "The Introduction of Four Short Stories" ("Jieshao duanpian xiaoshuo sipian" 介紹短篇小說四篇) by a noted leftist writer, Wu Zuxiang 吳組緜 (1908-1994). The four stories themselves were written by Ai Wu and Sha Ting. They include Sha Ting's well known satirical work, "In the Qixiangju Teahouse" ("Zai Qixiangju chaguan li" 在其香居茶館裏).²⁵⁹

One thing is for sure: whether a literary magazine published fictional works was closely related to what literary genre it primarily contained. For instance, in poetry magazines such as

²⁵⁸ Preface to *Guowen yuekan* 國文月刊 (*National Language Monthly*) 1:1 (June 1940).

²⁵⁹ Wu Zuxiang 吳組緜, "Jieshao duanpian xiaoshuo sipian" 介紹短篇小說四篇 (The Introduction of four short stories), *Guowen yuekan* 國文月刊 (National language monthly) no. 11 (December 1941), 18-20.

Poetry News (Shi bao 詩報), *Collection of Poetry (Shi cong 詩叢)*, *Shi kendi congan 詩墾地叢刊*, *Poetry Literature (Shi wenxue 詩文學)*, and in magazines about drama, such as *Drama Post (Xiju gangwei 戲劇崗位)*, *Drama Time (Xiju shidai 戲劇時代)*, *Drama News (Xiju xinwen 戲劇新聞)* and *Drama Monthly Report (Xiju yuebao 戲劇月報)*, one cannot find works of satirical fiction.

The favored topics of these 145 pieces of satirical fiction are intellectuals and bureaucrats. In fact, 106 out of 145 works focus on these two subjects. Intellectuals are generally satirized as unwilling to devote their knowledge to the War of Resistance. As for bureaucrats, most of them are satirized as embezzling public funds and abusing power. Numbers of satirical fiction targeting intellectuals and bureaucrats each year are listed below:

Year	Intellectuals	Bureaucrats
1938	3	1
1939	9	4
1940	7	5
1941	3	5
1942	5	5
1943	8	6
1944	6	14
1945	3	22
Total Number	44	62

Chart 4: Works of Satirical Fiction in Wartime Chongqing targeting intellectuals and bureaucrats each year

As this chart indicates, in 1944, works satirizing bureaucrats increased significantly. In 1945, before the end of the war in August, the number of works satirizing intellectuals dropped drastically, while those satirizing bureaucrats increased to 22. This can be seen as additional

evidence that writers felt great discontent toward the rule of the Nationalist government during the last two years of the war. Works of satirical fiction in this period manifest not only intellectuals' concern for social and political situations, but also reflect a shift in the relationship between disillusioned intellectuals and the government. Such a change influenced the fate of intellectuals and, with it, the development of satirical fiction in the second half of the twentieth century. The rest of this chapter will introduce in details characteristics of works of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing.

II. Intellectuals in Satire

Intellectuals depicted in many works of satire are corrupt officials. However, this section does not discuss intellectuals' behavior in regard to corruption, including embezzlement, bribery, and abuse of political power. Rather, this section focuses on the degree to which intellectuals were depicted as unwilling to abandon their personal interests and contribute to the war of resistance against the Japanese. Those who were solely concerned about their own careers, profiting from the war, enjoying life in the great hinterland, or being nostalgic about the prewar life of peace and affluence, are the main target of satire in this period.

A. Selfish Intellectuals

In the entire wartime period, we can see satirical works targeting those intellectuals who pursue only personal goals and better material life without concern for national interests. Famous satirists also have satirical works of this theme. Examples include "Mr. Leisure" ("Xianqing xiansheng" 閒情先生), by Xu Ying 徐盈 (1912-1996), published in *New Sichuan News* on March 11, 1938, which satirizes an intellectual indifferent to the harm the Japanese army does to

the Chinese people; “Consolation” (“Weilao” 慰勞), by Chen Baichen 陳白塵 (1908-1994), published in Vol. 1, No. 7, of *Resistance Literature and Art* (June 1938), which satirizes a college student who joins activities for saving the nation out of vanity; “A Group of Mr. Chen Guorui” (“Chen Guorui xiansheng de yiqun” 陳國瑞先生的一群) by Huang Yaomian 黃藥眠 (1903-1987), published in Vol. 3, no. 9 and 10, of *Resistance Literature and Art* (February 1939), which satirizes the protagonist Chen Guorui and his friends, intellectuals serving as civil servants. In “A Group of Mr. Chen Guorui,” gambling, alcohol, and women, constitute the dissipated lifestyle of Chen Guorui and people around him. They are indifferent to resisting the Japanese because they fear everything may be destroyed in a sudden bombing. Thus, they prefer to pursue immediate happiness. “Telegram” (“Dianbao” 電報) by Tai Jingnong 臺靜農, published in Issue 44/45 of *The Wartime Digest Trimonthly* (Wenzahi zhanshi xunkan 文摘戰時旬刊) (February 1939) satirizes intellectuals who think they can gain money and fame by contributing their efforts to the war. “Professor Yu” (“Yu jiaoshou” 余教授) by Qin Mu 秦牧 (1919-1992), published in Vol. 2, no. 5, of *Times and Tide: Literature and Art* (January 1944), satirizes the title’s main character as an intellectual who talks much about saving the nation but wastes a lot of money on material enjoyment and really just wants to acquire wealth from national calamity.

Among these works, “Telegram,” by Tai Jingnong, describes selfish intellectuals most vividly. In the story, the protagonist Jiang Jingxing and his wife await a telegram from his father-in-law, who has agreed that Jiang and his wife can go to Shanghai to do business with the Japanese. Jiang earned one of his PhD degrees in Business in the U.S. and another in Political Science in Germany. In Chongqing, he had been the Commissioner of Lands, serving on a high-

ranked committee in the government. He is confident that he will have a bright future in Chongqing politics and thinks he can save the nation. The fact is that, on the contrary, he cannot move up in the government. Even though he is German-educated and fluent in German, Jiang does not earn the position of the secretary of Chinese Embassy to Berlin. It is his friend, whom Jiang looks down upon, who gets the position. Jiang learns that he cannot exert his ability in politics in Chongqing. The story does not offer a reason why Jiang fails to get the position. However, it is obvious that, in Chongqing, Jiang's future in politics must be dark.

Meanwhile, his wife cannot tolerate Chongqing, where life is nowhere near as luxurious as in Shanghai in the prewar period. When she asks the servant, Mrs. Zhang, what kind of dumplings they'll be eating for dinner, Mrs. Zhang answers only pork dumplings. Mrs. Jiang asks, why not shrimp dumplings? Mrs. Zhang replies that Chongqing does not produce shrimp. After hearing Mrs. Zhang's answer, Mrs. Jiang reviles Chongqing: "All of the plates are filled with pork and pork. I am so sick of them! Look! Everyone in Chongqing has a mouth that sticks out and is crooked. They look like shrimps. How come Chongqing does not have shrimps to sell?" Clearly, Mrs. Jiang hates life in Chongqing. She wants her husband to go back to Shanghai as soon as possible. In this way, she can "live the life she had in the past."

All these factors make Mr. Jiang determined to leave Chongqing, following his father-in-law to do business in Shanghai with the Japanese. Jiang does not care to work for enemies when he is convinced that he can exert his ability in Shanghai. This demonstrates that Jiang works for the government in Chongqing not because he sincerely wants to contribute his efforts to the good of the country, but as a means of gaining political power.

Jiang's self-image versus his image in other people's eyes forms a striking contrast. The contrast renders Jiang's fantasy that he is the savior of China ridiculous. The story is set on the

night when Jiang's wife receives the telegram from her father asking them to go to Shanghai. On that night, Jiang goes to a party, not knowing his wife has received the telegram. Repeatedly at the party, Jiang expresses his worship of Adolf Hitler. Jiang "always wants other people to listen to him while looking at him quietly," but he fails every time. This party is no exception.

Therefore, when Jiang gets home, "He looks upset, like a dog defeated in a fight. His nose is like a dog nose. Both of his eyelids are thick. His chin is short and his cheekbones are flat." Jiang is described as a losing dog. However, Jiang is still confident that he is capable of saving China:

"One day he will save poor China from the confusion of the wrong way. Every Chinese will extol him and feel his kindness. Even historians of the future will highly evaluate him."

Although Jiang realizes that his future in politics is dim, he is not upset for too long. He learns that he will be going to Shanghai soon and becomes a tycoon. Despite his planned return to Shanghai, in his dreams, he remains more than a mere businessman. He never forgets the dream of saving the nation. In his imagination, "This entrepreneur also controls the politics behind the scene. He is like the person who holds the strings of a puppet."

Intellectuals who were selfish and not concerned about national crisis became one of the favored targets of satire in the wartime Chongqing, a trend suggesting that people at that time were worried about intellectuals going to the great hinterland without contributing their efforts to the war. It also implies the moral conundrum of intellectuals in the great hinterland. The formation of this moral issue is associated with the historical significance of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the third foreign invasion in Chinese history. The first was the Mongols' conquering of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) in the thirteenth century; the second when the Manchu cavalries broke down the Shanhai Gate and swept out the force of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) in the seventeenth century. In both cases, the Han people fell under the rule of

foreign ethnic groups. Therefore, from the time the war between China and Japan broke out, the Chinese people were haunted by the fear that China might be ruined by the Japanese. In such a situation, it seemed the morally correct choice for intellectuals to go to the great hinterland with the Nationalist government. Thus they could be viewed as following the leadership of the government to fight against the Japanese. By contrast, those who remained in Japanese-occupied areas had placed on their heads the name “traitors of China” (*hanjian* 漢奸) and faced moral conflicts in their minds.²⁶⁰

But what could intellectuals in the great hinterland actually do to contribute to the war? This issue emerged as intellectuals – generally officials, businessmen, teachers, or professors – arrived there. While the vast majority of village areas bore heavy tax burdens and had a lot of their crops levied,²⁶¹ those intellectuals received food rations. Villages were the major manpower resource for the war as well,²⁶² while very few intellectuals joined the army. Intellectuals claimed that they supported the government’s fight against the Japanese. However, in food production and manpower, the core factors of victory in war, intellectuals did little to help. Meanwhile, they used their knowledge to continue doing business or take a position in the government or schools. In this way, they gained money and/or power for themselves. These combined circumstances made it doubtful whether intellectuals contributed anything valuable to the war.

²⁶⁰ For studies about the mentality of Chinese intellectuals who remained in Japanese-occupied areas, see Edward Gunn, *The Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking, 1937-1945* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1980); Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

²⁶¹ See Lloyd Eastman, *Seed of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution: 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 45-70 (Chapter 2).

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 130-157 (Chapter 6)

Protagonists in “Mr. Leisure” by Xu Ying and “Consolation” by Chen Baichen can also be categorized as intellectuals who care more about their personal goals than the national crisis. However, in these two stories, the protagonists condemn themselves for their thoughts and behaviors in the war. Their regret cannot be seen as simply a way of moral preachment. It reflects that intellectuals, too, were aware of their not contributing to the great anti-Japanese cause.

In “Consolation,” by Chen Baichen, what the protagonist Miss Zhen imagines stands in contrast to what she sees. Such comparison highlights the ridiculousness of Miss Zhen’s fantasy about visiting injured soldiers in the hospital. Before she goes to the hospital, she imagines the injured soldiers to be “Napoleon-like” and “national heroes.” Whenever images of those heroes appear in her mind, she “couldn’t wait to fly into the hospital.” In addition, when going to the hospital, she wears clothes of blue-green color. She cannot help asking her servant, an old woman, “Look! Do I present ‘the beauty of austerity’?” She pays attention to how austere she looks because an austere lifestyle was deemed dignified by society due to the lack of material goods in the wartime period. However, Miss Zhen interprets austerity in a misplaced manner, as wearing blue-green colors. So far, to this young girl student, the war against the Japanese is entirely a product of her imagination.

Stepping in the sickroom, nevertheless, Miss Zhen finds that “no one looks like heroes in the movies.” All the soldiers lying in their beds look very tired. What she sees in the sickroom makes her cliché imaginings laughable. Nevertheless, Miss Zhen has not yet given up her romantic vision. When a soldier asks her to write a letter to his mother, the image of a “benign and kind old woman with grey hair and calm face” enters her head.

Miss Zhen's servant also asks her to write a letter to her son, because the servant is illiterate. After joining the army, the servant's son had sent a letter to her, to which she wishes Miss Zhen to help her respond. However, Miss Zhen is reluctant to help the old woman. She writes for the injured soldier, but is not willing to write for her servant. This is because she can earn the name of serving the war by writing for the soldier, while she earns nothing from writing for a servant. She tells her servant, "Hum, do I have time to write for you? There are so many 'great' and 'holy' jobs waiting for me." "Great" and "holy" in her answer are quoted, which highlights her hypocrisy.

The story ends with a dramatic shift. After the servant begs Miss Zhen many times to write for her, Miss Zhen feels this woman intolerable and thus fires her. On the second morning, Miss Zhen asks the other maid to take the letter she is writing for the injured soldier to her. However, the maid mistakenly takes the letter that the old servant left in Miss Zhen's room. When Miss Zhen sees this letter, she discovers that it is the letter written by the injured soldier to his mother. In other words, the injured soldier is the son of the servant she fired. It is satirical that the kind and benign mother in her imagination, in effect, is the old woman she cannot tolerate. Suddenly, Miss Zhen realizes how ignorant she is. She cannot believe that she has made such a mistake. She "lies down on the bed out of heart," and "asks herself in a low voice, 'Is he her son?'" At that time, she is disillusioned of her fantasies about the war. Only regret is left in her mind.²⁶³

Mr. Leisure in "Mr. Leisure," by Xu Ying, is not as naïve as Miss Zhen in "Consolation." The monologue of the satirized character "Mr. Leisure" reveals that there were still intellectuals

²⁶³ Chen Baichen 陳白塵, "Weilao" 慰勞 (Consolation), *Resistance Literature and Art* 1 no. 7 (June 1938): 68-69.

who recognized what roles they should play in the war. They regretted the gap between their ideal image and actual behaviors.

This story, in which the protagonist is a high-ranked official who retreats from Nanjing to Chongqing with the government, satirizes Mr. Leisure through his contradictory behaviors. In one scene, he reads a newspaper in a teahouse. When he reads about the brutal treatment of Chinese women by the Japanese, he is filled with indignation. His extreme reaction to the news even makes other guests suspect he is crazy. However, hypocritically, he sleeps with a soldier's wife who has lost her husband in battle. He gives this woman little money as compensation. He also does not have any sympathy for his poor compatriots. He never gives any alms to beggars on the street. On the contrary, he complains to other people about how dirty the poor are in Chongqing. He also complains that there are too many children begging at the harbor. However, he gives generous gratuities to the staff of the hotel he lodges. When he becomes aware of this contradiction, he smiles. The way to alleviate his feeling of guilt is to stop thinking about the absurdity of his behavior: "People just cannot think too much about things that happen in Chinese society!"

Yet, what most merits our attention is Mr. Leisure's self-reflection. In the middle of the night, he sincerely feels intense mental suffering. On the one hand, he can't fall asleep when he thinks about how depraved he is for he sleeping with a past warrior's wife: "In the War of the Resistance against the Japanese, is a person who behaves like me a human or a dog? My mind has been corrupted. My behavior is even worse. However, I stand at the leading position of society." Nevertheless, "There are not only a few people like me in this society!" On the other hand, he is upset that he cannot contribute his knowledge to the nation in the wartime period: "[A] man who got a PhD in Naval Architecture abroad is working as an accountant. This man is

him. Being a man like a glass ball that is perfectly round after being polished many times, he does not have to worry about his future. Nevertheless, his future does not benefit his country at all.”²⁶⁴ The above passage indicates that Mr. Leisure thinks that a leader of society should behave with higher moral standard and contribute to his country with his expertise. But he cannot meet this standard at all. Mr. Leisure’s words can be viewed as the reason the author satirizes this kind of intellectuals. The author expresses this view through the thoughts of the satirized character, the confession also indicating that intellectuals were actually conscious of their paltry contribution to the nation in wartime.

“Mr. Leisure” presents a typical example of an intellectual who confesses his meager contribution to the war. Yet this short story is also worth our attention for its relationship to the development of satirical fiction in the war period.

“Mr. Leisure” is the earliest instance of satirical fiction published in the wartime Chongqing, published one month prior to “Mr. Hua Wei.” Its author, Xu Ying, was a Communist. Moreover, it was published in *New Sichuan News*, which was controlled by leftists. In the wartime period, the editor-in-chief of this newspaper was a Communist, Zhou Qinyue 周欽岳 (1899-1984). All of the information indicates that, although “Mr. Hua Wei” played an important role in the promotion of the use of satire, publication of leftist satirical fiction preceded it.

Chapter 1 mentions that the appearance of “Mr. Hua Wei” by Zhang Tianyi and “Broad Realism” by Li Nanzhuo, in *Literary Battleground* in April 1938, can be viewed as marking the official start of the leftist camp’s promoting the use of satire. “Mr. Hua Wei” targets government

²⁶⁴Xu Ying 徐盈, “Xianqing xiansheng” 閒情先生 (Mr. Leisure), *Xin Shu bao* 新蜀報 (New Sichuan News), March 11, 1938.

officials. I contend that it implies that, regarding political and social problems, those caused by the incapability or corruption of the government should be leftists' major target. This explains why magazines funded by the Nationalist government were reluctant to join the "Debate over Exposure and Satire" and did not encourage the use of satire. In truth, the leftist camp promoted satire as a literary cause. Leftist writers wanted to move beyond the praising of heroes of the War of the Resistance with outdated formulae. They thought about how to broaden their representation of society through the use of satire in realist literature. All these issues have been mentioned in "Broad Realism." Nevertheless, it is very possible that the leftist camp also hid its political purpose behind the promotion of satire.

However, the self-reflection of "Mr. Leisure" suggests that intellectuals' concerns had been an important force in the development of satire as early as the outset of leftist writers' promoting the use of satire. At the moment when Mr. Leisure feels guilty for being a high-ranked official who is morally degenerate, he also regrets that he cannot contribute to the nation with his expertise. I contend that this reflects that intellectuals at that time cared most about how intellectuals might help save the nation. Once we understand that intellectuals' mentality is a vital force in the development of satire, we realize that the large amount of fictional work satirizing the corrupt government in the last two years of the wartime period does not simply signify the success of the leftist camp, though it did promote satire of this topic. In addition, the popularity of this kind of satirical fiction actually manifests a change in the relationship between intellectuals and the government. This viewpoint will be examined later in this chapter.

B. Challenged Self-identity and Social Image

Fictional works mentioned previously satirize in various ways intellectuals who did not contribute to the war against the Japanese. In the prewar period, intellectuals considered themselves the developers of a new modern culture and leaders of the cause of saving China. And yet, when they fled to the great hinterland during the wartime period, they could not join the real battle against the Japanese. As the result, satirical works depict them as ludicrous. In other words, the war challenged intellectuals' self-identity and social image. This explains why some fictional works satirizing intellectuals do not concern themselves with why intellectuals failed to devote themselves to the war. Instead, they highlight intellectuals' selfishness, arrogance, and moral degeneration from other angles. Works of this nature include "Nickel Plated ABC: Sketches of Intellectuals" ("Du nie ABC: Jun qun danmiao zhi yi" 鍍鎳ABC: 駿群淡描之一) by Yang Chengyan 羊城硯, published in *Central Daily*, on May 12, 1940; "Intelligentsia" ("Zhishi jieji" 知識階級) by Du Ruo 杜若, published in *Central Daily*, on June 19, 1940; "Entrepreneur" ("Qiyejia" 企業家) by He Jianxun 何劍薰 (1911-1988), published in *L' Impartial*, on October 12 and 13, 1940; "Lao Zhang" 老張 by Lu Huang 綠晃, published in *Xinhua Daily*, on October 24, 1940; and "Returning Home" ("Huijia" 回家) by Huang Xianjun 黃賢俊 (1911-1959), published in Vol. 7, no. 1., of *Literary Battleground* (August 1942).

"Nickel Plated ABC: Sketches of Intellectuals," by Yang Chengyan, satirizes three intellectuals A, B and C, all of whom work at the same university. The negative characteristics of A, B, and C are typical of most works on similar topics. "Plated with nickel" means that, after studying in Japan, intellectuals get better positions, salaries, and higher social status. When one returns to the country with a degree earned in the U.S., one is "plated with gold." Wherever these

intellectuals earn their degrees, they view knowledge as a means of obtaining better positions and even marriage, rather than realizing the ideals of reforming society and saving China.

In the story, A, a leader of student movements during his college days, believes in materialistic dialectics. However, every time students asked the president of the university to step down from his position, A has always worked carefully to keep the president in office. The president therefore trusted A and funded his study in Japan. When A returns from Japan, he becomes an associate professor of this same university. According to the narrator, A “works very hard.” A still believes in materialistic dialectics and thus is welcomed by a group of progressive students. The narrator concludes, “Undoubtedly, A will be promoted to full professor soon.” Clearly, for A, leftist thought is a tool to leverage himself to a higher position. Therefore, the narration’s import is to satirize leftist intellectuals who claim to embrace leftist ideas as their ideals when in fact they are far more interested in being promoted to higher positions.

B is a woman, a niece of the president who received support from the university to study in Japan. She has no interest in serving her country after obtaining her degree in Japan. After coming back to China, she gives up the position of instructor, preferring to supervise girls’ dormitories because this is an easier job. She originally wanted to study in Japan because she thought she would be worth more in the marriage market with the experience of studying abroad. For her, an ideal husband is “a doctor who is plated with gold.” However, at almost thirty, she still cannot find a good husband. She feels anxious about this and decides to take initiative. Her first marriage prospect is a young dean. When this man shows no interest in her, she is deeply upset. The narrator mocks her appearance: “Her cheeks had once been so enticing that they motivated countless young men to chase after her. However, time has ruined her cheeks. They present the haggardness of a thirty-year-old maid.” Nevertheless, when B finds out that another

old professor's wife has recently died, "her hope revives." She mournfully cries in front of the professor, bemoaning how pitiful it is that his children do not have a mother to care for them. Her words are funny because the professor is an old man, which implies that his children are grown up and in no need of a mother's care. B's story satirizes some modern women whose goal in obtaining knowledge was not to better society or serve the country, but to gain more points toward winning a good marriage.

As for the associate professor C, he cares only about how to be promoted to full professor as soon as possible. Professors at this university often fight with each other. Whenever a fight occurs, C shows off his integrity by claiming the attitude that political fights should not affect research and teaching. However, in fact, his attitude is just a pose, a strategy for getting promoted. The hypocrisy of C is exposed in one student movement when a fellow professor asks him to join his group, which is dedicated to forcing the dean to quit. This professor promises C that when they reach their goal, C will be promoted to full professor. C feels excitement that this is his chance, and his wife is even more excited. Therefore, C participates in this group. However, when one student secretly tells C that the president is trying his best to keep the dean in office, C apologizes to the dean. "He is so sincere that he almost cries." The dean finally steps down anyway. The professor who asked C to join his group does not blame C, and instead tells C he must complete one task. C is exuberant and remains confident that he still may be promoted to full professor. Contrary to C's expectation, the professor asks C only to polarize students' opinions so that the student movement will be stopped. C does as he is asked. As a result, on his way home he sees a cartoon about himself posted on the wall outside the university, in which he "kneels down to a fierce woman who is carrying a feather duster like a landlady." The woman in the cartoon resembles his wife perfectly. In other words, this cartoon makes fun of C for

listening to his wife and changing his stand on the student movement. After seeing the cartoon, C does not think about his problems. When he arrives home, he bangs the table and laments, “Students revolted! Revolted students include my students. They’re drawing cartoons, writing slogans and announcements, humiliating professors, and taking sticks to beat professors.” In the past, C has been aloof to the student movement, but now he stridently opposes it. Therefore, C’s words expose the contradiction of his behavior. C’s story satirizes those who pretend to be aloof to politics and concentrate on research and teaching when they are actually just as keen to obtain higher positions and power as are other professors.

Through satirizing intellectuals pursuing marriage, fame, and power with ridiculous behaviors, this short story punctures the superior feelings of intellectuals, who thought they comprised cultural elite. This kind of fiction appears repeatedly in wartime Chongqing, implying that, during the entire war period, one of the major issues for intellectuals was to recognize the new cultural and social roles they played relative to the war. However, as the war began to seem endless, with inflation becoming tremendously serious, and the corrupt government to prove incapable of solving various social problems, intellectuals’ relationship with the government changed, as suggested by their roles in satirical fiction.

III. Compassion towards Satirized Characters

Among works of satirical fiction targeting intellectuals, a few are distinctive in their attitude toward the satirized characters. One variety of satirical fiction expresses a message that satirized characters were victims of the war and thus deserve our compassion, a feature very special among works of satirical fiction in the wartime period and thus worthy of an individual section of this chapter.

In my collection, only four pieces of satirical work show compassion for the satirized characters. Two of them display the compassion at the end of the story with a sudden shift of perspective. These works are “The Nest” (“Chao” 巢), by Ouyang Fanhan 歐陽凡海 (1912-1970), in Vol. 4, no. 4, of *July* (December 1939) and “Rubbery” (“Qiang” 搶), by Ren Jun 任鈞 (1909-2003), in Vol. 9, no. 1/2 of *Resistance Literature and Art* (February 1944). In the other two, many details show compassion toward the satirized characters throughout the entire story. These works are “The Way of Teachers” (“Shi dao” 師道), by Chen Shouzhu 陳瘦竹 (1909-1990), in Vol. 1, no. 6, of *Times and Tides Supplement* (*Shi yu chao fukan* 時與潮副刊) (January 1942) and “Three-Castle Cigarettes” (“Yitong Paotaiyan” 一筒炮台煙), by Lao She, in Vol. 1, no. 1, of *Literary Atmosphere Magazine* (*Wenfeng zazhi* 文風雜誌) (December 1943).

Although few works can be categorized as this type of satire, their distinctiveness can hardly be ignored. In addition to evincing the writers’ thoughts on why intellectuals could not fully contribute their abilities to the war against the Japanese, this kind of fiction pours out sympathy for the suffering of intellectuals. Moreover, among all satirical works published in Chongqing, works of this kind reveal the most complicated view of social reality. In works discussed previously in this chapter, intellectuals’ preoccupation with personal interests and selfishness are commonly depicted in their fantasies of how much money and power they might obtain amid the war. But intellectuals in this distinctive kind of satirical fiction rarely dream about what they can get from the war. On the contrary, they have to deal with mental, physical, and material issues the war has brought on. Thus, this kind of satire usually reveals a message – namely, that war changes people’s lives, value systems, and attitudes toward others. Also, when the satirized characters display their faults and human weaknesses, they simultaneously manifest

the fact that they are victims of the war. It is the war that has pressed many human weaknesses to be exposed one after another. In these works, mockery is intermixed with compassion.

In this kind of work, the protagonists are socially inferior to the higher-ranked officials that populate other works. They include middle-school teachers (“The Way of Teachers” and “Three-Castle Cigarettes”); a military medical officer (“The Nest”); and unemployed intellectuals (“Rubbery”). The only exception is a college instructor in “Three-Castle Cigarettes.” However, like the other low-level intellectuals mentioned above, he receives an extremely low salary and lives a very poor life. For intellectuals in this group of works, war does not offer any opportunity. The characters neither access great power in their jobs, nor become rich from bribery, appropriation, or doing business. Rather, because of the war, they live in poverty, lose their families, and do not know where their future lies.

For instance, “The Nest” clearly reveals the narrator’s compassion toward the satirized character at the end, though the bulk of the story satirizes lower class people who squabble with each other over trivial matters.

In “The Nest,” the protagonist, Mr. Ding, is a military medical officer in Nanjing. After Nanjing falls to Japanese, Ding flees with his immediate family and nephew. Mr. Ding and his son spend several months trying to find a job in a hospital in Anqing 安慶, Anhui. At the same time, Mrs. Ding and her nephew flee to Wuhan. They live in a rented house together with others, including the landlord, Chen Taipo, her maid, Guixiang, and four other families. In the first two-thirds of the story, the narrator contemptuously mocks the way these six individuals argue and distrust each other all day long over superficial matters. In many parts of the story, the behavior and facial expressions of characters are exaggerated to highlight their ugliness.

For instance, the narrator emphasizes that the landlord Chen is a miser. An old woman of about sixty, she earns a living by offering high-interest loans. Therefore, she is rich but stingy. Her only family is her maid, Guixiang, a young girl of about twenty. When Chen finds out that her lipstick and makeup foundation are being used by Guixiang, Guixiang becomes her arch enemy. The narrator exaggeratedly describes her facial expression in almost cartoon-like proportions: “(She) gnashes her teeth at once, and squeezes out words from her teeth, “I’ll be damned if I don’t take her life!”

The ugliness of the characters’ gossip is also noted by the narrator. For instance, a tenant Ergu (second aunt) is out for small advantages. In addition, although she likes to help other people, she is usually thought of as officious. One time, after Ergu goes out from the house, Chen Taipo speaks to the other tenants, a couple named Zhai gong po (which literary means vegetarian old man and woman), both Buddhists who think of themselves as merciful. Chen says to them, “Did that bitch, Ergu, leave home? I asked her to taste a cooked turtle for politeness. But she picked up big pieces! Look! She ate piece after piece!” When talking to Zhai gong po, Chen “performs the motions of Ergu picking up the turtle pieces with chopsticks.” Zhai gong po seem to agree with Chen. They say, “My daughter-in-law is not that impolite!” Meanwhile, Mrs. Ding is listening to their conversation from her room. Upon hearing Zhai gong po’s words, she goes out to join the conversation: “Chen Taipo, I beat my nephew. Didn’t I know when to stop? Did Ergu have to beg for him? Ergu also asked me to be careful when beating a child. It is fine to hurt the skin, but don’t hurt bones...” Without hearing all of Mrs. Ding’s statement, Chen and Zhai gong po turn against Ergu together. Zhai gong po say, “Ah, he is your nephew. You must also feel bad when you beat him, don’t you? ” Chen goes on, “Sure! Was it her business whether you hurt his bones?” This passage vividly sketches the ridiculousness of the landlord and tenants

who resent and squabble with each other over small things like makeup and cooked turtle. They have no awareness of the disasters befalling others because of the war.

Several months after Mrs. Ding moves into this house, the news reaches these six families that Wuhan, where they're living, is going to fall into enemy hands. Mrs. Ding and her husband, together with their son and nephew, are among the first to escape to Guilin, Guangxi. In order to get rid of their unfriendly tenants as quickly as possible, and because they suspect the tenants might ask them for help, the Dings do not give anyone their new address in Guilin. It turns out that Mr. Ding cannot find a job in Guilin for several months. In addition, they hear that their hometown, Zhuzhou 諸贊 in Zhejiang, is still peaceful. Therefore, after serious consideration, the Ding family – all except for the son – decides to leave Guilin and go back to their hometown.

The Ding family has no problem travelling from Guilin to Hengyang, Hunan. Then they plan to take train from Hengyang to Zhuzhou 株州, Hunan. It is at this point that the tone of the story changes dramatically. The narrator ceases to satirize the characters. Following eyes of the Ding family members, the narrator describes with compassion the disastrous scenes they witness. At the train station in Hengyang,²⁶⁵ the Ding family sees refugees all over the station. Suddenly, they see Chen Taipo, her maid Guixiang, the daughter of Ergu, and Zhai Gongpo, all of whom have become dirty and gaunt. None of them had imagined that they might meet in Hengyang. Chen Taipo and the others tell the Dings that they became refugees because Chen's house was hit by a bomb, killing Ergu and leaving nothing of the house. Chen has brought Ergu's daughter

²⁶⁵ The Ding family does not see many refugees until they arrive at Hengyang, Hunan. This setting is associated with Hengyang's importance in transportation in southern China. Since Changsha, the biggest city of Hunan, had become the combat zone in 1939, railways to most provinces in southern China intersected in Hengyang. Thus, refugees from cities near Hengyang chose to go to Hengyang first and then take train to their own destinations.

with her because “she cried all over the road when she got home from school... How could I abandon her? How could I abandon her?” At this moment, Chen Taipo transforms from a caustic old woman to a figure filled with maternal love. After hearing this, pity stirs in Mr. Ding’s heart. He takes some money from his wallet and gives it to Chen. Obviously, Mr. Ding’s donation is not much, because he is not rich and has to keep enough travel money with him. However, the tenants following Chen Taipo are so moved that they kneel down in gratitude to Mr. Ding: “Mr. and Mrs. Ding help them stand up right away. All of them feel the terror of sudden change of fate.” At this time, the distrust and suspicion between them have vanished and are replaced by mercy, gratitude, and the shared pain of war decimating families.

After boarding the train, Mr. and Mrs. Ding do not say a word for a long time. No doubt they’re quiet because the change in the lives of Chen Taipo and the others has left them in shock. When the Ding family arrives at Zhuzhou and prepares to board the next train, “Mr. Ding’s nephew suddenly jumps off the train and shouts up at Mr. and Mrs. Ding’s window, ‘Uncle, aunt, I am going to join the army! You just go back home!’” Mr. and Mrs. Ding “are dumbstruck but worried. However, the train has started moving. They have no way to take him back.”

This is the last and most poignant scene of the story. In the previous parts, all characters’ actions and fate were controlled by the development of the war. Because Nanjing fell, Mrs. Ding and her nephew fled to Wuhan and developed the hostile relationships with the people living with them. Also, because Wuhan fell, all characters in the story fled again. But when the nephew jumps off the train and joins the army resisting the Japanese, he starts to resist accepting

passively the fate of being dominated by the development of war.²⁶⁶ Instead, he is moved by what he has seen and decides to take action.

In the story, the Ding family represents the predicament of lower-class intellectuals in the war. In the first two-thirds of “The Nest,” they are like any other common people, possessing many human defects. But at the end of the story, animosity between these characters disappears in response to the hardships of the war, which render the Ding family not only victims of the war but also a source of help to those whose situations are worse than theirs. I contend that such a dramatic change of tone in the story reflects the complicated emotions of satirists during the war. On the one hand, they used satire to reflect the fact that intellectuals did not help resist the Japanese and were still arguing over the small things in life; on the other hand, they took pity on intellectuals, especially those in the middle or lower class. Those intellectuals were actually like other common people, suffering from the pain that the war imposed on them. They were far from the dream of being promoted or getting rich off the war; instead, they lost their houses, jobs, and families.

In the first two-thirds of “The Nest,” the narrator focuses on the ridiculousness of the interaction between characters. Only in the last part of the story is his underlying compassion for his characters revealed. However, in “The Way of Teachers,” the whole story intermingles with satire and compassion for the protagonists. Among works satirizing intellectuals and exposing the complicated nature of social reality and humanity, “The Way of Teachers” is the most exemplary and impressive.

The satirized characters of “The Way of Teachers” are teachers at a high school. The story is set in the teachers’ offices during class time and a break. The narrator reports details of

²⁶⁶ Youyang Fanhai, “Chao” 巢 (Nest), *July* 4: 4 (December 1939), 162-177.

the teachers' activities and conversations, which seem trivial. But all the small things taken together indicate the teachers' irresponsibility toward their job. For instance, Qian Laoshi, an old man in his sixties, never takes teaching serious and is always late to class. He has a tendency to repeat two sentences: "This is really weird;" and "This is not quite right." The repeated appearance of these two sentences, together with the comic description of Qian's behavior, creates a caricature of Qian. For example, he is always late because his watch is one hour late. Clearly he never fixes it because he doesn't care about it. One day he swaggers into the office when class has begun, grabs some chalk, and swaggers out again, prepared to teach Chinese literary history in this hour. However, several minutes later, he saunters back to the office again with remarking, "This is not quite right." He feels "really weird" because his classroom is being used by another teacher, until he finds out it's "not quite right" that his watch reads one hour later than the clock on the wall. But oddly, Qian does not correct his watch. Since he has no class to teach in this hour, he simply goes home. After Qian leaves the office, Zhou Laoshi, a Gymnastics teacher, criticizes Qian to other teachers. "He is a big gentry-landlord. Why does he have to teach? He misses his class hour nine times out of ten. The monthly pay he gets as a part-time instructor is not enough for him to do this!" While Zhou Laoshi speaks, he makes the hand gesture of smoking opium.

Qian's economic situation obviously stands in contrast to that of the other teachers. They receive only a small salary but have to teach many courses and thus always feel exhausted. Thus, instead of caring about how to improve their teaching skills, they care only about how to reduce their workload. This is why an old Li Laoshi invents "three wonderful rules." The three "wonderful" rules are actually not "wonderful" for his teaching quality. The first rule is "go to class late and leave early." The second is "be absent in turn." For example, if Li does not show

up for Class A today, he will be absent for Class B tomorrow. The third rule is “write [on the board] slowly and lecture less.” When hearing these three “wonderful” rules, the young teacher Zhou Laoshi does not feel they are inappropriate but laughs and jumps as if learning something terrific.

In these teachers’ discussions, teaching well is never a topic. Their main concern is whether they can obtain more subsidies. One funny incident shows that Wang Laoshi, who teaches Chinese, English, Civic Education, and Painting, cares about this issue even more than other teachers. When Wang Laoshi finishes his class and returns to the office, he immediately sits in a lounge chair with his eyes closed and feet up on a square stool of bamboo. He remains on the chair without moving or making a sound, “like a dead man.” Zhou Laoshi feels Wang Laoshi looks strange. He decides to make Wang speak. Zhou asks Wang, “Are you tired, Wang Laoshi?” Wang only nods. Zhou continues, asking, “How many classes did you teach this morning?” Wang only nods again. Zhou cannot get an answer from Wang’s nodding, so he repeats the question one more time. This time, Wang does not nod, but raises his hand from his chest and shakes it, signifying “no,” that he wants Zhou stop talking to him. But Zhou becomes even more determined to keep asking until Wang opens his mouth. Zhou asks, “Wang Laoshi, the Dragon Boat Festival [*duanwujie* 端午節] is coming. Will you go home to visit your wife, son, daughter, father, and mother?” This time, Wang does not answer anything, remaining collapsed and immobile in his chair.

However, Li Laoshi knows how to wake up Wang Laoshi. Li stands up and speaks loudly to Wang, “Good news! Starting this month, the provincial government is going to increase living allowances fifty dollars per month for each provincial-level middle-school teacher. And the number of dependents receiving allowance is increasing from three to five.” Upon hearing this,

Wang Laoshi stands up immediately, kicking away the square stool, opening his hands widely and asking loudly, “Ah? Is it true? Where’s the newspaper?” The sharp contrast of Wang Laoshi’s response to the news as opposed to Zhou Laoshi’s questions makes other teachers in the office burst out laughing.²⁶⁷ Through the exaggeration of Wang Laoshi’s responses, the story emphasizes that only news about money can break Wang Laoshi’s long silence.

The teachers also care about students writing love letters. In the story, it is Wu Laoshi’s day to check student correspondence. Wu promises to “find some love letters and hang onto them.” When making this announcement, Wu looks very serious. However, when he discovers a love letter with pink envelope, Wu “shouts for joy” and guesses that “this must be a love letter of courtship.” After opening the letter, Wu reads aloud the content: “My honored lady; my holy lady.” Several teachers gather around him and read the letter, captivated not because they care about students’ behavior or feelings, but because the letters provide one of the few ways to entertain themselves during such dull, depressing days.

When teachers care so much more about increases of their subsidies than they do about their teaching, they seem irresponsible and deserving of satire. However, in other parts of the story, the narrator seems to grant compassion to these teachers, noting how awful their lives are. For instance, Wang Laoshi’s speech to his colleagues reveals that fiscal difficulties of the schools have dragged down teachers’ performance. When Wang Laoshi realizes that he has been fooled and that the living allowance is not actually increased at all, he goes back to the lounge chair again, closing his eyes and putting his hands back on his chest. Zhou Laoshi “smiles like a clown and says... ‘Wang Laoshi, you must be very upset now.’” Knowing that Li and Zhou have made fun of him, Wang explains:

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 121-122

You thought I was funny for taking a rest after class. If you had four children and were my age, you would know why. People's energy is limited. One cannot only consume energy without replenishing it. Rich people care about health. They eat steaks and eggs. They also eat fruit to help digestion. Take a look at what we eat now! Now the school still respects teachers, offering meals for us. But we eat bean sprouts and chard. As for the soup, it is water with salt. All of these are what the students eat. We just share their meals. The more we eat, the thinner we get. Think about it. Now I have to teach thirty-two hours a week, junior high school Chinese and English and high school Civic Education and Painting. When I teach, I have to speak. If I do not speak, students start to talk. Therefore, after a class, of course I need a rest to save my energy. Otherwise, when I teach the next class, I will lack strength and be hoarse. As the saying goes, "Every time one speaks, one loses the energy of four *liang*."^{268,269}

Wang Laoshi's complaint shows that, even though he is forced to teach four completely unrelated courses thirty-two hours a week, the school is too poor to offer him enough provisions to furnish sufficient energy for such heavy teaching duties. At the first glance, these teachers' irresponsibility seems reprehensible. Yet, if we consider their extremely heavy workloads and economic hardships, their struggle for survival during the war appeals to our compassion. All of them, we can perceive, are victims of the war.

The situation of teachers appears even more pathetic in the sub-plot about a sixty-year-old Chinese language teacher, Zhao Laoshi. In the beginning of the story, Zhao Laoshi is "wearing a rimmed long silk robe which is patchy, faded, and old. The collar is worn by his beard." His dress indicates that he is poor. When the Director of Moral Education, Director

²⁶⁸ *Liang* is a Chinese unit of length. In the Republican era, sixteen *liang* was equal to one Chinese *jin*, which is 500 grams. Four *liang* is 125 grams. See Wu Chengluo, *History of Chinese Measurement*, 217.

²⁶⁹ Chen Shouzhu 陳瘦竹, "Shi dao" 師道 (The way of teachers), *Shi yu chao fukan* 時與潮副刊 (*Times and Tides Supplement*) 1 no.6 (January 1942), 122.

Cheng, returns to the office from buying rice, he announces that the price of one *dou*²⁷⁰ of rice has increased from 105 *yuan* to 109.5 *yuan* and is expected to increase to 115 *yuan* soon. Zhao Laoshi supports a family of nine. Hearing the news, he puts his red pen down on the desk and instantly goes to the director of administrative matters, Director Zhang. Zhao smiles apologetically, saying, “I have borrowed too much salary already, Director Zhang. However...however..., Director Zhang, I have to borrow again....”²⁷¹ Clearly, Zhao Laoshi is trying to borrow next month’s salary because he wants to buy rice before the price gets even higher. This scene about Zhao Laoshi is not satirical at all, but pitiful.

In “The Way of Teachers,” teachers are satirized for not taking the appropriate attitude or “way” for being teachers. Their moral decline represents one aspect of social darkness that deserved to be denounced. However, these teachers are also economically disadvantaged during the war period. Their salary does not provide them enough for living expenses. Clearly their heavy financial burden affects or even causes their negative attitude toward their job. Such a situation in the story appeals to compassion.

“The Way of Teachers” was published in 1942. At that time, rampant inflation had become a serious social problem.²⁷² This story reflects just one aspect of the problem: many civil servants and teachers suffered from serious poverty, receiving poor salaries from the government that fell far below the amount needed for basic living expenses.²⁷³ Accompanying serious inflation and poverty, as mentioned in Chapter 2, was the widespread discontent toward the

²⁷⁰ *Dou* is a Chinese unit of volume. In the Republican era, one *dou* was equal to ten liters (*sheng* in Chinese). See Wu Chengluo, *History of Chinese Measurement*, 217, 236.

²⁷¹ Chen Shouzhu, “The Way of Teachers,” 125.

²⁷² See Chapter 2 of this dissertation, which offers brief introduction of inflation in the great hinterland.

²⁷³ Lloyd E. Eastman, “Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, 13: 591.

government. This explains that, while “The Way of Teachers” evinces compassion for teachers, nevertheless, no compassion surfaces for satirical works devoted to corrupt bureaucrats, including those who became rich from bribery, embezzlement, and cooperating with local gentry-landlords, as well as those who abused political power to fulfill various kinds of personal needs.

IV. The Corrupt Nationalist Government

Two main kinds of satirical fiction address the corrupt government. One focuses on bureaucrats working in offices of central, provincial, or county-level governmental institutions. The other satirizes the corruption of town- or village-level civil officials. Although the target of both kinds is bureaucrats’ practices of bribery, embezzlement, and power abuse, the second type also emphasizes the cooperation between town-or-village-level government officials and the gentry. Town-or-village-level government officials and upper class people cooperate to sell opium, avoid the conscription, and force peasants to pay more taxes – money that lands in their own pockets.

The first type of works outnumbers the second. In my collection, there are 48 pieces of satirical fiction of the first kind, while only 14 of the second. There are two main reasons the second was far less popular. First, writers generally lived in cities. Those around them were primarily civil servants working in offices of central, provincial, or county-level government organizations. Moreover, these satirical works were generally published in newspapers and periodicals in Chongqing, the wartime capital containing most governmental organizations and offices in the great hinterland. Thus, satirizing bureaucrats who worked in these places would most appeal to the local readers and draw the Chongqing government’s attention.

A. Bureaucrats in Central, Provincial, or County-level Government Organizations

The first kind of fiction includes stories such as, “Committee Member Wu” (“Wu weiyuan” 伍委員), by He Jinxi 何近熹 (1918-1955), published in *L’Impartial* (16 and 19 March, 1942); “Commissioner Zhuang” (“Zhuang zhuanyuan” 莊專員), by Lu Yuan 綠原 (Liu Renfu 劉仁甫, 1922-2009), published in *New Sichuan News (Xin Shu bao 新蜀報)* (August 22, 1942); “Supervisor Wu” (“Wu zhidaoyuan” 吳指導員), by Liang Mu 梁木 (n.d.), published in *New Sichuan News* (July 8, 1943); “Stir-fried Eggs” (“Chao dan” 炒蛋), by Lie Gongshe 列躬射 (Li Wangru 李望如, 1912 -), published in Vol. 2, no. 3, of *Literary Cultivation (Wenxue xiuyang 文學修養)* (February 1944); and “Wife of a Judge” (“Yiwei faguan taitai” 一位法官太太), by Ge Qin 葛琴 (1907-1995), published in vol. 1, no. 2, of the Chongqing edition of *Literature and Art Magazine (Wenyi zazhi Chongqing ban 文藝雜誌重慶版)* (July 1945). The fictional pieces mentioned above vividly manifest the main feature of works satirizing bureaucrats, presenting details of how bureaucrats receive bribery, embezzle, and abuse their power.

“Commissioner Zhuang” by Lu Yuan offers a typical example of a corrupt bureaucrat. In the beginning of the story, the protagonist, Commissioner Zhuang, feels that “the word ‘wife’ is surprisingly powerful. His heart tingles and feels so painful. He stops saying anything.”²⁷⁴ This is because his wife has realized that he and his secretary Miss Zhao have an affair and he is worried that his wife is mad at him.

²⁷⁴ Lu Yuan 綠原, “Zhuang zhuanyuan” 莊專員 (Commissioner Zhuang), *New Sichuan News*, August 22, 1942.

Mrs. Zhuang is aware of Zhuang and Miss Zhao's affair, because Zhuang freely assigns Miss Zhao the position of president of a girl's school and then brings about an incident. Even before the letter from the education department arrives requiring an appointment at the school, Zhuang asks Miss Zhao to assume the office, because he wants his mistress to be president as soon as possible. Zhuang asks a sector chief to monitor the change of presidents with armed personnel. Students resist this new president and strike, so Miss Zhao, who does not obtain any support from the school, leaves campus several days later. Zhuang takes revenge against those students who drove off his mistress, expelling all of them from the school. This plot indicates that Zhuang, a man of moral degeneration, controls matters associated with education despite having no qualifications to do so. This plot also fully depicts Zhuang's blatant abuse of power. However, in the story, this incident does not affect Zhuang's career at all. The only impact of this incident is that Zhuang's relationship with Zhao is exposed to his wife. This outcome indicates government bureaucracy is so corrupt that such an official does not have to pay the price for his abuse of power.

Ironically, after this event, he offers an inspiring speech encouraging the audience to fight against the Japanese with strong determination. "[W]e have changed from strategic defense to offense. It is time to counterattack. So we have to work harder, endure more serious hardships, and complete the great cause of the War of Resistance under the leadership of our supreme commander. Now, we do not need one more word. We need all people doing their jobs well and working harder." Every word of his speech stands in ironic contrast to his behavior. The author uses such contrast to highlight and satirize Zhuang's hypocrisy.

The most ridiculous turn of events involving this corrupt bureaucrat develops in the last part of the story. At a banquet with his colleagues, Zhuang realizes that a journalist, Mr. Zhou,

has reported that Zhuang is having another affair, this time with a Miss Liu. The newspaper Mr. Zhou works for is clearly owned by the government, because its president is Section Chief Wang, a colleague of Zhuang. Wang promises that he will call armed personnel to remove Mr. Zhou from the newspaper's offices. Moreover, all of Zhuang's colleagues claim that they will "explain, defend, testify, and guarantee" that Zhuang and Miss Liu are absolutely not having an affair. Once again, the ways bureaucrats cover their crimes and abuse their political power are displayed to the reader. However, the characters have an even more ridiculous way of covering their bad deeds. When the incident involving Miss Liu seems to be solved by all the promises and assurances of Zhuang's colleagues, Section Chief Wang announces that a monument dedicated to Zhuang's "benevolent rule" (*dezheng* 德政) will be raised in a park in the coming days. This is the most ironic moment of the story, since the entire story has been about Zhuang's selfishly evil acts toward his county without a single instance of benevolence.²⁷⁵

We should also make note of the style and methods by which the story, "Commissioner Zhuang," is told. For example, characters are referred to primarily by their titles. There are few descriptions of personal traits, such as features, dress, age, background, habits, mentality, and so on. Meanwhile, the evil deeds of corrupt bureaucrats are exaggerated and described in detail. This feature is common in works satirizing bureaucrats. Perhaps due to the lack of individualized descriptions of satirized characters, when we read through all of the stories targeting bureaucrats, they seem like piled records of embezzlement, bribery, power abuse and so on. Also, it seems like that the protagonists of the stories are almost interchangeable, which sometimes makes it difficult to remember who appears in which story. Characters of stories about bureaucrats do not

²⁷⁵ Lu Yuan, "Commissioner Zhaung."

have distinctive personalities to individuate them. Thus, I contend that these corrupted bureaucrats can be viewed collectively as symbols of the corrupted Nationalist government.

A similar feature appears in works satirizing town-or-village-level government officials and gentry. (The only exception is Sha Ting's works, which will be examined in the next portion of this chapter). Although characters in these stories do not exhibit distinctive characteristics, satirical works of such features are extremely effective in emphasizing corruption of the government. As a result, they became a popular weapon for leftists fighting against the Nationalist government.

B. Town or Village Government Officials and Gentry

In satirical fiction about town or village government officials, such officials often cooperate with the local gentry. Satirical works centering on this kind of bureaucrats include, for example, "Wen Caishen" 文財神, by Jin Tang 金堂, published in *National Gazette*, on September 15, 1944; "In the Teahouse" ("Zai chaguan li" 在茶館裏), by Wang Meiting 王梅汀 (1925-1995), published in *Xinhua Daily*, on October 17, 1944, and "In the Backroom" ("Houfang li" 後房裏), by Zhou Zhuang 周莊, published in *Xinhua Daily*, on March 21, 1945.

"Wen Caishen" offers a classic example of this kind of satirical fiction. The protagonist of the story, Director Wen, works in a town-level tax office in the Sichuan province. His job is to oversee the tax collection in this town. However, he becomes close friends of upper class citizens, who theoretically are major taxpayers of a town. Instead of taking his job seriously, he accepts bribery money from these rich people and allows them to dodge their taxes. Therefore, he also becomes so wealthy that he can marry a local concubine. As the result, when Wen is

informed that he is being transferred to a county-level tax office, which means that he is being promoted to a higher position, he is reluctant to leave town.

These stories accurately reflect one aspect of local politics during the wartime period. As the historian Lloyd Eastman has pointed out, in the great hinterland, the authority of the Nationalist government was weak in local areas. In matters of tax collection and enlistment, government officials relied heavily on the help of the local gentry.²⁷⁶ Moreover, local authority's interest generally represented the local elites.²⁷⁷ Finally, the local upper class not only decided who paid taxes and how much they paid,²⁷⁸ their sons always could avoid being enlisted into the army.²⁷⁹ As a result, those who paid taxes were primarily “the poorer strata of the rural society,” including “small landlords,” peasants who owned their own fields, “and even tenants.”²⁸⁰ Also, those who were enlisted were “the poor and weak.”²⁸¹

The most important writer to reflect such conditions of the wartime period is Sha Ting. Previously I mentioned that fictional works satirizing the corrupt government usually rely upon vague, interchangeable character portraits in order to devote more focus to events of corruption and create the impression that corruption of the government is a systemic, not idiosyncratic, problem. Abuses of power are not the result of individual moral flaws; rather, any civil servant in this system, no matter which government organization they work for, tends to do the same thing.

Sha Ting took a different approach in creating his stories, which are often set in some small town of Sichuan. Thus, in his fictional works, the setting, the personas of characters, and their social relationships are all thick with Sichuan's local colors. Sha Ting's narration devotes

²⁷⁶ Lloyd Eastman, *Seed of Destruction*, 6.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 147.

much attention to describing the protagonists' characteristics, behaviors, and relationships, which heavily influences the development of his stories. All these characteristics set Sha Ting's works apart from other satirists' stories. Moreover, among 14 fictional works targeting local government officials, the only novel, *The Report of Gold Mining* (1942), was written by Sha Ting. An installment of this novel was published in Vol. 7, no. 2 and 3, of *Literary Battleground* (September and October 1942) with the title, "Shao jibei" 燒箕背. The complete novel was first published in May 1943 by Cultural Life Publisher (Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe 文化生活出版社) in Chongqing.²⁸²

As early as in 1940, Sha Ting became well known for his satirical short story, "In the Qixiangju Teahouse," published in Vol. 6, no. 4, of *Resistance Literature and Art* (December 1940). In this story, which deals with the topic of the unfair draft, Sha Ting shows his skill at satirizing local government officials and members of the gentry who cooperate and compete with each other for their own interests. When they fight for their individual interests, their actions are laughable and in vain. "In the Qixiangju Teahouse" vividly presents this phenomenon.

The entire story follows the course of an argument between the Director of *lian-bao* (this term will be explained later), Fang Zhiguo, and Xing yaochaochao, a man of the gentry class of this town, in the Qixiangju Teahouse. After Fang sends a secret correspondence to the new magistrate, the second son of Xing is seized to join the army. Fang has done this because, having excused Xing's son from the draft four times, he has caused broad resentment from the local people. Also, the previous magistrate of the county, Fang's superior, was brought down for being

²⁸²See "Sha Ting zhuzuo xinian mulu" 沙汀著作繫年目錄 (Chronicle of Sha Ting's works), in *Sha Ting yanjiu ziliao* 沙汀研究資料 (Research materials about Sha Ting), eds. Huang Manjun 黃曼君 and Ma Guangyu 馬光裕 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 1986), 527-559; here, 538.

unfair in enforcing the draft and the new magistrate has sworn to rectify the problem. After Xing's son is sent to join the army, Xing, on the one hand, sends people to the county town to get the latest information about what is happening to his son; on the other hand, he asks his eldest brother, a powerful man in the county town, to rescue his son. Also, Xing soon finds that it is Fang who sent the letter to the new magistrate. Therefore, he argues with Fang in the Qixiangju Teahouse. Finally, Xing beats Fang with his fist. "Fang's nose is bleeding; left eye has become swollen and bruised." As for Xing, he is beaten by Fang until his teeth are bleeding.

As the tension between them rises to a peak, "a short man, whose left leg is a little bit crippled and whose face is filled with beard, passes through the crowd and squeezes into the house all of a sudden." This short man is the rice merchant, Jiang. "Because his facial expressions are stiff, he is also called Jiang menshen." "Menshen" literally means 'the god of doors.' It generally refers to the picture or statue of the door god which is often posted or put at a front door. The door god in the picture or statue never changes its facial expression. This is why Jiang is called "menshen." The coming of this short man of stiff facial expression breaks the tension, because he is one of the people the Xing family has asked to bring the latest information about their son. When Mrs. Xing sees Jiang, she asks with trembling voice, "Do you have any news? ... Sit down first and then tell us." However, Jiang seems relaxed as if nothing has happened. He tells her, "Your son has been released!... When I left, he was playing cards in the teahouse at a crossroad! Last evening at the roll call, he did not count off correctly. The captain said that he was not qualified to fight for the nation. So, after being beaten by a stick one hundred times, he was fired." Yet, what Jiang says is not the real reason the young Xing was released. Jiang further mentions, "However, without the relationship of the *da laoye* (eldest lord), you would never get out from there, even if you were beaten hundreds of times. In the beginning,

people said that the new magistrate was tough. But he's actually easygoing. The day before yesterday, *da laoye* invited him for a feast. The new magistrate arrived there so early. He went alone and wore the damn black glasses..." Jiang's words demonstrate that the new magistrate is no better than the old one, still part of the same corrupt political system. Hence, the problem of the unfair draft is impossible to change under the leadership of the Nationalist government.

While Jiang is talking, he notices Fang and Xing's appearance. "What happened to you? Do you have toothache? Why is your eye swollen?" His questions highlight the funny appearance of the upper class of this small town and the ridiculousness of Fang and Xing, who have been fighting each other over a conflict of interest that does not exist.

It is significant that Sha Ting chose the director of *lian-bao* as his satirical target. Starting in 1932, the Nationalist government implemented the *bao-jia* system to enhance its control of local areas. A family living in the same household was called a *hu*. Ten *hu* comprised one *jia*. One person from this *jia* was selected as the head of *jia*. Every ten *jia* composed one *bao*. There was also a head *bao* for each, so in a large town, there might be several *bao*. Among these heads of *bao*, one was selected as the Director of *lian-bao*, responsible for the administrative matters associated with these *bao*. Heads of *bao* and *jia* had to pass down orders from the government to *bao* and *jia* they belonged to. When one *hu* refused to follow an order, other *hu* in the same *bao* and *jia* would be punished together with this *hu*.²⁸³ However, the *bao-jia* system failed to exert governmental control in rural areas. According to Eastman, in the wartime period, the Nationalist government could not effectively control its tremendous expanse of local areas. As the result,

²⁸³ For studies of the *bao-jia* system, see Wen Juntian 聞鈞天 (1900-1986), *Zhongguo baojia zhidu* 中國保甲制度 (Chinese *bao-jia* system) (Hankou: Zhixuexuan 直學軒, 1933); and Ran Jinhui 冉錦惠 and Li Huiyu 李惠宇, *Minguo shiqi baojia zhidu yanjiu* 民國時期保甲制度研究 (Study of the *bao-jia* system in the Republican China) (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2005).

taxes received by most heads of *bao-jia* were put into their own pockets.²⁸⁴ Also, heads of *bao-jia* commonly excluded upper-class families when they recruited for the army.²⁸⁵ “In the Qixiangju Teahouse” reflects exactly the way the head of *bao* played into the problem of the unfair draft.

In his novel, *Report of Gold Mining*, Sha Ting presents in more detail the cooperation and conflict of Sichuan gangsters and the government, each working for its own benefit. The story is set in Beidou Town where rumor persists of a gold mine under a hill called Shaojibei, a name indicating that the hill is shaped like an inverted basket. Therefore, two groups of people compete to gain the right to mine the gold. The core figure of one group is Lin yaozhangzi, who was once the local leader of Paoge hui 袍哥會, a major gang in Sichuan. The other group is led by a coulee gangster, Bai Jiangdan, a gentry-lord who lost his power some time ago. Besides, a rich family by the name of He locates its family tombs at Shaojibei. Therefore, both groups compete to make the He family, the Widow He and her only son, grant them the right to mine gold. After the widow refuses both groups’ requests, Lin and Bai stop competing with each other and mine the gold together without the widow’s permission. In order to expel Lin and Bai, the Widow He offers a bribe of one thousand odd *yuan* to Longge, a powerful local gentry who is concurrently the leader of the coulee gangsters and the director of *lian-bao*. One thousand *yuan* is a large amount of money. Thus, after Longge successfully expels Lin and Bai, in order to compensate for the money she has spent, Widow He asks Longge to obtain the two thousand *yuan* refund that the government owes her for the government issued bond she bought. Widow He’s request provokes Longge, the person who has embezzled her refund. To get revenge,

²⁸⁴ Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 64-65.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 147.

Longge starts to cooperate with Bai, whom he previously expelled from Shaojibei. Longge designates Bai to work at the “Local Branch of Drug Rehabilitation.” Later, Longge forces Widow He and her son to quit opium smoking and requests high fee for doing so. At the same time, Longge supports Bai’s efforts to mine gold at Shaojibei, legalizing them without the permission of Widow He. Obviously, in the story, Longge represents government authority. However, this authority becomes his tool to expand his power and fulfill his personal interests. Moreover, for their own benefit, the upper class of Beidou Town in the story can change from friends to enemies, and then to friends again. As for people outside of this circle, they are objects of exploitation. Hence, by revealing how local gentry, gangsters, and authorities cooperate and betray each other, the story clearly presents how the system of local politics works.

However, Sha Ting gives this novel a satirical ending. In the wartime period, inflation in Sichuan was very serious. Therefore, in the story, although Bai Jiangdan starts his career of mining gold with the help of Longge, Longge soon withdraws his investment and begins hoarding food. In order to collect capital for mining, Bai even asks the Widow He to invest in his project – a proposal she resoundingly rejects. Finally, having no way to continue, Bai gives up gold mining and starts hoarding foods like everyone else. The narrator derisively comments, “Half a year later, it has been proved that this simple and convenient *famen*, surprisingly, is more profitable than mining gold.”²⁸⁶ *Famen* is Dharma-paryāya in Sanskrit, which refers to basic principles of Buddhism as sages’ ways of reaching the final truth. However, in this story, *famen* sarcastically refers to local villains’ means of profiting from national crisis. Also, when all of the characters devote their money to food hoarding, all of their former efforts at gold mining simply

²⁸⁶ Sha Ting, *Tao jin ji* 淘金記 (Report of gold mining) (1962; repr., Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982), 335.

fall by the wayside. Such an ending highlights the ridiculousness of their previous arguments and fights over the rights to mine gold.

In terms of satirical fiction targeting local government and gentry, only Sha Ting's works are considered important. They are canonized in the history of modern Chinese literature.

Moreover, as I mentioned previously, in my collection of satirical works in Chongqing, those satirizing local government officials and gentry are much fewer than those satirizing bureaucrats in central, provincial, or county-level government organizations. This is disproportionate to the harm that the corruption of local government brought to people in the massive rural areas of the great hinterland. A prevailing opinion about the Nationalist government in the great hinterland is that the corruption of local government in rural areas was significant to the loss of popularity of the Nationalist Party.²⁸⁷ In Eastman's *Seeds of Destruction*, the harm that corruption of the Nationalist government did to peasants and common people in rural areas is frequently mentioned. Thus, we can say that it is considered one source of the Nationalist Party's losing China four years after winning the war against the Japanese. In other words, since corruption of rural areas caused such great harm to town and village people, one might expect to find more fictional works satirizing political corruption in such areas. However, the truth is, at least among works first published in Chongqing, we see far more works satirizing bureaucrats of central, provincial, or county-level government offices.

I contend that there are two main reasons for satirists not focusing on the corruption in rural areas. First of all, writers usually lived in cities, so it was difficult for them to observe and write about rural politics. In fact, Sha Ting was the only satirist who presented the profoundly

²⁸⁷ See Chi His-sheng, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937-45* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982); Lloyd Eastman, *Seed of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution 1937-1949*; Hans J. van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China*.

complicated political and social relationships of rural areas in satirical works. Sha Ting could develop such insights because he had grown up in a gentry family of County An 安 in Sichuan, a small county about one hundred kilometers from Chengdu. According to *Biography of Sha Ting* (*Sha Ting zhuan* 沙汀傳), the most detailed account of Sha Ting's life written by Wu Fuhui 吳福輝 (1939-), when Sha Ting was a teenager, it took him three days to travel from County An to Chengdu.²⁸⁸ Sha Ting's family belonged to elite class in that small county.²⁸⁹ All of these factors indicate that Sha Ting was very familiar with the local politics of Sichuan rural areas. Even though he had gained such clear ideas about Sichuan rural politics, he still had to go back to Sichuan and live in the countryside for a while to complete *Report of Gold Mining*.²⁹⁰

The other reason is that satirizing bureaucrats in the central or provincial governments could arouse strong feelings in readers and corrupt bureaucrats of Chongqing. This was not just a matter of whether readers were familiar with the topic of satire. Chongqing was the outpost of most government institutions and civil servants in the wartime period. Under strict censorship, writers boldly insisted on writing satire that targeted bureaucrats working in those government organizations and publishing their works in newspapers and periodicals of Chongqing. They definitely knew that their works could be seen by those bureaucrats and censors. We can only explain such behavior in terms of writers electing to use the humor of satire to replace direct attacks on the government. In this way, writers challenged the strict censorship in Chongqing and expressed their discontent with the government.

²⁸⁸ Wu Fuhui 吳福輝, *Sha Ting zhuan* 沙汀傳 (Biography of Sha Ting) (Beijing: Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1990), 4-5.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 269-290.

C. “Unproblematic Problems”: Confrontation of Intellectuals and the Government

As I emphasized previously, regardless of whether satirists were leftist writers, they did not use satire to satisfy the political goals of the leftist camp. Writers satirized intellectuals in order to think about why intellectuals did not positively contribute their efforts to fight against the Japanese. As for the satirical stories about bureaucrats, neither do they prove that intellectuals were dominated by leftist ideas. I argue that satire about bureaucrats indicates a worsening of the relationship between intellectuals and the government. Only when we read the development of satire in wartime Chongqing in this way can we explain why it is not until the last two years of the war that we see a dramatic increase in the amount of satire published about the corrupt government – a topic the leftist camp had been promoting since the beginning of the war.

“Unproblematic Problems” (“Bucheng wenti de wenti” 不成問題的問題), by Lao She, one of the most famous satirists in the Republican China, was published serially in *L’Impartial* on January 8, 12, 14, 20, 24, 1943. This novella best represents intellectuals’ mentality of recognizing the corruption of the government but having no way to change it. It does not offer details about how bureaucrats appropriate public money, receive bribes, or abuse power. Nor does it describe how bureaucrats in the rural area cooperate with the gentry. Rather, this novella is set on a private farm, a setting that seems unlikely for a story satirizing bureaucrats. Nevertheless, everything that happens on this farm points to the hopelessly corrupt bureaucracy of the Chongqing government. Intellectuals would have liked to do something to save this system. However, even if they could enter it, they would be viewed as outsiders and driven out by those whose vested interests lay in the status quo. “Unproblematic Problems” expresses intellectuals’ pain at having no recourse to save their country. I contend that these parallels explain why this novella received so much attention when it was made public. In April of the

year of its publication, “Unproblematic Problems” was selected to be published in vol. 1, no. 2, of *World Literature* (*Tianxia wenzhang* 天下文章), a periodical publishing the latest literary fiction and essays about world situations. Cai Renhou 蔡王侯 (1917-1995), one of the prolific writers in the wartime period and a renowned botanist, also modeled his short story, “Mr. Manager” (“Changzhang xiansheng” 場長先生), on “Unproblematic Problems.” Cai’s short story was published in Vol. 1, no. 6, of *Literature* (*Wenxue* 文學) (November 1943).

In the wartime period, four fictional works of satire by Lao She were published in Chongqing. They include “A Letter from Home” (“Yifeng jiaxin” 一封家信), published in no. 37 of *The Wartime Digest Trimonthly* (*Wenzhai zhanshi xunkan* 文摘戰時旬刊) (November 28, 1938); “Obsession” (“Lian” 戀), published in vol. 1, no. 1, of *Times and Tides: Literature and Art* (*Shi yu chao wenyi* 時與潮文藝) (March 1943); “A Box of Three Castles Cigarettes” (“Yitong Paotai yan” 一筒炮台煙), published in vol. 1, no. 1, of *Literary Atmosphere Magazine* (*Wenfeng zazhi* 文風雜誌) (December 1943); and “Unproblematic Problems.” The former two pieces satirize intellectuals who did not give up personal needs to make saving the country their top priority. The third one describes with a mixed tone of mockery and compassion a college instructor, Gan Jinyi, who insists on a life of moral perfection. He refuses to accept a friend’s money as the thank-you gift, even though his first child is going to be born soon. However, the attention “Unproblematic Problems” received was far greater than these other three works combined. I maintain that its significance must be associated with its profound presentation of the incurable corruption of the bureaucracy of the Nationalist government.

This story is a political allegory. Its setting on the Shuhua Farm in the suburb of Chongqing represents Chongqing, while the farm workers stand for government officials. The

manager Ding Wuyuan is the chief culprit of the farm's deficit. He was warmly welcomed by people on the farm, and whenever they ask him for help, he always says, "No problem!" However, he never does anything he promises to do. In fact, he does not want to contribute any effort to anything. He wins the farm workers' hearts quickly, but he does not really care about whether workers do their jobs. Gradually, the workers start to get lazy about finishing their work and gather to gamble. When they lose money, they sell the best produce privately and put the money into their own pockets. They also claim there are weasels hiding near the farm, which is why one or two chickens or ducks are missing every day. The narrator comments ironically, "Sometimes, evil weasels appear in the daytime. During the period when they are most wild, even cattle and lambs are stolen. What a big weasel!" As for the fruit, all of it is allegedly damaged by pests. Much of it has to be rejected before it gets sent out to market. The narrator characterizes the situation ironically again: "For some reason, those rejected fruits are bigger and more beautiful, and are pulled out first."²⁹¹ These developments no doubt imply that government officials appropriate public money and steal public property. High-ranked government officials knew of this situation, but they never sought a way to solve the problem.

When income from the farm drops, Ding Wuyuan rents the office building to a painter, Qin Miaoze, and his cultural circle of friends to compensate for the loss. Lao She in effect uses Qin to satirize people in cultural circles in the wartime period. The narrator describes Qin with indirect speech by Qin, "according to him [Qin], he knows carving, painting, playing Chinese zither and piano, writing poetry, fiction and drama: an almighty artist." The narrator clearly does not believe in Qin's words, because, following this passage, he puts in a sentence mocking Qin's

²⁹¹ Lao She, "Bucheng wenti de wenti" 不成問題的問題 (Unproblematic problems), *L'Impartial*, January 13, 1943.

self-image: “However, no one ever sees him carving, painting, playing instruments, or writing literature.”²⁹² In the wartime period, Qin also wants to join groups organized by artists to resist the Japanese. But soon after he joins those groups, he decides he does not want to participate in their activities. In his mind, “since he is the top artist, he certainly ought to take leadership in all the groups. But none of these groups show any respect to him.” Therefore, he decides to write essays on this beautiful farm. “I am going to curse them! I will complete essays cursing them right here! Here!”²⁹³ This is why Ding Wuyuan meets Qin and then rents him the office building. After Qin and his friends move into this building, they view produce of the farm as their own. They take whatever they want and drag down the income of the farm even more. Moreover, two of Qin’s friends actually are traitors. One day, military policemen intrude onto the farm and take the two traitors away. After this incident, shareholders of the farm decide to change managers. Ding’s life on the farm is comfortable, as is Qin’s stay in the office. In order to maintain their situations, Ding and Qin unite to resist the new manager. This turn of the plot implies that artists and government officials cooperated together to obtain whatever they wanted. Also, artists were not morally superior or more patriotic than bureaucrats. They not only wanted to take advantage of the war to grasp at power in their cultural circles, but might also betray their own country.

“Unproblematic Problems” uses the corrupt behavior of Ding Wuyuan and other farm workers to represent the corruption of the government bureaucracy. As the new manager joins the farm, the relationship of intellectuals to the corrupt political system becomes clear.

The new manager is You Daxing, a British-educated horticulturist. He has returned to China for one reason only: to save his motherland. According to the narrator, “he enjoyed living in England, because he is not social and works hard. He must have known that, when he returned

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Lao She, “Unproblematic problems,” *L’Impartial*, January 14, 1943.

to his home country, he would be ruined by hypocrisy and nonsense, both of which he hates. However, the shout of resisting the Japanese stunned the whole world. He goes back home.”

The narrator’s descriptions of Mr. You contain no flavor of satire at all. Obviously, Mr. You is a foil to other characters in the story. What Mr. You represents is an intellectual who wants to contribute his knowledge and effort to the War of Resistance.

As soon as Mr. You assumes the office, he puts things in order. He does not allow workers to steal produce and asks them to do their jobs well. Also, he tries to get rid of the artists living on the farm. You’s actions are beneficial to the business of the farm, but to the corrupt workers, Ding Wuyuan, and Qin Miaozhai and his friends, Mr. You is an enemy. They plot to expel Mr. You by ruining his self-respect as a moral man. Workers send stolen eggs to his wife; Qin then creates big character posters with slogans, “Eradicate villains stealing eggs!” “Down with the jackal of Fascists!”²⁹⁴ Finally, ironically, Mr. You steps down from his post under accusations of corruption. By contrast, Ding Wuyuan regains power amid workers and artists’ sounds of cheering.

According to David Wang, in the story, although Lao She’s “deepest indignation is reserved for his archvillain,” i.e., Ding Wuyuan, Lao She also “condemns a person like the new director, who is deficient in any skill to fight against bad guys other than a self-proclaimed integrity.”²⁹⁵ However, in light of the fact that the popularity of this novella must be associated with the social, political, and cultural conditions surrounding it, I suggest re-evaluating Lao She’s possible ideas of modeling You Daxing in this story based on the historical context of Chongqing. Indeed, You Daxing attempts to reform the management of the farm. However,

²⁹⁴ Lao She, “Unproblematic problems,” *L’Impartial*, January 24, 1943.

²⁹⁵ David Der-wei Wang, *Fictional Realism in Twentieth-century China: Mao Dun, Lao She, Shen Congwen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 183.

framed by the charge of corruption brought by Ding Wuyuan, the workers, and artists, all of whom have their own vested interests in the farm, You has no means of combatting them and leaves the farm. This plot points to the root of corruption in the government and the reason why real reform was impossible to implement. In the wartime period, the autocratic Nationalist Party dominated the central government, while the gentry controlled politics in rural areas. Both the Nationalist Party and upper classes clung to vested interests in this government. Intellectuals had no way into the system to exert influence and affect political reform. They could only see the corruption and mismanagements becoming increasingly serious day by day. Surely their feelings of frustration and hopelessness to improve the nation's future gradually worsened. Therefore, through You Daxing, Lao She depicts the pain of intellectuals who could not do anything to reform politics, but does not blame a morally well-intentioned person who could not transform the bad situation into good.

Chapter 4 Popular Satirical Fiction

The third section of chapter 1 notes that popular literature in wartime Chongqing was, on the one hand, sensitive to readers' tastes while, on the other hand, it manifested writers' thoughts about political and social situations. Satirical works in the newspapers and periodicals related to "Three Zhangs and One Zhao" present both of these characteristics, indicating that wartime popular literature inherited a number of features from prewar popular literature. Wartime Chongqing experienced many air raids, and Japanese expansion of occupied areas caused Chongqing residents to live under the constant threat of falling into enemy hands. Though citizens of Chongqing lived in pervasive and unremitting fear, they still needed distractions of leisure to help them cope with such a nervous life. Popular writers made satirical fiction part of the wartime pastime. Also, they used satire as a tool to expose problems to which they wanted citizens of Chongqing to pay attention. This chapter intends to shed light on how popular writers expressed such dual purposes in their satirical works, and to examine the ways that popular satirical fiction is distinctive from the satirical fiction of New Literature. These issues are significant to understanding popular satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing.

The fourth part of this chapter will focus specifically on *Eighty-one Dreams* by Zhang Henshui. Zhang was a famous popular writer in Republican China, author of the highly popular novel, *Fate in Tears and Laughter*, which was serialized in *The News* (*Xinwen bao* 新聞報) in Shanghai from March 17 to November 20, 1930. Because of its tremendous appeal to audiences, it has been adapted into movies and TV dramas many times, most recently a TV drama under the same name produced by China Central Television in 2004. When the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, Zhang Henshui went to the wartime capitol of Chongqing, where he remained

throughout the entire wartime period. In Chongqing, he serialized his satirical novel, *Eighty-one Dreams*, in “The Eleventh Hour” (“Zuihou guantou” 最後關頭), a supplement of the Chongqing edition of *Xinmin News*, from December 1, 1939 to April 25, 1941. Targets of this satirical novel include social, economic, political, and cultural problems characteristic of wartime Chongqing. Like many of Zhang’s works in the prewar period, *Eighty-one Dreams* also gained great commercial success in wartime Chongqing.²⁹⁶ Moreover, *Eighty-one Dreams* is the sole novel of popular satire published in wartime Chongqing. Because the thoughts presented in it are more profound than those of other short stories, *Eighty-one Dreams* provides perhaps the best example to explore popular writers’ deeper thoughts about political, social, and cultural situations in wartime Chongqing.

I. Introduction

A. Materials

This chapter discusses 86 pieces of short fiction published in supplements of *Xinmin Evening News*, *Nanjing Evening News* and *Phenomena Weekly* in Chongqing, as well as *Eighty-one Dreams* by Zhang Henshui. Of these, 46 were published in *Xinmin Evening News*, 38 in *Nanjing Evening News*, and 2 *Phenomena Weekly*. In duplications of these three newspapers and magazine, many areas are visually unclear and illegible, and some issues are not preserved in duplicate form at all. Therefore, these 86 works of satirical fiction do not account for all of the satirical works in these newspapers and the magazine.

²⁹⁶ Xiong Shounong 熊壽農, “Wo zhi Zhang Henshui guan” 我之張恨水觀 (My opinions about Zhang Henshui), *Jinwen yuekan* 今文月刊 (Modern literature monthly) 1 (October 15, 1942): 9-17; here 9.

Xinmin News contains only one satirical work, i.e., *Eighty-one Dreams*. This is because *Xinmin News* would only serialize Zhang Henshui's novels, and *Eighty-one Dreams* was his only satirical one.

As for the numbers of works of satirical fiction published in the other two newspapers and the magazine per year, they are listed below:

	<i>Xinmin Evening News</i>	<i>Nanjing Evening News</i>	<i>Phenomena Weekly</i>
1942	4	1	0
1943	26	1	1
1944	12	8	1
1945	4	28	0
Total Number	46	38	2

Chart 5: Number of Works of Popular Satirical Fiction per Year in each Newspaper and Magazine in Wartime Chongqing

As this chart indicates, only two satirical works were published in *Phenomena Weekly*. This is not only because it was a weekly magazine and its total number of issues was much less than those of newspapers. More importantly, *Phenomena Weekly* published mainly political criticism, miscellaneous essays, anecdotes about history and classical literature, and cartoons. It did not publish many fictional works, except for the serialization of *Outside of the Stone City* (*Shitoucheng wai* 石頭城外) by Zhang Henshui.

Xinmin Evening News published its first satirical work in 1942 and *Phenomena Weekly* in 1943. This situation is related to their opening dates of publication, with *Xinmin Evening News* having been first published on November 1, 1941, while *Phenomena Weekly* was first published on June 26, 1943. All works of satirical fiction in both are dated 1942 or later.

In addition, a particular aspect of *Nanjing Evening News* deserves our attention. This paper published its Chongqing edition beginning on August 1, 1938. Notably, in 1944, the number of satirical works jumped to 8. In 1945, it shot up to 28. Most of the duplicates of *Nanjing Evening News* are legible. Therefore, the number of works of satirical fiction in my collection is not far from its real number. The year 1944 was also when *Xinhua Daily* started to present a lot of fictional works satirizing government problems. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to indicate that Zhang Youhe 張友鶴 (1907-1971), the owner of *Nanjing Evening News*, was left leaning at that time. Therefore, the blooming of satirical fiction in *Nanjing Evening News* from 1944 demonstrates that discontent with the government had flooded the society at large at that time.

The Press in Wartime Chongqing (Kangzhan shiqi de Chongqing xinwenjie 抗戰時期的重慶新聞界, 1995) is one of the few studies mentioning *Nanjing Evening News*. According to this book, *Nanjing Evening News* supported the Nationalist government in the last years of the wartime period, although its editorial policy was to “Go beyond partisanship, strive for freedom” (“Chaoyue dangpai, zhengqu ziyou” 超越黨派, 爭取自由).²⁹⁷ From the middle of 1942 to the end of 1944, the second and third pages of *Nanjing Evening News* were devoted to the supplements, “War Drum” (second page) and “The Arabian Nights” (“Tianfang yetan” 天方夜談) (third page). Anecdotes and gossip about historical and famous figures and origins of place names, jokes, and humorous essays dominate these two supplements. However, news criticizing the Nationalist government in *Nanjing Evening News* gradually increased as the war drew to an

²⁹⁷ Chongqing ribaoshe, ed., *The Press in Wartime Chongqing*, 66.

end. The flowering of satirical works in supplements, starting around the middle of 1944, reflects such a shift.

The new approach of supplements marked a drastic change in the political position of *Nanjing Evening News*. After January 1, 1945, although the supplement still occupied the second and third pages, the name of supplement was changed to “Luminous Cup” (“Yeguangbei” 夜光杯). The content of the first issue of “Luminous Cup” makes abundantly evident that the supplement had become a forum in which to criticize, expose, and satirize political and social problems in Chongqing.

The first issue of “Luminous Cup” covers the second and third pages of the newspaper. On each page, the upper half contains the content, while the lower part displays advertisements. In the lower left part of the upper half of the second page is a slogan, “Grand Duke Jiang is here. When children and women speak, and journalists speak like legislators, all taboos are off.” (“Jiang taigong zaici, tongyan fuyu, jizhe yan canzhengyuan yu, baiwu jinji” 姜太公在此, 童言婦語, 記者言參政員語, 百無禁忌) (See Figure 2). This slogan is inspired by a slogan normally posted at the front door of a house during the Festival of the Chinese New Year. The slogan is, “Grand Duke Jiang is here. When children and women speak, all taboos are off.” The goal of this slogan was to wish for a peaceful new year. Grand Duke Jiang (fl. 11th century BC), was one of the great politicians in ancient China. In the late Shang dynasty (ca. 1600-1046 BC), Jiang assisted King Wen of Zhou (1152-1056 BC) and King Wu of Zhou (ca. 1087 -1043 BC) in overthrowing King Zhou (, 1105-1146 BC), the last king of the Shang dynasty, and establishing the Zhou dynasty (1046(?) -256 BC). In the novel, *The Investiture of Gods* (Fengshen yanyi 封神演義, ca. 1550 AD), written by Xu Zhonglin 許仲琳 (n.d) or Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520-1606) in

the middle of the Ming dynasty, Grand Duke Jiang is also the god who confers titles to other gods. Thus, all of the gods have to honor Jiang. In ancient times, children and women were thought to say things without thinking about whether they might infuriate the gods. Hence, during the Festival of the Chinese New Year, people posted this slogan at the front door to tell gods that their homes were under the protection of Grand Duke Jiang, so children and women could speak without worrying.

Surely “Luminous Cup” published the slogan, not to ask the gods to forgive the speech in it, but in the same spirit. The slogan says, “When journalists speak like legislators, all taboos are off.” This sentence implies that the “gods” to which this supplement refers are actually censors and government officials who might be furious at the writings in it – including, perhaps, the increase of satirical fiction in *Nanjing Evening News* as the number of pieces rose from 8 in 1944 to 28 in the first half of 1945.

恭賀 漢口發包車行
新禧
並祝 勝利

大江 綢緞商店

重慶 專修 修理 零件 油漆 噴漆 磨光 鍍鉻 鍍銀 鍍金 鍍銅 鍍鋅 鍍鎳 鍍鉻 鍍銀 鍍金 鍍銅 鍍鋅 鍍鎳

九折八折

夢場 恭喜發財

今天，我們這不可開言的句新年賀詞：「恭喜發財！」這話聽起來，似乎有些滑稽。但我們仔細想想，這話卻是有它的道理的。在過去的一年中，我們經歷了許多困難和挫折，但我們終於渡過了難關，迎來了新的一年。在這個新的開始，我們需要的是財力，是實力，是力量。只有財力充足，我們才能支撐起這個家，才能為國家的建設貢獻力量。所以，我們需要恭喜發財，需要財力來支撐我們的未來。

兩種相反的盤尼西林

盤尼西林，這是一種神藥，它能治癒許多疾病。但最近，在重慶，出現了兩種相反的盤尼西林。一種是真正的盤尼西林，它能治癒疾病，救人於危。另一種是偽藥，它不僅不能治癒疾病，反而會損害人的健康。這兩種相反的盤尼西林，反映了當時社會的混亂和道德的淪喪。

入關的罪人地獄

入關的罪人地獄，這是一個令人毛骨悚然的詞。它指的是那些在戰爭期間，為了私利而背叛國家、背叛同胞的人。這些人為了金錢和權力，不惜犧牲民族的利益，甚至不惜犧牲自己的生命。他們是國家的罪人，是民族的公敵。他們的地獄，就是他們自己創造的。

讀報雜

讀報雜，這是一個關於閱讀的雜談。它探討了閱讀的重要性，以及閱讀對個人成長和社會進步的影響。作者認為，閱讀是獲取知識、增長才幹、開拓眼界的最佳途徑。在一個充滿變化的時代，我們需要不斷學習，不斷閱讀，才能跟上時代的步伐。

寶玉的出路

寶玉的出路，這是一個關於價值和命運的探討。寶玉是大自然的瑰寶，但它的價值往往被埋沒在深山老林之中。只有經過匠人的雕琢，才能展現出其獨特的光彩。這也啟發我們，每個人都有自己的潛能，只有通過不斷的努力和學習，才能實現自己的價值。

姜太公在此童言 婦語記者言參政 員語百無禁忌

姜太公在此童言，婦語記者言參政，員語百無禁忌。這是一句諷刺性的口號，反映了當時社會對政治參與的呼籲。它鼓勵婦女、記者和議員們積極參與政治，為國家的發展貢獻力量。這也體現了當時社會進步的思潮。



Figure 2: The slogan “Grand Duke Jiang is here. When children and women speak, and journalists speak like legislators, all taboos are off” in the supplement “Luminous Cup” in *Nanjing Evening News*, published on January 1, 1945. Source: Chongqing Library

The numbers of works listed in Chart 5 do not reflect real number of works of satirical fiction because I was unable to read complete newspapers and all issues of *Phenomena Weekly*. For instance, word characters in duplicates of *Xinmin Evening News* in 1944 and 1945 are not easy to recognize, making it very difficult to read the contents of many satirical works from those two years. This is why the numbers of works of satirical fiction listed for this newspaper in 1944 and 1945 are much less than for 1943. Notwithstanding these limitations upon materials, we can see that in 1943 alone *Xinmin Evening News* published as many as 26 works of satirical

fiction. Can we infer that *Xinmin Evening News* published more or less works of satirical fiction in 1944 and 1945?

Given the way the Xinmin News Press dealt with news, I contend that *Xinmin Evening News* would have published satirical fiction works at a rate about the same or greater in 1944 and 1945. The Xinmin News Press is famous for its famous editorial slogan: “To be nonaligned but left leaning. Escape from rock when seeing it.”²⁹⁸ This slogan did not appear until the journalistic team of *Xinmin News* created it in 1943.²⁹⁹ In the pre-war period, *Xinmin News* had regularly received financial support from Liu Xiang 劉湘 (1890-1938), a warlord of Sichuan and the governor of the Sichuan Province from 1934 to 1938.³⁰⁰ After Liu Xiang died in Wuhan, Hubei, on January 20, 1938, *Xinmin News* turned to local enterprises for financial support. Because owners of these enterprises maintained a close relationship with the authorities, *Xinmin News* inevitably supported the Nationalist government.³⁰¹ Based on the history of *Xinmin News* written by Chen Mingde and Deng Jixing, the change of political inclination of Xinmin New Press can be traced back to no earlier than the middle of the wartime period, when *Xinmin Evening News* began its publication.³⁰² The appearance of satirical works in *Xinmin Evening News* should be related to this new political inclination. Chapter 2 mentions that the number of leftist journalists in the Xinmin News Press increased in the postwar period. News in newspapers published by the Xinmin News Press was disadvantageous to the authorities, which led to the shutdown of branches between 1948 and 1949. Therefore, it is very likely that, in the last two years of the wartime period, news published by the Xinmin’s newspapers was more left leaning. Supplements

²⁹⁸ See Section IV of Chapter 2 for the introduction of this slogan.

²⁹⁹ Chen Mingde, Deng Jixing, et al., *A History of Xinmin News*, 37.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 36.

of the Xinmin's newspapers also would also reflect stronger dissatisfaction toward political and social problems at that time. It is predictable that the number of pieces of satirical fiction would be greater than before 1944.

B. Subjects

There are two major subjects appearing in these popular short stories of satirical fiction. The first subject is political problems. Important topics of political satire, as it is called, include corrupt officials and government policies. The other subject can be summed up as problems involving multiple aspects of society. Varied topics within this general subject area, which can be termed social satire, include war profiteers, doctors who only see rich patients, citizens who show apathy toward the homeless, rich city women who look down upon country women, and so on. The second and third sections of this chapter will discuss respectively how fictional works of these two subjects catered to readers' tastes for the purpose of earning profit and reflecting writers' opinions on politics and society. The numbers of works of these two subjects are:

Theme	Political Satire	Social Satire	Total Number per Year
1942	2	3	5
1943	12	16	28
1944	10	11	21
1945	17	15	32

Chart 6: Number of Fictional Works of Political and Social Satire in Wartime Chongqing per Year

Since the newspapers and magazine I examined are incomplete, Chart 6 does not reflect the actual rate of the production of satirical fiction of these two subjects. Nevertheless, despite

limited resources, we still can observe that social satire was constantly produced during the second half of the wartime period. In terms of satirical fiction of New Literature, in the last two years of the war, its topics centered mainly on corrupt officials, while the number of satirical works targeting intellectuals dropped drastically. However, the number of works of popular satirical fiction targeting political problems did not increase at such a fast rate. For instance, in 1945, among 28 works of satirical fiction published in *Nanjing Evening News*, 15 consist of political satire, while 13 are social satire, such that the distribution is relatively close to equal. This phenomenon of popular satire can be explained in two ways. On the one hand, although corruption was predominantly considered the biggest crisis of the Nationalist government in last years of the war, citizens of Chongqing did not only care to read much about this issue. Therefore, popular writers, who were sensitive to the demands of the market, did not stick to satirizing political corruption. On the other hand, these writers also had the power to choose which satire subjects they depicted. Therefore, they kept satirizing social problems maybe in order to influence readers to pay attention to those problems, which were as important as political corruption.

II. Political Satire

A. Corrupt Bureaucrats

Main targets of political satire are officials linked to bureaucracy, favoritism, bribery, embezzlement, and power abuse. This characteristic of popular satire demonstrates that corruption among officials was prevailingly considered a serious social and political problem not only by New Literature writers but also by popular writers. However, the way popular writers approach the ridiculousness of bureaucrats differs from the ways of New Literature writers.

Popular writers often underscore how common people suffered from the ridiculous conduct of bureaucrats. Examples include “Suspicious Check Receiver” (“Bukexin de lingkuanren” 不可信的領款人) by Moshi 默士, published in *Xinmin Evening News* on December 9, 1944. In this story, Mr. Qian tries to cash a check in a bank in Chongqing. However, the clerk of the bank tells Qian that his identification card is not valid because it was issued not in Chongqing but in Chengdu. Even though Qian’s friend, a department manager of this bank branch, guarantees that the person cashing the check is in fact Mr. Qian, the clerk still maintains that this friend’s word “is not a legal guarantee.” In other words, when a customer does not have an identification card issued in Chongqing, it is nearly impossible to use a bank there. The staff members do not care where the customer comes from. This story satirizes officious public servants who assiduously follow rules without using their brains.

Bribery and embezzlement constitute major topics in both popular satire and satire of New Literature. “Death of a *Baozhang*’s Mother” (“*Baozhang zhi musang*” 保長之母喪) by Yiwu jizhe 義務記者,³⁰³ published in *Nanjing Evening News* on July 5, 1945, presents an excellent image of corrupt local agents. In the story, a *baozhang*, following the death of his mother, spends ten million dollars on the funeral. The last portion of the story focuses on the process of the *baozhang* sending his mother’s coffin from his house to the graveyard. The funeral procession is the last event before the *baozhang* separates from his mother forever, but it resembles a carnival or parade more than mourning. The narrator tells us the streets that the coffin passes by “must be filled with people! There are also games such as playing lanterns. Children wait to watch the scene!” This plot not only implies that the amount of money that the *baozhang* embezzles is so enormous, he can afford to host a big party in the street, but also, since

³⁰³ For the definition of *baozhang*, see part IV of chapter 3.

the atmosphere surrounding the procession is not mournful but festive, implies the *baozhang* is not really sad about his mother's death. He just wants to show off how rich he is. Thus, the story implies that the *baozhang* as a group are in moral decline. At the end of the story, the narrator shifts the reader's gaze to a group of soldiers and public servants on the road. All they see are "pigs and goats" sent by other *baozhang* as gifts. The narrator points out what these soldiers and public servants see because, if they do not bribe or appropriate public funds and only live honestly on their salaries, most live in poverty and on the edge of starvation. Their miserable situation stands in sharp contrast to the corrupt *baozhang*'s wealthy life. After seeing the carnival, these soldiers and public servants conclude sarcastically, "Who says that China is poor? Look, even a *baozhang* is so rich!"

Other stories on similar topics include "New Changes" ("Xin de tuibian" 新的蛻變) by Xuan 玄, published in *Xinmin Evening News* on April 25, 1943. This story is about a government department dormitory in which people have been living illegally. The chief of the department drives those illegal residents away – all but one couple who continue living in the dorm illegally. Why? Because the husband has a business relationship with the chief, who does not dare ask them to leave. This story indicates the seriousness of bureaucracy in the government. Similarly, in "To Chief Cashier in the Fiscal Service" ("Gei Kuaijike chuna zhuren" 給會計科出納主任) by Yu Yu 余裕, published in *Xinmin Evening News* on May 24, 1943, the chief cashier goes to work only when he feels like it. He never pays salaries on time, either. However, because he controls the money, his colleagues do not dare show their anger. In "A Standard Woman Assistant Director" ("Biaozhun nu zhuan yuan" 標準女專員) by Liu Donghou 劉東侯 (1878-1952), published in *Nanjing Evening News* on October 13, 1944, a woman assistant director

always dresses up beautifully. The narrator comments sarcastically that the office is like a showroom for her clothes and makeup. She never does her job, yet all the staff respects her because she was once a mistress of a powerful man.

These popular works depict city residents' suffering from the corruption of the government. At the same time, popular writers also revealed their own viewpoints on current political situation. Works which best manifest these writers' thoughts are those with a strong influence from traditional Chinese literature.

Many satirical works discussed in this chapter are influenced by works of classical Chinese fiction, especially those from the Ming and Qing dynasties. In terms of language, some of them imitate language of fictional works from the Ming and Qing dynasties. Thirteen short stories, titled *New Strange Tales from Liaozhai*, by Qiu Qi, serialized in *Nanjing Evening News* in 1945, offer a typical example. Like *Strange Tales from Liaozhai* (*Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異, written by Pu Songling 蒲松齡 [1640-1715] and finished in 1680), the stories are composed in concise and compact classical Chinese. As for other popular satirical works, they tend to apply lexicons used in vernacular novels of the Ming and Qing dynasties. For instance, they use the character “dao” 道 as the mark preceding the quotation of words, commonly used in vernacular novels of those eras. In works of New Literature, “dao” is replaced by “shuo” 說. Some popular works also use vocabulary from vernacular novels which inspired them. For instance, “New Water Margin” (“Xin Shuihu zhuan” 新水滸傳), by Wang Mao 汪懋 (?), published in *Nanjing Evening News* on February 9, 1945, was inspired by *The Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳, generally attributed to Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 [1296-1372], oldest extant edition appeared mid-16th

century). In the story, the first-person pronouns “an” 俺 and “sajia” 撒家 are used to replace “wo” 我, which is used in modern Chinese.

Satirical works influenced by vernacular novels of the Ming and Qing dynasties also appropriate characters and plots from those novels to create a new story. The title of a short story often names the vernacular novel which inspired it, adding “new” (“xin” 新), “the other” (“bie” 別), or “continue; sequel” (“xu” 續) to it. Popular works of satire in wartime Chongqing were mainly inspired by the following works of classical Chinese fiction: *The Water Margin*, *Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji* 西遊記, attributed to Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 [ca. 1500-1582], oldest extant edition appeared in 1592), *Dream of the Red Chamber*, (*Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢, by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 [1715 (?)-1763 (?)], written in ca. 1750; first printed in 1792.), *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jing hua yuan* 鏡花緣, by Li Ruzhen 李汝珍 [1763 (?)- 1830], published in 1818), and *The Scholars*. Satirical works inspired by these novels include, for instance, “New Flowers in the Mirror” (“Xin Jinghua yuan” 新鏡花緣), by Junha 君蛤, published in *Xinmin Evening News* on May 9-10, 1943, “Alternative Biographies of the Scholars” (“Rulin biezhuàn” 儒林別傳), by Ma Ying 馬應, published in *Nanjin Evening News* on September 22-23, 1943, and “New Water Margin” by Wang Mao.

Popular writers created new stories using established characters and plots from novels written during the Ming and Qing dynasties not only because readers were familiar with these classics, but because they found them useful to allude to current problems in Chongqing. “Xue Pan Strikes Zhang San to Death” (“Xue Pan xiong'ou Zhang San zhisi an” 薛蟠兇毆張三致死案), by Sima Xu 司馬訐 (1912-1979), published in *Xinmin Evening News* on July 29, 1943, is a

typical example. This story is adapted from an episode about Xue Pan, the eldest brother of Xue Baochai 薛寶釵, in the classical work, *Dream of the Red Chamber*. In the original *Dream of the Red Chamber*, this part of the story, which appears in Chapters 85 and 86, tells of Xue Pan who, despite striking Zhang San to death, is acquitted of the crime because his family bribes the magistrate and other people involved in the trial.

Sima Xu adapted this story to create a satirical piece about injustice resulting from the abuse of power and money in wartime Chongqing. The course of events in his adaptation is almost identical to that in *Dream of the Red Chamber* – even the very words Zhang San’s mother speaks to ask for justice. In Sima’s story, whether Xu Pan is charged with a crime is not clearly established. However, the story provides enough information that the answer can be inferred. Like Xu Pan in *Dream of the Red Chamber*, Xu Pan in Sima Xu’s story also escapes the death penalty. This story satirizes the modern court in the wartime Chongqing as being, in effect, like an ancient *yamen* (magistrate office). In both the past and the present, money and power can enable a criminal to get away with a crime.

On the surface, these works of satire demonstrate only that readers in Chongqing still had a taste for classical literature. I argue, however, that this kind of fiction presents popular writers’ ideas about the degree to which satire could promote social reform – ideas differing markedly from those of leftist writers. Leftist writers believed that satire promoted social reform or could eradicate problems. Popular writers, by contrast, tended to present a prevailing sense of hopelessness in last years of the war. As mentioned in chapter 2, when the end of the war drew near, intellectuals did not anticipate victory. Instead, they feared that the war would drag on endlessly and the corruption of the government had progressed beyond hope. Thus, intellectuals

harbored fears that the country would fall. What classical literature gave to popular writers was a tool to express their sense of hopelessness.

“Judge Bao Is Reluctant to Reincarnate” (“Bao Gong buyuan zhuansheng” 包公不願轉生), by Lantian 藍天, published in *Nanjing Evening News* on April 1, 1945 stands as a fine example of hopelessness conveyed in a satirical work. Judge Bao is the symbol of clean and upright officials in China. However, when Yama asks Judge Bao to reincarnate to wartime China to solve cases of corruption and change the social atmosphere, Judge Bao refuses Yama’s request. Judge Bao claims that, he can exert his talent in the Song dynasty, but he is unable to satisfy Yama’s requests in wartime China. This satire implies that political corruption in wartime China is so entrenched that even Judge Bao cannot improve the situation.

“A Banquet by Su Daji” (“Su Daji qingke” 蘇妲己請客) by Qiu Qi, one of the short stories, under the title *New Strange Tales from Liaozhai*, published in *Nanjing Evening News* on February 22, 1945, uses another method to imply that corruption is impossible to solve. In this story, the protagonist Jiang Ziya 姜子牙 accidentally bursts into a banquet hosted by King Zhou 紂 (1105-1046 BC) of Shang (1600-1046 BC) and his favorite concubine Daji, held in the garden of a rich family located at Hualong Bridge (“Hualong qiao” 化龍橋). In the Republican era, Hualong Bridge boasted residences of the upper class. For instance, both Liu Xiang and the U.S. Army four-star General Joseph Warren Stilwell (1883-1946), who served as the chief staff to Chiang Kai-shek and in the China Burma India Theater in WWII, owned houses in this district. Therefore, King Zhou, Daji, and the rich family holding the party suggest the upper class in Chongqing, including high officials and rich businessmen, who usually lived in the Huanglong Bridge area during the wartime period. In this story, Jiang Ziya eats a lot at the party because he

has not eaten meat or wine for several months. When he wakes up in the next morning, he starts to vomit. What he brings up is not digested food but a lot of blood and human flesh. This scene indicates that high officials and the rich people of Chongqing retained their wealth by seizing the common people's money and exploiting their labor. More profoundly, this story implies that the societies of the past and present play at the same game. King Zhou and Daji enjoyed a party in the Shang Dynasty while their decadence contributed to its fall. What Jiang Ziya sees in wartime Chongqing is the same thing, indicating Chinese society has not improved even three thousand years after the fall of the Shang Dynasty. Through the repetition of history implied in such stories, popular writers actually denied the linear and progressive perspective of time accepted by leftist intellectuals.

B. Satire about the Negative Effects of Government Policies on Common People

In addition to corrupt officials, *Xinmin Evening News* also targeted government policies negatively affecting the lives of residents in Chongqing. This topic appears uniquely in popular satirical fiction. Popular writers targeted government policies not only because they were closely related to readers' lives, but to reflect the relationship with the government held by the editorship of literary supplements and news in Xinmin News Press.

According to Chen Liyuan, one editor of *Xinmin News* during the wartime period, supplements were an indispensable part of the paper. They existed, first of all, to attract more readers.³⁰⁴ Both *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News* belonged to Xinmin News Press. According to the editors' memories, in the wartime period, Xinmin News Press did not impose

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 145.

differing editorial policies on various newspapers it owned. Therefore, Chen's words can be used to explain how editors of *Xinmin Evening News* edited supplements.

The preface of the book form of *Eighty-one Dreams*,³⁰⁵ which was composed in classical Chinese, demonstrates Chen's words. In the preface, Zhang Henshui claims that, because his novels were being serialized in newspapers, he paid much attention to what kind of topics those readers favored:

[Therefore,] as for those published in Wuhan, Hong Kong and Shanghai, their topics generally are people who resist tyrants and bullies. Regarding those published in Chongqing, I changed my ideas a bit and thought about relieving people in the great hinterland from stress and depression. As for the medicine to cure such depression, none is better than enjoyment. Although I cannot tell anyone how many invaders I've killed per day, I can still write books that make people laugh. Hence, drawing materials from *The Scholars*, *Journey to the West*, and *Investiture of the Gods*, I started to write *Eighty-one Dreams*.

故發表於漢港滬者，其小說題材，多為抵抗橫強不甘屈服的人物。發表於渝者，則略轉筆鋒，思有以排解後方人士之苦悶。夫治苦悶之良劑，莫過於愉快。吾雖不能日言前方斃寇若干，然使人讀之啟齒一哂者，則尚優為之，於是吾乃有以取材於《儒林外史》與《西游》、《封神》之間矣。此《八十一夢》所由作也。³⁰⁶

This passage proves that the success of *Eighty-one Dreams* was not unexpected. Zhang Henshui was very well acquainted with readers' tastes.

Chen Liyuan also mentions that supplements were used to express opinions which could not be printed in editorials and news reviews.³⁰⁷ In other words, satirical fiction satirizing policies or regulations that negatively influenced the lives of common people in Chongqing not

³⁰⁵ The book form of *Eighty-one Dreams* was first published by Xinmin News Press in Chongqing in 1943.

³⁰⁶ Zhang Henshui, *Eighty-one Dreams*, 1-2.

³⁰⁷ Chen Mingde, Deng Jixing, et al., *A History of Xinmin News*, 145.

only spoke out for the people but also revealed the newspaper's stand against those policies or regulations.

A typical example is the short story, "Experience of Perming Hair" ("Tangfa licheng" 燙髮歷程), by Ms. Song (Song nushi 宋女士), published in *Xinmin Evening News* on December 31, 1943. It was associated with a regulation whereby women could not perm their hair or dress ostentatiously (*qizhangyifu* 奇裝異服), enacted by the Chongqing branch of the Committee of New Life Movement ("Xin shenghuo yundong" 新生活運動).³⁰⁸ Anyone who violated this regulation would be apprehended by the police or gendarme.³⁰⁹ This regulation evoked much criticism as soon as it was carried out in March of 1938. Pan Jienong 潘子農 (1909-1993) and

³⁰⁸ The New Life Movement was launched by Jiang Jieshi in 1934. Jiang alleged that the accomplishment of a revolution and the reviving of the nation should be through the promotion of individual life. According to Jiang, one's daily life should be guided by four virtues: propriety (*li* 禮), righteousness (*yi* 義), integrity (*lian* 廉) and conscience (*chi* 恥). In practice, Jiang required self-discipline in actions dealing with food, clothing, dwelling and transportation. "Militarized" life habits, namely, to be orderly (*zhengqi* 整齊), clean (*qingjie* 清潔), simple (*jiandan* 簡單), and austere (*pusu* 樸素), roughly explain the content of "self-discipline." See Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, "Xin shenghuo yundong fafan" 新生活運動發凡 (Introduction to the New Life Movement), in *Xianzongtong Jiangong sixiang yanlun zongji* 先總統 蔣公思想言論總集 (Complete works of President Jiang Jieshi), ed. Qin Xiaoyi 秦孝儀 (1921-2007) (Taipei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui 中國國民黨中央委員會黨史委員會, 1983), 12:69-80.

As for academic works on the New Life Movements, see: A. K. Bhattacharyya, "Regeneration of China on the Principles Underlying the New Life Movement," in *Zhuhai xuebao* 珠海學報 (*The Chu Hai Journal*), 16 (October 1988). Huang Jinlin 黃金麟, "Chouguai de zhuangban: Xinshehuo yundong de zhenglue fenxi" 醜怪的裝扮: 新生活運動的政略分析 (Grotesque: Analysis of strategies of the New Life Movement), in *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* 台灣社會研究季刊 (*Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*) 30 (June 1998), 163-203. Arif Dirlik, "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement: A Study in Counterrevolution," in *Journal of Asian Studies*, 34 no. 4 (August 1975), 945-980. James C. Thomson, *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937.*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969.

³⁰⁹ "Xinyunhui yanli qudi, funu men bude tangfa" 新運會嚴厲取締, 婦女們不得燙髮 (The Committee of New Life Movement strictly prosecutes, women are not allowed to perm hair), *Xinmin News*, March 9, 1938.

Zi Qi 子芑 promptly had a pen war on this topic in “Blood Tides,” a supplement of *Xinmin News*. Pan held that regulating hair style and dress should not be important in the wartime period, since there were so many other things more deserving of attention from the government. For instance, the ban on opium smoking and the opium trade had not been completed.³¹⁰ However, Zi Qi argued that this regulation was necessary because, particularly in difficult circumstances, women should be austere and wear plain clothes.³¹¹

“Experience of Perming Hair,” by Ms. Song, satirizes the viewpoint that perming hair is indulgent and violates the principle of living austere in the wartime period and thus should be prohibited. In the story, Ms. Song is a housewife who has a lot of housework. She would like to get a permanent simply because she can then spend less time dealing with her hair every day. However, due to the prohibition, she ironically comments that “hair on a woman’s head is like a shackle on a criminal’s neck. [A woman is] destined the fate of committing a crime.”³¹²

She also experiences difficulties obtaining her perm. She spends much time looking for a small hair salon located in a secret room in a big house. While the salon does perm women’s hair, it has to avoid the police. Therefore Ms. Song experiences a ridiculous pursuit of hair permanent. She and her friend hear that they get perms in a place where the address number is 125. When the two of them arrive at the street where the house is supposed to be, they doubt that this short road can have house numbers as high as 125. Then they find out that there are many small lanes hidden behind this street and assume number 125 should be on one of them. After wandering through many small lanes, finally they arrive at a shabby house with a loft. While

³¹⁰ Pan Jienong 潘子農, “Zaihua ‘tangfa’ dengdeng” 再話 ”燙髮” 等等 (Taking more about “perming hair” and others), *Xinmin News*, March 22, 1938.

³¹¹ Zi Qi 子芑, “Bushu huijing” 不是回敬 (Not paying back), *Xinmin News*, March 24, 1938.

³¹² Song nushi 宋女士 (Lady Song), “Tangfa licheng” 燙髮歷程 (Experience of perming hair), *Xinmin Evening News*, December 31, 1943.

they are still conferring about whether the house number is 125, an old woman in the loft calls to them, “The electricity is off! Come next time!” They beg the old woman to tell them of another salon to go. At this time, Liu Wuye, the person who is supposed to perm hair, appears and gives them a new address. When they arrive at the other salon named by Liu, they think they have finally reached their destination. They do not expect that these stylists still cannot perm hair. But after having their hair washed, they are asked to go out of the store with wet hair. They walk across the street, everyone staring at them as if they are weird, until they finally arrive at a luxurious, big house in which the perming salon is hidden. After 3 hours, they leave this house with new hairstyles.

This short story was published near the end of 1943, not in 1939, the year when the regulation of prohibiting perming hair was made, because this story also satirizes Song Meiling (also Mei-ling Soong), spouse of Jiang Jieshi. In 1943, Song Meiling’s domestic and international reputation rose to a peak. She made a speech to the U. S. Congress and, at the Cairo Conference, served as Jiang Jieshi’s translator. However, the author of this short story satirizes the austere image that Song Meiling intended to produce. The name of the protagonist, “Ms. Song,” apparently alludes to Song Meiling. During the wartime period, when appearing in public, Song Meiling would dress simply, and her hair was not permed. Even so, having grown up in a rich family and being spouse of Jiang Jieshi, Song Meiling did not convince the common people that she was really so abstemious and austere as she sought to appear.

The most impressive works within this group of satirical fiction are those about the 1943 price-limitation policy for the pork trade, which satirize the rise of the black market and other problems associated with this policy. The goal of the price-limitation policy was to make pork affordable to all families. Ironically, it had the opposite effect. In these stories, the craze for pork

becomes fantastic. For instance, in “Staring at Pork” (“Wangrou ” 望肉), by Yedi 夜帝, published in *Xinmin Evening News* on March 18, 1943, when pork is brought to the town hall by a truck, armed guards must stand in front of the town hall to protect it. Municipal authorities take care of the pork to an almost ludicrous extent, because officials have anticipated what can happen next. Onlookers surround the truck and block the way, staring at the pork and refusing to leave. It is clear that the crowd would climb up the truck and seize the pork if there were no armed guards protecting it.³¹³ This scene reflects the phenomenon that, after the price-limitation policy was carried out, pork disappeared from the standard market. The common people had none for such a long time that they craved it intensely, to the point where they could potentially riot.

“Staring at Pork” describes most vividly people’s funny reaction when they suddenly have an opportunity to see pork. Before the truck even stops in front of the town hall, it has been surrounded by a mob of onlookers. The armed guard tells the mob to leave. He shouts, “Go away! Go away! There’s nothing to see!” The onlookers respond, “It is worth seeing! We have not seen pork for many days!” “We cannot eat it. But seeing it is almost the same.” Later, while the pork is being unloaded from the truck, onlookers shout, “Good pork, good pork!” It sounds almost like they are evaluating a beauty queen or a painting. Because of the glut of onlookers, workers carrying pork cannot gain entrance to the town hall. The armed guard becomes more angry: “What else to see? Go away, go away!” The onlookers ignore his demands, crying, “I don’t want to eat...I just look!” “It is worth looking! It is worth looking!” Finally the pork enters the town hall. As the truck leaves to go to the next destination, the narrator describes what the onlookers see: “Pork runs like it is flying.” Before they leave the area, they say happily, “We saw

³¹³ Yedi 夜帝, “Wangrou ” 望肉 (Staring at the pork), *Xinmin Evening News*, March 18, 1943.

pork! A lot of pork! It sleeps in the big car!” The common people’s reaction seems exaggerated, but it actually characterized the deprivation of not eating pork for several months after pork trade had gone to the black market.

Another example of the extreme results of this policy is to be found in “Cash Pigs” (“Yaoqian zhu” 搖錢豬) by Fang 放 (pen name of Zhao Chaogou), published in *Xinmin Evening News* on June 19, 1943. In this story, a woman spends all her money on three pigs she is raising because she believes they will bring her a fortune. Satirically, the three children of this woman always go hungry because all her money goes to the pigs.³¹⁴

What is worth our attention is that the close relationship between the news and these popular works of satirical fiction is not to be found among works of satirical fiction by writers of New Literature. Although the latter were also published in Chongqing, they frequently did not set the scene there. In fact, many writers of New Literature chose not to specify the location of their stories, except for Sha Ting, who gave his fictional works distinctive Sichuan colors. This demonstrates that writers of New Literature intended to make their stories appear set in any town or city of the great hinterland. Characters in those stories can be corrupt bureaucrats, businessmen, or intellectuals from anywhere in the great hinterland as well. However, popular writers used the news and current social phenomena of Chongqing specifically as their subject matter. Thus, through their works we can better observe the influence of Chongqing’s government policies on the common people. These popular works actually offer among the best resources to understand Chongqing society.

III. Social Satire and Sima Xu

³¹⁴ Fang 放, “Yaoqian zhu” 搖錢豬 (Cash pigs), *Xinmin Evening News*, June 19, 1943.

Topics of social satire are varied, examining multiple aspects of social problems. Satirized targets range from war profiteers (“Twelve-pound Thermos” [“Shi’er bang reshui ping” 十二磅熱水瓶] by Sima Xu, published in *Xinmin Evening News* on October 17, 1942), to prodigal wives (“Wives” [“Taitai men” 太太們] by Xie Zhu 謝渚, published in no. 18 of *Phenomena Weekly* on October 23, 1943), doctors who see only rich patients (“The Record of Taking an X-Ray Examination” [“Zhao X guang ji” 照X光記] by Gongru 公如, published in *Nanjing Evening News* on July 17, 1944), and rich city women who look down upon poor country women (“A Beautiful Woman and A Country Woman” [“junde he cunde” 俊的和村的] by Sima Xu, published in *Xinmin Evening News* on March 23, 1944). *Eighty-one Dreams* also satirized people other than corrupt officials, including common people. This range of satirized targets demonstrates that popular fiction satirized everyone, from upper class to commoners. By contrast, with few exceptions, the satirical fiction of New Literature targeted primarily corrupt officials and intellectuals. In other words, the range of satirized characters in New Literature fiction is much narrower than that of popular fiction.

Among popular works of social satire, Sima Xu’s work deserves our attention. He wrote many pieces of social satire that present typical characteristics; that is, they reflect problems in multiple aspects of society through various perspectives of daily life. The following section offers first a sketch of Sima Xu’s life and body of work, then an analysis of how his satirical works presented salient characteristics of popular social satire.

A. Sima Xu’s Life and Works

Sima Xu was the pen name of Cheng Daqian 程大千, a journalist of the Xinmin News Press in Chongqing who wrote miscellaneous essays and fictional works. Due to lack of materials, we know little about his life, such as when he started to work for the Xinmin News Press. In 1983, Zheng Shifeng 鄭拾風 (1920-1996) and Chen Liyuan edited and published a selection of Sima Xu's miscellaneous essays and fictional works under the title, *A Chongqing Guest* (*Chongqing ke* 重慶客), to commemorate Sima Xu, who had died in 1979. Zheng and Chen had been two colleagues of Sima Xu in wartime Chongqing. According to them, Sima Xu began his career with the Xinmin News Press around 1941.³¹⁵

The short stories of satirical fiction in Zheng and Chen's selection are referenced in this section. In the preface, Zheng and Chen point out that Sima Xu published about one thousand miscellaneous essays and short stories in *Xinmin Evening News* from 1941 to 1944, indicating that his work appeared two out of every three days.³¹⁶ Zheng and Chen also note that Sima Xu's works were collected into at least seven books in the wartime period. The works featured in Zheng and Chen's collection come from two of them, i.e., *Chongqing Guest*³¹⁷ and *Bystander in Chongqing* (*Chongqing pangguanzhe* 重慶旁觀者).³¹⁸ This collection also contains cartoons related to contents of Sima's works. Those cartoons possibly originate from these two

³¹⁵ Zheng Shifeng 鄭拾風 and Chen Liyuan 陳理源, foreword to *Chongqing ke* 重慶客 (A Chongqing guest), by Sima Xu 司馬訐 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1983), 1-6; here 1-2.

³¹⁶ According to the preface by Zheng and Chen, miscellaneous essays and fictional works by Sima Xu were published in *Xinmin News*. However, they were actually in *Xinmin Evening News*. Zheng and Chen are not the only ones who mistakenly refer to *Xinmin Evening News* as *Xinmin News*. This problem also arises in memoirs of those who worked in the Xinmin News Press in the wartime period. When they write about *Xinmin News*, what they refer to may be *Xinmin Evening News*.

³¹⁷ Clearly, the title of Zheng and Chen's collection comes from this story. However, in the rest of this section of Chapter 4, *A Chongqing Guest* refers to Zheng and Chen's collection, not the short story.

³¹⁸ Zheng Shifeng and Chen Liyuan, foreword to *A Chongqing Guest*, 1-2.

books as well. Duplicates of *Xinmin Evening News* are incomplete and often not readable, and finding Sima's books in the present time is difficult. Therefore, Zheng and Chen's selection offers a good resource for us to acquire access to Sima's works.

In the preface, Zheng and Chen also note that almost half of Sima Xu's works are satire. Regarding satirical works in my collection, Sima Xu's works far outnumber other writers'. There are 17 pieces of satire in my collection written by Sima Xu. *A Chongqing Guest* contains another 19 satirical works not in my collection. These 36 satirical works, in total, are the materials used in this section.

B. Multiple Aspects of the Society in Sima Xu's Satire

Sima Xu's satirical works tend to focus on three main topics, which comprise the bulk of his work: the luxurious life of the rich, war profiteers, and people indifferent to social injustice, unfairness, or disadvantaged people. These works reveal Sima Xu's broad observations and insightful grasp of the society he lived in.

In works satirizing luxurious life of rich people, Sima Xu takes a special angle. He uses food in banquets as a metaphor to satirize the opulent life of rich people in the wartime period, during which provisions were scarce. These works include, "Upon Abalone, Ham, and Sea Cucumber" ("Zai baoyu huotui haishen zhi pan" 在鮑魚火腿海參之畔), published in *Xinmin Evening News* on June 30, 1942, "Eels" ("Shan" 鱻), published in *Xinmin Evening News* on

March 16, 1943, and “Dining Table Waltz” (“Canzhuo shang de yuanwuqu” 餐桌上的圓舞曲), published in January 5, 1945.³¹⁹

Among the short stories of this kind, “Eels” most deserves our attention. Within a short story of less than one thousand Chinese characters, Sima Xu successfully employs different techniques to satirize not only the luxurious life of rich people but also other social phenomena.

The story consists of a conversation between two eels in a big jar in a kitchen. One of the eels asks the other where their other friends are. “Yesterday, the jar was really full. At that time, I thought I was on a bus.” Words of this eel actually satirize the always-crowded Chongqing buses as being jammed like jars swarming with fish. However, when this eel speaks, there are only two left, implying that the banquet last night was so big that all their fellow eels were cooked. The other eel answers, “They were sacrificed. Yes, all of them bled! Glorious blood! Beautiful blood! In order to nourish humans and save human health, they nobly sacrificed their lives (“kangkai juanqu” 慷慨捐軀).”³²⁰ This answer is ironic because the death of these eels would have been anything but noble. Instead of saving a person whose health was jeopardized due to lack of food, their deaths, in effect, were an offering of a gourmet delicacy at a banquet. This passage is also a parody of literary works that glorify the bravery of soldiers. Like the death of those eels, they did not die in glory, but more often due to malnutrition and lack of training.

The eel who answers question also requests the other one to see the cutting board on their right. It was where cooks dealing with pork. “Look those dead pigs! Their bellies are full. How many Yantai Beer, shark fins and sea cucumbers they eat. Their merits are eating, drinking, sleeping and producing black market! When people request them to offer some fat, they go away

³¹⁹ “Canzhuo shang de yuanwuqu” 餐桌上的圓舞曲 (Dining table waltz) is from *A Chongqing Guest*, 226-228.

³²⁰ Sima Xu, “Shan” 鱓 (Eels), in *Xinmin Evening News*, March 16, 1943.

with wagging their tails!”³²¹ At first glance, this passage satirizes pigs. But the appearance of Yantai Beer, shark fins, sea cucumbers and the black market demonstrates that this passage actually satirizes rich businessmen through comparing them with pigs.

In other stories, common people are the main protagonists and targeted for satire as well. This kind of story includes, for example, “Twelve-pound Thermos” (“Shi’er bang reshui ping” 十二磅熱水瓶), October 17, 1942; “In the Same Boat” (“Tongzhou” 同舟), April 3, 1943; and “Gold Allurement” (“Jinmi renzui” 金迷人醉), July 6 and 8, 1944. All were published in *Xinmin Evening News*.

The above named stories highlight a ridiculous wartime mentality in Chongqing: people were all crazy to earn a fortune. Such a phenomenon is most prominently presented in “Gold Allurement,” which is made up of four independent vignettes. The first one is set at the most sacred moment of a wedding. Just as the pastor is going to ask the bridegroom if he will marry the bride, a man rushes into the church and shouts, “Lili! Lili!” The bride is actually his wife. He breaks this holy moment for the new couple, not for love, but because he wants to get a key from his wife. He asks Lili to hurry. “We cannot wait any longer. The price of gold is rising. I am going to take money from the cabinet and buy one hundred *liang* immediately!” While this man is speaking, the pastor asks the bridegroom if he will marry the bride. However, the bridegroom now asks, “Is that true?” After hearing the man’s words, the bridegroom runs out of the church without answering the pastor’s question. For him, gold is more attractive than the bride.

Such a comical ending likewise appears in the other three vignettes. In the second, when a doctor hears a man next door saying that the price of gold is rising, he jumps up from his chair and dashes out with his purse, undoubtedly to buy gold. Meanwhile, “the patient is still biting the

³²¹ Ibid.

thermometer in his mouth and watching the clean, white ceiling.” In the third vignette, set in a courtroom, when the prosecuting lawyer hears that the price of gold is going up, he stops interrogating the accused and rushes out from the court. The fourth vignette is the most absurd of all. In the beginning of the story, a priest is praying for a dying old man. His wife and children also are crying. However, the pallbearers do not appear. Someone tells the old man’s son that this is because the price of gold price is rising, so they’ve forgotten their jobs and gone to buy gold. Hearing this, the dying old man suddenly opens his eyes, which have been shut for days. He says, “That’s okay. But we do have to ask how high the price is.” At the end of the story, his last words are, “Gold is worthy to buy.”³²²

The above presents Sima Xu’s typical narrative pattern in satirical works: a story with a single scene ends with laughable words or actions. In this work, each scene represents an important moment of a commoner’s life: wedding, working, legal issues, and dying. Through stories set in these four moments, Sima Xu satirizes that in Chongqing everyone was crazy to net a fortune by speculation.

The third topic also highlights the distinctiveness of Sima Xu’s novelettes. He focused on indifference to social injustice, unfairness, or disadvantaged people, while other satirists paid more attention to the moral decline of corrupt government officials or hypocritical intellectuals. Short stories of this topic are, for instance, “Shade in a City” (“Duhui zhi yuyin” 都會之余蔭),³²³ published on July 5, 1942; “Urban Commoners” (“Shijing zhi tu” 市井之徒), January 21, 1943; and “Landlady” (“Nu dizhu” 女地主), May 11, 1943. The first work is to be found in *A Chongqing Guest*, and the last three are from duplicates of *Xinmin Evening News*.

³²² Sima Xu, “Jinmi renzui” 金迷人醉“ (Gold allurements), in *Xinmin Evening News*, July 6 and 8, 1944.

³²³ Sima Xu, “Duhui zhi yuyin” 都會之余蔭 (The shade in a city), in *A Chongqing Guest*, 7-10.

The protagonist of “Shade in a City” prominently presents the apathy of the upper-level society toward people of lower social status. In the story, a famous photographer sees a boy beggar who is sleeping in the shadow behind a truck. What comes first to his mind is, “What a quiet hotel!”³²⁴ Given the situation of this little beggar, who is so impoverished that he has no home, the photographer’s words are tremendously ironic.

Then the narrator continues to describe how the photographer responds to this scene: “[He] is neither sympathetic nor compassionate. With the most lofty and pure emotion, he is intoxicated by the vast expanse of the art realm in front of him.” After “appreciating” this “art,” the photographer names it, “Shade in a City.”³²⁵ This passage, which is about the photographer’s excitement at seeing what he considers art, indicates that the photographer is cold to the young boy’s painful situation. He just views the beggar as material for photography, not a homeless child.

In Sima’s work, commoners are no less indifferent to other people’s suffering. Peddlers in “Urban Commoners” provide a typical example of this kind of people. This story is about a woman selling her coat to peddlers at the train station. Before she goes over to the peddlers, she takes her small suitcase and stands near a street lamp in the freezing wind for a long time. The peddlers do not know what she wants to do and gossip about her, guessing that she may be lost or waiting for someone. But all of them agree that she must be a woman from a good social background. The plot implies that this woman is driven to sell her belongings for the first time, surrendering her coat for cash. Because of her good social background, this is very difficult for her, so she is reluctant to move forward.

³²⁴ Sima Xu, *ibid.*, 8.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

Finally, she goes toward to the peddlers and sells them her coat in the suitcase. After bargaining, the rice-ball seller buys it for nine hundred *yuan*. He is quite satisfied with this deal. “Now, I am also good at dressing up my wife. I just bought her cold cream for one hundred and fifty *yuan* and make-up foundation for eighty *yuan* earlier this year.” While the rice-ball seller is boasting that he is rich enough to dress up his wife, this woman, lacking any companion, has just sold her coat in the freezing cold. Later, after “seeing the back of this woman who gradually disappears in the dark,” an old woman selling barbecued pork disdainfully judges, “She must’ve been dumped!” In the beginning of the story, when peddlers can’t tell what she wants to do, they agree that she is from a good social background and thus “cannot be flirted” with. However, the old woman’s words indicate that, when encountering a woman in a difficult situation, these commoners change their attitude and go cold to her situation. No one has any words of sympathy for her. Nevertheless, the story provides a satirical ending concerning the old woman. The narrator puns, “as she speaks, she spreads sesame oil on the ugly pig mouth.”³²⁶ The old woman selling barbecued pork is perhaps coating the pork at her stand. However, this sentence immediately follows the old woman’s cruel comment about the woman forced to sell her coat. Hence, it could imply that the old woman’s mouth is as ugly as a pig’s.

Sima Xu satirizes various issues of concern for him in Chongqing society from multiple perspectives. This breadth of social subject matter is a common feature of 1940s popular satirical fiction, the formation of which is possibly related to popular satirists’ profession. While New Literature writers focused on satirizing intellectuals and government officials, popular writers depicted a wider range of society. This characteristic implies that popular journalist-writers had

³²⁶ Sima Xu, “Shijing zhi tu” 市井之徒 (Urban commoners), in *Xinmin Evening News*, January 21, 1943.

more opportunities for careful observation of various social situations than did New Literature writers and thus were more sensitive to social atmosphere. In addition, using the form of short story could be a second factor of this variety. Popular writers generating short stories did not need to concern themselves with the coherence of intricate plots as did writers of serialized novels. Rather, each story can freely and independently reflect an individual social phenomenon.

IV. Eighty-one Dreams

The topics of stories in *Eighty-one Dreams* also match the second goal of the supplement of *Xinmin News*, namely, expressing opinions that could not be presented in editorials or news criticism. In the early serialization of *Eighty-one Dreams*, Zhang extends an invitation to those who were discontent with political and social situations of Chongqing to read this novel, which satirizes political, economic, and/or social problems in wartime Chongqing.³²⁷ Characters satirized included corrupt bureaucrats, war profiteers, and morally degenerate intellectuals. According to Zhang Youluan, the stories alluded to real people in wartime Chongqing. Therefore, *Xinmin News* was often warned not to continue serializing *Eighty-one Dreams*, and finally, Zhang was forced to terminate the serialization of his novel because it had alluded too closely to Kong Xiangxi.³²⁸

More importantly, among all popular works of satire, *Eighty-one Dreams* presents deeper thoughts toward social and political problems – another topic this section intends to explore. As has been stated, *Eighty-one Dreams* is the only novel of popular satire in wartime Chongqing.

³²⁷ Zhang Henshui, “Bashi yi meng 5: Xiezi: Shuchi xia de shengyu ” 八十一夢 5: 楔子: 鼠齒下的剩餘 (*Eighty-one Dreams* 5: Prologue: Leftover from mice teeth), *Xinmin News*, December 5, 1939.

³²⁸ See Chapter 2 for the details about how Zhang Henshui was forced to terminate the serialization of *Eighty-one Dreams*.

Zhang Henshui takes advantage of the novel form to present the full range of his thoughts about the various problems he satirizes. Therefore, Zhang offers the best example for examining thought differences between popular writers and writers of New Literature in satire.

Eighty-one Dreams recounts fourteen dreams, each of which satirizes a variety of political, economic, and/or social problems in wartime Chongqing. The way stories of *Eighty-one Dreams* are arranged is significant to Zhang's intention to reform the structure of the popular novel. It demonstrates that, despite inheriting the tradition of late Qing satirical fiction, Zhang Henshui was trying to change the literary format of telling a story. The protagonist of *Eighty-one Dreams*, Mr. Zhang, travels from past to future and from heaven to hell in his fourteen dreams. He reminds us of the protagonists of *The Travels of Lao Can* (*Lao Can youji* 老殘遊記, 1903) by Liu E 劉鶚 (1857-1909) and *Eyewitness Reports on Strange Things from the Past Twenty Years* (*Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀), by Wu Jianren 吳趸人 (1866-1910), first serialized in *Xin xiaoshuo* 新小說 (New fiction) in 1903-1905 and first printed in book form in 1900-1910. Both these novels also satirize various social and political problems in late Qing China, as experienced by protagonists. The difference between *Eighty-one Dreams* and the latter two late Qing novels is that each dream in *Eighty-one Dreams* had no connection with the other dreams, while all stories in the latter two novels are related in some way. Zhang Henshui deviates from the pattern that satirical fiction of the late Qing usually maintained in moving from one story to the next. "When I have a dream, I put it down. Each dream is not associated with other dreams. Thus I avoid the difficulty of melting down many stories in one pot." Zhang regards this change as "reform, indicating that he was aware of the unconventional

nature of the novel's loose structure."³²⁹ As Chen Pingyuan mentions, this "problem" is caused by putting together many unrelated stories in a satirical novel.³³⁰

Stories in *Eighty-one Dreams* are dreams of the protagonist, Mr. Zhang. The use of dreams implies that, just as with short stories of popular satire in wartime Chongqing, *Eighty-one Dreams* is also deeply influenced by the tradition of classical Chinese literature. The novel inherits other traditions of Chinese literature as well. Like other popular works, *Eighty-one Dreams* recycles characters and plots from vernacular novels of the Ming and Qing dynasties. The most famous character in *Eighty-one Dreams* is Sun Wukong, the protagonist of *Journey to the West*. In "The 72nd Dream: I am Sun Wukong," Sun Wukong fights with Reaching-heaven Goddess, a character implying Kong Xiangxi.³³¹

In classical Chinese drama and fiction, dreams were commonly used to express writers' concerns about society and feelings about life. In the prologue of *Eighty-one Dreams*, Zhang also mentions that someone asked him that why he was not writing anti-Japanese propaganda but merely dreams? "How boring it is!"³³² Zhang uses four lines of a poem as his response:

I am reluctant to beg ferns from rich people.
In the reed hut in barren hills, I learn to be free of schemes.
I am like Youngman Lu, talking about the dream in Handan.
But right and wrong are not buried under the shadow of the locust tree.

羞向朱門乞蕨蕨，荒山茅屋學忘機。
盧生自說邯鄲夢，未必槐蔭沒是非。

³²⁹ Zhang Henshui, *Reminiscences of My Life as a Writer*, 64.

³³⁰ Chen Pingyuan, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi (1897-1916)* 二十世紀中國小說史 (1897-1916) (A history of Chinese fiction in the twentieth century (1897-1916)), in vol. 2 of *Collection of Discussions on History of Fiction of Chen Pingyuan*, 726-727.

³³¹ Zhang Henshui, "Bashi yi meng 72: Wo shi Sun Wukong" 八十一夢 72: 我是孫悟空 (*Eighty-one Dreams* 72: I am Sun Wukong), *Xinmin News*, December 1-31, 1940.

³³² *Ibid.*, 3.

This poem contains several allusions to classical Chinese literature. The third line alludes to *The Story in a Pillow* (*Zhenzhongji* 枕中記) by Shen Jiji 沈既濟 (ca. 750-800), a romance (“chuanqi” 傳奇) in the Tang dynasty that was also adapted to a *qunqu* opera script, *The Handan Report* (*Handanji* 邯鄲記), by Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550-1616) in the late Ming dynasty. The fourth line alludes to *The Governor of Nanke* (*Nanke taishou zhuan* 南柯太守傳) by Li Gongzuo 李公佐 (770 [?]-850 [?] AD) in the Tang dynasty. It was also adapted to *The Nanke Report* (*Nankeji* 南柯記) by Tang Xianzu. Both stories convey the idea that richness and splendor are all empty like a dream. However, the last line of Zhang’s poem gives this poem a new meaning. It indicates that, although there are many stories about honor and splendor in *Eighty-one Dreams*, they clearly manifest what is right and what is wrong. This poem proclaims that Zhang Henshui considered the value of his satire, in which he exposed things he regarded were wrong, to be no less than anti-Japanese propaganda.

The dreamer, Mr. Zhang, is a journalist just as Zhang Henshui was. Therefore, we can view Mr. Zhang, narrator of all the dreams in this novel, as an incarnation of Zhang Henshui, and it is reasonable to assume that the viewpoint of the narrator and the author are highly overlapped. We have to pay attention to this feature, because Mr. Zhang’s descriptions of characters and events in a story decide who is satirized. Moreover, his opinions about them are also pivotal to the interpretation of those dreams.

This novel mainly talks about three subjects. Corruption, to be discussed first, is at the center of the 15th, 48th, 58th, 72nd, and 80th dreams. War profiteers, discussed second, is focused on in the 5th, 8th, 10th, 24th, 32nd, 36th and 55th dreams. Different topics overlap in a story, but each

has its primary emphasis. Intellectuals, the third topic, appear clearly in only the 64th and 77th dreams. However, dreams of the third kind go far to explain intellectuals' moral decline and selfishness. In order to fully understand this novel, we shall discuss all three subjects.

A. Corrupt Bureaucrats

Various kinds of officials make their appearance in *Eighty-one Dreams*. In “The 15th Dream: Returning to Twenty Years Ago” (“Di shiwu meng: Tui huiqu le ershi nian” 第十五夢: 退回去了二十年), the reader encounters lazy officials who half-heartedly do their job. They gather to play cards, chess, read novels, and write critiques of the Beijing opera. The only thing they avoid doing is their own work, because all of them get their positions through favoritism and have no fear of being fired. In “The 48th Dream: Under Zhong Kui's Command” (“Di sishiba meng: Zai Zhong Kui zhangxia” 第四十八夢在鍾馗帳下), under the command of Zhong Kui, the god who destroys evil ghosts in the Daoist myth, Mr. Zhang vanquishes a corrupt official in the hell. Qian Weizhong 錢維重, a pun of “only money matters,” is the official guarding the Adu 阿堵 (nickname of money) Pass in hell. Also an official when he was alive, Qian Weizhong, has brought his bad behavior from man's world to hell. He and his subordinates receive bribes from people in hell who wish to go through the pass. Therefore, with cars carrying a “sweeping-devil army” (“Dang yao jun” 蕩妖軍) and weapons, Mr. Zhang catches Qian Weizhong. Because Qian shows such extreme greed for wealth, he is punished by being shackled with gold on his head and forced to drink gold juice until his death.

In *Eighty-one Dreams*, the most prime material for representing corrupt bureaucrats was Kong Xiangxi, one of the most powerful bureaucrats in wartime Chongqing and brother-in-law

of Jiang Jieshi, who was leader of the Nationalist government from 1926 until his death in 1975. Kong's wife, Song Ailing, was the eldest sister of Jiang Jieshi's wife, Song Meiling. According to Zhang's *Reminiscences of My Life as a Writer* (*Xiezuo shengya huiyi* 寫作生涯回憶), several satirized characters in *Eighty-one Dreams* can be easily connected to Kong.³³³ It was because of this apparent challenge to the authority of Kong that, under the strict censorship of wartime Chongqing, Zhang was forced to discontinue serialization of his novel on April 25, 1941.

In Zhang's reminiscences, he admits to satirizing Kong in "Reaching-heaven Goddess" ("Tongtian shengmu" 通天聖母). "Reaching-heaven Goddess" actually is "Reaching-heaven Demon" ("Tongtian daxian" 通天大仙) in "The 72nd Dream: I Am Sun Wukong" ("Di qishier meng: Wo shi Sun Wukong" 第七十二夢: 我是孫悟空). In the story, Reaching-heaven Demon bathes with breast milk from three thousand mothers and eats three thousand people per day. It also plans to suck blood from one-hundred-and-eighty-thousand people because it believes that, after doing so, it will be allowed to make a pilgrimage to Western Paradise (Xitian 西天). Due to the Reaching-heaven Demon's exploitation, when Sun Wukong arrives at the place originally called "Gold Valley and Treasure Mountain" (Huangjin gu baibao shan 黃金谷百寶山), it has become a sterile wasteland. This plot indicates that Zhang views Kong's appropriation of public resources for the sake of family wealth as almost demonic exploitation of Chinese people and resources.

The Reaching-heaven Demon is so powerful that it seems impossible to take down. Even the Sun cannot defeat it, despite the help of celestials. In the end of the story, all the celestials

³³³ Zhang Henshui, *Reminiscences of My Life as a Writer*, 75-76.

can do for the Sun is to save him from the demon's hands.³³⁴ This plot implies that Kong's power is almost invincible. In fact, the term "reaching-heaven" has clearly pointed out the enormity of Kong's power. This term can be used to describe a person of great power in an organization or a person who can influence or have direct contact with the highest leadership. One can describe Kong in the wartime period as "reaching-heaven" in either context. Kong was in several high government positions at that time, while his relationship with Jiang Jieshi made him one of those who could "reach-heaven."

In "The 55th Dream: Honest Men" ("Di wushiwu meng: Zhongshi fenzi" 第五十五夢: 忠實分子), Zhang uses another metaphor to satirize that Kong's power was enormous enough to acquire profit for people around him as well. In Zhang's reminiscences, this metaphor is referred to as "Kong's way reaches heaven" ("Kong dao shengtian" 孔道升天), but in the story, it is "This way reaches heaven" ("Qi dao tong tian" 其道通天). The protagonist Mr. Zhang visits the Honest Village, in which people claim to be honest. In fact, they lie about everything to everyone in order to get money. At the end of the story, Mr. Zhang arrives at a cable car station. The entrance to the station is designed as a tremendous coin held by people with the heads of a pig and tiger, respectively, standing at the two sides of the coin. The Chinese coin has a hole in the center, a feature known as the "kong." It happens that the pronunciation and character for the "kong" of a coin is exactly the same as Kong Xiangxi's family name. Later, Mr. Zhang sees several dogs and roosters go into the cable car. When the cable car starts, it is bound for somewhere in the fog. In the last scene, Mr. Zhang realizes its destination when he sees the tablet hanging on the upper part of coin showing, "This way reaches heaven."

³³⁴ Zhang Henshui, "Eighty-one Dreams 72: I am Sun Wukong," in *Eighty-one Dreams*, 205-225.

The image of dogs and roosters going to heaven is drawn from a Chinese proverb: “When a man attains the Tao, even his roosters and dogs ascend to heaven” (“yiren dedao, ji quan shengtian” 一人得道，雞犬升天). This proverb comes from a story in *Disquisitions (Lunheng 論衡)*³³⁵ by Wang Chong 王充 (27-97), a philosopher in the Eastern Han (25-220). In the chapter “Fallacy of Dao” (“Dao xu” 道虛), Wang uses a story to illustrate the irrationality of ascending to the heaven when one knows Dao. In this story, when the King of Huainan 淮南 Liu An 劉安 (179BC-122 BC) learns Dao, not only he and his family ascend to heaven, but also his roosters and dogs. This proverb is usually used to imply that, when one is at the top, people around him benefit from his power as well.

In *Eighty-one Dreams*, because the Chinese name of the hole in the center of the coin is the exact same word as Kong Xiangxi’s family name, the image of “Kong’s way reaches heaven” should not simply be construed to mean that money brings one to heaven or that money brings one great power. Rather, it satirizes Kong’s wealth and power in two ways: he was part of the top power of China, and his authority was so enormous that people around him gain benefits as well.³³⁶

B. War Profiteers

This novel also pays much attention to war profiteers. There are two more chapters targeting them than target corrupt officials. Not all merchants are of great wealth; they can be small businessmen or their friends. In “The 5th Dream: Extra! Extra!” (“Di wu meng: Haowai

³³⁵ This translation follows that by Alfred Forke. See Wang Chong, *Lunheng*, trans., Alfred Forke (New York, Paragon Book Gallery, 1962).

³³⁶ Zhang Henshui, “Di wushiwu meng: Zhongshi fenzi” 第五十五夢: 忠實分子 (The 55th dream: Honest men), in *Eighty-one Dreams*, 142-161; here 161.

haowai” 第五夢: 號外號外), one passage of Mr. Zhang’s words offers examples of this kind of people.

Rich friends, after they arrived at Sichuan, they became richer. How about poor friends? When they were in Sichuan, they became poorer. Therefore, the poor and the rich are always like the North Pole and the South Pole. Now it is time to return to Nanjing. The situation may not be changed. Mr. Wang is going to open a bigger store in Nanjing. Shen Tianhu is going to publish ten pamphlets [to sell his ideas about the Chinese future] in Nanjing. Even the fortuneteller will broadcast to people that he also contributed to the war effort [by predicting Chinese victory]. Now he asks society to pay for it.³³⁷

This is the first chapter of the novel. It sets the scene in Chongqing at a time when China has recently won the War of Resistance. Mr. Zhang’s opinions reveal the main point of this chapter and imply that people are greedy for wealth not only in the wartime period. Chinese victory will simply furnish another chance for them to acquire money. It is apparent that Zhang Henshui expresses his concern about the moral degeneration of the Chinese people through his protagonist, Mr. Zhang.

“The 55th Dream: Honest Men” presents typical images of the war profiteers Zhang satirizes. In order to obtain more money, residents of the Honest Village in this dream ironically lie about everything. A subplot about a hotel named “Gongdao” 公道, which, in this context, means the price is fairly affordable, presents perfectly the ridiculous ways businessmen in this village rip off customers. When the protagonist Mr. Zhang arrives at this hotel, he sees a flyer on the lobby wall announcing, “Big sale for a week!” These words are followed by some explanatory sentences: “In the current three weeks [*sic*], 30% of the original price you pay is donated to the frontline soldiers. So we actually take only 70% of the room rate.” In other

³³⁷ Zhang Henshui, “Di wu meng: Haowai haowai” 第五夢: 號外號外 (The 5th Dream: Extra! Extra!), in *Eighty-one Dreams*, 5-21; here 17.

words, this hotel takes the advantage of the war to earn itself the reputation of loving the country, while travelers save no money from this deal.

Upon entering his hotel room, Mr. Zhang sees three more pieces of paper posted. The first says, “Due to high electricity rate, an extra 10% is charged for electricity.” The next reads, “Due to high water rate, an extra 10% is charged for water and tea.” The third sign says, “If the honored guest uses bedding, an extra 10% is charged.” Mr. Zhang complains to a waiter, “The flyers in the lobby say 30% of what we pay is donated to the army. Now you charge 10% extra for water, electricity, and bedding respectively. That 30% compensates your loss from the donation. You gain the reputation of donating but customers bear the loss. Moreover, the reputation for patriotism attracts you more business. You get all the benefits!” The waiter smiles in return and asks him not to concern himself with this problem as long as he’s staying in the hotel for only one night.³³⁸ This plot satirizes businessmen in the wartime period who grasped at any chance to pilfer more income. For them even patriotism nothing more than a tool for their business.

During the wartime period, the shortage of commodities became increasingly grave. Under such circumstances, some people were still hungry for luxury and imported goods, which were even rarer than other kinds of commodities. This gave businessmen the chance to profiteer. Therefore, Zhang Henshui satirizes those who pursued luxury and imported goods, as well as those who sold them, in “The 10th Dream: A Glance at the Dog-head State” (“Di shi meng: Goutouguo zhi yipie”第十夢: 狗頭國之一瞥). In this dream, everyone belongs to the Dog-head State. This state gets this name not because its residents have dog heads. The state is on an island, the name of which no one knows, except that it sounds like “dog head.” Thus, it gets the

³³⁸ Zhang Henshui, “The 55th Dream: Honest Men”, in *Eighty-one Dreams*, 148.

name Dog-head State. Here, people crave sugar just because it is rare. Therefore, Dog-head businessmen hoard sugar and raise its price continuously. When two trucks with sugar pass by on the street, people on the road “turn their heads to those two trucks and stare at them. Some people twist their heads, with corners of mouths slobbering for two *chi*, showing the whites of eyes, standing there without moving, with their faces looking like dying embers.”³³⁹ In this passage, sugar is the symbol of luxury goods. Those who crave sugar cannot control their desire and thus salivate. This satire makes those who crave luxury goods appear ridiculous and repulsive.

Although residents of the Dog-head State are the same as humans, in some conditions, their behavior makes them look like dogs. For instance, a rich man who has the disease of being “needy for foreign goods” coughs like a Pekinese. Another character, a druggist, has heartache. “Whenever he is attacked by this symptom, he has to get someone to punch his spine. But it does not work if he is punched by residents of this island. He invites a western boxer to beat him at home. When his symptom of barking-as-a-dog [*sic*] appears, he recovers only when western fists beat him.”³⁴⁰ Descriptions of these barking-like-dogs people satirize those who crave foreign goods and worship foreign people. In the face of these cravings, some people lose their self-respect.

The most profound satire appears in the last part of this chapter, set at a restaurant serving western food, called “Albania.” Because it has a foreign name, the restaurant is very popular. Each customer generally spends 100 *liang* for dinner. Zhang Henshui satirizes those who dine in such restaurants as furthering the fall of the state because, at that time in World War II, Albania

³³⁹ Zhang Henshui, “Di shi meng: Goutouguo zhi yipie” 第十夢: 狗頭國之一瞥 (The 10th dream: A glance at the Dog-head State), in *Eighty-one Dreams*, 36-46; here 40.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

was occupied by Italy, and then by Germany. Zhang implies that wealthy and wasteful Chinese contribute to the destruction of their country.

Furthermore, in the story, while wealthy people dine in the restaurant, beggars wait outside its back door for leftovers and scraps, running away each time the police approach. Mr. Zhang counts the number of beggars, finding that there are at least a hundred. The tour guide Wan Shitong 萬士通, pun of “knowing all the answers,” tells Zhang that there are even more beggars on this island. Therefore, Zhang follows the fleeing beggars and tries to figure out how many there are in this state. Mr. Zhang describes what he sees on the road:

Within ten *zhang*, I see two corpses of beggars lying on the ground. One corpse is half covered with a straw mat. The other is naked. Its skin has become dark grey, with bones stretching out from underneath. I am shocked and keep going forward. Then I see the sea from far way. It stretches to the sky. Floating on it are several ships flying pirates' flags. Later, those fleeing beggars disappear. Big and small piles of the impoverished corpses lie everywhere, from road nearby to the beach. But when I look carefully, they seem to be not corpses. Some are naked human statues carved in the base of walls of private gardens. Some are carved in the stone gates of garages. My eyes deceived me. Corpses of the poor are, in effect, the carved stone of wealthy people's foundations. The stone is well carved so that every statue has a posture of brilliant performance. While I enjoy seeing them, suddenly, all of the stone statues move together. They shout loudly and jump at me.³⁴¹

In this final scene of the story, all the statues are actually impoverished people. This scene indicates that the wealth of a small elite is based on the poverty and starvation of most people. The dying people's attack on Mr. Zhang implies most people's anger at an unfair society. At the same time, there are pirates on the sea near this island, clearly referring to the Japanese invaders. The last scene can be viewed as expressing Zhang Henshui's general feeling of China's situation at that time.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 46.

C. Hope of Victory in the War

Eighty-one Dreams was written between 1939 and 1941. At that time, although inflation and the corrupt government posed political and social problems, people did not lose the faith about winning over the Japanese. *Eighty-one Dreams* reflects such thoughts about the war at that time. In “The 58th Dream: Traveling between the Past and the Present” (“Di wushiba meng: Shangxia gujin” 第五十八夢: 上下古今), Mr. Zhang appeals to officials and war profiteers that they should place top priority on national victory. Since most Chinese people were still patriotic, if only officials were not corrupt and businessmen would not profiteer on the war, China still had the potential to win over the Japanese.

The idea that Chinese people were patriotic is developed in the last chapter of this novel, “The 80th Dream: Returning to Nanjing” (“Di bashi meng: Huidao le Nanjing” 第八十夢: 回到了南京). Echoing the first chapter, this chapter is likewise set in the future, when China has just won the war. However, the first chapter depicts the news of Chinese victory spreading out in Chongqing, while in the last chapter, Mr. Zhang has returned to Nanjing.

In Nanjing, Mr. Zhang meets Mr. Liu in a teahouse. Mr. Liu asks Mr. Zhang’s friend Li Laoshi (Honest Li in English), whether Mr. Zhang would like to work for him in finding offices for government organizations, which are going to move from Chongqing back to Nanjing. At first, Mr. Zhang thinks that Mr. Liu just is just hoping to net a huge profit from him. However, Li Laoshi tells Mr. Zhang that Mr. Liu simply wants to do something for the nation: “He thinks that renting houses to the government organizations is a way to devote his effort to his country.”³⁴²

³⁴² Zhang Henshui, “Di bashi meng: Huidao le Nanjing” 第八十夢: 回到了南京 (The 80th dream: Returning to Nanjing), in *Eighty-one Dreams*, 252-277; here 266.

Mr. Liu, because he does not take advantage of the Chinese victory to make his fortune, is portrayed as a patriotic person. Zhang Henshui is clearly implying that corruption, making a fortune on the war, and moral decline are all unpatriotic. Conversely, a real patriot would be able to resist these temptations.

In this final chapter, an argument between a courtesan and a rich man supplies a good example to illustrate this point. The narrator, Mr. Zhang, visits a patriotic courtesan Tao Feihong, when he travels in Nanjing. One day when they are chatting, a dead-drunk man wearing a western suit approaches them, takes out a bunch of notes, and asks Tao Feihong to sleep with him for the night. Tao Feihong knows the man but is angry at his drunken request. She pushes him away and asks him to behave. At this time, this man vomits.

Fish maw, holothurian, chicken, fish and duck, all of the indigested human excrement (“renfen” 人糞) is ejected from his mouth to hit Feihong’s body like a javelin.³⁴³

In this passage, Zhang Henshui intentionally points out the contents of this man’s vomit – costly food which is difficult to get in the wartime period. Thus the man is of high social status. But when vomits, it is described as “human excrement,” which implies the internal ugliness of this man. Tao Feihong cannot tolerate this man. She slaps him in the face and reproaches him:

You are evil. The money you get from your evil deeds is too much to put in your belly, so you excrete it... You have money but you do not have spirit. Are you a Chinese man? Are you a Chinese zombie? Your delusion is vain. Although I am a courtesan, I know what I should do. I cannot believe that you dress so well like a great man, but drunk you are dirtier than a courtesan. A courtesan does not behave like this, but you did!³⁴⁴

³⁴³ Ibid., 277.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

Whether a man is patriotic becomes a criterion for Tao to select patrons. Zhang Henshui purposely does not uncover who the man is. When Mr. Zhang recognizes the man, he wakes with a start.³⁴⁵ This implies that it could be a powerful businessman, traitor, or government official. His money could come from a war-profiteering business, the hands of Japanese, or embezzling. No matter what position this man occupies, in the story, he is unpatriotic. Ironically, the morality lacking in the upper class can be found in a courtesan.

Such passages distinguish *Eighty-one Dreams* from other works of satirical fiction in the wartime period. Although Zhang Hengshui satirized Chongqing's moral decline, these passages demonstrate that he still believed not all Chinese were greedy, and that there were still patriots among them after all. Moreover, despite the satire of this novel, Zhang has suggested how the Chinese could rally to win the war if they just rose above the problems satirically depicted in his work.

D. Intellectuals

Who should take responsibility for the various problems of wartime Chongqing? Chongqing was falling into moral decline for what reason? While satirizing wartime China's social and political problems, Zhang Henshui also answers these questions. *Eighty-one Dreams* implies that much of the blame for problems of wartime Chongqing should be attributed to May Fourth intellectuals and those who claimed to have inherited the May Fourth spirit.

Zhang Henshui conveys a negative impression of modern intellectuals in "The 64th Dream: Chase" ("Di liushisi meng: Zhui" 第六十四夢: 追), a story presenting moral decline among young students. They claim to have contributed to War of Resistance by putting on

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

various kinds of art performances. However, their major concern is, in effect, chasing after girls.

Mr. Zhang doubts that whether those young students hold much in the way of conviction.

Nevertheless, the students laugh at him and tell him his thought is out-of-date.

Since when did intellectuals become morally depraved? *Eighty-one Dreams* reflects an idea that, after the May Fourth Movement, young intellectuals did not sincerely promote social, political, and cultural reform as they claimed they would. The movement was more about young intellectuals' grasping power from hands of older generation. "The 77th Dream: Winter in Beijing satirizes the hypocrisy of those modern intellectuals. This time Mr. Zhang goes back to the May Fourth Movement and participates in a meeting held by its student supporters. The leader of a student organization, Tang Tianzhu 唐天柱 (a name which implies that he is like a pillar of China), gives a moving speech to other students. He claims that the goal of the May Fourth Movement is the "liberation of the people and reform of society." He further addresses the audience regarding his expectations for the May Fourth intellectuals:

Now is the ninth year of the Republic. I guarantee, when time progresses to the 19th or 29th year of the Republic, we will still struggle for "liberation and renovation." Suppose in the 19th and 29th year of the Republic, some are in higher official positions, such as ministers and deputy ministers, others in lower positions, such as chiefs of a bureau or a unit. If they gain positions other than by skills or talents, it is another story. If they win power and earn fortunes in the name of a fighter in the May Fourth Movement, we will not let the matter rest until we die. We will roll drums and attack even if only one of us does so!³⁴⁶

Why? The May Fourth Movement is the purest cultural movement and the most sacred revolution. Its value will glitter for thousands of years and be everlasting in history. But if it only cultivates young students to become politicians and bureaucrats, that not only

³⁴⁶ Zhang Henshui, "The 77th Dream: Winter in Beijing," in *Eighty-one Dreams*, 226-251; here 246.

insults hearts of countless hot-blooded youths, but also historically leaves doubts to later generations.³⁴⁷

However, at the end of the story, Mr. Zhang's friend, Hu Shixiong, a college student who is participating in the May Fourth Movement, tells Mr. Zhang his aspirations that go against what the above speech promises:

There is no need to wait for the future. In the present time, we already have a lot of comrades who are passionate in politics. Though I don't know what the situation will be in the 20th and 30th years of the Republic, I predict that there will be a big group of student representatives from the May Fourth Movement becoming ministers and high-ranked civil servants. Those who shout to take down corrupted bureaucrats today, at that time....³⁴⁸

Mr. Zhang is shocked by Hu's words and wakes up while he is still talking. The idealism Tang Tianzhu expressed in his speech and Hu Shixiong's prediction for students' future stand in sharp contrast. This story satirizes that May Fourth intellectuals' idealism is deceitful. Moreover, it provides an explanation of why officials in wartime Chongqing were so corrupted: the 29th year of the Republic was 1940 and 30th 1941 – the exact the time when *Eighty-one Dreams* was being serialized.

May Fourth Movement was originally a student movement protesting the Beijing warlord government, which was incapable of preventing the concession of the Shandong peninsula from Germany to Japan and appealed to the Japanese to return Shandong to China at the Paris Peace Conference in the early 1919. Consequently, this movement greatly influenced many aspects of China. According to Chow Tse-tsung, the May Fourth Movement comprised the moment at which the Chinese tried to create “a new society and civilization through the re-evaluation of all

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 251.

Chinese traditions and the introduction of Western concepts.”³⁴⁹ He points out that those activities associated with the transformation of society and culture containing a “unity of purpose,” were “recognized in the term ‘New Culture Movement.’”³⁵⁰ The New Culture Movement was considered “a hopeful way to save the country” by young intellectuals at that time.³⁵¹ However, the intellectuals in Zhang’s dream do not really want to reform China. On the contrary, like traditional literati, who were keen for positions in the court, the May Fourth intellectuals aimed at lucrative positions in the government as well. They could hardly change China.

Thus, we can view this dream as Zhang’s inquiry for the reason why there were so many corrupt officials and war profiteers in the wartime period. The answer offered in this dream is that hypocritical May Fourth intellectuals destroyed traditional Chinese culture and failed to instill a good new one instead, because their real goal was to take advantage of this movement to gain wealth and positions. They cared nothing about the establishment of a good, new culture. As the result, 20 years after the May Fourth Movement, i.e., in the period of the war of the resistance, when those young May Fourth intellectuals worked for the government, they, too, became corrupted.

It is not surprising that Zhang Henshui’s impression of May Fourth intellectuals was unfavorable, for they deprecated the value of popular literature. However, if we view this novel as merely a reaction to criticism from May Fourth intellectuals, we certainly underestimate its power as a reflection of the May Fourth Movement. I contend that this novel cannot be simply viewed as the counterattack of a popular writer upon May Fourth intellectuals. Nor is it just

³⁴⁹ Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 174.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 194.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

political satire manifesting the hopelessness of reforming of the Nationalist government. While the May Fourth Movement occurred in 1919, Zhang wrote *Eighty-one Dreams* about 20 years later, compelling readers to think about problems entailed in the establishment of a new and modern culture 20 years after it was promoted by the May Fourth intellectuals. Such reflection of the negative aspects of the May Fourth Movement rarely appears in works by writers of New Literature. It demonstrates popular writers' profound assessment of the society they lived in.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

I. Overview of Satirical Fiction in Wartime Chongqing

Regarding literature of the great hinterland, a widely accepted view is that a strong sense of saving the nation permeated most works produced during the war. Writers were concerned only with how literature might serve the anti-Japanese cause. Works of satirical fiction in wartime Chongqing likewise manifest such a patriotic literary appeal, though they may appear on the surface to do otherwise. The stories are full of characters embezzling public funds and struggling to grasp more power rather than thinking about how to contribute to their efforts to resisting the Japanese. The relationship between satire and resistance is clarified in one of Mao Dun's famous essays promoting the use of satire. He argues that satire makes it possible to eradicate social problems plaguing the nation, which would guarantee a final victory over the Japanese.³⁵² However, my dissertation proves that works of satirical fiction are far more than simply a tool for Chinese resistance. They reflect the influence of political power, the relationship between intellectuals and the nation, and a literary interplay between characteristics of realism and satire.

The Communist Party stood behind leftist writers, promoting satire from the very start. A satirical short story, "Mr. Hua Wei," by Zhang Tianyi, and an essay "Broad Realism," by Li Nanzhuo, both published in April 1938 in the first volume of *Literary Battleground*, heralded the official start of leftist camp's furthering the use of satire in the wartime period. Leftist writers claimed that they promoted satire in response to the over-optimism and shallowness in literature intended only to build confidence that China would win the war. Later, in the debate over satire

³⁵² Mao Dun, "Reflections in August," 282-283.

and exposure, leftist writers argued about the value of satire in the wartime period. They reached the consensus that the value of satire for saving China lay in its exposure of those social ills which had emerged during the wartime period as a first step toward addressing and terminating these problems. Writers, they concluded, should use satire without worry that it may harm the national unity against the Japanese.³⁵³ However, it is clear that the leftists hid another political agenda behind the promotion of satire. Many works of satirical fiction by leftist writers, including “Mr. Hua Wei,” target bureaucrats in Chongqing and local government throughout the great hinterland, depicting officials who enjoy a fortune derived via illegal activities and power abuse, such as embezzling public funds and accepting bribes. Some are even involved in the opium trade. They act in collusion with each other, indicating the corruption has infiltrated the entire bureaucracy. Therefore, leftist writers’ satirical works can easily lead readers to the conclusion that the prime social problem needing to be eradicated is, in effect, the government itself.

The leftist literary camp may have instigated the effort to grant satire attention in the literary circles of the wartime period. However, not all writers of satire were leftist or intended satire to achieve the political goals of the Communist Party. In the early wartime period, the Nationalist government still retained strong support from its people. Also, most people held much hope of victory over the Japanese. Therefore, in the early wartime period, rather than exposing incompetence of the Nationalist government, satire served as a means for intellectuals in the great hinterland to think about why some people could not contribute to the national cause but were instead selfishly concerned with obtaining money and power.

³⁵³ See Chapter 1 for the details about the debate over exposure and satire in the leftist camp in the early wartime period.

Starting from the middle of the war, however, a sense of hopelessness spread over the great hinterland. The war seemed endless, with victory constantly out of reach. The government appeared incapable of solving a myriad of domestic problems, including the corruption of bureaucrats and skyrocketing inflation, which forced many people to live on the edge of starvation. And yet this government repressed critical or condemning public opinions against it through censorship. Tremendous physical and mental pressures drove people to desperation. Under these circumstances, large amounts of political satire appeared. Works satirizing corrupt bureaucrats reflected the increasing tendency of people to hold the failed Nationalist government responsible for much of their miserable situation. In those works, the shortcomings of the government were caused by corrupt bureaucrats in every corner of the system who performed no hard work for their salaries other than flattering their superiors to get promoted, accepting bribes, appropriating public funds, and abusing power as they went. This literary trend indicates that intellectuals at that time had completely lost trust in the political system that the Nationalist government established. Thus, political satire became a perfect tool to create literary works fitting the political goals of the Communist Party. Even from writers who were not left-leaning, works satirizing corrupt bureaucrats or the incompetence of the Nationalist government served as anti-propaganda undermining the Nationalist government. These works, whether deliberately or not, aided the Communist Party's efforts to destroy people's confidence in the rule of the Nationalist government.

The blooming of political satire the wartime period also proved vital to the development of satire in the twentieth century. Before the outbreak of the war, satirists were concerned about not so much about politics as many subtler aspects of Chinese society and culture they found worthy of mockery. For example, the famous "A Madman's Diary," by Lu Xun, satirizes the

backwardness of Chinese culture through a madman's eyes, which sees Chinese classics filled with words "eating humans!" Lao She's *Cat Country* (*Maocheng ji* 貓城記, 1932) satirizes the absurdity and backwardness of Chinese society and culture through stories that take place in Cat Country. Cat people have grown weak and poor from their reliance on the "ecstasy leaf" ("miye" 迷葉), which implies opium. Selfish cat people allow inhuman atrocities to harm others for their own interests. They live in an unsanitary environment where the social status of women is low. The backwardness of cat people manifested in these situations causes foreigners to look down on and finally destroy Cat Country its distorted civilization. Another work, *Besieged City* (*Weicheng* 圍城, 1946) by Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910-1998), written in the last years of the wartime period, satirizes bewildered modern Chinese intellectuals who have lost their cultural identity in the transformation of Chinese culture.

However, in the wartime period, works of political satire produced under the pressure of strict censorship offer more substance for the development of this genre, as they raised political satire to a major kind of satire³⁵⁴. More importantly, they made satire a tool to express political dissent in China in the second half of the twentieth century. How political satire after 1949 affected the fate of Chinese intellectuals and how satire as a genre has developed postwar is discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

The relationship between satire and realism also affected the development of satire in the wartime period. From the perspective of the leftist camp, using satire caused writers to depict darker side of society and reflect social realities in a more insightful way. Influenced by social realism, the leftist camp contended that, while exposing the darker side of society, a satirist had

³⁵⁴ Regarding how censorship influenced the production of satire in wartime Chongqing, see Chapter 2.

to use typical characters to suggest a definite historical trend by which Chinese people would win the war.³⁵⁵ Although in fact only a few works of realist satire show compassion toward satirized characters, these works reveal the problem of realist satire in the wartime period. Their satirized characters tend to be middle-to-lower-class people. Although they are teachers or officials in local government, they also suffer from poverty and loss of property to inflation and the Japanese bombings. In other words, these satirized characters are also victims of the war. A typical satirical work should expose the ridiculousness of its satirized characters. When the satirized characters are rendered with sympathy, the purpose of satire becomes more difficult to pinpoint. However, satirical works depicting sympathetic characters never had a sustained chance to develop. In the second half of the war, in satire produced by leftist writers, the portraits of characters and the development of complex personalities gradually waned. Instead, more attention is given to the description of events concerning corruption, such as the process of receiving the bribe, how officials embezzle, and other deeds about power abuse, which draw most of the readers' attention to how corrupt the Nationalist government has become.

Popular satirical works in wartime Chongqing are also valuable to any discussion of the inheritance of popular literature in the wartime period and the relationship between satire and popular literature.³⁵⁶ At present, the scholarship about wartime popular culture is composed of studies of popular culture in wartime Shanghai, such as those by Leo Lee, Poshek Fu and Nicole

³⁵⁵ Wen Rumin, *Xin wenxue xianshi zhuyi de liubian* 新文學現實主義的流變 (Development of realism in New Literature) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1988), 174.

³⁵⁶ Regarding the definition of popular literature, see Chapter 1. As for discussion of “Three Zhangs and One Zhao” and the newspapers and periodical associated with them, see Part III of Chapter 2 and Chapter 4.

Huang.³⁵⁷ Lee considers the modernity of popular culture in Shanghai, while Fu and Huang discuss the complicated relationship between popular culture, war, and politics. Popular literature in their works maintains a close relationship with the pre-war popular literature tradition in Shanghai, whose major readership was the Shanghai middle class and whose writers placed great importance on catering to that market.

There has been little research regarding popular culture in the great hinterland. A representative work about popular culture in the Nationalist and Yan'an areas is Chang-tai Hung's *War and Popular Culture Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*, published twenty years ago.³⁵⁸ It characterizes the purpose and readership of popular culture differently from Lee, Fu, and Huang's works. Hung's book maintains that writers and artists created their works in popular forms in order to encourage the masses to accept their political or war propaganda.³⁵⁹ Certainly, the goal of the writers examined in Hung's book was to encourage the populace to contribute to the War of the Resistance of the Japanese. In addition, the readership or audience of popular culture that Hung explores includes not only the middle class in big cities, but also people in rural areas who might have received little education.³⁶⁰

Works of satirical fiction in the newspapers and periodical associated with "Three Zhangs and One Zhao" also demonstrate that popular writers in wartime Chongqing inherited the tradition of popular literature, particularly that popular writers used newspaper supplements as a

³⁵⁷ See Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a Urban New Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Poshek Fu, *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); and his *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

³⁵⁸ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994).

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

forum in which to express their political opinions. As Leo Lee and Chen Jianhua point out in their studies of the supplement, “Free Talks” (“Ziyou tan” 自由談), featured in *Shen Bao* 申報 (also *Shun Pao*), when the supplement was edited by popular writers between 1911 and 1932, it did not offer works merely for the sake of for leisure.³⁶¹ On the contrary, “Free Talks” provided

³⁶¹*Shen Bao*, founded by Ernest Major (1841-1908), a British businessman, was the most long-lived newspaper in China, published in Shanghai from April 30, 1872 to May 27, 1949. In 1915, Shi Liangcai 史量才 (1880-1934) became the owner of *Shen Bao* and managed it until his death in 1934. During the period of Shi’s management, *Shen Bao*’s circulation became one of the largest in China. When it was established in 1872, it published 600 newspapers daily. By its fiftieth anniversary in 1922, it reached as many as 50,000 readers per day. After the Mukden Incident on September 18, 1931, Shi became increasingly discontented with the Nationalist government’s nonresistance policy toward the Japanese invasion. The conflict between Shi and the Nationalist government finally led to the assassination of Shi on November 13, 1934. After the death of Shi Liangcai, his son, Shi Yonggeng 史詠賡 (1911-?) took over the ownership of *Shen Bao*. However, after this change of leadership, the speech of *Shen Bao* became increasingly conservative.

An important and famous change that Shi Liangcai made to *Shen Bao* was to shift the supplement “Free Talks” from a forum of popular literature to one for leftist writers. “Free Talks” started on August 24, 1911. Before November 1932, its chief editors had been popular writers, including Wang Dungen 王鈍根 (1888-1951), Wu Juemi 吳覺迷 (n. d.), Yao Yuanchu 姚鵬雛 (1892-1954), Chen Diexian 陳蝶仙 (1879-1940) and Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鷗 (1895-1968). In December 1932, Shi decided to change the chief editor of “Free Talks” from Zhou Shoujuan, who had edited it for 12 years, to Li Liewen 黎烈文 (1904-1972). Li published miscellaneous essays by leftist writers, such as Lu Xun and Mao Dun. Shi’s decision changed dramatically the style and position of items in “Free Talks.” Since the May Fourth period, those who considered themselves progressive in thought, especially members of The Chinese Literary Association (Wenxue yanjiu hui 文學研究會) and leftist writers, were hostile to popular writers’ ideas about what literature should be. (See Michel Hockx, “The Chinese Literary Association (Wenxue yanjiu hui),” in *Literary Societies of Republican China*, ed. Kirk Denton and Michel Hockx (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), 79-102.) From an orthodox leftist literary perspective, after 1932, “Free Talks” was progressive in thought, while before 1932 it had offered only popular works for leisure and was of little literary value. However, following their reexamination of “Free Talks” before 1932, Leo Lee and Chen Jianhua argue that popular writers actually used the space to express their political opinions.

See Li Oufan 李歐梵 (Leo Ou-fan Lee), “‘Piping kongjian’ de kaichuang: cong *Shen Bao* ‘Ziyou tan’ tanqi” “批評空間”的開創: 從申報“自由談”談起 (The establishment of “public space”: On “Free Talks” in *Shen Bao*), *Ershiyi shiji* 二十一世紀 (Twenty-first century) 19 (October 1993), 39-51. Chen Jianhua, “*Shen Bao* ‘Ziyou tanhuahui’: Min chu zhengzhi yu wenxue de piping gongneng 申報“自由談話會”: 民初政治與文學的批評功能” (The “Free-talk

a “public space” in which popular writers could express their political opinions. Both Lee and Chen examine satire to demonstrate their points. Popular writers and editors in Chongqing also used supplements to express political opinions, as noted in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, that they did not dare print in news criticism or editorials.

II. Disruption: Satirical Fiction in Wartime Yan’an and 1945-1976

Leftist writers in the great hinterland believed that satire could be a tool for exposing social and political problems. They viewed the writing of satire as the first step in solving those problems. Opinions about satire by writers in wartime Yan’an indicate that such ideas about satire also prevailed among leftist writers in the Communist area. An analysis of the practice of satire by writers in the PRC period will demonstrate that these ideas also continued to influence contemporary writers for a long period of time.

A. In Wartime Yan’an

In wartime Yan’an, the Rectification Movement,³⁶² from February to May 1942, was pivotal to the development of satire in the second half of the twentieth century. In this period,

colloquium” in *Shen Bao*: Political criticism in literature in the early Republican era), in *From Revolution to Republic: The Transformation of Literature, Cinema and Culture from the Late Qing to the Republican Era*, 121-140.

For further study of *Shen Bao*, see Song Jun 宋軍, *Shen Bao de xingshuai* 申報的興衰 (The rise and fall of Shen Bao) (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe 上海社會科學院出版社, 1996). Barbara Mittler’s *A Newspaper for China? : Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai’s News Media, 1872-1912* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) is about how *Shen Bao*, a newspaper established by a British businessman, came to be accepted by educated Chinese and “a newspaper for China.”

³⁶² Regarding the history of the Rectification Movement in 1942, there are two monographs influential in this field. One is *Yan’an’s Shadow* (*Yan’an de yinying* 延安的陰影) (Taipei: The

two important articles about satire appeared. One is “Still in the Age of Miscellaneous Essays” (“Haishi zawen de shidai” 還是雜文的時代) by Luo Feng 羅烽 (1909-1991), published in *Jiefang Daily* (Jiefang ribao 解放日報) on March 12, 1942; the other is Mao’s “Talks at the Yan’an forum on literature and art” (hereafter “The Talks”) (“Yan’an wenyi zuotanhui shang de jianghua” 延安文藝座談會上的講話), made public in May of 1942. The former proposes that Yan’an still needs miscellaneous essays. Expressing views similar to Lu Xun’s, Luo holds that writers in Yan’an ought to use miscellaneous essays to expose problems existing in Yan’an. The latter, however, rejects Luo’s argument for using miscellaneous essays in the Communist area. Although Luo Feng does not mention that essays Lu Xun wrote were generally satirical, Mao still pays special attention to this point as he explains why the use of satire in the Communist area should be restricted. Since Mao’s “Talks” became the literary policy imposed on the entire country after 1949, it is fair to say that the above two articles decided the fate of satire literature in China until the end of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao in 1976, i.e., the end of the Mao era.

Luo argues against the idea that Yan’an no longer needs miscellaneous essays exposing the dark side of society. According to Luo, one could still find dark corners filled with “thought garbage” (“Sixiang shang de laji” 思想上的垃圾) in Yan’an. The purpose of finding garbage was certainly to throw it away. Therefore, Luo’s opinion about the value of exposing problems in

Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, 1990) by Chen Yongfa 陳永發 (Chen Yung-fa in Wade-Giles). On the basis of Chen’s book, Gao Hua 高華 wrote, *How Did the Red Sun Rise over Yan’an? A History of the Rectification Movement* (*Hong taiyang shi zenyang shengqi de: Yan’an zhengfeng yundong de lailong qumai* 紅太陽是怎樣升起的: 延安整風運動的來龍去脈) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000).

Yan'an was similar to that from leftist writers in Chongqing, who wanted to expose political and social problems through satire as a first step to eradicating them.

“Thought garbage” means the thoughts and behaviors that corrupt people, which have been around for thousands of years and still existed in Yan'an.³⁶³ Luo Feng does not provide examples of these corrupting thoughts and behaviors. However, a point Wang Shiwei 王實味 (1906-1947) makes in his essay, “Wild Lilies” (“Yebaihehua” 野百合花), published in *Jiefang Daily*, on March 13 and 23, 1942, can be borrowed as a good example, because both Luo and Wang's target was the same: the corruption of the Party. Wang's essay became famous and led to his death in 1947 because it identifies so clearly corrupt deeds in Yan'an. In the essay, Wang recalls his old friend, a comrade Li Fen, who lost her life after her uncle turned her in to local authorities. According to Wang, there were many comrades like Li Fen who sacrificed their lives for the Communist cause, and Yan'an should be a place for the realization of revolutionary ideals. However, the current situation was that senior cadres in this revolutionary betel were gradually becoming corrupt under the hierarchy of “clothing colors of three levels and food of five grades” (“yi fen sanse, shi fen wudeng” 衣分三色, 食分五等).³⁶⁴ Based on Wang's essay, one can imagine that the realities of Yan'an became an ironic disappointment to young people who went there with idealism expecting a new life.

Other famous pieces pointing out problems of the rule of the Communist Party published during the Rectification Movement include “Thoughts on March Eighth” (“Sanbajie yougan” 三

³⁶³ Luo Feng 羅烽, “Haishi zawen de shidai” 還是雜文的時代 (Still in the Age of Miscellaneous Essays), in *Mingren yu yuan'an er: Zhongguo wentan dang'an shilu* 名人與冤案二: 中國文壇檔案實錄, ed. Hu Ping 胡平 and Xiao Shan 曉山 (Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe 群眾出版社, 1998), 520- 521.

³⁶⁴ Wang Shiwei 王實味, “Ye baihehua” 野百合花 (Wild lilies), *Jiefang ribao* 解放日報 (*Jiefang Daily*), March 13, 23, 1942.

八節有感), by Ding Ling 丁玲 (1904-1986), “Understand Writers, Respect Writers” (“Liaojie zuojia, zunzhong zuojia” 了解作家, 尊重作家) by Ai Qing 艾青 (1910-1996), and “On Comrades’ ‘Love’ and ‘Patience’” (“Lun tongzhi de ‘ai’ yu ‘nai’” 論同志的“愛”與“耐”), by Xiao Jun 蕭軍 (1907-1998). All were published in “Literature and Art” (“Wenyi” 文藝), a supplement of *Jiefang Daily* in March and April of 1942.³⁶⁵ In these essays, writers expressed their discontent toward the ruling class of the Party and life in Yan’an.

Mao’s original intention to get young intellectuals to speak out in the Rectification Movement was to destroy the authority of scholars in the Yan’an Central Research Institute (Yan’an zhongyang yanjiuyuan 延安中央研究院). Those scholars considered themselves authoritative on Marxist-Leninism theories, but essays attacking the corrupt Yan’an government made them one of the major targets of the movement. Among these scholars, the demise of Wang Shiwei was the most miserable. For the purpose of “killing a chicken to terrify monkeys” (“Shaji jinghou” 殺雞儆猴),³⁶⁶ Wang was expelled from the Party and accused of being a traitor in multiple respects. He was charged with having joined an anti-party group, the Trotskyites, and being a special agent sent by the Nationalist Party. Wang was arrested on April 1, 1943 and secretly executed on July 1, 1947. Moreover, the discontent toward the Party revealed in his and other essays led to the strengthened speech control imposed on intellectuals and “The Talks,” in which Mao clearly asserted that literature and art must only serve politics.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ “Thoughts on March Eighth” was published on March 9th, 1942; “Understand Writers, Respect Writers” on March 11, 1942; “Wild Lilies” on March 13th and 23rd, 1942; “On Comrades’ ‘Love’ and ‘Patience’” on April 8, 1942.

³⁶⁶ Gao Hua, *How Did the Red Sun Rise over Yan’an*, 334.

³⁶⁷ For more details about the political significance of the fight against Wang Shiwei and other intellectuals, see Gao Hua, *How Did the Red Sun Rise over Yan’an*, 313-364 (Chapter 9).

Mao did not punish other writers as seriously as Wang Shiwei because he did not want to terrify intellectuals in the Nationalist area who had dreams about life in Yan'an.³⁶⁸ However, in “The Talks,” Mao responds to writers’ opinions, denying Luo Feng’s argument that writers have to expose corruption in the Party and limiting the targets such writing might expose to include only “aggressors, exploiters, and oppressors.”³⁶⁹ Mao made it impossible to expose the corruption of the Party through miscellaneous essays.

Although Luo Feng does not mention satirical essays or the satirizing of any corrupt conduct of the cadres in the Party, when Mao talks about how to use miscellaneous essays, Mao does raise the issue of satirical essays, probably in response to Wang Shiwei’s mocking of the cadres in Yan’an in his essay, “Wild Lilies.” Wang had satirized those cadres who did not care about preventing the Party from harboring a dark side as “masters.” According to Wang, “masters” even invented the theory that the heaven never falls in any situation.³⁷⁰ Starting in the early 1940s, Mao, himself, liked to say, “Heaven won’t fall!” whenever he found himself in difficult situation or encountered discontent toward the Party.³⁷¹

Mao limited the domain of satire by defining how it might be used. Firstly, he defines the location of using satire. “The Talks” alleged that Lu Xun battled with “the essay form, with its

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 336.

³⁶⁹ The translation follows that in Bonnie S. McDougall’s translation. See Bonnie S McDougall, trans., *Mao Zedong’s “Talks at the Yan’an Conference on Literature and Art”: A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies of the University of Michigan, 1980), 80. Also, see Minoru Takeuchi 竹内実, et al, eds., *Mō Taku-tō shū* 毛沢東集 (Collected writings of Mao Tse-tung) (Tōkyō: Hokubōsha 北望社, 1971), 8: 141.

³⁷⁰ Wang Shiwei, “Wild Lilies.”

³⁷¹ Gao Hua, *How Did the Red Sun Rise over Yan’an*, 326.

cold ridicule and burning satire (lengchao refeng de zawen xingshi 冷嘲熱諷的雜文形式),”³⁷² because he lived in a region without speech freedom. Since revolutionary artists and writers in the Communist border regions “had full democracy and freedom,” they could “appeal loudly, rather than express themselves in distortion.”³⁷³ Mao also defined the target of satire. Mao argued that Lu Xun “did not mock and attack revolutionary people and party.” When attacking enemies, one can be “acrimonious” (“kedu” 刻毒). Nevertheless, when a writer aspires to correct problems of the popular masses, he should “speak with the passionate tone of protecting and educating people.” If a writer is acrimonious to the masses, he makes himself the enemy of the masses.³⁷⁴ As a result, although Mao claimed to say that there was no need to abolish satire, only the “misuse” (“luanyong” 亂用) of satire,³⁷⁵ he actually announced the death of satire in Yan’an.

A significant amount of academic work has examined essays that appeared in the Rectification Movement period, their writers, and “The Talks.” Among them, Timothy Cheek’s article on the Rectification Movement and the establishment of the Communist political culture deserves our attention. Comparing *The Scholars* by Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓 and “Wild Lilies” by Wang Shiwei, Cheek discovers that both of them present a model citizen as a foil to the satirized characters. In *The Scholars*, the model citizen is Wang Mian 王冕, while in “Wild Lilies” it is Li Fen. According to Cheek, Wang Mian “maintains his honour by refusing to participate in the corrupt ‘system’,” while Li Fen “achieved immortal honour by serving the revolutionary system.” Thus, Cheek remarks, “Wang Shiwei is a loyalist denouncing the failure of his leaders

³⁷² I follow Bonnie S. McDougall’s translation. See Bonnie S McDougall, trans., *Mao Zedong’s “Talks at the Yan’an Conference on Literature and Art”: A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*, 81.

³⁷³ Minoru Takeuchi, et al, eds., *Collected writings of Mao Tse-tung*, 8: 142.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

to match their own goals, not a dissident offering an alternative.”³⁷⁶ Even though Wang was loyal to the Party, Cheek points out, “the underlying assumption of the right of the individual to speak up in public and the cosmopolitan desire to incorporate foreign ideas and models into the Chinese polity”³⁷⁷ in Wang’s works were still denied by the Party.

Cheek insightfully describes the mentality of Yan’an intellectuals in satirizing dark side of the Yan’an government as highlighting the corruption they saw detracting from the Party because they were loyal to it and wanted it to be better. The re-emergence of satirical fiction in 1956, I suggest, also stems from this same intellectual mentality.

Mao’s stand limiting the use of satire features a characteristic that is seldom noticed, answering an issue writers and critics argued over throughout the first half of the twentieth century, i.e., whether satire furthers the goal of social reform. Mao’s restricting the use of satire in “The Talks” indicates that Mao did not believe that satire only exposed existing problems. Neither did Mao believe that satire helped achieve the goals of social reform. On the contrary, Mao saw in satire the potential to help overthrow, not reform, the political system the Party had established. This explains why, Wang Shiwei cost his life for satirizing Mao in his essay and, in the Rectification Campaign of 1957, Wang Meng was sentenced to *laogai* for his alleged trespasses.

B. After the Establishment of the PRC (1949-1976)

Following the establishment of the PRC, restrictions on satire imposed by “The Talks” became shackles to all writers throughout China. Hence, satire disappeared from literary scene

³⁷⁶ Timothy Cheek, "The Fading of Wild Lilies: Wang Shiwei and Mao Zedong's Yan'an Talks in the First CCP

Rectification Movement," *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 11 (1984): 34.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

until 1976, i.e. the end of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao, except for the brief period of the Hundred Flowers Campaign, which was launched on April 25, 1956 and lasted for about one year. During this period, writers and artists were encouraged to express their ideas freely, which, according to the authorities, could be helpful to the government. Under the umbrella of this slogan, many literary works reveal writers' discontent toward current political and social situations.³⁷⁸

One work always mentioned when discussing literary history of this period is a novelette satirizing bureaucracy called, "A Young Newcomer at the Organization Department" ("Zuzhibu xinlaide qingnianren" 組織部新來的青年人) by Wang Meng 王蒙 (1934-), published in *People's Literature* (*Renmin wenxue* 人民文學) on September 8, 1956.

The protagonist, Lin Zhen, is a 22-year-old young man and a new cadre at the organization department of a district council. Early the story, Lin tries to incorporate his passion toward his work in the Party, but he gradually encounters problems of bureaucracy. Representative figures are deputy leader Liu Shiwu and branch Chief Han Changxin. On the surface, Liu and Han seem adept at their jobs, but in fact, they are indifferent and inactive about solving problems. Once Lin accuses them of lacking the work ethic a party member should have, they baffle Lin with convoluted and confusing political language. Liu and Han attempt to show Lin how naïve he is to be passionate toward the work of the Party and to be so persistent about right and wrong.

One conversation between Liu and Lin captures the meaning of bureaucracy in this novelette, as Liu attempts to persuade Lin that idealism never becomes reality. Liu explains that

³⁷⁸ Hong Zicheng 洪子誠, *Zhongguo dangdai wenxueshi* 中國當代文學史 (History of contemporary Chinese literature) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 140-144.

while he likes the simple, beautiful, and transparent life to be found in a novel, he cannot actually live that way as the leader of the unit. Lin asks him why his life shouldn't be the same as that in a novel. Liu answers,

“A Party worker should not read novels. For example...” he raises his hands and moves them in the air, “regarding recruiting new Party members, in a novel, it can be written like this: ‘a lot of new warriors joined the army of the proletarian pioneers for the magnificent cause. Viva!’ How about us? The organization department worries that, first of all, a careless member of the organization department at some branch might fail to clarify the history of a new Party member; secondly, tens or hundreds of new Party members wait to be approved by the organization department. However, we don't have time to investigate all of them; thirdly, new members have to be approved by the standing committee. But members of the standing committee request leave whenever they are told to come to a meeting; fourthly, the police commissioner always dozes off during the meeting of clearing new Party members...”

In Liu Shiwu's words, the ideal of recruiting new Party members is a joke. In reality, the Party work always follows the ridiculous habits of cadres.

Sarcastically, the more Lin gets confused at whether he should maintain his ideals, the better Liu and Han's positions in the Party. For example, Han is recently promoted to deputy leader of a department. Even so, after serious consideration, Lin decides to continue his way, though he has realized he cannot change this district council on his own. Therefore, at the end of the story, he decides to visit the secretary of the district council, seeking help from higher political power.³⁷⁹

Through this satire of bureaucrats, Wang Meng exposes officialdom in the Party and aspires to eradicate it. Much like Wang Shiwei, Wang Meng wrote satire motivated by his

³⁷⁹ Wang Meng 王蒙, “Zuzhibu xinlaide qingnianren” 组织部新来的青年人 (A young newcomer at the organization department), *Renmin wenxue* 人民文学 (*People's Literature*) 9 (September 1956): 29-43.

loyalty to the Party and hopes to improve it. Nevertheless, during the Anti-Rightist Movement of 1957, Wang and other intellectuals who had expressed their discontent and suggestions to the party in the Hundred Flowers Campaign were labelled as rightists. In November 1957, he was sentenced to *laogai* in a suburb of Beijing until September 1962. His fate explains why satirical fiction had to wait for its resurgence until the end of the Cultural Revolution. Merle Goldman, a U.S. historian specializing in the intellectual history of contemporary China, offers an insightful analysis of intellectual mentality after several campaigns in the Mao era. After the Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957, the Communist Party launched another campaign against those who aired their concerns about the Party. The Great Leap Forward, an economic campaign aimed at rapid industrialization and the increase of agricultural production between 1958 and 1961, caused farmers who wanted to show improvement to exaggerate their reports of grain production. Consequently, the Great Leap Forward led to famine in many areas and severe economic recession. From 1961 to 1962, in order to heal the seriously injured economy, the Party allowed private trade and “relaxed its grip on the intellectuals in order to win their cooperation in this endeavor.” Goldman calls this period “the 1961-1962 relaxation.”³⁸⁰ Zhou Enlai even encouraged “greater freedom of speech.”³⁸¹ This time, however, based on past experience, intellectuals were reluctant to cooperate with the Party.³⁸²

III. Revival: Satirical Fiction in China in the Post-Mao Era (1976 to the Present)

³⁸⁰ Merle Goldman, “The Party and the Intellectuals: Phase Two,” in *An Intellectual History of Modern China*, edited by Merle Goldman and Leo Ou-fan Lee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 349-394; here, 352.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 353.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 358.

The end of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao in 1976 mark the starting point of a new period of Chinese literature. At this time, as political reformists overpowered ultra-leftists in the Party, reflection upon the disaster the Cultural Revolution had caused started to appear in literary works as well.³⁸³ It was also at that time that satire resurfaced on the literary scene.

From the beginning of the 1980s to the end of the twentieth century, many literary trends made their appearance.³⁸⁴ They manifested writers' attempts to cure the mental trauma caused by the political strangulation of literature from the 1950s to the 1970s. In the area of satirical fiction, works appearing during this period present this same attempt. Among those satirists, Liu Zhenyun 劉震雲 (1958-), Wang Shuo 王朔 (1958-), and Mo Yan, whose works have been highly attended by both the academia and the market, are noted for their effective use of satire. Their works are associated with various social problems in contemporary society, mocking the political influence upon literary traditions in the twentieth century and the corruption of contemporary politics. Although these writers' topics for satire are not limited to those involving politics, they cannot escape the shadow of political influence.

Liu Zhenyun is famous for his series of short stories about local government units, including "The unit" ("Danwei" 單位, 1989), "Officialdom" ("Guanchang" 官場, 1989), and

³⁸³ Chen Sihe 陳思和, ed., *Dangdai dalu wenxueshi jiaocheng, 1949-1999* 當代大陸文學史教程, 1949-1999 (Teaching material for the history of contemporary Chinese literature, 1949-1999) (Taipei: Lianhe wenxue chubanshe 聯合文學出版社, 2001), 181-182.

³⁸⁴ Important literary trends include "shanghen wenxue" 傷痕文學 (scar literature), "xungen wenxue" 尋根文學 (root-searching literature), "xianfeng wenxue" 先鋒文學 (Avant-guard literature) and "xin xieshi zhuyi" 新寫實主義 (New Realism). See Hong Zicheng's introduction to these trends and the writers associated with them in 1980s and 1990s in Chapter 16 and 17 of his *History of Contemporary Chinese Literature*, which draws a broad picture of contemporary Chinese literature.

“Officials” (“Guanren” 官人, 1991), published around the outset of the 1990s. In those stories, Liu satirizes officialdom and ideals in the Party, mocking the ridiculous aspects of humanity that surface when local public servants strive for promotion. It was also around this time that Liu was dubbed a writer of “New Realism” (“Xin xieshi zhuyi” 新寫實主義).

Chen Sihe 陳思和, a famous Chinese historian and critic of contemporary Chinese literature, offers a clear definition of New Realism in *Teaching Material for the History of Contemporary Chinese literature, 1949-1999* (*Dangdai dalu wenxueshi jiaocheng, 1949-1999* 當代大陸文學史教程, 1949-1999), a history of contemporary Chinese literature. According to Chen, New Realism restores the original state of life and faces reality honestly. The idea of New Realism, Chen claims, stands in contrast to “traditional realism.” Reality in works of “traditional realism” refers to “things and events processed by ideology.” Thus, Chen points out that, in Communist China, “traditional realism” was easily rendered a tool to support the orthodox ideology. By contrast, New Realism centers on “restoring the original state of life without the intervention and interpretation of power.”³⁸⁵ Based on Chen’s definition, New Realism can be viewed as resistance to the Communist control over literature. Chen’s definition also explains why works of New Realism contain plots about adultery (in *Fuxi, Fuxi* 伏羲, 伏羲 by Liu Heng 劉恆 [1954-]) and domestic violence (in *Scenery* [*Fengjing* 風景] by Fang Fang [1955-]), which are presented simply as components of real life and without any moral condemnation.

As for Liu Zhenyun’s fictional works, they seem to display pointless trivialities of life. The protagonist of “The Unit,” Xiao Lin, provides a typical example of how Liu makes fun of local public servants through plots that magnify the small things in life. Xiao Lin, the youngest

³⁸⁵ Chen Sihe, ed., *Teaching Material for the History of Contemporary Chinese Literature, 1949-1999*, 278-288.

employee in his unit, has never worked hard during his first three years there, showing up late to the office and leaving early. He also never thinks about joining the Party. When he becomes intolerant of a woman, Lao Qiao, a sectional secretary of the Party who has strong body odor, he announces to her rudely, “Our unit should not allow people with body odor to come to work. They affect the mood of all people in this office!”³⁸⁶ However, after he gets married, Xiao Lin changes his attitude toward his job and Lao Qiao. His rank in the office being the lowest, after he gets married, his unit provides only one room of a two-bedroom apartment for him and his wife to live in. He and his wife constantly bicker with the other couple over small things in life. When he asks the unit offer him a private apartment belonging to him and his family alone, he learns the only way to obtain this is to be admitted as a member of the Party and get promoted in the unit.

From then on, Xiao Lin decides to change his attitude toward other people in his unit. Not only does he take over all the office chores others try to avoid, but since Lao Qiao, sectional secretary of the Party in this unit, plays an important role in his admission into the Party, he tries to get on her good side, chatting with her and ignoring her body odor. He even buys her gifts with money that should go to buy formula for his new daughter. Through this description of small things in life, Liu satirizes that, in a unit of government, whether one joins the Party does not depend on ability but on superficial connections with other people. Moreover, Liu satirizes the ridiculousness of humanity presented among local public servants when they scramble to get promoted.

³⁸⁶ Liu Zhenyun 劉震雲, “Danwei” 單位 (The unit), in *Guanren* 官人 (Officials) (Wuhan: Changjiang wenyi chubanshe, 1992), 47.

“The Unit” not only satirizes various absurd behaviors people engage in for the sake of personal life improvement, it also challenges the satiric tradition of viewing young members as the conscience and hope of the Party amid the corruption and bureaucracy of older members. For instance, in “Wild Lilies” by Wang Shiwei, young Party member Li Fen sacrifices her life for the revolutionary cause. In “A Young Newcomer at the Organization Department” by Wang Meng, young Party member Li Zhen cannot tolerate the bureaucracy of his department and decides to correct the situation. By contrast, Xiao Lin is almost the antithesis of Li Fen and Lin Zhen. In the beginning of “The Unit,” young Xiao Lin is shown as lazy and unwilling to work hard. He wants to join the Party only to improve his personal circumstances. Xiao Lin’s thoughts at the end of the story best shed light on the main idea of “The Unit” and similar fictional works by Liu. When Xiao Lin is finally assigned a private apartment for just him and his family, away from the life of arguing with the unit’s other family, he is no doubt very happy. This is far more important to him than being admitted to be a Party member “because joining the Party is for nothing else but promotion, and getting promoted is only for the sake of food, clothes, and a house, isn’t it? At this moment, there is no need to say anything lofty.”³⁸⁷ These words by Xiao Lin not only contradict the image of ardently idealistic young Party members that Wang Shiwei and Wang Meng established in their works, but can explain the motives of characters in Liu’s other satirical works who want to be promoted or grasp at more political power, all of them out for their own selfish interests and by no means pursuing any ideal or sublime purpose.

Compared with Liu Zhenyun, who exposes the entangled relationship between officialdom, personal interests, and the loss of ideal about the Party, Wang Shuo excavates social problems more from the perspective of young people who seem to care about nothing, to be

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 90.

purposeless, and lie a lot. Characters in “Masters of Mischief” (“Wanzhu” 頑主, 1987), “Not Serious at All” (“Yidain zhengjing meiyou” 一點正經沒有, 1989), the sequel to “Masters of Mischief,” and “Please Don’t Call Me Human” (“Qianwan bie ba wo dang ren” 千萬別把我當人, 1989) exhibit such malaise. In these works, people have lost all direction in life direction except for pursuing material satisfaction, thus rendering contemporary society a scene of loosened political control, social disorder, and moral decadence.

Wang Shuo’s fictional works satirize not political problems specifically, but grand purposes of literature and politics in general, which, in Wang’s works, become the territory of frauds. However, Wang’s satirizing the sublime purpose of politics still indicates the influence of politics on the writing of satire. In “Masters of Mischief,” a writer named Bao Kang knows that his literary works can’t possibly win any nation-wide literary award, so he asks a “Three T Company,” established by several frauds, to set up a literary award for him. Of course, he will be the winner of this award. On the day of the award ceremony, the recorded applause often plays at the wrong time, making a farce of the ceremony. In “Not Serious at All,” literature becomes what people who “have nothing to do after a meal” can do to “kill time.” In the past, literature was either viewed as a way to save the nation or a means of satisfying political purposes, with both viewpoints acknowledging the significance of literature to society. “Not Serious At All” satirizes this elevated concept of writing as grandiose.

“Please Don’t Call me Human” is a farce about saving the nation. Tang Yuanbao asserts that he is an expert on the “Big dream fist” (“Dameng quan” 大夢拳), a martial art inherited from one member of the “Righteousness and Harmony Society” (“Yihetuan” 義和團). This group was a notorious militia which led the historic Eight-nation Alliance in May 1900 to

repress its members who had been attacking and killing foreigners in the north China. A group of people finds Tang and, wanting to transform him, sends him to join the “World Cup of Art of Tolerance.” They claim that they are attempting to teach foreigners a lesson, but their real purpose is to claim money from Tang’s winnings.

In actual history, while encountering the Eight-nation Alliance’s machine gun and artilleries, members of the Righteousness and Harmony Society, generally called boxers, were armed only with swords, martial arts, and black magic. The boxers made their defense against westerners a tragic joke. This fictional work by Wang Shuo can be regarded as a modern adaption of the same joke. Before sending Tang to the international contest, people in this group change his diet and finally castrate him. They treat Tang as a product, not a man.

The “World Cup of Art of Tolerance,” as the title implies, is a contest of suffering. Contestants from all over the world go through several cruel tests, including being tied up tightly, drinking urine, getting electric shocks, being burned with fire, and held underwater. The contestant scoring lowest misery index number wins the cup. The key to Tang’s final victory is his optional exercise. In this test, Tang shockingly uses knife to skin his face, a feat no other contestants can beat.

Tang joins the contest because he wants to teach foreigners a lesson. However, it seems that foreigners do not really hurt or learn anything from losing this contest. Ironically, Tang is actually the person who suffers most. In order to win the World Cup, Tang is castrated and loses his face. This implies that what Chinese people do for the sake of national pride usually ends up detracting from their dignity.

However, this story does not wrap up with a cheerful celebration of Tang’s victory. In the last scene, the narrator turns his head to see the city sky. When Tang wins championship, a giant

dark cloud is formed in the distance. Wherever it travels, it shadows the part of the city below it. Since the dark cloud appears at the same time when Tang's victory is announced, this scene adds a draught of sadness to the end of the story, which opposes the hilarious tone of the previous parts of the story. It is this oppressive atmosphere from the last scene that demonstrates that the author is not just teasing at the project of saving the nation. It is also sad that this grandiose cause so ridiculously and inescapably dominated so many people's lives in twentieth-century China.

Luo Zhenyun and Wang Shuo's fictional works demonstrate that the topics of post-Mao satire became more diverse, presenting writers' deeper thoughts on a variety of literary and social issues. However, political influence on the writing of satire is still very apparent. In fact, political satire also did not fade from literary scene after the 1980s; the relationship between writers and political systems remains an issue when critics examine satirists and their works. In other words, after political satire became the weapon for writers to express their discontent toward the corrupt government during the wartime period, writers' attitude toward authority, whether they expect reform in the system or feel hopelessness about it, still tends to comprise an important issue in critics' evaluations. Mo Yan's satirical works and critics' evaluations of them offer an example of this tendency.

Chapter 1 of my dissertation mentions the debate between Perry Link and Charles Laughlin over whether Mo Yan's novels are satirical. Mo Yan is deputy chairman of an official organization known as the Chinese Writers Association (Zhongguo zuojia xiehui 中國作家協會). Perry Link argues that, as a writer in the official system, Mo Yan never truly targets disasters and political mistakes of the Communist Party, his novels containing only "daft

hilarity” and not satire.³⁸⁸ On the other hand, Laughlin contends that the fact that a writer stays in the system does not mean he “is a coward or is loyal to the Party.” Mo Yan, says Laughlin, really satirizes “the inhumanity of self-serving and hypocritical government officials.”³⁸⁹ Clearly, Mo Yan’s satirical works include thoughts on a wide array of aspects of Chinese life, including politics, society, and culture. Nonetheless, this debate indicates that Mo Yan’s stand on the political scars left by the Party constitutes the major concern of critics.

The Republic of Wine (*Jiuguo* 酒國, 1992) is a typical work of Mo Yan presenting multiple satirical targets. It satirizes the tradition of literary realism that is deeply influenced by a focus on politics as well as corrupt bureaucrats. There are two story threads in *The Republic of Wine*. One is composed of correspondence between Li Yidou and a writer, Mo Yan, whose name is the same as the author of this novel, and Li’s fictional works. The other is about Ding Gou’er’s investigation on bureaucrats in the Republic of Wine eating stewed infants. The two story threads are closely related. Li’s fictional works in effect are the story of Ding’s investigation. Nevertheless, as we follow the development of the stories, these two threads gradually merge into one. In the end, the writers Mo Yan and Li even enter the story that has Li created and visit the Republic of Wine. Mo Yan renders the relationship of different plots unreasonable and thus makes the story seem markedly unrealistic, a characteristic considered typical of Mo Yan’s fictional works. Mo Yan became one of the most important novelists in contemporary China and won the Nobel Prize in literature in 2012 for his mastery of this approach of telling stories. The

³⁸⁸ Perry Link, “Does This Writer Deserve the Prize?” *The New York Review of Books*, December 6, 2012, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/dec/06/mo-yan-nobel-prize/> (accessed March 2, 2013).

³⁸⁹ Charles Laughlin, “What Mo Yan’s Detractors Get Wrong,” *ChinaFile*, December 11, 2012, <http://www.chinafile.com/what-mo-yan%E2%80%99s-detractors-get-wrong> (accessed March 2, 2013).

Swedish Academy awarded the prize to Mo because his works are rich “with hallucinatory realism [that] merges folk tales, history and the contemporary.” Hallucinatory realism refers to a concept used to describe a literary work that attempts to “achieve dream-analogous authenticity.”³⁹⁰

In the story line about Ding Gou’er, public servants in the Republic of Wine can get promoted and become officials, based not on talent or competence, but on how well they can drink. Officials in the Republic of Wine can be easily connected with corrupt Chinese officials after the 1980s. Jin Gangzuan, vice minister of the propaganda department of municipal party committee in the Republic of Wine, represents corrupt bureaucrats. When Ding arrives at the Republic of Wine, Jin, as a means of hindering Ding’s investigation, first offers him dishes of rare animals and plentiful wine in a luxurious feast, and then entraps Ding into eating stewed infants. Later, he lets his wife to seduce Ding and sets him up for scandal pictures. As a result, Ding is forced to give up his investigation.

The more important satirical subject of the novel is the extremely lofty status of realism in leftist literature. In the novel, Li Yidou claims that he is determined to follow in the footsteps of Lu Xun in that he would like to “reform society and Chinese nationalities through literature.”³⁹¹ Li’s announcement and his selection of realism as the guiding literary trend reflect the close relationship between realism and the transformation of both society and the nation in the twentieth century. This is also the most significant reason that modern Chinese literary histories

³⁹⁰ Burkhardt Lindner, “Hallucinatory Realism: Peter Weiss’ Aesthetics of Resistance, Notebooks, and the Death Zones of Art,” *New German Critique* 30 (Autumn, 1983): 127-156. As for the discussion about Mo Yan’s winning Nobel Prize and related debates, see Chapter 1 and later portion of the present chapter.

³⁹¹ Mo Yan 莫言, *Jiuguo* 酒國 (*The Republic of Wine*)(Taipei: Hongfan shudian 洪範書店, 1992), 63.

written after 1949 view realism as the only incentive of modern Chinese literature. However, Li asserts that realism in his works is either “cruel realism” (“Yanku xianshizhuyi” 嚴酷現實主義)³⁹² or “goblin realism” (“Yaojing xianshizhuyi” 妖精現實主義).³⁹³ Moreover, in Li’s works, there is always a goblin appearing, an absurdity which renders Li’s stories not by any possibility realistic. Ironically, those works indeed bring up the cannibalistic tradition of Chinese culture and politics. For instance, the short story “Meat Chile” (“Rouhai” 肉孩), written with “cruel realism,” is about the process of a man and a woman cleaning their baby boy before selling him at the meat market. This story echoes Lu Xun’s satirizing the cannibalism of Chinese culture in *Madman Diary*. In Lu Xun’s story, it is exposure to Confucian classics that turn Chinese people cannibalistic. Hence the narrator’s hope lies in children who have not been greatly influenced by Chinese culture and lost their humanity. Nevertheless, based on Li’s story, the eradication of the cannibalistic character of the Chinese is hopeless. In the present time, Chinese people are even more inhuman because they sell and eat their babies.

Are Mo Yan’s novels satirical? I argue that Mo Yan does use satire to touch upon important issues in contemporary Chinese society, politics, and literary development. Mo Yan is good at crafting his stories with unreasonable connections between plots and characters. Thus, the story seems to unfold like an unrealistic fantasy. This could be viewed as a means of self-protection by contemporary Chinese writers in order to avoid conflict with censorship and/or a means of extending the literary imagination. *The Republic of Wine* exemplifies this approach to writing satire.

³⁹² Ibid., 65.

³⁹³ Ibid., 135.

I argue that Mo Yan may be trying to avoid conflict with censorship while using satire because it is quite possible that he is clear about the Party's vigilance toward the subversive power of satire. As mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter, while leftist writers promoted the use of satire in the great hinterland, "The Talks" greatly restricted the use of satire. This indicates that Mao was wary of satire's potential for overthrowing a political power. The 70th anniversary of the publication of "The Talks" occurred in 2012. That year, one hundred writers celebrated this anniversary by writing "The Talks" by hand. Mo Yan was among those one hundred writers. He was regarded as having reconciled with the Party. Whether or not Mo Yan really wanted to please the Party through this activity, the activity of hand writing passages on the restricting of satire would have underscored for him that the Party remains leery of the subversive power of satire.

IV. Satirical Fiction in Taiwan: Huang Chunming, Wang Zhenhe and Diplomatic Setbacks in the 1970s

In 1949, when the Communists controlled the entirety of China, Jiang Jieshi fled to Taiwan, where he relocated the Nationalist government. Among the writers who fled with him, some had had an influence on the development of modern Chinese literature. Famous examples include Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962), Su Xuelin 蘇雪林 (1897-1999), Li Liewen 黎烈文 (1904-1972), and Liang Shiqiu. Others had grown up under the influence of Chinese literature and started their literary careers when they took up in Taiwan. For instance, Lin Haiyin 林海音 (1918-2001) fled from Beiping to Taiwan when she was thirty years old (1948); Nie Hualing 聶華苓 (also Hualing Nieh Engle, 1925-) went to Taiwan from Nanjing when she was twenty-three

(1949); Wu Lihua 於梨華 (1931-) moved from Shanghai when she was sixteen (1947); and Bai Xianyong 白先勇 (also Pai Hsien-yung, 1937-) left Nanjing when he was twelve years old (1948). Jiang Jieshi considered the Nationalist government in Taiwan to be continuing the life of Republican China. He did not establish a new dynasty or regime with a new title. Therefore, writers in Taiwan who worked for literary organizations related to or supported by the government wrote histories of modern Chinese literature reflecting the ideology of the authorities. For instance, Liu Xinhuang 劉心皇 (1915-1996) wrote *History of Modern Chinese Literature* (*Xiandai Zhongguo wenxue shihua* 現代中國文學史話) and *History of Literature in the Occupied Areas in the War of the Resistance* (*Kangzhan shiqi lunxianqu wenxueshi* 抗戰時期淪陷區文學史), Wang Pingling 王平陵 (1898-1964) wrote *History of Chinese New Literature* (*Zhongguo xinwenyi shihua* 中國新文藝史話). In this way, the tradition of modern Chinese literature developed its influence in Taiwan.

However, not until the early 1970s did important works of satirical fiction appear on the literary scene in Taiwan. No studies examine the disappearance of satirical fiction in Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s, but I contend that the disappearance of satirical fiction during this period reflects Nationalist government's fear of the politicization that satire had encouraged in the wartime period. Between 1953 and 1987, the Nationalist government in Taiwan carried out strict censorship, one of a series of regulations relating to Martial Law that were put into effect in 1949 and lifted in 1987. Martial Law was announced when the Nationalist Party lost to the Communists in the Civil War, which broke out in 1945 immediately after China's victory in the War of the Resistance against the Japanese. Therefore, censorship implemented in postwar Taiwan strictly eliminated any speech considered to promote Communism. In War of the

Resistance against the Japanese and the Civil War, writers – especially leftist writers – used satire to expose the corruption of the Nationalist government. Thus, after fleeing to Taiwan, the Nationalist government strictly censored all satirical works as harmful. Moreover, during the period of Martial Law, the Nationalist government was notorious for secretly persecuting suspected Communists without evidence. Therefore, it was very likely that writers did not dare to challenge the authorities by satirizing political or social problems in post-war Taiwan. Such speech could easily cause them to be labeled Communist.

Diplomatic setbacks between Taiwan and the United States in the 1970s are associated with the resurgence of satire in Taiwan. In late 1971, under the support of the United States, the PRC was admitted into the United Nations. In 1972, U.S. President Nixon visited China. In 1978, when the PRC established formal diplomatic relationship with the United States, Taiwan broke off its diplomatic relations. The people of Taiwan were severely shocked by the news because, ever since 1949, the Nationalist government's rule in Taiwan had relied in part on U.S. financial and military support. Huang Chunming 黃春明 (1935-) and Wang Zhenhe 王禎和 (1940-1990), the most important satirists in the literary history of post-war Taiwan, started writing satirical fiction during this period. Their works reflect the problematic attitude toward the United States from people in Taiwan.

Huang Chunming, born in Luodong 羅東, Yilan (also Ilan), worked as a journalist in the Yilan branch of the Broadcasting Corporation of China as well as for several advertisement companies. He also participated in the production of many movies and documentaries and maintained a long-term interest in children's literature and drama. He wrote scripts for and

directed children's plays after establishing Huang Dayu Children's Troupe (Huang Dayu ertong jutuan 黃大魚兒童劇團) in 1994.³⁹⁴

Among Huang's jobs, the one related most directly to his writing career was his joining the editorship of *Literature Quarterly* (*Wenxue jikan* 文學季刊, 1966-1970) in 1966. *Literature Quarterly* was founded by Yu Tiancong 尉天聰 (1935-) and, together with a bimonthly *Literature* (*Wenxue* 文學) and a quarterly *Literary Quarters* (*Wenji* 文季) founded by Yu between 1971 and 1974, published many important works of Nativist Literature, including Huang's works. That Huang's works were published in the three magazines tell us something of his literary reputation. The stories include "The Sandwich Man" ("Erzi de dawanou" 兒子的大玩偶) in the sixth issue of *Literature Quarterly* on February 25, 1968, and "Sayonara, Goodbye" ("Shayaonala, zaijian" 莎啞娜拉, 再見) in the first issue of *Literary Quarters* on August 15, 1973.³⁹⁵

Many of Huang's fictional works of the 1960s were set in his hometown, Yilan, and are notable for their compassion toward poor and suffering lower-class people in a society with a

³⁹⁴ There are many interviews and research articles about Huang Chunming and his works. Among those studies, *The Taste of Soil: Collection of Articles on Literature about Huang Chunming* (*Nitu de ziwei: Huang Chunming wenxue lunji* 泥土的滋味: 黃春明文學論集) (Taipei: Lianhe wenxue chubanshe, 2009) offers the most insightful discussions. It includes Huang Chunming's thoughts about his own literary works and articles about his works of fiction, prose, drama, and film.

³⁹⁵ For the importance of Yu Tiancong and series of literary magazines he founded on literary development in Taiwan, see Luo Xiuju 羅秀菊, "Wenji wenxueshi diwei zhi tanjiu" 文季文學史地位之探究 (The study of status of *Literary Quarters* in literary history) (PhD dissertation, National Cheng-chi University [Taipei], 1998). "Wenji yanjiu ziliao chubian" 文季研究資料初編 (First draft of research materials about *Literary Quarters*) (*Taiwan wenxue guanCha zazhi* 台灣文學觀察雜誌 (Taiwan literature survey magazine) 1 (June 1990): 116-130) by Wu Hao 吳浩 provides list of research materials before 1990. Although this is a 23-year-old database, it is the only one and is still very useful for those interested in the study of the series of literary magazines related to *Literature Quarterly*, *Literature*, and *Literary Quarters*.

fast growing economy. However, the shift in the relationship between Taiwan and the United States in the 1970s obviously affected Huang enough to alter the topics and tone of his fictional works. From 1972 to 1983, Huang's works were distinguished by satirizing people in Taiwan who still imagined that Taiwan would always receive U.S. support. His famous "Taste of Apples" ("Pingguo de ziwei" 蘋果的滋味), published in *China Times* (*Zhongguo shibao* 中國時報) on December 28-31, 1972, displays characteristics typical of his works during this period.

"Taste of Apples" is a story about a traffic accident involving a poor worker, Jiang Afa, and an affluent Colonel Gelei, whose name may be the Chinese translation of Grey, a U.S. army officer who served in a U.S. military base garrisoned in Taiwan. The story can be divided into two parts. The first part centers on the reaction of Jiang Afa's family after learning Jiang has been hit by a car and is being taken to a hospital. Mrs. Jiang Agui and her children worry terribly about their financial future from the moment they hear the bad news. Agui fears that her husband may lose his job and the family fall into financial crisis if he has to stay in the hospital for any length of time. The daughter, Azhu, while helping her mother carry her younger siblings to the hospital, fantasizes that her parents may sell her to a rich family to reduce their financial burden if her father loses job.

However, the mood of the Jiang family changes dramatically when they arrive at the American hospital where Jiang Afa has been sent. They are stunned at the whiteness and cleanness of the hospital and quickly shed the feeling of unease. In their eyes, this hospital is a "white house" with white walls and bed sheets. The American nun seems like an angel with wings, and Agui and Azhu steal a lot of white toilet paper to take home because they've never seen toilet paper of such good quality.

But the more important reason for their complete peace of mind is the financial help from the Colonel Grey, whose unit is covering the medical bill. But this is just the beginning. The Jiang family has a daughter who has been dumb since she was born, with whom Colonel Grey sympathizes, wanting to send her to the United States for a special education. The policeman who brings the Jiang family to the hospital comments that Jiang Afa is lucky to have been hit by an American. If he had been hit by other people, he might well be a corpse lying by the roadside under a straw mat. Jiang's colleagues also ask Jiang jokingly whether he got hit on purpose. In such a pristine environment and with financial protection for the future, Jiang Afa even starts to see his wife Agui as beautiful. At the end of the story, the Jiang family eats apples sent by the Colonel Grey with unprecedented happiness.³⁹⁶

This story satirizes people in Taiwan who expected the United States to lend a hand to Taiwan whenever Taiwan was in trouble or in need. In the story, the American hospital is called the “white house” after the U.S. presidential White House, the center of U.S. political power. The American hospital, a metaphor for the United States, is white everywhere, and the nun is like an angel with wings, indicating that the U.S. is heaven to people in Taiwan. Colonel Grey represents Americans, while the financial and moral support from him and his unit represent support from the United States to Taiwan. From the 1950s to the late 1960s, the U.S. government not only supported Taiwan to keep its seat in the U. N., but also offered it military and economic aid, generally called the “U.S. Aid.” The Aid was significant to the political stability and fast economic growth of Taiwan.³⁹⁷ The long term of the Aid explains why people in Taiwan almost

³⁹⁶ Huang Chunming, “Pingguo de ziwei” 蘋果的滋味 (Taste of apples), in *Wo ai Mali* 我愛瑪莉 (I love Mary) (Taipei: Yuanjing chubanshe 遠景出版社, 1979), 69-104.

³⁹⁷ Roderick MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China*, 15: 822, 841-842.

worshipped the United States and relied on its help. However, beginning in the early 1970s, the relationship between Taiwan and the United States changed. Thus, those who still expected help from the United States became the targets of Huang's satire.

In addition to Huang Chunming, Wang Zhenhe is also renowned for his fictional works mocking those who coveted whatever profit Taiwan might obtain from the United States. Wang was born in Hualian, Taiwan, in 1941 and started his writing career as early as in 1961, when he was a sophomore in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature at National Taiwan University. In that year, he published the short story "Ghost, North Wind, and A Man" ("Gui, beifeng, ren" 鬼, 北風, 人) in the literary magazine *Modern Literature* (*Xiandai wenxue* 現代文學). This magazine had been established by Wang's schoolmates in the same department in 1960. The founding group included Bai Xianyong, Chen Ruoxi 陳若曦 (1938-), Leo Oufan Lee (1942-), Liu Shaoming 劉紹銘 (also Joseph Shiu-ming Lau, 1934-), Ouyang Zi 歐陽子 (1939-) and Wang Wenxing 王文興 (1939-), all of whom were to become renowned in literary development in Taiwan and prestigious in the study of Chinese literature. The magazine itself was also significant in terms of literary development for introducing theories of modernism to Taiwan in the 1960s.³⁹⁸ For Wang, "Ghost, North Wind, and A Man" was not only the debut of his literary career, but also caused a famous writer Zhang Ailing 張愛玲 (also Eileen Chang, 1920-1995) to notice him. Zhang asked to see Wang and visited his hometown, Hualian, when she came to Taiwan in 1961.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ For the thorough exploration of literary modernism in Taiwan the 1960s, see Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang (Zhang Songsheng 張誦聖)'s *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

³⁹⁹ Regarding stories related to Zhang Ailing's visit to Wang Zhenhe's hometown in Hualian, Taiwan, see Gao Quanzhi 高全之, "Zhang Ailing yu Wang Zhenhe" 張愛玲與王禎和 (Zhang

Similar to Huang Chunming's, Wang Zhenhe's works in the 1960s were well known for setting the scene in his hometown and focusing on people of lower status. In addition to "Ghost, North Wind, and A Man," his most famous short story during this period is "An Oxcart for Dowry" ("Jiazhuang yi niuche" 嫁妝一牛車), published in no. 3 of *Literature Quarterly* in April 1967. In this story, the protagonist, Wanfa, cannot support his family because he is deaf and unable to find a job. In order to receive economic help from the rich Mr. Jian, he allows his wife to become Mr. Jian's mistress and even lets Mr. Jian move in with him and his wife. However, Wang's fictional works from the early 1970s to his death in 1990 also reflect the changing relationship between Taiwan and the United States. *Rose, Rose, I Love You* (*Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* 玫瑰, 玫瑰, 我愛你), serialized in *United Daily News* (*Lianhe bao* 聯合報) from February 20 to May 19, 1984, presents features representative of his works during this period.⁴⁰⁰

Rose, Rose, I Love You is a novel about a group of people in Hualian during the period of the Vietnam War (1955-1975). When they learn there will be three hundred U.S. soldiers arriving at Hualian from Vietnam for vacation, they plan to make money off those soldiers. Those participating in the scheme include English teacher Dong Siwen, who offers "knowledge" about how to entertain those soldiers, city council member Mr. Qian, who invests in the planned nightclub, and procurers and call girls who are going to provide the "body labor" for the reception of the soldiers. In order to better serve the soldiers, Dong Siwen assembles the

Ailing and Wang Zhenhe), *Youshi wenyi* 幼獅文藝 (*Youth Literary*) 515 (November 1996): 90-97; Qiu Yanming 丘彥明, "Zhang Ailing zai Taiwan: Fang Wang Zhenhe" 張愛玲在臺灣: 訪王禎和 (Zhang Ailing in Taiwan: Interview with Wang Zhenhe), *Lianhe wenxue* 聯合文學 (*Unitas*) 29 (March 1987): 95-102.

⁴⁰⁰ Gao Quanzhi is reputed for his many articles about Wang Zhenhe's literary works. See Gao's *World of Wang Zhenhe's Fiction* (*Wang Zhenhe de Xiaoshuo shijie* 王禎和的小說世界) (Taipei: Lianhe wenxuechubanshe, 1979).

procurers and call girls in a church called the “Hall of Grace” (De en tang 得恩堂) and trains them there. The story revolves around the process of assembling and training these procurers and call girls.

This story, on the one hand, satirizes those who viewed the reception of U.S. Aid as something like a holy grace from God, as the call girls train to receive the soldiers in the “Hall of Grace”; on the other hand, it likens Taiwan’s reception of U.S. Aid to call girls’ exchanging their physical bodies for U.S. soldiers’ money, because during the period of the Aid, the United States also built up military bases on Taiwanese soil.

However, the process of receiving grace can be dangerous. At the end of the story, when the training finishes, the call girls sing a song, “Rose, Rose, I love you.” Rose actually is the nickname for syphilis carried by the U.S. soldiers. Thus, rose implies that grace from the United States may seem beautiful but also can bring harm. After singing the song, the call girls read aloud the Lord’s prayer from Matthew 6:13 – “For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.”⁴⁰¹ The prayer is ironic considering what call girls do. Nevertheless, they still thank God and view the arrival of the U.S. soldiers as grace.

Although both Wang Zhenhe and Huang Chunming satirize the attitude of viewing financial support from the United States as grace from God, the images of Americans in their stories differ markedly. In Huang’s “Taste of Apples,” Americans are benevolent. They pay off the medical bill for Jiang Afa and would like to bring his dumb daughter to receive special education in the States. By contrast, in Wang’s story, the U.S. soldiers come to Taiwan to visit prostitutes. This difference reflects the fact that the prevailing image of the United States was

⁴⁰¹ Wang Zhenhe 王禎和, *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* 玫瑰玫瑰我愛你 (Rose, rose, I love you) (Taipei: Yuanjing chubanshe, 1984), 267.

much worse at the time when the U. S. broke off formal diplomatic relationship with Taiwan than when it supported the PRC joining the U. N.

Compared with the “Taste of Apples” by Huang Chunming, *Rose, Rose, I Love You* reveals Wang’s deeper thought about how intellectuals were dealing with the influence of U.S. Aid to Taiwan. In this farce about educating call girls and procurers on how to attract Americans with a hygienic environment, simple English, and shallow understanding of the American culture, even as the call girls and procurers resemble clowns with their rude language and behavior, Wang’s true target is the intellectuals who direct this farce, i.e., the English teacher Dong Siwen and the politician and financial supporter of the whole plan, Alderman Qian. In Huang’s story, the Jiang family does not intend to finagle money from Americans based on the car accident; the Americans are the ones who voluntarily offer financial help. However, in Wang’s story, it is intellectuals who make the plan to get money out of the Americans. Compared to the satirized characters in Huang’s story, the intellectuals in Wang’s are more shameless and greedy in grasping whatever benefits Americans may bring to them.

One passage in which Dong Siwen introduces Alderman Qian to the managers of those call girls provides a good example of how the author satirizes members of the social elite. When Dong explains to the managers that Alderman Qian’s major in college was animal agriculture, focused on breeding pigs, which “actually is about pig mating,” the procurers burst out laughing and say, “What? Alderman Qian studied pig mating in college?! Is it necessary to go to college to study pig mating?”⁴⁰² Dong’s words and the managers’ reaction not only disparage the value of Qian’s college degree and indicate contempt toward intellectuals, but imply that Qian’s

⁴⁰² Ibid., 25-26.

venture of investing money in the nightclub is similar to helping pigs mate – a crude use of nature dressed up as a savvy “investment.”

Huang Chunming and Wang Zhenhe’s satire reflects Taiwan’s reliance upon the United States. The 1970s brought Taiwanese authorities not only diplomatic setbacks, but tough challenges from the people of Taiwan as intellectuals of the island started to demand more freedom of speech and political rights. Those who supported the independence of Taiwan also had increasing conflicts with the government.⁴⁰³ On the surface, no direct influence of these issues can be seen in Huang and Wang’s satirical works. However, the Nationalist government had received military, diplomatic, and economic support from the United States since the early 1950s. These satirical works, implying the government was dependent and perhaps even opportunist, actually represent a challenge toward the authority of the Nationalist government in Taiwan.

V. Epilogue: Is Han Han the Next Lu Xun?

Han Han is a racecar driver and writer who was born in Shanghai in 1982. His novels and miscellaneous essays have greatly influenced the younger generation of Chinese with their satirizing of contemporary Chinese society and government. Han made his name in 2000 with the publication of his novel, *Triple Gate* (*Sanchongmen* 三重門). In his first year of high school, he failed to pass to the next grade because of his concentrating on literary writing. In his second attempt to finish that grade, he failed seven courses in one semester while writing *Triple Gate*.

⁴⁰³ There is a large account on the development of postwar Taiwan and reliable analyses of challenges it encountered in its development in Ralph Clough, “Taiwan under Nationalist rule, 1949-1982,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, eds., Denis Twitchett and John Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15: 815-874.

Finally, he decided to quit school. In fact, Han regarded writing literary works as a way of fighting back against an educational system which, in his view, cares only about promoting students to higher-level schools. *Triple Gate* reflects his own experience in school. It is a story about a genius, Lin Yuxiang, who does not know where his future lies within current education system. More than that, it is also satirical toward many contemporary educational problems and social phenomena.

Han also satirizes contemporary political, social, and cultural problems, expressing his discontent toward the government in many miscellaneous essays on his blog.⁴⁰⁴ This explains why 25% of the essays on his blog are censored and shielded.⁴⁰⁵ On September 13, 2010, Hong Kong cultural critic and television host Leung Man-tao 梁文道 (Winnie Leung, 1970-) even suggested that Han Han could be the next Lu Xun if Han continues writing.⁴⁰⁶ His suggestion was soon taken up in many debates on websites in both China and Hong Kong over whether Han could be the next Lu Xun.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁴ The address of the front page of Han Han's blog is: <http://blog.sina.com.cn/twocold> (accessed on February 11, 2013).

⁴⁰⁵ Chen Wanqian 陳宛茜, "1/4 bowen bei shan. Han Han zishu shibai." 1/4 博文被刪. 韓寒自述失敗. (1/4 blog essays are deleted. Han Han talks about his failures.), *Lianhe bao* 聯合報 (*United Daily News*), March 29, 2012, under "Yuedu yiwen" 閱讀藝文 (Reading art and literature), http://mag.udn.com/mag/reading/storypage.jsp?f_ART_ID=380478 (accessed on February 11, 2013).

⁴⁰⁶ Leung Man-tao said this on *Eight Minutes Reading* (*Kaijuan bafenzhong* 開卷八分鐘), a television program he hosts on Phoenix Television (Fenghuang weishi 鳳凰衛視) in Hong Kong that has aired from January 1, 2007.

⁴⁰⁷ Chen Wanqian, "Han Han xuanfeng: Huaixiaozi Han Han, shiji Lu Xun?" 韓寒旋風: 壞小子韓寒, 世紀魯迅? (Han Han whirlwind: Bad boy Han Han, Lu Xun of this century?), *United Daily News*, November 7, 2010, under "Reading art and literature," http://mag.udn.com/mag/reading/storypage.jsp?f_ART_ID=281879 (accessed on February 11, 2013).

According to Leung, Han's "straightforward, smart, and amusing" ("zhijie mingkuai, congming er you quwei de" 直接明快, 聰明而有趣味的) comments and his general ideas on Chinese national characteristics make Han's writing similar to Lu Xun's. Leung cites some passages from essays in Han's blog, *A Drifting China* (*Piaoyi Zhongguo* 飄移中國, 2010), to support his argument. Based on the passages Leung cites, the "straightforward, smart, and amusing" comments he refers to are satirical as well. One passage is taken from an essay, "Problems about Cadres" ("Ganbu de wenti" 幹部的問題). In contemporary China, "cadre" is used to refer to government officials or managers of a unit or organization. In the passage Leung cites, Han mocks that wherever Chinese people go, cadres exist. Even in a class of forty students in an elementary school, there are ten cadres. When a child becomes "vice-monitor" ("fu banzhang" 副班長) of the class, the parents are intoxicated as well, "even though their child is not old enough to embezzle money," teases Han. In the government organization in China, deputies generally are de facto managers of units. Chinese children are proud when they become cadres of a class. Thus, Han comments with worry, "When they grow up and become real officials in the government, who knows what kind of officials they'll be!"⁴⁰⁸ This passage exposes the educational and cultural problems underlying the corrupt government. It satirizes not only how schools cultivate authoritarian character, but also the mentality of the Chinese people when they become officials.

While Leung suggested Han as the next Lu Xun, Lydia Liu (Chinese name Liu He 劉禾, 1957-), Professor at Columbia University and an expert in modern Chinese literature, makes the criticism that Han Han never actually attempts to challenge the authorities. On the contrary, Han

⁴⁰⁸ Han Han, "Ganbu de wenti" 幹部的問題 (Problems about cadres), in *Piaoyi Zhongguo* 飄移中國 (A drifting China) (Hong Kong: Niujin daxue chubanshe 牛津大學出版社, 2010), 61-63.

Han's "calculated rebelliousness... exemplifies the unspoken compact his generation has forged with the ruling Communist Party: Leave us alone to have fun and we won't challenge your right to run the country."⁴⁰⁹ Perry Link does not agree with Liu. Link feels disappointed with young Chinese people, except for Han Han, because only Han tries to touch upon the bottom line of the authorities. Link names it "hitting the edge ball" ("Da cabianqiu" 打擦邊球). Moreover, Link in turn challenges Liu, who also teaches in Tsinghua University in Beijing, by calling her a "new leftist." Link asserts that there are "new leftist" voices from Tsinghua which, on the surface, appear to criticize the deeds and policies of the government; however, in reality, they actually support the rule of the Party.⁴¹⁰

Is Han Han is next Lu Xun or an alternative supporter of the Chinese government? To argue over this issue is, to a large extent, to argue the relationship between Chinese satirists and the government. However, this approach to judging writers' intellectual conscience and literary value creates contradictory opinions when one is talking about Chinese intellectuals living in China or having a relationship with the Chinese authorities. The debate over whether Mo Yan's novels are satirical between Charles Laughlin and Perry Link exemplifies this kind of argument. Regarding whether Han Han challenges the authority of the Chinese government through satire, I contend that it would be difficult to explain why his blog essays are so frequently censored if the government does not feel threatened. In any case, no consensus will ever settle the above arguments. On this topic, only one thing is certain. In the wartime period, political satire was

⁴⁰⁹ Simon Elegant, "Han Han: China's Literary Bad Boy," *Time Magazine*, November 2, 2009.

⁴¹⁰ Shi Feike 石扉客, "Lin Peirei: Wo dui Zhongguo de nianqingren gandao shiwang, chule Han Han" 林培瑞: 我對中國的年輕人感到失望, 除了韓寒 (Perry Link: I am disappointed with Chinese young people, except for Han Han), *Nandu zhoukan* 南都周刊 (Southern Metropolis Weekly) 19 (May 24, 2010), http://past.nbweekly.com/Print/Article/10390_0.shtml (accessed on March 4, 2014).

used to expose the corruption of the government, as some writers manifested their anxiety about the collapse of the Nationalist government, while others anticipated its replacement with a new political system. Since then, politics and satire have maintained their close relationship in the development of Chinese satirical literature.

Bibliography

The bibliography contains works cited in the dissertation, except for essays about the “Debate over Exposure and Satire” and satirical works in magazines and newspapers in wartime Chongqing, which are in Appendices I and IV.

Primary Sources

Beijing daxue 北京大學 (Peking University), et al., *Wenxue yundong shiliao xuan* 文學運動史料選 (Selected documents about literary activities). Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe 上海教育出版社, 1979.

Chen Mingde 陳銘德, Deng Jixing 鄧季惺, and et al. *Xinmin bao chunqiu* 新民報春秋 (A history of *Xinmin News*). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe 重慶出版社, 1987.

Han Han. *Piaoyi Zhongguo* 飄移中國 (A drifting China). Hong Kong: Niujin daxue chubanshe 牛津大學出版社, 2010.

He Lian 何廉, *He Lian Huiyilu* 何廉回憶錄 (Reminiscences of He Lian). Interviewed and edited by Zhu Youci 朱佑慈, Yang Daning 楊大寧 and Hu Longchang 胡隆昶; documents translated by Wang Wenjun 王文鈞 and Yu Zhenji 俞振基. Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe 中國文史出版社, 1988.

Hu Feng 胡風. “Xu zhanzhengqi de yige zhandou de wenyi xingshi” 續戰爭期的一個戰鬥的文藝形式 (Continuous discussion on the battling literary form in the war period). *Qiyue* 七月 (July) 6 (January 1, 1938): 162-164.

Huang Chunming 黃春明. *Wo ai Mali* 我愛瑪莉 (I love Mary). Taipei: Yuanjing chubanshe 遠景出版社, 1979.

Leung Wai-kei 梁偉基. “Cong Shanghai dao Xianggang: Kangzhan qianhou de Zhonghua shuju (1931-1941)” 從上海到香港: 抗戰前後的中華書局 (1931-1941) (From Shanghai to Hong Kong: A Study of Zhong Hua Shu Ju [Zhonghua Books], 1931-1941). *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州學林 (*Chinese Culture Quarterly*) 5, no.2 (2007): 107-129.

Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋. “Bianzhe de hua” 編者的話 (Editor’s words). *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報 (*Central Daily*), December 1, 1938.

- Lin Yutang 林語堂. "Wo de hua: Lun youmo" 我的話: 論幽默 (My words: On humor). *Lunyu banyukan* 論語半月刊 (*The Analects Fortnightly*) 33 (January 16, 1934): 434-438; 35 (February 16, 1934): 522-525.
- Lin Zhongsheng 林忠勝 and et al.. *Qi Shiyong xiansheng fangwen jilu* 齊世英先生訪問紀錄 (Records of interview with Mr. Qi Shiyong). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, 1990.
- Liu I-chi'ing (Liu Yiqing). *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*. With commentary by Liu Chün 劉峻 (462-521); translated with introduction and notes by Richard B. Mather, 2nd ed. Ann Arbor: Center of Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2002.
- Liu Yiqing 劉義慶. *Shi shuo xin yu jiao jian* 世說新語校箋 (Collated and annotated *New Account of the Tales of the World*). Collated and annotated by Yu Jixi 余嘉錫 (1884-1955). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2007.
- Liu Zhenyun 劉震雲. *Guanren* 官人 (Officials). Wuhan: Changjiang wenyi chubanshe 長江文藝出版社, 1992.
- Lou Shiyi 樓適夷. "Mao gong yu Wenyi zhendi" 茅公與文藝陣地 (Mr. Mao and *Literary Battleground*). *Xin wenxue shiliao* 新文學史料 (Historical materials about New Literature) 12 (August 1981): 170-179.
- Lu Hsun (Lu Xun), *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*. Translated by Yang Xianyi (Yang Hsien-yi 楊憲益) and Gladys Yang (Dai Naidie 戴乃迭). Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1959.
- , *Lu Xun: Selected Works*. Translated by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang, 3rd ed. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980.
- Lu Xun 魯迅. *Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集 (Collected works of Lu Xun). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學出版社, 2005.
- Luo Feng 羅烽. "Haishi zawen de shidai" 還是雜文的時代 (Still in the age of miscellaneous essays). In *Mingren yu yuan'an er: Zhongguo wentan dang'an shilu* 名人與冤案二: 中國文壇檔案實錄, edited by Hu Ping 胡平 and Xiao Shan 曉山, 520-521. Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe 群眾出版社, 1998.
- Luo Sun 羅蓀. "Yu kangzhan wuguan" 與抗戰無關 (Irrelevant to the War of the Resistance). *Dagong bao* 大公報 (*L'Impartial*), December 5, 1938.

- , “Zai lun ‘Yu kangzhan wuguan’ ” 再論與抗戰無關 (More opinions about “Irrelevant to the War of the Resistance”). *L’Impartial*, December 9, 1938.
- Mo Yan 莫言. *Jiuguo* 酒國 (*The Republic of Wine*). Taipei: Hongfan shudian 洪範書店, 1992.
- Pan Jienong 潘子農. “Zaihua ‘tangfa’ dengdeng” 再話 ”燙髮” 等等 (Taking more about “perming hair” and others). *Xinmin bao* 新民報 (Xinmin News), March 22, 1938.
- Qin Xiaoyi 秦孝儀, ed. *Xianzongtong Jiangong sixiang yanlun zongji* 先總統 蔣公思想言論總集 (Complete works of President Jiang Jieshi). Taipei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui 中國國民黨中央委員會黨史委員會, 1983.
- Qiu Yanming 丘彥明. “Zhang Ailing zai Taiwan: Fang Wang Zhenhe” 張愛玲在臺灣: 訪王禎和 (Zhang Ailing in Taiwan: Interview with Wang Zhenhe). *Lianhe wenxue* 聯合文學 (*Unitas*) 29 (March 1987): 95-102.
- Sha Yan 沙雁. “Chongqing wentan sanbu” 重慶文壇散步 (“A Stroll through Chongqing’s literary scene”). *Wenyi yuekan zhanshi tekan* 文藝月刊戰時特刊 (Literature monthly: Wartime special edition) 2, no.1 (August 1938): 300-301.
- Sima Xu 司馬訐. *Chongqing ke* 重慶客 (A Chongqing guest). Edited by Chen Liyuan 陳理源 and Zheng Shifeng 鄭拾風. Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1983.
- Su Guangwen 蘇光文, ed. *Wenxue lilun shiliao xuan* 文學理論史料選 (Selected documents about literary theories). Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe 四川教育出版社, 1988.
- Takeuchi Minoru 竹內実, et al, eds. *Mō Taku-tō shū* 毛沢東集 (Collected writings of Mao Tse-tung). Tōkyō: Hokubōsha 北望社, 1971.
- Wang Chong 王充. *Lunheng* 論衡. Translated by Alfred Forke. New York, Paragon Book Gallery, 1962.
- Wang Meng 王蒙. “Zuzhibu xinlaide qingnianren” 組織部新來的青年人 (A young newcomer at the organization department). *Renmin wenxue* 人民文學 (*People’s Literature*) 9 (September 1956): 29-43.
- Wang Shiwei 王實味. “Ye baihehua” 野百合花 (Wild lilies). *Jiefang ribao* 解放日報 (*Jiefang Daily*), March 13, 23, 1942.
- Wang Xuhua 王煦華 and Zhu Yibing 朱一冰, eds.. *1927-1949 nian jinshu (kan) shiliao huibian* (1927-1949 年禁書[刊]史料彙編) (Collection of historical documents about banned

- books and magazines in 1927-1949). Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe 北京圖書館出版社, 2007.
- Wang Yunwu 王雲五. *Lu Yu xinsheng* 旅渝心聲 (Feelings about my sojourn in Chongqing), 2nd ed. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1946.
- Wang Zhenhe 王禎和. *Meigui, meigui, wo ai ni* 玫瑰玫瑰我愛你 (Rose, rose, I love you). Taipei: Yuanjing chubanshe 遠景出版社, 1984.
- Wu Zuxiang 吳組緝. “Jieshao duanpian xiaoshuo sipian” 介紹短篇小說四篇 (The Introduction of four short stories). *Guowen yuekan* 國文月刊 (National language monthly) no. 11 (December 1941), 18-20.
- Xiguo 西郭. “Qiugao ruhe qu dengshan” 秋高如何去登山 (How to climb mountains in autumn). *Wangxiang zhoukan* 萬象周刊 (*Phenomena Weekly*), no. 21 (November 13, 1943): 4.
- Xiong Shounong 熊壽農. “Wo zhi Zhang Henshui guan” 我之張恨水觀 (My opinions about Zhang Henshui). *Jinwen yuekan* 今文月刊 (Modern literature monthly) 1 (October 15, 1942): 9-17.
- Xu Zhucheng 徐鑄成. *Xu Zhucheng huiyilu* 徐鑄成回憶錄 (Memoir of Xu Zhucheng). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1999.
- Yun 雲. “Shu de xiaolu” 書的銷路 (The sale of books). *Weipo* 微波 (Small waves) 1 (August 1944): 29-30.
- Zhang Daofan 張道藩. “Women suo xuyao de wenyi zhengce” 我們所需要的文藝政策 (The literary policy we need). *Wenhua xianfeng* 文化先鋒 (Cultural pioneer) 1, no.1 (September) 1942): 5-16.
- Zhang Henshui 張恨水. *Bashi yi meng* 八十一夢 (Eighty-one Dreams). Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe 北岳文藝出版社, 1993.
- *Xiezuoshengya huiyi* 寫作生涯回憶 (Reminiscences of my life as a Writer). Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1993.
- Zhang Linlan 張林嵐 and Yi Zhang 一張. *Gushi xinwen: Zhang Linlan jiushi nian huiyi lu* 故事新聞: 張林嵐九十年回憶錄 (Old news are stories: Ninety years' recollection of Zhang Linlan). Shanghai: Dongfang chubanzhongxin 東方出版中心, 2012.
- Zhang Pinglu 張萍廬. “Bianyu” 編餘 (Editor's words). *Nanjing Evening News*, August 1, 1938.

- Zhang Tianyi 張天翼. "Hua Wei xiansheng" 華威先生 (Mr. Hua Wei). *Wenyi zhendi* 文藝陣地 (Literary battleground) 1, no.1 (April 16, 1938): 3-5.
- Zhang Wu 張伍. *Yi fuqin Zhang Henshui xiansheng* 憶父親張恨水先生 (Memories of my father Mr. Zhang Henshui). Beijing: Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe 北京十月文藝出版社, 1995.
- Zhang Youluan 張友鸞. "Jiancao kuang" 剪草狂 (A weeding maniac). *Xinmin Evening News*, November 25, 1941.
- Zhao Jiabe 趙家璧. "Yi Guilin: Zhanshi de wenhuacheng" 憶桂林: 戰時的文化城 (Memories of Guilin: Cultural city in the war period). *L'Impartial*, May 18, 1947.
- Zhao Jiabi, Ding Jingtang 丁景唐, and et al.. *Zhongguo xinwenxue daxi 1937-1949* 中國新文學大系 1937-1949 (*Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature, 1937-1949*). Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe 上海文藝出版社, 1990.
- Zi Qi 子芑. "Bushu huijing" 不是回敬 (Not paying back). *Xinmin News*, March 24, 1938.

Secondary Scholarship

Western languages

- Anderson, Marston. *The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Bhattacharyya, A. K. "Regeneration of China on the Principles Underlying the New Life Movement." In *Zhuhai xuebao* 珠海學報 (*The Chu Hai Journal*), 16 (October 1988).
- Bonnie S McDougall, trans. *Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies of the University of Michigan, 1980.
- Chang, Sung-sheng Yvonne (Zhang Songsheng 張誦聖). *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Cheek, Timothy. "The Fading of Wild Lilies: Wang Shiwei and Mao Zedong's Yan'an Talks in the First CCP Rectification Movement." *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 11 (1984): 25-58.
- Chen Ping. *Modern Chinese: History and Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Chi His-sheng. *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937-45*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982.

- Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Chow, Rey. *Women and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between East and West*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- Denton, Kirk A. and Mickel Hockx, eds. *Literary Societies of Republican China*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.
- Dirlik, Arif. "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement: A Study in Counterrevolution." In *Journal of Asian Studies*, 34 no. 4 (August 1975), 945-980.
- Drège, Jean-Pierre. *La Commercial Press de Shanghai, 1897-1949*. Paris: Memories de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1978.
- Eastman, Lloyd E. "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945." In Vol. 13 of *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- , *Seed of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution: 1937-1949*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984.
- Elegant, Simon. "Han Han: China's Literary Bad Boy." *Time Magazine*, November 2, 2009.
- Elliot, Robert. *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Fu, Poshek. *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- , *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937-1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Huang, Nicole. *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Gibbs, Donald A. "Notes on the Wind: The Term 'Feng' in Chinese Literary Criticism." In *Transition and Permanence: Chinese History and Culture: A Festschrift in Honor of Dr. Hsiao Kung-ch'üan*, edited by David C. Buxbaum and Frederick W. Mote. Hong Kong: Cathay Press, 1972.
- Gimpel, Denise. *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

- Goldman, Merle, and Leo Ou-fan Lee. *An Intellectual History of Modern China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Gunn, Edward. *The Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking, 1937-1945*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Hockx, Michel. *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern Chinese, 1911-1937*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Hsia, C. T. *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961. Rpt. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Huang, Nicole. *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Hung, Chang-tai. *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Israel, John. *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Laughlin, Charles. *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a Urban New Culture in China, 1930-1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- . *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Lindner, Burkhardt. "Hallucinatory Realism: Peter Weiss' Aesthetics of Resistance, Notebooks, and the Death Zones of Art." *New German Critique* 30 (Autumn, 1983): 127-156.
- Link, Perry. *Mandarin Ducks and Butter Flies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Cities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Liu, Lydia. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Mittler, Barbara. *A Newspaper for China? : Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872-1912*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Norman, Jerry. *Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Qian Suoqiao. *Liberal Cosmopolitan: Lin Yutang and Middling Chinese Modernity*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

- Quintero, Ruben, ed. *A Companion to Satire*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Reed, Christopher. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
- Schneider, Axel. *Wahrheit und Geschichte: Zwei chinesische Historiker auf der Suche nach einer modernen Identität für China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997.
- Shu, Yunzhong. *Buglers on the Home Front: The Wartime Practice of the Qiyue School*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Thomson, James C. *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Van de Ven, Hans J. *War and Nationalism in China 1925-1945*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.
- Wang, David Der-wei. *Fictional Realism in Twentieth-century China: Mao Dun, Lao She, Shen Congwen*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- , *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Wang Fan-sen. *Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Wong, Young-Tsu. "The Fate of Liberalism in Revolutionary China: Chu Anping and His Circle, 1946-1950." *Modern China*, 19 no. 4 (October 1993): 457-490.

Chinese

- Cai Mingze 蔡銘澤. *Zhongguo guomindang dangbao lishi yanjiu* 中國國民黨黨報歷史研究 (Study of the history of official newspaper of the Nationalist Party). Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe 團結出版社, 1998.
- Chen Jianhua 陳建華, *Cong geming dao gonghe: Qing mo zhi Mingguo shiqi wenxue, dianying he wenhua de zhuanxing* 從革命到共和: 清末至民國時期文學, 電影和文化的轉型 (*From Revolution to the Republic: The Transformation of Literature, Film and Culture in the Late Qing and Republican Period*). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社, 2009.
- Chen Sihe 陳思和, ed. *Dangdai dalu wenxueshi jiaocheng, 1949-1999* 當代大陸文學史教程, 1949-1999 (Teaching material for the history of contemporary Chinese literature, 1949-1999). Taipei: Lianhe wenxue chubanshe 聯合文學出版社, 2001.

- Chen Pingyuan 陳平原. *Chen Pinyuan xiaoshuoshi lunji* 陳平原小說史論集 (Collected essays on the history of Chinese fiction by Chen Pingyuan). Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe 河北人民出版社, 1997.
- Chen Yung-fa (Chen Yongfa 陳永發). *Yan 'an de yinying* 延安的陰影 (Yan'an's Shadow). Taipei: The Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica, 1990.
- Chongqing chubanzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui* 重慶出版志編纂委員會, ed. *Chongqing chuban jishi* 重慶出版紀實 (Records of publishing in Chongqing). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1988.
- Chongqing ribao she 重慶日報社, ed.. *Kangzhan shiqi de Chongqing xinwenjie* 抗戰時期的重慶新聞界 (The press in wartime Chongqing). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1995.
- Chongqingshi tushuguan 重慶市圖書館 (Chongqing Library), ed. *Kangzhan qijian Chongqing ban wenyi qikan pianming suo yin* (*Chongqing shi tushuguan guancang bufen*) 抗戰期間重慶版文藝期刊篇名索引 (重慶市圖書館館藏部分) (Title index of works in literary and art periodicals in the wartime Chongqing: The portion in Chongqing Library). Chongqing: Chongqing shi tushuguan 重慶市圖書館, 1984.
- Chongqingshi xinwen chuban ju 重慶市新聞出版局, ed.. *Chongqingshizhi: Chubanzhi (1840-1987)* 重慶市志: 出版志 (1840-1987) (Gazetteer of the Chongqing City: Chronicles of publication [1840-1987]). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2007.
- Dai Qing 戴晴. *Chu Anping, Wang Shiwei, Liang Shuming* 儲安平, 王實味, 梁漱溟. Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe 江蘇文藝出版社, 1989.
- Fan Boqun 范伯群, ed. *Zhongguo jinxiandai tongsu wenxueshi* 中國近現代通俗文學史 (History of modern Chinese popular literature). Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe 江蘇教育出版社, 2000.
- Fan Yong 范用, ed. *Zhandou zai Baiqu: Dushu chubanshe 1934-1948* 戰鬥在白區: 讀書出版社 1934-1948 (Fights in the Nationalist Area: Dushu Publisher, 1934-1948). Beijing: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店, 2001.
- Fang Hanqi 方漢奇, ed. *Dagongbao bainianshi (6/17/1902-6/17/2002)* 大公報百年史 (6/17/1902-6/17/2002) (One-century history of *L'Impartial* [6/17/1902-6/17/2002]). Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe 中國人民大學出版社, 2004.
- Gao Hua 高華. *Hong taiyang shi zenyang shengqi de: Yan 'an zhengfeng yundong de lailong qumai* 紅太陽是怎樣升起的: 延安整風運動的來龍去脈 (*How did the red sun rise over*

- Yan'an? A History of the Rectification Movement*). Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000.
- Gao Mingkai 高名凱 and Liu Zhengtan 劉正燾. *Xiandai hanyu wailai ci yanjiu* 現代漢語外來詞研究 (Studies of loanwords in modern Chinese). Beijing: Wenzhi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社, 1958.
- Gao Quanzhi 高全之. *Wang Zhenhe de Xiaoshuo shijie* 王禎和的小說世界 (World of Wang Zhenhe's Fiction). Taipei: Lianhe wenxue chubanshe, 1979.
- . "Zhang Ailing yu Wang Zhenhe" 張愛玲與王禎和 (Zhang Ailing and Wang Zhenhe). *Youshi wenyi* 幼獅文藝 (*Youth Literary*) 515 (November 1996): 90-97.
- Gao Xudong 高旭東, ed. *Liang Shiqiu yu zhongxi wenhua* 梁實秋與中西文化 (Liang Shiqiu and Chinese and Western cultures). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007.
- . *Liang Shiqiu: Zai gudian yu langman zhijian* 梁實秋: 在古典與浪漫之間 (Liang Shiqiu: Between Classicism and Romanticism). Beijing: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社, 2005.
- Guan Shan 關山 and Li Maohua 李貌華, trans. *Zhenli yu lishi: Fu Sinian, Chen Yinke de shixue sixiang yu minzu renting* 真理與歷史: 傅斯年, 陳寅恪的史學思想與民族認同 (Truth and history: Fu Sinian, Chen Yinke's historical thoughts and national identities). Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, 2008.
- Guo Rongsheng 郭榮生 ed. *Kong Xiangxi xiansheng nianpu* 孔祥熙先生年譜 (Chronicle of Mr. Kong Xiangxi). Taipei, 1979.
- Guo Zhenyi 郭箴一. *Zhongguo xiaoshuoshi* 中國小說史 (History of Chinese fiction). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939. Rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海書店, 1984.
- Han Xinru 韓莘茹. *Xinhua ribao shi* 新華日報史 (History of *Xinhua Daily*). Beijing: Zhongguo zhanwang chubanshe 中國展望出版社, 1987.
- Hong Zicheng 洪子誠. *Zhongguo dangdai wenxueshi* 中國當代文學史 (History of contemporary Chinese literature). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 1999.
- Hu Shi 胡適. *Wushinian lai Zhongguo zhi wenxue* 五十年來中國之文學 (Chinese literature in the recent fifty years). Shanghai: Shenbao guan 申報館, 1924.
- Huang Jinlin 黃金麟. "Chouguai de zhuangban: Xinchenghuo yundong de zhenglu fenxi" 醜怪的裝扮: 新生活運動的政略分析 (Grotesque: Analysis of strategies of the New Life

- Movement). In *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* 台灣社會研究季刊 (*Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*) 30 (June 1998), 163-203.
- Huang Manjun 黃曼君 and Ma Guangyu 馬光裕, eds.. *Sha Ting yanjiu ziliao* 沙汀研究資料 (Research materials about Sha Ting). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 1986.
- Ji Jin 季進 and Zeng Yiguo 曾一果, *Shen Quan: Yibang de jiejing* 陳詮: 異邦的借鏡 (Chen Quan: Learning from foreign countries). Beijing: Wenjin chubanshe, 2005.
- Jiang Baochai 江寶釵 and Lin Zhenshan 林鎮山, eds. *Nitu de ziwei: Huang Chunming wenxue lunji* 泥土的滋味: 黃春明文學論集 (*The Taste of Soil: Collection of Articles on Literature about Huang Chunming*). Taipei: Lianhe wenxue chubanshe, 2009.
- Kong Qingdong 孔慶東. *Chaoyue yasu* 超越雅俗 (Transcend elegance and vulgarity). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2008.
- Li Oufan 李歐梵 (Leo Ou-fan Lee). “‘Piping kongjian’ de kaichuang: Cong *Shen Bao* ‘Ziyoutan’ tanqi” “批評空間”的開創: 從申報“自由談”談起 (The establishment of “public space”: On “Free Talks” in *Shen Bao*). *Ershiyi shiji* 二十一世紀 (Twenty-first century) 19 (October 1993): 39-51.
- Li Ruiteng 李瑞騰 and Cai Zongyang 蔡宗陽, eds., *Yashe de chunhua qiushi* 雅舍的春華秋實 (A Cottage’s Spring blossoms and Autumn fruits). Taipei: Jiuge chubanshe 九歌出版社, 2002.
- Liao Zhaoheng 廖肇亨. “Xiwang, juewang, xuwang: Shi lun Tai Jingnong ‘Wang Ming jiang shi’ yu Guo Moruo ‘Jiashen sanbainian ji’ de renwu tuxiang yu wenhua quanshi” 希望, 絕望, 虛妄: 試論臺靜農“亡明講史”與郭沫若“甲申三百年祭”的人物圖像與文化詮釋 (“Vision, Desperation, Delusion: A Comparative Study between Tai Jingnong’s *Wang Ming Jiang Shi* and Guo Moruo’s *Jia Shen San Bai Nian Ji*”). *Ming dai yan jiu* 明代研究 (Research on the Ming dynasty) 11 (December 2008): 95-118.
- Liu Zengren 劉增人, et al. *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan shilun* 中國現代文學期刊史論 (On history of modern Chinese literary periodicals). Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe 新華出版社, 2005.
- Lu Heng 陸衡. *Sishi niandai fengci wenxue lungao* 四十年代諷刺文學論稿 (A draft discussion about satirical literature in the 1940s). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe 廣西師範大學出版社, 2008.

- Luo Xiuju 羅秀菊. “Wenji wenxueshi diwei zhi tanjiu” 文季文學史地位之探究 (The study of status of *Literary Quarters* in literary history). PhD diss., National Cheng-chi University [Taipei], 1998.
- Meng Guanghan 孟廣涵, ed.. *Kangzhan shiqi guogong hezuo jishi* 抗戰時期國共合作紀實 (Records of the Second United Front in the wartime period). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe 重慶出版社, 1992.
- Meng Yao 孟瑤. *Zhongguo wenxueshi* 中國文學史 (History of Chinese Literature). Taipei: DaZhongguo tushu gongsi 大中國圖書公司, 1974.
- Ming zhongyang Sun Zhongshan yanjiu xuehui Chongqing fenhui 民革中央孫中山研究學會重慶分會, ed. *Chongqing kangzhan wenhuashi* 重慶抗戰文化史 (Cultural history of Chongqing in the War of Resistance). Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe 團結出版社, 2005.
- Paek Yong-Gil 白永吉, “Pulu yu fengci lunzheng zhong de Guo Moruo yu Mao Dun” 暴露與諷刺論爭中的郭沫若與茅盾 (Guo Moruo and Mao Dun in the debate of “exposure and satire”). *Guo Moruo xukan* 郭沫若學刊 (Journal of Guo Moruo studies) 73 (2005):14-21.
- Qi Yuqun 齊裕錕 and Chen Huiqin 陳惠琴. *Zhongguo fengci xiaoshuoshi* 中國諷刺小說史 (History of Chinese satirical fiction). Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe 遼寧人民出版社, 1993.
- Qian Liqun 錢理群, Wen Rumin 溫儒敏, and Wu Fuhui 吳福輝. *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue sanshinian* 中國現代文學三十年 (Thirty years of modern Chinese literature). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998.
- Ran Jinhui 冉錦惠 and Li Huiyu 李惠宇, eds.. *Minguo shiqi baojia zhidu yanjiu* 民國時期保甲制度研究 (Study of the *bao-jia* system in the Republican China). Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe 四川大學出版社, 2005.
- Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), ed. *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏. Jiangxi shuju 江西書局, 1816. Rpt. Shanghai: Shijie shuju 世界書局, 1935; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.
- Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館 (Shanghai Library), ed., *Shanghai tushuguan guancang jin xiandai zhongwen qikan zongmu* 上海圖書館館藏近現代中文期刊總目 (The complete indices of holdings of modern Chinese periodicals in Shanghai Library). Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe 上海科學技術文獻出版社, 2004.
- Shenghuo shudian shigao bianji weiyuanhui* 生活書店史稿編輯委員會. *Shenghuo shudian shigao* 生活書店史稿 (Draft history of Shenghuo Bookstore). Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1995.

- Song Jun 宋軍, *Shen Bao de xingshuai* 申報的興衰 (The rise and fall of *Shen Bao*). Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe 上海社會科學院出版社, 1996.
- Sun Daquan 孫大權. “Kangzhan shiqi ‘Ma Yinchu bei bu an’ youguan jige wenti de bianxi” 抗戰時期‘馬寅初被補案’有關幾個問題的辨析 ((Analysis of several concerns about “the arrest of Ma Yinchu” in the period of War of Resistance). *Sichuan daxue xuebao: zhexue shehui kexue ban* 四川大學學報: 哲學社會科學版 5 (2003): 229-232.
- Tan Wenxi 譚文熙. *Zhongguo wujiashi* 中國物價史 (History of prices in China). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 湖北人民出版社, 1994.
- Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧. *Xinbian Zhongguo wenxueshi* 新編中國文學史 (New history of Chinese literature). Shanghai: Guangming shuju 光明書局, 1936.
- Xie Yong 謝泳 ed.. *Chu Anping he tade shidai* 儲安平和他的時代 (Chu Anping and his time). Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gongsi 秀威資訊科技公司, 2009.
- . *Chu Anping yu Guancha* 儲安平與觀察 (Chu Anping and *The Observer*). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe 中國社會出版社, 2005.
- Xinmin wanbao shi bianzuan weiyuanhui 新民晚報史編纂委員會, ed., *Feiru xunchang baixing jia: Xinmin bao, Xinmin wanbao qishinian shi* 飛入尋常百姓家: 新民報, 新民晚報七十年史 (Flying to houses of common people: Seventy-year history of *Xinmin News* and *Xinmin Evening News*). Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe 文匯出版社, 2004.
- Xinzhi shudian de zhandou lichen bianji weiyuanhui* 新知書店的戰鬥歷程編輯委員會, ed. *Xinzhi shudian de zhandou lichen* 新知書店的戰鬥歷程 (History of fights of Xinzhi Bookstore). Beijing: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店, 1994.
- Wan Shuyuan 萬書元. *Di shi wei miaosi: Zhongguo xiandai fengci xiaoshuo lun (1917-1949)* 第十位繆思: 中國現代諷刺小說論 (1917-1949) (The tenth Muse: On modern Chinese satirical fiction (1917-1949)). Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe 東南大學出版社, 1998.
- Wang Xianqian 王先謙. *Shi sanjiayi jishu* 詩三家義集疏. Taipei: Mingwen shuju 明文書局, 1988.
- Wang Yuguang 王余光 and Wu Yonggui 吳永貴, *Zhongguo chuban tongshi 8: Minguo juan* 中國出版通史8: 民國卷 (General history of Chinese publishing 8: The volume about the Republican era). Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe 中國書籍出版社, 2008.

- Wei Hualing 魏華齡. *Guilin wenhua shihua* 桂林文化史話 (History of Guilin as a cultural city). Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe 廣西人民出版社, 1987.
- Wei Yingtao 魏瀛濤, ed., *Jindai Chongqing chengshi shi* 近代重慶城市史 (History of Modern Chongqing city). Sichuan: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1991.
- Wen Juntian 聞鈞天. *Zhongguo baojia zhidu* 中國保甲制度 (Chinese *bao-jia* system). Hankou: Zhixuexuan 直學軒, 1933.
- Wen Luping 文履平 and et al.. *Chongqing shi zhi: Baoye zhi* 重慶市志: 報業志 (Gazetteer of Chongqing: Records of the press). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000.
- Wen Rumin. *Xinwenxue xianshi zhuyi de liubian* 新文學現實主義的流變 (Transformation of realism in New Literature). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1988.
- Wen Rumin and Ding Xiaoping 丁曉萍, eds.. *Shidai zhi po: Zhanguoce wenhua lunzhu jiyao* 時代之波: 戰國策文化論著輯要 (The wave of the time: Selected works of Zhanguoce School on literature). Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe 中國廣播電視出版社, 1995.
- Wu Fuhui 吳福輝. *Sha Ting zhuan* 沙汀傳 (Biography of Sha Ting). Beijing: Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1990.
- Wu Hao 吳浩. "Wenji yanjiu ziliao chubian" 文季研究資料初編 (First draft of research materials about *Literary Quarters*). *Taiwan wenxue guan cha zazhi* 台灣文學觀察雜誌 (Taiwan literature survey magazine) 1 (June 1990): 116-130.
- Yu Guangzhong 余光中 ed., *Qiu zhi song: Liang Shiqiu xiansheng jinian wenji* 秋之頌: 梁實秋先生紀念文集 (Autumn Carol: A festschrift for Mr. Liang Shiqiu). Taipei: Jiuge chubanshe, 1988.
- Yu Xiaoyao 俞筱堯 and Liu Yanjie 劉彥捷, eds. *Lufei Kui yu Zhonghua shuju* 陸費逵與中華書局 (Lufei Kui and Zhonghua Books). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002.
- Zha Guohua 查國華. *Mao Dun nianpu* 茅盾年譜 (Chronicle of Mao Dun). Wuhan: Changjiang wenyi chubanshe, 1985.
- Zhang Linlan 張林嵐. *Zhao Chaogou zhuan* 趙超構傳 (Biography of Zhao Chaogou). Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 1999.
- Zhang Youluan jinian wenji bianjizu 張友鸞紀念文集編輯組 (Editing group of *Memorial Publication Honoring Zhang Youluan*), ed. *Zhang Youluan jinian wenji* 張友鸞紀念文集 (Memorial publication honoring Zhang Youluan). Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2000.

Zhang Zhanguo 張占國 and Wei Shouzhong 魏守忠, eds. *Zheng Henshui yanjiu ziliao* 張恨水研究資料. (Research materials about Zhang Henshui). Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe 天津人民出版社, 1986.

Zhong Qiuyuan 仲秋元, ed., *Shenghuo, Dushu, Xinzhi, Sanlian shudian wenxian shiliao ji* 生活讀書新知三聯書店文獻史料集 (Collection of documents and historical materials about Shenghuo, Dushu, Xinzhi, Joint Publishing). Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004.

Zhou Yong 周勇 ed.. *Chongqing tongshi* 重慶通史 (General history of Chongqing). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2002.

Appendix I: Essays about the “Debate over Exposure and Satire”

Titles of essays or fictional works appear in appendices are presented only in *pinyin* and Chinese characters. English translations of titles of essays and fictional works used in the content of the dissertation are offered in the text.

Essays in this appendix are arranged in chronological order. As for those in *Literature Monthly* (*Wenyi yuekan* 文藝月刊), since it was the platform for the Nationalist government to oppose the use of exposure and satire in literature, they are listed at the end of each year.

Essays published in Chongqing are marked with “*.”

1938

Li Nanzhuo 李南卓. “Guang xianshi zhuyi” 廣現實主義. *Wenyi zhendi* 文藝陣地 1, no. 1 (April 16, 1938): 13-15.

Lin Huanping 林煥平. “Du *Wenyi zhendi*” 讀文藝陣地. *Jiuwang ribao* 救亡日報, April 24, 1938.

Li Yuzhong 李育中. “Youmo yansu he ai: Du Zhang Tianyi de ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’” 幽默嚴肅和愛: 讀張天翼的華威先生. *Jiuwang ribao*, May 30, 1938.

Mao Dun 茅盾. “Lun jiaqiang piping gongzuo” 論加強批評工作. *Kangzhan wenyi* 抗戰文藝 2, no. 1 (July 16, 1938): 2-3.

Mao Dun. “Bayue de ganxiang” 八月的感想. *Wenyi zhendi* 1, no. 9 (August 16, 1938): 281-285.

Mao Dun. “Pulu yu fengci” 暴露與諷刺. *Wenyi zhendi* 1, no. 12 (October 1, 1938): 349.

Wenyi yuekan 文藝月刊:

* Sha Yan 沙雁. “Zhanshi de xiaoshuo” 戰時的小說. *Wenyi yuekan* 文藝月刊 1, no. 5 (January 1, 1938): 91-92.

* Bianzhe 編者. “Bianji xiaoyu” 編輯小語. *Wenyi yuekan* 2, no. 2 (September 1, 1938): 322.

1939

- * Sheng 繩 (Huang Sheng 黃繩). “Xuexi Lu Xun de wenti” 學習魯迅的文體. *Dushu yuebao* 讀書月報 1 no. 9 (January 1, 1939), 388.
- Du Ai 杜埃. “Lun xin xingshi yu zuojia shenghuo shijian zhi qianghua” 論新形勢與作家生活實踐之強化. *Wenyi zhendi* 2, no. 7 (January 16, 1939): 603-605.
- * Luo Sun 羅蓀. “Qiangdiao xianshi zhuyi” 強調現實主義. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 5/6 (January 21, 1939): 66-67.
- * Han 寒. “Guanyu fengci” 關於諷刺. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 5/6 (January 21, 1939): 67.
- * Wei Mengke 魏猛克. “Xie shenme hao ne” 寫什麼好呢. *Danhu* 彈花 2, no. 4 (February 10, 1939): 81.
- * Lu Honji 盧鴻基. “Tan zhanshi yishu” 談戰時藝術. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 9/10 (February 18, 1939): 160.
- Lin Lin 林林. “Du ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’ dao Riben” 讀華威先生到日本. *Jiuwang ribao* (Guilin), February 22, 1939.
- Leng Feng 冷楓 (Cai Lengfeng 蔡冷楓, nowadays called Cai Beihua 蔡北華). “Qiangbi le de ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’” 槍斃了的華威先生. *Jiuwang ribao* (Guilin), February 26, 1939.
- Huang Sheng. “Tan hei’anmian de bawo” 談黑暗面的把握. *Wenyi zhendi* 2, no. 10 (March 1, 1939): 707.
- * Sun 蓀 (Luo Sun). “Luntan” 論壇. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 12 (March 1, 1939): 178-179.
- Zhang Tianyi 張天翼. “Guanyu ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’ fu Ri: Zuozhe de yijian” 關於華威先生赴日: 作者的意見. *Jiuwang ribao* (Guilin), March 15, 1939.
- * Qinwen 欽文. “Shigan de yunyong” 實感的運用. *Wenyi zhendi* 2, no. 11 (March 16, 1939): 734.
- Lin Lin. “Zuojia yao shenzhi zuguo” 作家要深知祖國. *Jiuwang ribao* (Guilin), March 26, 1939.
- * Shiyi 適夷. “Houfang zuojia xie shenme” 後方作家寫什麼. *Dagong bao* 大公報, March 26, 1939.
- * Wu Zuxiang 吳組緜. “Wo duiyu quanguo wenyijie tongyi zhanxian de jidian guanjian” 我對於全國文藝界統一戰線的幾點管見. *Xinhua ribao* 新華日報, March 27, 1938.

- * Shiyi. “Yin’an de guang” 陰暗的光. *Wenyi zhendi* 3, no. 1 (April 16, 1939): 820.
- * Song Zhidi 宋之的. “Buyao ‘Sahuang he fensui shiji’” 不要“撒謊和粉碎實際.” *Kangzhan wenyi* 4, no. 2 (April 25, 1939): 38.
- * Huang Sheng. “Kangzhan wenyi de dianxing chuangzao wenti” 抗戰文藝的典型創造問題. *Wenyi zhendi* 3, no. 6 (July 1, 1939): 997-1001.
- Sha Jiening 沙介寧. “Lun wenyi shang xiaodu yu sujian gongzuo” 論文藝上消毒與肅奸工作. *Jiuwang ribao* (Guilin), August 22, 1939.
- * Luo Sun. “Tan Lu Xun jingshen” 談魯迅精神. *Dushu yuebao* 1, no. 9 (September 1, 1939): 420-423.
- * Mu Mutian 穆木天. “Kangzhan wenyi de ticai” 抗戰文藝的題材. *Dagong bao*, September 5, 1939.
- * Zi Mao 子矛. “‘Pulu’ he ‘fengci’ women rengran xueyao!” “暴露”和“諷刺”我們仍舊需要! *Xin Shu bao* 新蜀報, October 14, 1939.
- * Zhiyuan 志淵. “Zhengshi xianshi! Zai Lu Xun shishi san zhounian jinianhui shang” 正視現實！在魯迅逝世三周年紀念會上. *Xin Shu bao*, October 20, 1939.
- * Lu Hongji. “Wo tan pulu he fengci” 我談暴露和諷刺. *Xin Shu bao*, October 23, 1939.
- * Lu Hongji. “Fengci wu shu” 諷刺無術. *Xin Shu bao*, November 5, 1939.
- * Ye Li 野藜. “Pulu, fengci, zhujian” 暴露, 諷刺, 鑄奸. *Kangzhan wenyi* 5, no. 1 (November 10, 1939): 3, 15.
- * Baren 巴人. “Minzhu yu xianshi” 民主與現實. *Wenyi zhendi* 4, no. 2 (November 16, 1939): 1255-1259.
- * Zhang Zhi 張直. “Jinbu, huanxiang yu quedian” 進步, 幻想與缺點. *Dagong bao*, November 28, 1939.
- * Zhou Xing 周行. “Guanhyu ‘Hua Wei xiansheng’ chuguo ji chuanguo fangxiang wenti” 關於“華威先生”出國及創作方向問題. *Qiyue* 七月 4, no. 4 (December 1939): 189-191.
- * Hua Lin 華林. “Pulu hei’an yu zhishi guangming” 暴露黑暗與指示光明. *Xin Shu bao*, December 6, 1939.

* 1939/12/26-27 * Wei Dongming 魏東明. “Jiantao guoqu pipingwen zhi yi: Zhandou zhong wenyi chuanguo de lichen—xie gei zhandou zhong de zuojia men” 檢討過去批評文之一: 戰鬥中文藝創作的里程——寫給戰鬥中的作家們. *Dagong bao*, December 26-27, 1939.

Wenyi yuekan:

* Wang Pingling 王平陵. “Zhanshi zuopin de xianshixing” 戰時作品的現實性. *Wenyi yuekan* 3, no. 1/2 (March 16, 1939): 1-5.

* He Rong 何容. “Guanyu pulu hei’an” 關於暴露黑暗. *Wenyi yuekan* 3, no. 7 (July 16, 1939): 133.

* Zhong Xianmin 鍾憲民. “Guanyu wenzhang chuguo” 關於文章出國. *Wenyi yuekan* 3, no. 8/9 (August 16, 1939): 197.

* “Duanlun” 短論. *Wenyi yuekan* 3, no. 10/11 (September 16, 1939): 208-212.

* Weimin 唯民. “Yige xinde keti” 一個新的課題. *Wenyi yuekan* 3, no. 12 (December 1, 1939): 266-267.

1940

* Du Ai. “Wenxue yu shehui shenghuo de jianglai” 文學與社會生活底將來. *Wenyi zhendi* 4, no. 2 (November 16, 1939): 1255-1259.

* Changzhi 長之. “Hei’an yu guangming” 黑暗與光明. *Dagong bao*, January 12, 1940.

* Luo Sun. “Kangzhan wenyi yundong niaokan” 抗戰文藝運動鳥瞰. *Wenxue yuebao* 文學月報 1, no.1 (January 15, 1940): 3-10.

* Luo Sun. “Guanyu fengci” 關於諷刺. *Xin Shu bao*, January 17, 1940.

* Shiyi. “Wenyi zhendi de yinian” 文藝陣地的一年. *Kangzhan wenyi* 5, no. 4/5 (January 20, 1940): 95-96.

* Wu Zuxiang 吳祖緝. “Yiwei songyang shi bugou de” 一味頌揚是不夠的. *Xin Shu bao*, January 22, 1940.

* Tian Zhongji 田仲濟. “Pulu’ he ‘songyang’” “暴露” 和 “頌揚”. *Xin Shu bao*, February 2, 1940.

* “Shudao” zuotanhui 蜀道座談會. “Cong sannian lai de wenyi zuopin, kan kangzhan shengli de qiantu” 從三年來的文藝作品, 看抗戰勝利的前途. *Xin Shu bao*, October 10, 1940.

- * Ouyang Shan 歐陽山. “Guanyu ‘xin’ xianshi zhuyi” 關於“新”現實主義. *Wenxue yubao* 文學月報 2, no. 4 (November 15, 1940): 148.
- * Zhang Zhiyuan 張志淵. “Wenxie xiaoshuo wanhui jilu” 文協小說晚會紀錄. *Xin Shu bao*, November 26, 1940.
- * Pengzi 蓬子. “Lu Xun xiansheng de ai he zeng” 魯迅先生的愛和憎. *Kangzhan wenyi* 6, no. 4 (December 1, 1940): 259-261.
- * Zigang 子岡. “Yinian lai yitan de qingsuan” 一年來藝壇的清算. *Dagong bao*, December 29, 1940.

1941

- * Guo Moruo 郭沫若 and et al. “Yijiusiyi nian wenxue quxiang de zhanwang” 一九四一年文學趨向的展望. *Kangzhan wenyi* 6, no. 4 (December 1, 1940): 259-261.
- * Sha Ting 沙汀. “Zhe sannian lai wode chuanguo huodong” 這三年來我的創作活動. *Kangzhan wenyi* 7, no. 1 (January 1, 1941): 85-87.
- * Huang Yi 黃裔. “Yin’e yangshan yu xuan’e yangshan” 隱惡揚善與宣惡揚善. *Xinhua ribao* 新華日報, June 22, 1941.
- * Yiqun 以群. “Zuojia zai kangzhan zhong: Jinian ‘Qiqi’ bing zhu ‘Shudao’ fukan” 作家在抗戰中: 紀念“七七”並祝“蜀道”復刊. *Xin Shu bao*, July 8, 1941.
- * Ye Zhiqiu 葉知秋. “Wenxue kangzhan de sizhounian” 文學抗戰的四周年. *Xinhua ribao*, July 9, 1941.

Wenya yuekan:

- * Zhongnian 仲年 (Xu Zhongnian 徐仲年). “Qingnian yu guangming” 青年與光明. 11th year, no. 6 (Jun 16, 1941): 2-3.
- * Weimin. “Kangzhan sinian lai de wenya lilun” 抗戰四年來的文藝理論. 11th year, no. 7 (July, 1941): 2-10.
- * Wang Pingling. “Kangzhan sinian lai de xiaoshuo” 抗戰四年來的小說. 11th year, no. 8 (August 16, 1941): 4-9.

Appendix II: Periodicals about Literature and Art Published in Wartime

Chongqing⁴¹¹

	Title: Chinese (English)	Interval between two issues	Time of publication	Time published in Chongqing	All locations of the publication
1	<i>Chunyun</i> 春雲 (Spring clouds)	Monthly	December 1936 (1:1)- April 1939 (5:1)	December 1936 (1:1)- April 1939 (5:1)	Chongqing
2	<i>Danhua</i> 彈花 (Splashes of bombs)	Monthly; Semimonthly	March 1938 (1:1)- September 1940 (3:8)	October 1938 (1:6)- September 1940 (3:8)	Hankou (Wuhan in the present time); Chongqing

⁴¹¹ Entries of this chart are from two sources. Most of them are based on the result of my archival research in Shanghai Library and Chongqing Library. As for detailed information of each entry and periodicals which I did not see in these two libraries, they are collected from following indices: Wang Daming 王大明, Wen Tianxing 文天行 and Liao Quanjing 廖全京, eds., *Kangzhan wenyi baokan pianmu huibian* 抗戰文藝報刊篇目匯編 (Title index of pieces of writing in wartime literary newspapers and periodicals) (Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehuikexueyuan chubanshe 四川省社會科學院出版社, 1984); Sichuan sheng shehuikexueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo kangzhan wenyi yanjiushi 四川省社會科學院文學研究所抗戰文藝研究室, ed., *Kangzhan wenyi baokan pianmu huibian (xu yi)* (續一) (Sequel to the title index of pieces of writing in wartime literary newspapers and periodicals) (Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehuikexueyuan chubanshe, 1986); Chongqing shi tushuguan 重慶市圖書館 (Chongqing Library), ed., *Kangzhan qijian Chongqing ban wenyi qikan pianming suoyin (Chongqing shi tushuguan guancang bufen)* 抗戰期間重慶版文藝期刊篇名索引 (重慶市圖書館館藏部分) (Title index of works in literary and art periodicals in the wartime Chongqing: The portion in Chongqing Library) (Chongqing: Chongqing shi tushuguan 重慶市圖書館, 1984); Han Chu Huang, et. al. eds, *Chinese Periodicals in the Library of Congress: A Bibliography* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1988); Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館 (Shanghai Library), ed., *Shanghai tushuguan guancang jin xiandai zhongwen qikan zongmu* 上海圖書館館藏近現代中文期刊總目 (The complete indices of holdings of modern Chinese periodicals in Shanghai Library) (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian chubanshe 上海科學技術文獻出版社, 2004); Liu Zengren 劉增人, et al., *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan shilun* 中國現代文學期刊史論 (On history of modern Chinese literary periodicals) (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe 新華出版社, 2005).

3	<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 東方雜誌 (Eastern Miscellany)	Monthly (March 11, 1904 [1.1]- Vol. 16); Semimonthly (January 1920 [Vol. 17]- Vol. 39) Monthly (July 1947- December 1948, Vol. 40-44)	Shanghai: March 11, 1904 (1:1)- August 1937 Changsha: January 1938- October 1938 Hong Kong: November 1938- November 1941 Chongqing: March 1943- December 1945 Shanghai: January 1946- December 1948 (Vol. 44)	March 1943- December 1945	Shanghai; Changsha; Hong Kong; Chongqing
4	<i>Dushu yuebao</i> 讀書月報 (Dushu monthly)	Unknown. Based on extant copies, it might be published bimonthly.	Unknown. Vol. 1 no. 8 was issued on September 1, 1939. Vol. 1 no. 9 on November 1, 1939. Therefore, the speculated time of its first publication was around early 1939 or late 1938.	Unknown.	Chongqing
5	<i>Fusu</i> 復蘇 (Rejuvenation)	Monthly	February 1942 (1:1)- February 1945 (3:1)	February 1942 (1:1)- February 1945 (3:1)	Chongqing
6	<i>Guowen yuekan</i> 國文月刊 (National language monthly)	Monthly	June 1940 (No. 1)- August 1949 (No. 82)	November 1944 (No. 28)- June 1946 (No. 44)	Guilin; Chongqing; Shanghai
7	<i>Huozhiyuan wenyi congkan</i> 火之源 文藝叢刊		May 1944 (1:1)- December 1945 (1: 5/6)	May 1944 (1:1)- December 1945 (1: 5/6)	Chongqing

	(Source of fire)				
8	<i>Jinwen yuekan</i> 今文月刊 (Modern literature monthly)	Monthly	October 1942 (1:1)- February 1944 (3:2)	October 1942 (1:1)- February 1944 (3:2)	Chongqing
9	<i>Kang dao di</i> 抗到底 (Resisting till the end)	Semimonthly	January 1938 (No. 1)- November 1939 (No. 26)	September 1938 (No. 15)- November 1939 (No. 26)	Hankou; Chongqing
10	<i>Kangzhan wenyi</i> 抗戰文藝 (Resistance literature and art)	Three-daily (1:1-1:4 in May 1938); Weekly (1:5-3:8, from May 1938 to February 1939); Semimonthly (4:1-5:6, from April 1939-February 1940); monthly (6:1-10:6, from March 1940-May 1946)	May 1938 (1:1)- May 1946 (10:6)	October 8, 1938 (2:5)- May 4, 1946 (10:6)	Hankou; Chongqing
11	<i>Kangzhan yishu</i> 抗戰藝術 (Resistance art)	Monthly	September 1939 (No. 1)- January 1940 (No. 5)	September 1939 (No. 1)- January 1940 (No. 5)	Chongqing
12	<i>Langhua wenyi jikan</i> 浪花文藝季刊 (Breaking waves literature and art quarterly)	Quarterly	January 1944 (No. 1)- December 1944 (No. 4)	January 1944 (No. 1)- December 1944 (No. 4)	Chongqing
13	<i>Minzu wenxue</i> 民族文學 (National literature)	Monthly	July 1943 (1:1)- January 1944 (1:5)	July 1943 (1:1)- January 1944 (1:5)	Chongqing
14	<i>Pingju xunkan</i> 平劇旬刊 (Peking opera ten-daily)	Ten-daily	July 1942 (1:1)- 1943 (2:15) May 1943 (New no. 1)- December 1943 (no. 14/15)	July 1942 (1:1)- 1943 (2:15) May 1943 (New no. 1)- December 1943 (no. 14/15)	Chongqing

15	<i>Qingnian wenyi</i> 青年文藝 (Youth literature and art)	Bimonthly	Guilin: October 1942 (1:1)- July 1944 (1:6) Chongqing: April 1944 (New 1:1)- February 1945 (1:6)	April 1944 (New 1:1)- February 1945 (1:6)	Guilin; Chongqing
16	<i>Qingnian xiju tongxun</i> 青年戲劇通訊 (Youth drama communication)		1940 (No. 1)- February 1942 (No. 18/19)	1940 (No. 1)- February 1942 (No. 18/19)	Chongqing
17	Qiyue 七月 (July)	Weekly (in Shanghai); Semimonthly (in Wuhan and Chongqing)	Shanghai: September 11, 1937 (No. 1)- September 25, 1937 (No. 3) Hankou and Chongqing: October 16, 1937 (1:1)- September 1941 (7:1/2)	July 1939 (4:1)- September 1941 (7:1/2)	Shanghai; Hankou; Chongqing
18	<i>Qunzhong zhoukan</i> 群眾周刊 (Masses weekly)	Weekly; Semimonthly	Hankou: December 11, 1937 (1:1)- October 25, 1938 Chongqing: December 1938- May 1946 (11:4) Shanghai: June 3, 1946 (11:5)- February 28, 1947 (14:9) Hong Kong: January 30, 1947 (1:1)- October 20, 1949 (3:42/ 43)	December 1938- May 1946 (11:4)	Hankou; Chongqing; Shanghai; Hong Kong

19	<i>Shi bao</i> 詩報 (Poetry news)	Semimonthly	December 16, 1937 ("Shikanhao" 試刊號), January 1938 (No. 1)	December 16, 1937 ("Shikanhao" 試刊號), January 1938 (No. 1)	Chongqing
20	<i>Shi cong</i> 詩叢 (Collection of poetry)		March 1942 (1:1)- May 1945 (2:1)	March 1942 (1:1)- May 1945 (2:1)	Chongqing
21	<i>Shi kendi congran</i> 詩墾地 叢刊	Aperiodic	November 1941 (No. 1)- March 1943 (No. 6)	November 1941 (No. 1)- March 1943 (No. 6)	Chongqing
22	<i>Shi wenxue</i> 詩 文學 (Poetry Literature)	Aperiodic	Chongqing: February 1945 (No. 1), May 1945 (No. 2) Beiping (Beijing in the present time) May 1947 (No. 3)	February 1945 (No. 1), May 1945 (No. 2)	Chongqing; Beiping
23	<i>Shi yu chao</i> 時 與潮 (Times and tide)	Semimonthly	Hankou: April 1938 (1:1)- July 1938 (1:4) Chongqing: October 1938 (1:5)- February 1946 (24:6) Shanghai: December 1946 (25:1)- February 1949 (33:6)	October 1938 (1:5)- February 1946 (24:6)	Hankou; Chongqing; Shanghai
24	<i>Shi yu chao fukan</i> 時與潮副 刊 (Times and tides supplement)	Monthly	Chongqing: August 1942 (1:1)- April 1946 (6: 6) Shanghai: January 1947 (7:1)-	August 1942 (1:1)- April 1946 (6: 6)	Chongqing; Shanghai

			December 1948 (10:6)		
25	<i>Shi yu chao</i> : <i>wenyi</i> 時與潮: 文藝 (Times and tide: Literature and art)	Bimonthly (1:1- 1:3; March 1943- July 1943); Monthly (2:1- 5:5; September 1943- May 1946)	March 1943 (1:1)- May 1946 (5:5)	March 1943 (1:1)- May 1946 (5:5)	Chongqing
26	<i>Shidai wenxue</i> 時代文學 (Times literature)	Monthly	1938 (No. 1-2)	1938 (No. 1-2)	Chongqing
27	<i>Shijie wenxue</i> 世界文學 (World literature)	Bimonthly	September 1943 (No. 1) November 1943 (No. 2) No.1- no. 2 (Sep/ 1943- Nov/ 1943)	September 1943 (No. 1) November 1943 (No. 2)	Chongqing
28	<i>Shijie zhoubao</i> 世界周報 (World weekly news)	Weekly	Jun 1943 (No. 1)- January 1944 (No. 32); September 1944 (No. 33/34)- November 1944 (No. 40)	Jun 1943 (No. 1)- January 1944 (No. 32); September 1944 (No. 33/34)- November 1944 (No. 40)	Chongqing
29	<i>Tianxia wenzhang</i> 天下 文章 (World literature)	Monthly	March 1943 (1:1)- June 1945 (2:6)	March 1943 (1:1)- June 1945 (2:6)	Chongqing
30	<i>Wanxiang zhoukan</i> 萬象周 刊 (Phenomena weekly) (This Miscellaneous Weekly has nothing to do with the <i>Wanxiang</i> magazine published in	Weekly	Chongqing: June 1943 (No.1)- 1945 (115) Shanghai: October 1948 (New 1:1)- November 1948 (New 1:5)	June 1943 (No.1)- 1945 (115)	Chongqing; Shanghai

	wartime Shanghai.)				
31	<i>Weipo</i> 微波 (Small waves)		August 1944 (1:1) February 1945 (1:2)	August 1944 (1:1) February 1945 (1:2)	Chongqing
32	<i>Wenfeng zazhi</i> 文風雜誌 (Literary atmosphere magazine)	Monthly	December 1943 (1:1)- September 1944 (1:6)	December 1943 (1:1)- September 1944 (1:6)	Chongqing
33	<i>Wenfeng</i> 文風 (Literary atmosphere)	Monthly	January 1942 (1:1)- August 1942 (1:4)	January 1942 (1:1)- August 1942 (1:4)	Chongqing
34	<i>Wenhua xianfeng</i> 文化 先鋒 (Cultural pioneer)	Weekly	September 1942 (1:1)- October 1948 (9:7)	September 1942 (1:1)- December 1945 (?)	Chongqing; Nanjing
35	<i>Wenshao</i> 文哨 (Literary sentry)	Aperiodic	May 1945 (1:1)- October 1945 (1:3)	May 1945 (1:1)- October 1945 (1:3)	Chongqing
36	<i>Wentan</i> 文壇 (Literary circle)		March 1942 (1:1)- April 1943 (2:1)	March 1942 (1:1)- April 1943 (2:1)	Chongqing
37	<i>Wenxue</i> 文學 (Literature)	Monthly	April 1943 (1:1)- November 1944 (2:4) August 1945 ("Gexinhao" 革 新號)	April 1943 (1:1)- November 1944 (2:4) August 1945 ("Gexinhao" 革 新號)	Chongqing
38	<i>Wenxue xinbao</i> 文學新報 (Literature new report)	Semimonthly (1:1-1:4, December 1944- February 1945); Aperiodic (March 1945-)	December 1944 (1:1)- 1945 (2:4)	December 1944 (1:1)- 1945 (2:4)	Chongqing
39	<i>Wenxue xiuyang</i> 文學修養 (Literary cultivation)	Monthly	June 1942 (1:1)- June 1944 (2:4)	June 1942 (1:1)- June 1944 (2:4)	Chongqing
40	<i>Wenxue yuebao</i> 文學月報	Monthly	January 1940 (1:1)-	January 1940 (1:1)-	Chongqing

	(Literature monthly reports)		December 1941 (3:3)	December 1941 (3:3)	
41	<i>Wenyi qingnian</i> 文藝青年 (Youth of literature and art)	Monthly	March 1941 (1:1)- April 1942 (3:4) 1942 (No. 15)- December 1942 (No. 19)	April 1942 (3:4) 1942 (No. 15)- December 1942 (No. 19)	Chongqing
42	<i>Wenyi xianfeng</i> 文藝先鋒 (Literary pioneer)	Monthly	October 1942 (1:1)- September 1948 (13:3)	October 1942 (1:1)- December 1945 (7:6)	Chongqing; Nanjing
43	<i>Wenyi yuebao</i> 文藝月報 (Literature and art monthly report)	Monthly	June 1945 (“Chuangkanhao” 創刊號), May 1949 (“Tekanhou” 特刊號)	June 1945 (“Chuangkanhao” 創刊號)	Chongqing; Shanghai
44	<i>Wenyi yuekan</i> 文藝月刊 (Literature monthly) (<i>Wenyi yuekan: zhanshi tekan</i> 文藝月刊: 戰時特刊 [Literature monthly: Wartime special edition])	Monthly	<i>Literature Monthly</i> in Nanjing: August 1930 (1:1)- September 1937 (11:3) <i>Wartime special</i> in Nanjing: October 1937 (1:1)- November 1937 (1:4) <i>Wartime special</i> in Hankou: January 1938 (1:5)- June 1938 (1:12) <i>Wartime special</i> in Chongqing: August 1938 (2:1)- November 1941 (Eleventh year, no. 11)	August 1938 (2:1)- November 1941 (Eleventh year, no. 11)	Nanjing; Hankou; Chongqing

45	<i>Wenyi zazhi</i> 文藝雜誌 (Literature and art magazine)	Monthly	Guilin: January 1942 (1:1)- March 1944 (3:3) Chongqing: May 1945 (New 1:1)- September 1945 (New 1:3)	May 1945 (New 1:1)- September 1945 (New 1:3)	Guilin; Chongqing
46	<i>Wenyi zhendi</i> 文藝陣地 (Literary Battleground) (Special editions are not included. See Part A, Section I of Chapter 2)	Semimonthly (1:1-4:12, June 16, 1938- April 16, 1940); Monthly (5:1-7:4, July 16, 1940- November 20 1942)	Hankou: April 16, 1938 (1:1)- July 1, 1938 (1:6) Guangzhou: July 16, 1938 (1:7)- February 16, 1939 (2:9) Chongqing: March 1, 1939 (2:10)- November 20, 1942 (7:4)	March 1, 1939 (2:10)- November 20, 1942 (7:4)	Hankou; Guangzhou; Chongqing (Cities listed here are those appear on the periodical. But this list does not reflect the complicated history of its editorship, printing and publication. Please Part A, Section I of Chapter 2)
47	<i>Wenzhai</i> 文摘 (The Digest); <i>Wenzhai zhanshi xunkan</i> 文摘戰時旬刊 (The Wartime Digest)	Monthly: January 1937 (1:1)- August 1937 (2:2) Ten-daily (<i>Wenzhi zhanshi xunkan</i>): September 1937 (No.8)- August 1945 (No. 136) Semimonthly: October 1946 (10:1)- November 1948 (14:4)	Shanghai: January 1937 (1:1)- August 1937 (2:2) September 1937 (No.8)- October 1937 (?) (No. 15)- Hankou: November 1937 (?) (No. 16)- October 1938 (?) (No. 33) Chongqing: November 1938 (No. 34)- August 1945	November 1938 (No. 34)- August 1945 (No. 136)	Shanghai; Hankou; Chongqing

			(No. 136) Shanghai: December 1945 ("Fuyuan jinian ban"復員紀念 號) October 1946 (10:1)- November 1948 (14:4)		
48	<i>Wenzhai fukan</i> 文摘副刊 (The digest supplement)	Aperiodic	Chongqing: March 1942 (1:1) February 1945 (New 1:1)- July 1945 (New 1:6); Shanghai: December 1945 ("Fuyuan jinian hao")	March 1942 (1:1) February 1945 (New 1:1)- July 1945 (New 1:6)	Chongqing
49	<i>Wenzhai yuebao</i> 文摘月報 (The digest monthly)	Monthly	March 1941 (1:1)- February 1944 (4:2)	March 1941 (1:1)- February 1944 (4:2)	Chongqing
50	<i>Xiandai duwu</i> 現代讀物 (Modern reader)	Monthly; Semimonthly; Ten-daily	January 1936 (1:1)- July 1945 (10:7)	January 1936 (1:1)- July 1945 (10:7)	Chongqing
51	<i>Xiju gangwei</i> 戲 劇崗位 (Drama post)	Monthly (actually aperiodic)	April 1939 (1:1)- May 1942 (3:5/6)	April 1939 (1:1)- May 1942 (3:5/6)	Chongqing
52	<i>Xiju shidai</i> 戲劇 時代 (Drama time)	Aperiodic	November 1943 (1:1)- October 1944 (1:6)	November 1943 (1:1)- October 1944 (1:6)	Chongqing
53	<i>Xiju xinwen</i> 戲 劇新聞 (Drama news)	Monthly	Hankou: May 1938 (No. 1)- Jun 1939 (No. 5); Chongqing: September 1939 (No. 6)- January 1939	September 1939 (No. 6)- January 1939 (No. 8/9)	Hankou; Chongqing

			(No. 8/9)		
54	<i>Xiju yuebao</i> 戲劇月報 (Drama monthly report)	Monthly	January 1943 (1:1)- April 1944 (1:5)	January 1943 (1:1)- April 1944 (1:5)	Chongqing
55	<i>Xinjun: wenyi shuang yuekan</i> 新軍：文藝雙月刊 (New army: Literature and art bimonthly)	Bimonthly	February 1944 (No. 1), April 1944 (No. 2)	February 1944 (No. 1), April 1944 (No. 2)	Chongqing
56	<i>Xiwang</i> 希望 (Hope)	Monthly	Chongqing: January 1945 (1:1)- December 1945 (1:4) Shanghai: May 1946 (2:1)- October 1946 (2:4)	January 1945 (1:1)- December 1945 (1:4)	Chongqing; Shanghai
57	<i>Xuexi shenghuo</i> 學習生活 (Study life)	Semimonthly: April 10, 1940 (1:1)- 1940 (1:3): Monthly: 1940 (1:4)- May 1943 (4:5)	April 10, 1940 (1:1)- May 1943 (4:5)	April 10, 1940 (1:1)- May 1943 (4:5)	Chongqing
58	<i>Yanju shenghuo</i> 演劇生活 (Drama Life)	Bimonthly	November 1942 (No. 1)- January 1943 (No. 2)	November 1942 (No. 1)- January 1943 (No. 2)	Chongqing
59	<i>Yanju yishu</i> 演劇藝術 (Drama art)		June 1945 (1:1)	June 1945 (1:1)	Chongqing
60	<i>Yehuo</i> 野火 (Wild fire)	Semimonthly	August 1939 (1:1)- January 1940 (1:5)	August 1939 (1:1)- January 1940 (1:5)	Chongqing
61	<i>Yiwenzhi</i> 藝文志 (Records of art and literature)	Monthly	January 1945 (No. 1), March 1935 (No. 2)	January 1945 (No. 1), March 1935 (No. 2)	Chongqing
62	<i>Yuzhou feng</i> 宇宙風 (Wind of)	Semimonthly: September 16,	Shanghai: September 16,	June 15, 1945 (No. 139)-	Shanghai; Guangzhou;

	the cosmos)	1935 (No. 1)- October 1937 (No. 50) Ten-daily: No. 51 No. 66 Semimonthly: No. 67 August 10, 1947 (No. 152)	1935 (No. 1)- No. 66 Guangzhou: No. 67- No. 77 Guilin: No. 78- No. 138 Chongqing: June 15, 1945 (No. 139)- No. 140 Guangzhou: No. 141- No. 152	No. 140	Guiling; Chongqing
63	<i>Zhenzhong wenyi</i> 陣中文藝 (Zhenzhong literature and art)	Aperiodic	August 1939 (1:1)- September 1940 (1:5)	August 1939 (1:1)- September 1940 (1:5)	Chongqing
64	<i>Zhongguo dianying</i> 中國電影 (Chinese film)	Monthly	January 1941 (1:1)- March 1941 (1:3)	January 1941 (1:1)- March 1941 (1:3)	Chongqing
65	<i>Zhongguo shiyi</i> 中國詩藝 (Chinese poetry art)	Monthly	Changsha: August 1938 (1:1); Chongqing: June 1941 (<i>Fu</i> 復1:1)- October 1941 (<i>Fu</i> 1:4)	June 1941 (<i>Fu</i> 復1:1)- October 1941 (<i>Fu</i> 1:4)	Changsha; Chongqing
66	<i>Zhongguo wenxue</i> 中國文學 (Chinese literature)	Monthly	April 1944 (1:1)- April 1945 (1:5)	April 1944 (1:1)- April 1945 (1:5)	Chongqing
67	<i>Zhongsu wenhua</i> 中蘇文化 (Sino-Russian culture)	Monthly: January 1936 (1:1)- 1937 (2:11) Bimonthly: November 1937 (1:1)- July 1939 (3:36) Monthly:	Nanjing: January 1936 (1:1)- 1937 (2:11) Chongqing: November 1937 (1:1)- 1946 (17:6) Nanjing:	November 1937 (1:1)- 1946 (17:6)	Nanjing; Chongqing

		August 1939 (4:1)- March 1940 (Vol. 5) Semimonthly: April 1940 (6:1)- December 1943 (Vol. 14) Monthly: January 1944 (15:1)- September 1949 (20:9) (It continues after 1949.)	September 1946 (17:7)- September 1949 (20:9)		
68	<i>Zhongyuan</i> 中原 (Central plains)	Aperiodic	June 1943 (1:1)- October 1945 (2:2)	June 1943 (1:1)- October 1945 (2:2)	Chongqing

Appendix III: Newspapers Published in Wartime Chongqing

	Title	Time of the Publication	Time Published in Chongqing⁴¹²	Notes
1	<i>Chongqing gebao lianheban</i> 重慶各報聯合版 (Joint post of Chongqing newspapers)	May/ 6/ 1939- August/ 12/ 1939	May/ 6/ 1939- August/ 12/ 1939	
2	<i>Dagong bao</i> 大公報 (<i>Ta Kung Pao</i> or <i>L'Impartial</i>)	June/ 17/ 1902-	December/ 1/ 1938- August/ 4/ 1952	
3	<i>Dagong wanbao</i> 大公晚報 (Ta Kung evening news)	August/?/ 1937- December/ 31/ 1949	September/ 1/ 1944- December/31/ 1949	
4	<i>Guomin gongbao</i> 國民公報 (National gazette)	December/ 17/ 1911- February/ 16/ 1950	August/ 1/ 1936- February/ 16/ 1950	Before its publication in Chongqing, National Gazette was published in Chengdu. As for the first day of its publication in Chengdu and Chongqing, different documents give different dates. The date put in this index is based on the announcement of the first issue of the Chongqing edition, published on August 1, 1936. As for the last day of its publication, the date comes from the online catalogue of Harvard-Henching Newspaper Collection. This <i>National Gazette</i>

⁴¹² In this index, unless specifically mentioned, the time of a newspaper published in Chongqing means the time when headquarters of a newspaper was located in Chongqing. This is because many newspapers published several versions in big cities.

				is different from the one established in Beijing between July 1910 and October 24, 1919.
5	<i>Ji Chuan gongbao</i> 濟川公報 (Ji Chuan gazette)	January/ 11/ 1931- March/ 31/ 1939	January/ 11/ 1931- March/ 31/ 1939	
6	<i>Jialingjiang ribao</i> 嘉陵江日報 (Jialing River ribao)	March/ 4/ 1928- December/ 15/ 1949	March/ 4/ 1928- December/ 15/ 1949	This newspaper was not published in the Chongqing city but Beibei, an urban city around Chongqing.
7	<i>Jinrong daobao</i> 金融導報 (Finance Report)	September/ 6/ 1944- September/ 28/ 1945 (?)	September/ 6/ 1944- September/ 28/ 1945 (?)	The last day of its publication comes from introduction of microfilms of this newspaper held by Chongqing Library.
8	<i>Nanjing wanbao</i> 南京晚報 (Nanjing evening news)	May/ 16/ 1929- November/ 22/ 1949 (?)	August/ 1/ 1938- 10/ 31 / 1945 (?)	The last day of its publication comes from introduction of microfilms of this newspaper held by Chongqing Library. The last day that <i>Nanjing Evening News</i> published in Chongqing is uncertain. It is still published in Chongqing on October 21, 1945. It removed back to Nanjing in November 1945. The exact day of the first issue in Nanjing is not clear either. However, based on the above information, one thing for sure is that <i>Nanjing Evening News</i> moved back to Nanjing between the

				end of October 21, 1945 and November 1945.
9	<i>Renmin ribao</i> 人民日報 (Renmin daily)	January/ 1/ 1936- April/ 28/ 1938	January/ 1/ 1936- April/ 28/ 1938	Time of its publication comes from newspapers collected in microfilms held by Chongqing Library
10	<i>Saodang bao</i> 掃蕩報 (Saodang post)	June/ 23/ 1932- November/ 29/ 1949 June/ 23/ 1949- July/ 7/ 1950	October/ 1/ 1938- November/29 / 1949	Its name changed to <i>Heping ribao</i> 和平日報 (Peace daily) from November 12, 1945 to June 30, 1949. The last day of its publication comes from introduction of microfilms of this newspaper held by Chongqing Library. It was relocated to Taiwan and continued its publication until July 7, 1950.
11	<i>Shangwu ribao</i> 商務日報 (Journal of commerce)	April/ 25/ 1914- January/ ?/ 1950	April/ 25/ 1914- January/ ?/ 1950	The last day of its publication comes from the online catalogue of Harvard-Henching Newspaper Collection.
12	<i>Shishi xinbao</i> 時事新報 (New Shishi Post)	May/ 18/ 1911- May/ 27/ 1949	November/ 26/ 1937- September/ 20/ 1945	
13	<i>Xin Shu bao</i> 新蜀報 (New Sichuan news)	February/ 1/ 1921- January/? / 1950	February/ 1/ 1921- January/? / 1950	The last day of its publication comes from introduction of microfilms of this newspaper held by Chongqing Library.
14	<i>Xin Shu yebao</i> 新蜀夜報 (Xin Sichuan evening news)	December/ 15/ 1937- December/ 31/ 1947 (?)	December/ 15/ 1937- December/ 31/ 1947 (?)	The last day of its publication comes from introduction of microfilms of this newspaper held by

				Chongqing Library.
15	<i>Xinhua ribao</i> 新華日報 (Xinhua daily)	Januaray/ 11/ 1938- February/ 28/ 1947 April/ 30/ 1949-	October/ 25/ 1938- February/ 28/ 1947	
16	<i>Xinmin bao</i> 新民報 (Xinmin news)	September/ 9/ 1929- March/ 30/ 1958	January/ 15/ 1938- December/ 31/ 1945	<i>Xinmin News</i> changed its name to <i>Xinmin wanbao</i> 新民晚報 (Xinmin evening news) in April 1958. <i>Xinmin Evening News</i> is still duplicated in Shanghai in the present time.
17	<i>Xinmin bao wankan</i> 新民报晚刊 (Xinmin evening news)	November/ 1/ 1941- April/ 30/ 1951	November/ 1/ 1941- December/ 31/ 1945	
18	<i>Xinan ribao</i> 西南日報 (Southwest daily)	May/ 21/ 1938- June/ 30/ 1941; April/ 12/ 1946- August/ 21/ 1947	May/ 21/ 1938- June/ 30/ 1941	
19	<i>Xinan ribao wankan</i> 西南日報晚刊 (Southwest evening news)	September/ 18/ 1939- March/ 20/ 1940 (?)	September/ 18/ 1939- March/ 20/ 1940 (?)	Time of its publication comes from introduction of microfilms of this newspaper held by Chongqing Library.
20	<i>Yishi bao</i> 益世報 (Social Welfare)	October/ 10/ 1915- January/ 15/ 1949	March/ 24/ 1940- December/ 1/ 1945	
21	<i>Zhongguo pinglun bao</i> 中國評論報 (Chinese commentary)	February/ 16/ 1943- March/ 31/ 1943	February/ 16/ 1943- March/ 31/ 1943	Time of its publication comes from introduction of microfilms of this newspaper held by Chongqing Library.
22	<i>Zhongyang ribao</i> 中央日報 (Central Daily)	February/ 1/ 1928-	September/ 1/ 1938- September/ 10/ 1945	<i>Central Daily</i> stopped its printed version on June 1, 2006. Starting from September 13, 2006, it resurrected by publishing the

				electronic version in Taiwan.
23	<i>Zhongyang ribao</i> <i>Saodang bao</i> <i>lianheban</i> 中央日報 掃蕩報聯合版 (The jointed version of <i>Central Daily</i> and <i>Saodang Post</i>)	June/ 1/ 1942- March/ 31/ 1943	June/ 1/ 1942- March/ 31/ 1943	

Appendix IV A: Satirical Fiction of New Literature

1938

Xu Ying 徐盈. “Xianqing xiansheng” 閒情先生. *Xin Shu bao* 新蜀報, March 11, 1938.

Cheng Baichen 陳白塵. “Weilao” 慰勞. *Kangzhan wenyi* 抗戰文藝 1, no. 7 (June 5, 1938): 68-69.

Ding Xing 丁行. “Chouqian” 抽籤. *Kangzhan wenyi* 2, no. 2 (July 16, 1938): 28-29.

Duanmu Hongliang 端木蕻良. “Zhao fangzi” 找房子. *Wenzahi zhanshi xunkan* 文摘戰時旬刊 no. 34/ 35 (November 8, 1938): 794-797.

1939

Mei Lin 梅林. “Yige zhanshi de qianshen” 一個戰士的前身. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 4 (January 7, 1939): 59-62.

Xiao Hong 蕭紅. “Taonan” 逃難. *Wenzahi zhanshi xunkan* no. 41/ 42 (January 21, 1939): 952-954.

Tao Xiong 陶雄. “Shou mimi de ren” 守秘密的人. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 7 (January 28, 1939): 102-105.

Zhuang Zhou 莊周. “Boyi Shuqi taonanji” 伯夷叔齊逃難記. *Xin Shu bao*, January 17-19, 1939.

Fengxi 鳳兮. “Chahui sumiao” 茶會素描. *Xin Shu bao*, January 20, 1939.

Wang Yuqi 王余杞. “Jingbao” 警報. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 8 (February 4, 1939): 116-120.

Huang Yaomian 黃藥眠. “Cheng Guorui xiansheng de yiqun” 陳國瑞先生的一群. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 9/ 10 (February 18, 1939): 136-140, 144.

Wang Xiyan 王西彥. “Xila zhuyizhe” 希臘主義者. *Kangzhan wenyi* 3, no. 11 (February 25, 1939): 164-167.

Tai Jingnong 臺靜農. “Dianbao” 電報. *Wenzahi zhanshi xunkan* no. 44/ 45 (February 21, 1939): 1000-1003.

Duanmu Hongliang. “Huotui” 火腿. *Wenzahi zhanshi xunkan* no. 46/ 47 (March 11, 1939): 1034-1036.

Mei Lin. “Rongyuan riji” 冗員日記. *Xin Shu bao*, April 2-4, 1939.

Wu Nancun 吳南村. “Lingru xiansheng” 菱如先生. *Dagong bao* 大公報, September 28, 1939.

Zhaoji 兆吉. “Gudong” 古董. *Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報, October 17, 1939.

Youyang Fanhai 歐陽凡海. “Chao” 巢. *Qiyue* 七月 4, no. 4 (December 1939): 162-177.

Heding 黑丁. “Yong” 癩. *Kangzhan wenyi* 5, no. 2/3 (December 10, 1939): 45-53.

1940

Jiang Li 江籬. “Hu Yong xiansheng” 胡庸先生. *Zhongyang ribao*, January 18, 21, 1940.

Xu Ying 徐盈. “Hei huo” 黑貨. *Wenxue yuebao* 文學月報 1, no. 2 (February 15, 1940): 65-72.

Gao Yong 高詠. “Baoxian” 保險. *Qiyue* 5, no.2 (March 1940): 53-56.

Xu Zhongnian 徐仲年. “Hui” 虺. *Xiandai duwu* 現代讀物 5, no. 3 (March 1940): 38-45.

Xuan Jianren 宣建人. “Huizhang” 會長. *Zhongyang ribao*, March 26, 1940.

Cao Ming 草明. “Zhuidao” 追悼. *Wenxue yuebao* 1, no. 3 (April 15, 1940): 119-127.

Yang Meng 楊蒙. “Danchaofan” 蛋炒飯. *Zhongyang ribao*, April 6, 1940.

Hu Xiufeng 胡綉楓. “Jin juzhang” 金局長. *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報, April 16, 28, 29.

Yu Ren 余仁. “Richang shenghuo” 日常生活. *Wenxue yuebao* 2, no. 1 (May 15, 1940): 75-80.

Yang Chengyan 羊城硯. “Dunie ABC: Junqun danmiao zhi yi” 鍍鏤ABC: 駿群淡描之一.
Zhongyang ribao, May 12, 1940.

Niu Huating 牛華亭. “Bangongshi zhong” 辦公室中. *Guomin gongbao* 國民公報, May 27, 1940.

Danni 旦尼. “Jiangyong” 僵蛹. *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報, May 31, 1940.

Tang Yi 唐逸. “Bai Xiu” 白秀. *Dagong bao* 大公報, June 14, 1940.

Du Ruo 杜若. “Zhishi jieji” 知識階級. *Zhongyang ribao*, June 19, 1940.

Wang Pingling 王平陵. “Dengchang” 登場. *Wenyi yuekan* 文藝月刊 4, no. 5/ 6 (August 16, 1940): 117-121.

Fangling 仿鈴. “Heiye li de meng” 黑夜裏的夢. *Shihi xinbao*, September 11, 1940.

He Jianxun 何劍薰. “Qiyedia” 企業家. *Dagong bao*, October 12, 13, 1940.

Lu Huang 綠晃. “Lao Zhang” 老張. *Xinhua ribao* 新華日報, October 24, 1940.

Sha Ting 沙汀. “Zai Qixiangju chaguan li” 在其香居茶館裏. *Kangzhan wenyi* 6, no. 4 (December 1, 1940): 277-282.

1941

Zhang Huang 張煌. “Pian” 騙. *Wenxue yuebao* 2, no. 6 (February 15, 1941): 258-260.

Zeng Yuanming 曾原明. “Qiushou shihou” 秋收時候. *Wenxue yuebao* 2, no. 6 (February 15, 1941): 271-276.

Zong Yi 宗宜. “Haochituan: Suowei houfang jinchi yili” 好吃團: 所謂後方緊吃一例. *Xin Shu bao*, February 12, 1941.

Zhen Qi 甄琪. “Shuxiang shijia” 書香世家. *Wenyi qingnian* 文藝青年 1, no. 1 (March 1, 1941): 7-13.

Sha Yan 沙雁. “Laojun pian” 勞軍篇. *Wenyi qingnian* 1, no. 1 (March 1, 1941): 17-24.

Mei Lin. “Sandui fufu” 三對夫婦. *Kangzhan wenyi* 7, no. 2/3 (March 20, 1941): 169-176.

Luo Gen 羅根. “Shi Qing” 石青. *Wenyi yuekan* 11th year, no. 5 (May 16, 1941): 22-33.

Zhang Taishan 張台山. “Wang Canyi” 王參議. *Wenxue yuebao* 3, no. 1 (June 1, 1941): 54-57.

Xuan Jianren 宣建人. “Moku” 魔窟. *Zhongyang ribao*, August 16, 1941.

Xiao Yu 蕭莫. “Jiaoyujia” 教育家. *Qiyue* 7, no. 12 (September 1941): 52-56.

Huang Ji 黃既. “Yuewang miao meiyou hao fengjing” 岳王廟沒有好風景. *Qiyue* 7, no. 12 (September 1941): 56-67.

Wei Jingzhong 魏精忠. “Mi” 米. *Xiandai duwu* 現代讀物 6, no. 11 (November 15, 1941): 40-43.

1942

- Chen Shouzhu 陳瘦竹. "Shidao" 師道. *Shi yu chao fukan* 時與潮副刊 1, no. 6 (January 1, 1942): 118-127.
- Zhang Shifang 張十方. "Daoqi erdunban" 道奇二噸半. *Dagong bao*, February 12-14, 1942.
- He Jinxi 何近熹. "Wu weiyuan" 伍委員. *Dagong bao*, March 16, 19.
- Haini 海尼. "Liu jiaoshou" 劉教授. *Xin Shu bao*, July 10, 1942.
- Huang Xianjun 黃賢俊. "Huijia" 回家. *Wenyi zhendi* 7, no. 1 (August 25, 1942): 35-45.
- Bai Hong 白虹. "Qian yang ji" 牽羊記. *Xin Shu bao*, August 5, 1942.
- Lu Yuan 綠原. "Zhuang zhuanyuan" 莊專員. *Xin Shu bao*, August 22, 1942.
- Su Xuelin 蘇雪林. "Chan tui" 蟬蛻. *Wenhua xianfeng* 文化先鋒 1, no.1 (September 1, 1942): 30-34.
- Sha Ting 沙汀. "Shaojibei" 燒箕背 (Part 1). *Wenyi zhendi* 7, no. 2 (September 30, 1942): 1-15.
- Sha Ting 沙汀. "Shaojibei" 燒箕背 (Part 2). *Wenyi zhendi* 7, no. 3 (October 31, 1942): 22-41.
- Huang Feng 黃風. "Zhao xiansheng" 趙先生. *Xin Shu bao*, October 16, 1942.
- Tang Lang 唐瑯. "Nianqing de jiaoshou" 年輕的教授. *Xinhua ribao*, October 22, 1942.
- Bi Zhou 畢冑. "Dai tonghua" 代童話. *Xinhua ribao*, November 25, 1942.
- Wei Zhongtian 魏中天. "Gonggong chufang" 公共廚房. *Wenyi qingnian* no. 19 (December 15, 1942): 5-8.
- Guo Nidi 郭尼迪. "Qunxiang" 群象. *Wenyi xianfeng* 文藝先鋒 1, no. 6 (December 25, 1942): 23-27.
- Si Rui 思瑞. "Yijian kuixinshi" 一件虧心事. *Xinhua ribao*, December 15, 1942.

1943

- Lao She 老舍. "Bu cheng wenti de wenti" 不成問題的問題. *Dagong bao*, January 8, 13, 14, 20, 24, 1943.
- Cheng Yuan 程遠. "Yachong" 蚻蟲. *Kangzhan wenyi* 8, no. 3 (January 15, 1943): 50-54.

Wen Shen 文紳. “Gudu zhi ying” 故都之蠅. *Wenxue xiuyang* 文學修養 1, no. 6 (January 15, 1943): 35-43.

Yin Xueman 尹雪曼. “Xiaoyao xiansheng” 逍遙先生. *Wenyi xianfeng* 2, no. 1 (January 20, 1943): 43-47.

Xu Ying. “Xinshiye” 新事業. *Tianxia wenzhang* 1, no.1 (March 10, 1943): 48-52.

Lao She. “Lian” 戀. *Shi yu chao wenyi* 時與潮文藝 1, no.1 (March 15, 1943): 37-43.

Zang Kejia 臧克家. “Bei'ai de renwu” 悲哀的人物. *Shi yu chao wenyi* 1, no.1 (March 15, 1943): 100-112.

Mao Dun 茅盾. “Toudu” 偷渡. *Tianxia wenzhang* 天下文章 1, no.3 (June 1, 1943): 66-68.

Zhou Yan 周彥. “Women shi xiju de tiejun” 我們是戲劇的鐵軍. *Tianxia wenzhang* 1 no. 3-6 (June- November, 1943).

Liang Mu 梁木. “Jiang zhuan yuan” 江專員. *Xinhua ribao*, June 17, 1943.

Tang Lang 唐瑯. “Nianqing de jiaoshou” 年輕的教授. *Tianxia wenzhang* 1, no.4 (July 1, 1943): 66-68.

Wei Yi 未夷. “Laozi he Xu Jia” 老子和徐甲. *Guomin gongbao*, July 8, 1943.

Liang Mu 梁木. “Wu zhidaoyuan” 吳指導員. *Xin Shu bao*, July 8, 1943.

Yi Fenlu 依風露. “‘Guadi wenti’: Ji Qian dongshizhang shenbian suoshi.” “刮地問題”: 記錢董事長身邊瑣事. *Guomin gongbao*, July 28, 1943.

Liang Jiahe 梁嘉鶴. “Cong Xianggang lai de xiaojie” 從香港來的小姐. *Xin Shu bao*, September 2, 1943.

Lie Gongshe 列躬射. “Xijiu” 喜酒. *Tianxia wenzhang* 1, no.6 (November, 1943): 98-109.

Guo Nidi. “Yu Peixun xiansheng de yitian” 俞佩薰先生的一天. *Shi yu chao wenyi* 2, no.3 (November 15, 1943): 86-92.

Cai Renhou 蔡壬侯. “Changzhang xiansheng” 場長先生. *Wenxue* 文學 1, no.6 (November 20, 1943): 44-48.

Lao She. “Yitong paotaiyan” 一筒炮台煙. *Wenfeng zazhi* 文風雜誌 1, no. 1 (December 1, 1943): 61-67.

1944

Qin Mu 秦牧. “Yu jiaoshou” 余教授. *Shi yu chao wenyi* 2, no.5 (January 15, 1944): 35-46.

Zhang Zhan 張瞻. “Tai tai men kaihui le” 太太們開會了. *Wenxue* 文學 2, no. 1 (January 1944): 30-31.

Zhao Ning 趙寧. “Shengchan gongju” 生產工具. *Guomin gongbao*, January 12, 17, 1944.

Cao Yin 草銀. “Liangge furen de tanhua” 兩個婦人的談話. *Shishi xinbao*, January 21, 22, 1944.

Ren Jun 任鈞. “Qiang” 搶. *Kangzhan wenyi* 9, no. 1 (February 1, 1944): 94-98, 93.

Lie Gongshe. “Chaodan” 炒蛋. *Wenxue xiuyang* 2, no. 3 (February 15, 1944): 70-74, 93.

Bi Xi 碧溪. “Ma Shunfeng xiansheng shilue” 馬順風先生事略. *Guomin gongbao*, March 15, 19, 1944.

Gong Ye 公冶. “Ji yige nu zhiyuan” 記一個女職員. *Guomin gongbao*, March 27, 1944.

Huang Xianjun. “Chun” 春. *Qingnian wenyi (Chongqing ban)* 青年文藝 (重慶版) 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1944): 65 -68.

Zheng Yong 徵庸. “Gun zhishui” 鯨治水. *Shishi xinbao*, June 5, 1944.

Wu Wu 吳無. “Bangongshi li bian xifa” 辦公室裏變戲法. *Dagong bao*, July 16, 1944.

Jin Shi 金矢. “Zai fanting li” 在飯廳裏. *Shishi xinbao*, July 21, 1944.

Yao Xueyin 姚雪垠. “Banlu” 伴侶. *Weipo* 微波 1, no.1 (August 1944): 3-12.

Cao You 曹卣. “Zhongnian” 中年. *Zhongyuan* 中原 1, no. 4 (September 1944): 57-66.

Jin Tang 金堂. “Wen caishen” 文財神. *Guomin gongbao*, September 15, 1944.

Wang Ping 汪萍. “Chuzou de zongwu zhuren” 出走的總務主任. *Xin Shu bao*, September 18, 1944.

- Zhuang Ruiyuan 莊瑞源. "Zuo qiche" 坐汽車. *Shishi xinbao*, September 21, 1944.
- Wang Meiting 王梅汀. "Zai chaguan li" 在茶館裏. *Xinhua ribao*, October 17, 1944.
- Fen Yu 芬郁. "Gongfei?" 公費? *Xinhua ribao*, October 28, 1944.
- Bi Ye 碧野. "Qunya" 群鴉. *Tianxia wenzhang* 2, no.4 (November, 1944): 38-47.
- Qu Chu 屈楚. "Goumai xiwang de ren" 購買希望的人. *Tianxia wenzhang* 2, no.4 (November, 1944): 61-72.
- Pu Yin 普寅. "Muma" 木馬. *Wenxue* 2, no. 4 (November 1944): 35-37.
- Zou Zhe 鄒哲. "Di ba nian! Hua Wei xiansheng chongfeng ji" 第八年! 華威先生重逢記. *Dagong bao*, November 5, 1944.
- Tao Xiong 陶雄. "Shilai de qiang" 拾來的槍. *Qingnian wenyi (Chongqing ban)* 1, no. 5 (December 20, 1944): 27-40.
- 1945**
- Qi Liang 企量. "Guwangtingzhi" 姑妄聽之. *Xin Shu bao*, January 5, 1945.
- Lu Jun 魯軍. "Shichayuan daole" 視察員到了. *Shishi xinbao*, January 11, 1945.
- Lan Kunze 藍堃澤. "Na meijin gongzhai qu" 拿美金公債去. *Dagong wanbao*, January 14, 1945.
- Liu Shengya 劉盛亞. "Quanwei" 權威. *Guomin gongbao*, January 14, 1945.
- Dahuang 大荒. "Wuguzhu xiansheng de airong" 烏骨豬先生的哀榮. *Dagong wanbao*, January 28, 1945.
- Li Lin 李林. "Dufu" 獨夫. *Wenxue xinbao* 文學新報 1, no. 5 (February 20, 1945): 6-13.
- Lu Jun 魯軍. "Xunhuan de hunyin" 循環的婚姻. *Xin Shu bao*, February 2, 1945.
- Jiutouniao 九頭鳥. "Honglou wangmeng: Lai Shangrong fan le zui" 紅樓妄夢: 賴尚榮犯了罪. *Dagong wanbao*, February 7, 1945.
- Yan Yu 燕羽. "Yitiao lingdai" 一條領帶. *Shishi xinbao*, February 7, 10, 1945.
- Meng Shi 孟石. "Gai gundan de shihou le" 該滾蛋的時候了. *Xinhua ribao*, March 4, 1945.

- Feng Shu 楓樹. “Ruci xuanju” 如此選舉. *Xinhua ribao*, March 14, 1945.
- Hong Zao 紅藻. “Jiachangshi” 家常事. *Xinhua ribao*, March 21, 1945.
- Zhang Lang 章郎. “Xin guanchang xianxing ji” 新官場現形記. *Dagong wanbao*, April 16, 1945.
- Zhang Lang. “Chuchai lufei” 出差旅費. *Dagong wanbao*, April 18, 1945.
- Qian 茜. “Shei zoulou le xiaoxi” 誰走漏了消息. *Guomin gongbao*, April 22, 1945.
- Qi Ming 齊明. Huangjin! Huangjin! 黃金! 黃金! *Shishi xinbao*, April 25, 28; May 2, 5, 1945.
- R.K.. “He Ganshi” 何幹事. *Xinhua ribao*, April 26, 1945.
- Zhang Lang. “Hutou shewei” 虎頭蛇尾. *Dagong wanbao*, April 28, 1945.
- Sha Ting 沙汀. “Xunguan” 巡官. *Wenyi zazhe (Chongqing ban)* 文藝雜誌 (重慶版) 1, no.1 (May 1945): 22-26, 21.
- Pu Yin 普寅. “Hong taiyang” 紅太陽. *Wenshao* 文哨 1, no. 1 (May 4, 1945): 74-78.
- Bei Wumin 悲吾民. “Sange gushi” 三個故事. *Dagong wanbao*, May 6, 1945.
- Xiao Jin 蕭金. “Wode fanglin” 我的芳鄰. *Shishi xinbao*, May 9, 1945.
- Tian Ge 天戈. “A Q de didi: A R xiaozhuan” 阿Q的弟弟: 阿R小傳. *Dagong wanbao*, May 11, 1945.
- Zhang Lang. “Youxian fenpei tiaoli” 優先分配條例. *Dagong wanbao*, May 16, 1945.
- Xiao Wen 小文. “Pingjia mi zishu” 平價米自述. *Dagong wanbao*, May 21, 1945.
- Zhang Lang. “Yi zhao haoqi” 一著好棋. *Dagong wanbao*, May 24, 1945.
- Tian Ge. “Guanquan chubu” 官權初步. *Shishi xinbao*, June 2, 1945.
- Ji Ming 吉明. “Chaopiao zizhuan” 鈔票自傳. *Dagong wanbao*, June 9, 1945.
- Tang Ning 唐寧. “Jiamianguai” 假面怪. *Dagong wanbao*, June 9, 1945.
- Wu Feng 吳風. “Fengren riji” 瘋人日記. *Dagong wanbao*, June 20, 1945.

Zhang Lang. “Shouxu ruci” 手續如此. *Dagong wanbao*, June 20-21, 1945.

Tian Ge. “Sanfenzhong” 三分鐘. *Shishi xinbao*, June 23, 1945.

Ge Qin 葛琴. “Yiwei faguan taitai” 一位法官太太. *Wenyi zazhe (Chongqing ban)* 1, no.2 (July 1945): 50-54.

Zhu Feng 朱風. “Women de xizhuren” 我們的系主任. *Xinhua ribao*, July 2, 1945.

G. O.. “‘Jiaoyuan’: ta shi zhenzhang de qinqi...zai xuexiao li shi mei ren gan re ta de...” 教員”: 她是鎮長的親戚...在學校裏是沒人敢惹她的.... *Xinhua ribao*, July 5, 1945.

Zhang Lang. “Shu dao husun san” 樹倒猢猻散. *Guomin gongbao*, July 12, 1945.

Qiu Ren 仇仁. “Biaoke” 鑣客. *Dagong bao*, August 5, 1945.

Appendix IV B: Popular Satirical Fiction

1939-1941

Zhang Henshui 張恨水. *Bashi yi meng* 八十一夢. *Xinmin bao* 新民報, December 1, 1939- April 25, 1941.

1942

Hu Lu 胡魯. “Shusan huiyi” 疏散會議. *Nanjing wanbao* 南京晚報, May 30, 1942.

Sima Xu 司馬訐. “Zai bayou huotui haishen zhi pan” 在鮑魚火腿海參之畔. *Xinmin bao wankan* 新民報晚刊, June 30, 1942.

Sima Xu. “Jingwu” 靜物. *Xinmin bao wankan*, September 30, 1942.

Sima Xu. “Shi'er bang reshui ping” 十二磅熱水瓶. *Xinmin bao wankan*, October 17, 1942.

Die Zhaung 蝶庄. “Keyuan waishi” 科員外史. *Xinmin bao wankan*, November 16, 17, 1942.

1943

Xiao Modeng 小摩登. “Modeng funu xiehui linshi jinji huiyi jueyi'an quanwen” 摩登婦女協會臨時緊急會議決議案全文. *Xinmin bao wankan*, January 10, 1943.

Mu Ni 穆尼. “Sanyue shuwu shimoji” 三月庶務始末記. *Xinmin bao wankan*, February 1-4, 6, 1943.

Sima Xu. “Xianjiahou” 限價後. *Xinmin bao wankan*, February 3, 1943.

Sima Xu. “Chan: Zai ni Tang ren xiaoshuo” 鱻: 再擬唐人小說. *Xinmin bao wankan*, March 16, 1943.

Ye Di 夜帝. “Wang rou” 望肉. *Xinmin bao wankan*, March 18, 1943.

Xi Guo xiansheng 西郭先生. “Tut un ji” 屠豕記. *Xinmin bao wankan*, March 30, 1943.

Sima Xu. “Tong zhou” 同舟. *Xinmin bao wankan*, April 3, 1943.

Sima Xu. “Si da tianwang zuotan” 四大天王座談. *Xinmin bao wankan*, April 18, 1943.

Zhuge Lang 諸葛郎. “Zuihou yici yuehui” 最後一次約會. *Xinmin bao wankan*, April 24-27, 1943.

- Xuan 玄. “Xin de tuibian” 新的蛻變. *Xinmin bao wankan*, April 25, 1943.
- Junha 君蛤. “Xin jinghuayuan” 新鏡花緣. *Xinmin bao wankan*, May 9, 10, 1943.
- Sima Xu. “Nu dizhu” 女地主. *Xinmin bao wankan*, May 11, 1943.
- Yu Yu 余裕. “Kuajiji ke chuna zhuren” 會計科出納主任. *Xinmin bao wankan*, May 24, 1943.
- Junha. “Ni mou shiku guanggao” 擬某石窟廣告. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 6, 1943.
- Zhug Lang. “Gei zai xiyuan li dajia zhe” 給在戲院裏打架者. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 8, 1943.
- Sima Xu. “Kong Yiji xiansheng” 孔己己先生. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 12, 1943.
- Shi Ke 士克. “Chidu xinxuan: Gei bingqilin xiaojie” 尺牘新選: 給冰淇淋小姐. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 17, 1943.
- Fang 放. “Yaoqianzhu” 搖錢豬. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 19, 1943.
- Zhug Lang. “Meng zhong du bao ji” 夢中讀報記. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 26, 1943.
- Zhang Bei 張北. “Chidu xinxuan: Yu Niu jingli lun hua” 尺牘新選: 與牛經理論畫. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 29, 1943.
- Yuan Xu 鴛徐. “Bingbang de bei'ai” 冰棒的悲哀. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 30, 1943.
- Sima Xu. “Xue Pan xiong ou Zhang San zhisi an” 薛蟠兇毆張三致死案. *Xinmin bao wankan*, July 29, 1943.
- Ma Ying 馬應. “Rulin biezhuang” 儒林別傳. *Nanjing wanbao*, September 22, 23, 1943.
- Xie Zhu 謝渚. “Taitai men” 太太們. *Wanxiang zhoukan* 萬象周刊 no. 18 (October 23, 1943).
- Sima Xu. “Kuangren riji” 狂人日記. *Xinmin bao wankan*, November 19, 1943.
- Mu Mu 目目. “Tu xiansheng bei zhangguo ji” 土先生被掌摑記. *Xinmin bao wankan*, December 2, 1943.
- Er Dong 爾東. “Yu fengnu zuo yiriyou” 與瘋女作一日遊. *Xinmin bao wankan*, December 17, 1943.

Song nushi 宋女士. “Tangfa licheng” 燙髮歷程. *Xinmin bao wankan*, December 31, 1943.

1944

Sima Xu. “Kuahai zhengdong” 跨海征東. *Xinmin bao wankan*, January 1, 1944.

Wenqie 問切. “Fuwong de dasuan” 富翁的打算. *Nanjing wanbao*, January 17, 1944.

Sima Xu. “Junde he cunde” 俊的和村的. *Xinmin bao wankan*, March 23, 1944.

Kai Wen 愷文. “Buchiguo” 不齒國. *Nanjing wanbao*, April 9, 1944.

Sima Xu. “Dang di yi jian shupi dayi shangshi de shihou” 當第一件鼠皮大衣上市的時候.
Xinmin bao wankan, April 24, 25, 1944.

Yin Qu 吟曲. “Honglou xumeng” 紅樓續夢. *Nanjing wanbao*, May 16-19, 1944.

Tian Ge. “Guanyu tanhuangchuang” 關於彈簧床. *Xinmin bao wankan*, May 26, 1944.

Xiao Wong 小翁. “Hongshao zhurou baowei zhan” 紅燒豬肉保衛戰. *Xinmin bao wankan*, June 28, 1944.

Sima Xu. “Jin mi ren zui” 金迷人醉. *Xinmin bao wankan*, July 6, 8, 1944.

Wang Kehan 王可汗. “Wo you yige pengyou yaodao Meiguo qu” 我有一個朋友要到美國去.
Xinmin bao wankan, July 17, 1944.

Gong Ru 公如. “Tian fang ye tan: Zhao X guang ji” 天方夜談: 照 X 光記. *Nanjing wanbao*, July 17, 1944.

Er Dong 爾東. “Shuguo huiyi jishi” 鼠國會議記實. *Xinmin bao wankan*, August 3, 1944.

Xiao Lin 小林. “Yisheng qiyu ji” 醫生奇遇記. *Wanxiang zhoukan* no. 61-63 (August 19, 26, September 2, 1944).

Sima Xu. “Tang jia shaoye gankao ji” 湯家少爺趕考記. *Xinmin bao wankan*, August 31, September 1, 1944.

Liu Donghou 劉東侯. “Biaozhun nu zhuan yuan” 標準女專員. *Nanjing wanbao*, October 13, 1944.

Zhang Lang. “Meng zhong kanle moujiaban di si ri yanchu” 夢中看了某家班第四日演出. *Xinmin bao wankan*, November 24, 1944.

Mo Shi 默士. “Bukexin de lingkuanren” 不可信的領款人. *Xinmin bao wankan*, December 9, 1944.

Zhen Yue 震岳. “Zhaojian” 召見. *Nanjing wanbao*, December 14, 1944.

Zhen Yue. “Shicha” 視察. *Nanjing wanbao*, December 29, 1944.

Zheng Qing 政卿. “Guanqiang” 官腔. *Nanjing wanbao*, December 31, 1944.

Jing Wei 敬威. “Gengzheng guo” 更正國. *Xinmin bao wankan*, December 31, 1944.

1945

Sima Xu. “Caishen yu zaoshen” 財神與灶神. *Xinmin bao wankan*, January 1, 1945.

Zuo Ming 作明. “Guoying luxian” 國營路線. *Xinmin bao wankan*, January 5, 1945.

Zhantai zhouqin 澹台晝寢. “Yuegong jiyou” 月宮記遊. *Nanjing wanbao*, January 8, 1945.

Zhantai zhouqin. “Jiaopiao de shensu” 角票的申訴. *Nanjing wanbao*, January 9, 1945.

Shanshan 珊珊. “Gongwuyuan wujia” 公務員五家. *Xinmin bao wankan*, January 9, 1945.

Yeshi shusheng 也是書生. “Mengyou xin diyu ji” 夢遊新地獄記. *Nanjing wanbao*, January 19, 1945.

Yi Miu 意繆. “Tudi pusa de gushi” 土地菩薩的故事. *Nanjing wanbao*, January 28, 1945.

Linghu Wei 令狐畏. “Dai wuguzhu kongsu” 代烏骨豬控訴. *Xinmin bao wankan*, January 29, 1945.

Qiu Qi 丘七. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Tiexin shujing” 新聊齋誌異: 鐵心鼠精. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 6, 1945.

Tao Ran 陶然. “Sun xingzhe danao tiankong ji” 孫行者大鬧天空記. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 7, 1945.

Wang Mao 汪懋(?). “Xin Shuihuzhuan” 新水滸傳. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 9, 1945.

- Sima Beiyi 司馬北異. “Baozhang lao taitai de shouyan” 保長老太太的壽宴. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 11, 1945.
- Rongma shusheng 戎馬書生. “Guoying gongsi shoukuan ji” 國營公司收款記. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 11, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Bopigui” 新聊齋誌異: 剝皮鬼. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 14, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Li Shimin zaihui wugujing” 新聊齋誌異: 李世民再會烏骨精. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 17, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Egui bian meinu” 新聊齋誌異: 惡鬼變美女. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 21, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Su Daji qingke” 新聊齋誌異: 蘇妲己請客. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 22, 1945.
- Yi Xiao 一囂. “Pixie de duihua” 皮鞋的對話. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 25, 1945.
- Zhou Nan 舟南. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi” 新聊齋誌異. *Nanjing wanbao*, February 28, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Gongshi qiguan” 新聊齋誌異: 宮室奇觀. *Nanjing wanbao*, March 1, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Chongjing zuo yan” 新聊齋誌異: 蟲精座演. *Nanjing wanbao*, March 3, 1945.
- Zhang Zige 張紫葛. “Fan yincao qingyuan ji” 返陰曹請願記. *Nanjing wanbao*, March 8, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Renpi hujing” 新聊齋誌異: 人皮虎精. *Nanjing wanbao*, March 12, 1945.
- Qiu Qi. “Xin Liaozhai zhiyi: Xiejing meiren” 新聊齋誌異: 蝎精美人. *Nanjing wanbao*, March 17, 1945.
- Zhang Zige. “Honglou fei meng” 紅樓非夢. *Nanjing wanbao*, March 18, 1945.
- Lan Tian 藍天. “Baogong buyuan zhuanheng” 包公不願轉生. *Nanjing wanbao*, April 1, 1945.
- Zhang Lang. “Bai longmenzhen: Chou chong jing” 擺龍門陣: 臭蟲精. *Nanjing wanbao*, April 13, 1945.

- Yan 炎. “Bai longmenzhen: Kong fuzi xiafan” 擺龍門陣: 孔夫子下凡. *Nanjing wanbao*, April 14, 1945.
- (No author). “Jianshang zhi zi chuguo fanguo ji” 奸商之子出國返國記. *Nanjing wanbao*, April 28, 1945.
- Zhang Lang. “Gu laoye yu gu shaoye” 姑老爺與姑少爺. *Nanjing wanbao*, May 11, 1945.
- Zhang Lang. “Kuaima” 快罵. *Nanjing wanbao*, May 26, 1945.
- Wang Caoyang 王艸央. “Daren de tonghua: Meiman de liangyuan” 大人的童話: 美滿的良緣. *Nanjing wanbao*, June 22, 1945.
- Yiwu jizhe 義務記者. “Baozhang zhi musang” 保長之母喪. *Nanjing wanbao*, July 5, 1945.