

**SEEING IS BELIEVING?: WESTERN
TECHNOLOGY AND POLICY IN CHINESE PICTORIAL (1884-1898)**

by

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Abstract:

This paper focuses on *Dianshizhai Pictorials* (1884-1898), an influential pictorial with commercial success, as a case study. By analyzing selected illustrations of Western technology and policy, I will explore why and how the visual functioned as mediation between the new knowledge and the ideals of Chinese traditions. The intellectuals and literati, such as the editors and artists of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, were relatively receptive and open-minded towards “new knowledge” and other innovative aspects of Western culture. But they were also distressed at many of the social changes induced by Western interaction in the settlements, especially the disintegrating effect on the traditional values and mores of Chinese society.

My main argument is seeing is not necessarily believing. The *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was a part of the mediation between *Ti* (Chinese tradition and values as foundation) and *Yong* (Western Technology as tools). The editors and readers, and even high ranking officials like Li Hung Chang, wanted to see and use Western technology as effective tools (*Yong*). However, they were seeing the tools through Chinese minds, interpreting and believing through Chinese tradition and values, which is the basic foundation (*Ti*).

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

With the innovation of lithography as new printing technology, pictorial journals and lithographed books flourished in the 19th century and became available to families of lower social classes. Because the technology enabled fast printing at a low cost, it laid the foundation for public access to information. It also made possible the duplication of artistic images while preserving the characteristics of the original. As a result, it saved laborious work for the engraver and minimized distortion in the engraving process.

By the mid 19th century, new pictorials such as *Harper's Weekly* from the United States, *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* from Britain, had established a stable market among sufficient numbers of subscribers to become profit-making enterprises. They shared news and information among themselves and copied each other's illustrations. As Rudolf Wagner argued, a "global imaginaire" was born, among which images, perspectives, scenes, narratives and readers' attitudes toward information were increasingly shared. This development process eventually reached its culminated expression in movies and the subsequent television, which represented the popular mode of visual communication.¹

¹ Wagner, Rudolf G. ed., 2007. *Joining the global public: word, image, and city in early Chinese newspapers, 1870-1910*, Albany, NY: State Univ. of New York Press. p.105

In China, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* (1884-1898) in Shanghai took its material from a variety of contemporary sources, both foreign and domestic, illustrated them with drawings and added commentary. Since the pictorial introduced the outside world to their domestic audiences and reporting international events and affairs, it played a significant role in shaping and reflecting their view of themselves and the outside world.

Soon after its launch, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* became a very successful commercial enterprise, aiming at “surprising and entertaining” a Chinese audience, which was composed mainly of middlebrow urbanite readership, fond of sensational tales. Although certain illustrations in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* show some influence of western pictorial techniques (such as hatching, cross-hatch, and linear perspective), they generally conformed to traditional Chinese artistic style. The editors and artists were fascinated by the aspects of western culture they had exposure to in the settlements. However, sometimes they intended to interpret the news and stories in a Chinese way, so that the pictorial would entertain and attract Chinese audience.

The main significance of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* lies in its quality as a source of visual information. No other contemporary publication provides such a fascinatingly rich panorama of Chinese life and material culture in the late 19th century. In addition, the written comments accompanying each picture constitute a wealth of textual information. Its importance lies in the fact that those narratives not only describe the illustrated topic or event, but also contain moralistic statements, expressing the editor’s views and judgment. The most important is that the comments embedded the Chinese traditions and values when introducing Western technology.

1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

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

Most drawings in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were based on local stories. Some were based on news from overseas, and the factual information of a particular story may not be verifiable. The experience of the artistic and editorial staff was limited to what they were truly familiar with--- everyday mundane life in Shanghai. Particularly, their attention was attracted to the areas of change in a transitional society, the new, the foreign, and the sensational.

The purpose of choosing *Dianshizhai Pictorial* as object of my investigation is obvious: with its 15 years of existence, 4000 plus pictures and commentaries as well as its relative completeness of production process and author-reader relationship, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* becomes the ideal case for in-depth analysis.

A literature review show that materials from *Dianshizhai Pictorial* have been used by Western and Chinese scholars in works on Chinese history. However, the scholars usually selected some illustrations to be examples. There are also collections of sketches either by selecting the pictures from the pictorial, or reprinting the whole series. But these collections are mainly translations of certain commentaries of some of the illustrations, not in-depth studies of these images, looking at the relationship between the texts and commentaries.

Recently, some scholars have begun to study the pictorial from their own perspectives. For Chinese scholars, Wang Ermin published an article in 1991, selecting examples from the pictorial, specifically related to the popularization of knowledge.² Chen Pingyuan published a collection of Dianshizhai pictorial in 2000,³ and added more materials from *Shenbao* and other newspapers later in 2006.⁴ As the author himself pointed out, these two books are more collections than systematic studies.

For the studies published in English, the first monographic study is Ye Xiaoqing's book (2003), *The Dianshizhai pictorial: Shanghai urban life 1884-1898*.⁵ Her book is a very accessible and comprehensive overview of a popular Shanghai publication, but more a summary of Shanghai urban life as it was represented in the pictorial than a critical study of the publication itself. In Christopher Reed's book (2004), *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism 1876-1937*,⁶ he examines the evolution of printing technology in Shanghai, not specifically the study of the pictorial. He also published an article, looking at *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and its place in historical memories.

There are also book chapters exploring different aspects of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. Rudolf Wagner edited a book (2007), *Joining the global public: word, image, and city in early Chinese*

² Wang Ermin 王尔敏. "Zhongguo jindai zhishi pujihua zhuanbo zhi tushuo xingshi - Dianshizhai huabao li" 中国近代知识普及化传播之图说形式——点石斋画报例, in *Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 近代研究所集刊, Taipei, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan ed., No. 19, 1991.

³ Chen, Pingyuan 陈平原. 2000. *Dianshizhai huabao xuan* (Collection of Dianshizhai pictorial), Guanzhou jiaoyu chubanshe.

⁴ Chen, Pingyuan and Xiaohong Xia. *Tu Xiang Wan Qing*. Tianjin Shi: Bai hua wen yi chu ban she, 2006.

⁵ Ye, Xiaoqing. 2003. *The Dianshizhai pictorial: Shanghai urban life 1884–1898*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies.

⁶ Reed, Christopher. 2004. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*. Contemporary Chinese Studies. Vancouver: UBC Press.

newspapers 1870-1910.⁷ He wrote a chapter about *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, in which he claims that the pictorial joined a global imagination and global community. Well, I would like to see more evidence to be provided to the concept of global community.

Another scholar Laikwan Pang published a book (2007), *The distorting mirror: visual modernity in China*,⁸ in which the first chapter is a revision of her former article.⁹ Her main argument is that the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* is an important pictorial turn, which helps to satisfy the realist desire of the editors and readers and stabilize the anxiety of modernity. Though I agree that the images show the desire of seeing and being seen, I hesitate to say it will always stabilize the anxiety. Instead, I would think the images are exciting and entertaining, but sometimes they are astonishing and threatening as well, especially when they are in conflict with the Chinese tradition and values. I will discuss this in the third section of my thesis, with the specific example of the controversial attitude toward autopsy.

The study on *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reveals a wide spectrum of interests: history and techniques of the lithograph, curiosity of mundane urban life in Shanghai, and the sensational urban tales, etc. Different from other interpretative approaches toward *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, my approach utilizes content analysis methods to see the relationship between the images and the text.

Especially, I am looking at the images of Western technology and policy: is seeing always believing? Are the readers using the Western technology as tools (*Yong*), but still believing in Chinese tradition and values as their foundation (*Ti*)? Also, unlike the other scholars

⁷ Wagner, Rudolf G. ed., 2007. *Joining the global public: word, image, and city in early Chinese newspapers, 1870-1910*, Albany, NY: State Univ. of New York Press.

⁸ Pang, Laikwan. 2007. *The distorting mirror: visual modernity in China*. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press.

⁹ Pang, Laikwan. The pictorial turn: realism, modernity and China's print culture in the late nineteenth century. *Visual Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1, April 2005.16-36.

who focus on the editors and artists, I will have a case study of the high ranked official Li Hung Chang. He is an important public figure in the pictorial, a promoter of Western technology, and a pragmatic diplomat dealing with the Westerners. Both the Sino-Western wars he experienced and the technology he introduced were vividly recorded in the pictorial. It is very necessary to read his comments on Western technology and political issues, to see his understanding of *Ti* and *Yong*.

1.2 RESEARCH METHODS

My research utilizes content analysis to examine *Dianshizhai Pictorial* as cultural artifacts of that time, and reveals its historic dynamics in late 19th century Shanghai. Before explaining how my research specifically applies content analysis, I would like to briefly introduce the historical background and current status of content analysis as a methodological tool.

As a research methodology, content analysis has its roots in the study of mass communication. The earliest content analytic studies date back to the beginning of the 20th century when quantitative newspaper analyses were carried out as empirical inquiries into the phenomenon of newspaper.¹⁰ Before World War II, content analysis was largely defined by the use of mass communications as data for testing scientific hypotheses and for criticizing journalistic practice.¹¹ The method came into prominence in the 1930s and 1940s and received a

¹⁰ Barcus, Francis E. *Communication Content: Analysis of the Research 1900-1958: A Content Analysis of Content Analysis*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1959.

¹¹ Krippendorff, Klaus. *Content Analysis : An Introduction to its Methodology*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 2004. pp. 6-8

major impetus for its probably first large-scale practical application during World War II—Propaganda Analysis.¹² Later the technique migrated out of its initial journalistic roots and entered into various academic fields.

There are multiple definitions of content analysis that reflect its historical development. As Russell Bernard summarizes, content analysis is a catch-all term covering a variety of techniques for making inference from “texts”. The texts can be any chunk of qualitative data—fiction, nonfiction, recorded folktales, newspaper editorials, advertisements, films, videos, photography, songs, etc.¹³ This approach encourages close reading of texts, with a focus on contexts, settings, styles, images and meanings.

As Stone and Dunphy describe, the “texts” or messages can always be looked at from numerous perspectives. In any single text, one can count letters, words, or sentences. One can categorize phrases, describe the logical structures of expression, and one can also offer psychiatric, sociological, or political interpretations. All of these may be simultaneously valid.¹⁴

In short, a text or message may convey a multitude of contents even to a single receiver. The most distinctive feature of text is that it informs someone vicariously, providing the receiver with knowledge about events that take place at a distant location, about objects that may have existed in the past, or about ideas in other people’s minds.

Since my research looks at both the images and the texts, specifically the commentaries with the images, I learned from the scholars who did image-based research as well. As Jon

¹² Lasswell, Harold., Leites Nathan, & Associates. (eds.) *Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965.

¹³ Bernard, H. Russell. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006.

¹⁴ Stone. P.J., D.C. Dunphy. *The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966. P.20

Prosser indicates, over the last three decades qualitative researchers have given serious thought to using images with words to enhance understanding of the human condition. They encompass a wide range of forms including films, photography, drawings, cartoons, maps, signs and symbols. Taken cumulatively, images are signifiers of a culture; taken individually, they are artifacts that provide us with very particular information about our existence. Images provide researchers with a different order of data and, more importantly, an alternative to the way we have perceived data in the past.¹⁵

My study will look at the images and texts as data, to touch on such research questions as: how is Sino-Western interaction represented through Chinese spectacles; how is seeing and being seen embodied in the Chinese tradition and values; how is recognition of “others” and “otherness” mediated by commercialized media in a hybrid space as modern Shanghai.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In my study, I seek to understand selected texts and images and trace their social role, effects and meanings. Texts and images chosen for analysis from *Dianshizai Pictorial* are the primary data of my research. These data are to be situated and analyzed in their specific context---which is the broad socio-cultural background in late 19th century China.

For *Dianshizai Pictorial*, my research specifically focuses on the representation of the West and Western people and investigates the social-cultural dynamics behind the complex attitudes expressed toward China’s interaction with the West. There are about 220 pictures-plus-

¹⁵ Prosser, Jon. *Image-Based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*. London; Bristol, PA: Falmer Press, 1998.P.1

commentaries related to the West out of the original 4000 plus pictures. The major themes represented in the images include: Sino-Western wars, Sino-Western diplomacy, modern Western weaponry, Western innovation and technology, Western medicine practice in China, foreign concessions in Shanghai, and Western entertainment in China.¹⁶

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

Specifically, I want to question the assumption that “seeing is believing”? How did the pictorial and the images become mediation between *Ti* (Chinese tradition and values as foundation) and *Yong* (Western Technology as tools)? My hypothesis is that the editors and readers, and even high ranked official like Li Hung Chang, wanted to see and use Western technology as effective tools (*Yong*), however, they were seeing the tools through Chinese minds, interpreting and believing in Chinese tradition and values.

¹⁶ With only rare exceptions, there is little differentiation made among the various western countries and western peoples in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. They are generally referred to as the ‘West’ and ‘Westerners’.

2.0 CHANGING NEWS TO STORIES

Lithography is the technique of flat-bed printing from a treated stone of fine-grained limestone using greasy inks and was invented by German Alois Senefelde (1771-1833) in Munich in 1796.¹⁷ Being a new printing technology, lithography was not only applied to print ancient books and pictures in China, but also to print pictorials. Among them, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was widely influential, because an advantage of lithography is that the beauty of original writing and drawing is better preserved and printed.

In April 1884, a British businessman Ernest Major, who was the owner of the newspaper *Shenbao* or *Shanghai Daily* (the most influential Chinese newspaper in Shanghai) published the first issue of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* in Shanghai. A total of 528 issues of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* were published, with over 4000 drawings. The last issue was published in August 1898, putting an end to its 14-year existence. As Pang explains, the name of *Dianshizhai* refers to both the process of “stone printing” lithography and the traditional Chinese idiom “*dianshi chengjin*” 点石成金, which is often used to refer to magical transformations made by intelligent minds.¹⁸

When Ernest Major launched *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, he had every reason to expect his new venture to be a success. Among the educated Chinese in the Jiangnan (Lower Yangtze)

¹⁷ Iain Stevenson, “Environmental Changes in Printing and Publishing Culture,” *Printing and Publishing Culture Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium* (Korea: Cheongju Early Printing Museum, 2000), 34

¹⁸ Pang, Laikwan. The pictorial turn: realism, modernity and China’s print culture in the late nineteenth century. *Visual Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1, April 2005. p.20.

region, there was a strong demand for printed literature. The adoption of the new lithograph technology would render the pictorial far more attractive than the traditional “news-sheets”. Major was inspired by Western examples, especially the *Illustrated London News* that had been published since 1844. With clear understanding of the publishing industry and the market, he believed that new and sensational content would sell, and themes familiar to Chinese readers would be interesting to them.

In the preface for the first issue, Major wrote: “I have therefore asked people with a fine skill for drawing situations to pick sensational 新奇 and entertaining 可喜 scenes and draw illustrations of them. We will have three issues per month. As a rule they will have 8 leaves per issue so that those who enjoy news have something at hand to check out the situation. It is also useful to have a cheerful and humorous talk”.¹⁹ From the preface, we can see that the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*’s selling points were sensation and entertainment.

With its traditional Chinese themes as well as international topics, the pictorial had great success in terms of commercial profits and lasting interests. According to Chen Pingyuan, the success was largely a result of its integration of timely journalism with popular interests. As a sign in the culture circles of the late Qing dynasty, it was appreciated by both educated and ordinary people.²⁰

¹⁹ Completed translation of the preface, see “Joining the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper *Dianshizhai huabao*” in Rudolf G. Wagner, ed., 2007. *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910*, Albany, NY: State Univ. of New York Press, p. 132-133.

²⁰ Chen, Pingyuan. 2000. *Daodu: Wanqingren yanzhong de xixue dongjian* (Introduction: The introduction of Western learning to the East from the eyes of late Qing people).

2.1 SENSATIONAL FLYING MACHINE

Given China's efforts against the Western powers and Japan, such as the Sino-French and Sino-Japanese wars, military themes dominate the first issue with an American submarine, a military balloon and the explosion of an underwater mine. But the strong military and technical emphasis was not to stay, replaced by the news of the murder on the next street, the deformed baby from Suzhou, or the dragon seen during a storm in Shanghai.

The *Dianshizhai Pictorial's* criteria for selection were sensational character and entertainment value. Perhaps even more engaging are the pictures of Western inventions and customs: representations of the flying machine, trains, steamships, telegraphs, tall buildings, scientific inventions, Western marriage ceremonies and winter sports reached Chinese readers via this magazine.

With the shift from newspaper to illustrated news, the news was translated into stories with various comments attached. The flying machine, for example, in its various forms was one of the images of Western technology that appealed most to the Chinese readers. In ancient Chinese texts, there are legends about human flight originating in these texts; therefore, the Chinese people were mentally prepared for the stories of flying. In addition, Chinese who traveled abroad, such as Wang Tao and Kang Youwei, all wrote about balloons they had seen or actually gone up in.

There are altogether 16 pictures of balloons and other flying machines (real or imagined) in the Pictorial. The first example is a demonstration of ballooning, which was made at the Tianjin Military Academy (Fig.1). "Once the filling of the balloon with oxygen and carbon dioxide was completed, it rose like gulls soaring into the sky. What a grand and majestic spectacle it was! All those commanders, pillars of the state, rose on high and looked into the far

distance, in order to be prepared for future contingencies.”²¹ Actually the balloon was designed and maintained by French technicians. Perhaps that is why the emphasis here is on celebrating the courage of the Chinese officers, rather than the skill in making it. The first to step into the balloon were admirals Ding Ruchang and Liu Buchan. They gave the order for the balloon to ascend. As the commentary said, both of them were full of courage, resourcefulness and foresight over other men. Later on, these brave warriors fought to their death at sea against the Japanese navy in 1895.

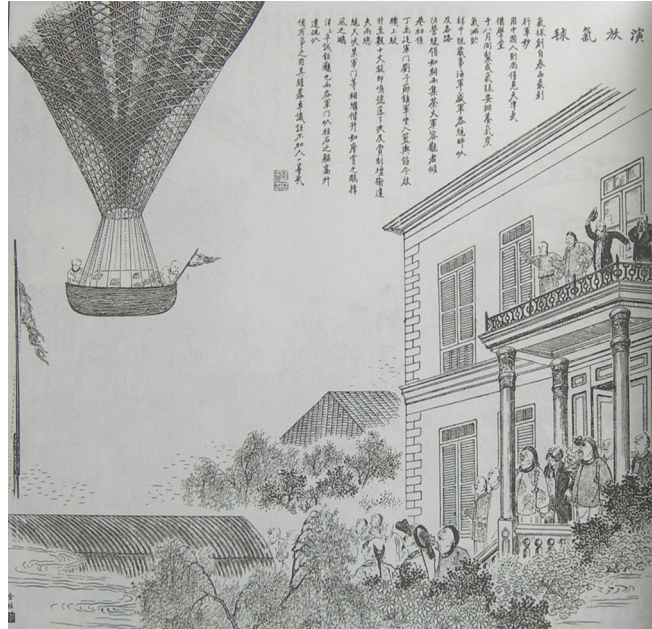


Figure 1. Demonstration of Ballooning, Dianshizhai Pictorial, Aug.1889. (rpt., 6, 216)

This image is very important because it was the first written and illustrated record of Chinese officers going into a balloon in China. In the picture, the audience is eager to see the balloon, and the readers of the picture also had the desire to see the new technology. The demonstration of the balloon was very welcomed by the Shanghai people at that time, and it became a commercial event to sell tickets to the audience. It is worth noticing that the audience in this picture is mixed with Westerners and Chinese, especially the Chinese officers, which is very different from the following next example.

²¹ Demonstration of Ballooning, *DSZHB*, Aug.1889 (rpt., 6, 216)

“The Incredible Flying Machine”²² is another example of Western technology (Fig.2). In the French Academy of Technology there is a French-man called Dianlubi. Recently he excelled himself and devised a flying machine, which shaped like a fan and consists of a hand-operated flying car. Its roof has flat boards; its sides have oars; at the rear there is a rudder. To rise into the air you simply spin the wheel in the roof, and the machine gradually ascends.²³

However, the beetle-like car as illustrated is of course pure fantasy: all airships before the Wright brothers took off in 1903 had to have a balloon of some sort to give them lift. Two attempts made in the second half of the 19th century to release a car from its balloon and fly with wings of sorts ended in disaster, killing the pilots. Navigable balloons only became a practical proposition when equipped with engines, which went from steam (1852), through gas to electricity (1884) and finally to petrol (around 1900).²⁴



Figure 2. Incredible Flying Machine, Dianshizhai Pictorial, Oct.1892. (rpt., 9, 83)

The nearest analogy we can find to the machine illustrated here was a pedal-operated contraption, rather like a flying bicycle flown by an American in 1878, but that was still suspended from a small balloon.

²² Incredible Flying Machine, *DSZHB*, Oct. 1892. (rpt., 9, 83)

²³ Translated by D. E. Pollard, “Translation from Balloons and Flying Machines: Excerpts from Dianshizhai Pictorial”, *Renditions* (Hong Kong) No. 53(2000). p. 260-261.

²⁴ D. E. Pollard, “Translation from Balloons and Flying Machines: Excerpts from Dianshizhai Pictorial”, *Renditions* (Hong Kong) No. 53(2000). p. 260-261

From the commentary, it is clear that the editor was very interested in the Western inventions. He made comments that the Westerners were inventive by nature, and their technical skills were very often amazingly ingenious. However, both the editor and the artist who drew the picture did not really see the machine. A year before this issue, there was a picture printed about a Westerner who invented a boat that could fly in the sky, which is an imagined fantasy as well.

Though the images look real, and the pictures satisfied the curiosity and desire to see the new technology, the seeing did not necessarily equal believing. When the audience looked at the balloon, and the Chinese readers looked at the pictures, they interpreted the pictures in their own way, actually a Chinese way. The Western technology brought something new and exciting, but many Chinese people would see the new things as entertaining toys or tools, without seriously thinking or studying the principles of the technology.

Even the literati such as the editors compared the Western technology with ancient literature. As the commentary said, when you turned the machine on and operate the rudder, you could go in any direction you please. It was uplifting and satisfying, just like the legend of Lie Zi harnessing the wind. The legend of Lie Zi is frequently mentioned in the commentaries of the pictures of balloons. The *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was not particularly interested in discussing how to solve complex problems. Its goal was to publish interesting stories and to support them with pictures.

2.2 ENTERTAINING ADAPTATION

It is also important to compare some communication between Chinese press and foreign sources, and demonstrate how the material was modified to fulfill the needs of entertaining and “educating” the broader Chinese audience by changing the news to stories in this commercial press. The *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reproduced pieces from foreign illustrated papers. While only a few imports have been actually traced back to the original, their order of magnitude is about 7 percent (145 of 1920) of the regular illustrations in the first twenty collections.²⁵

In May 1886, *Harper's Weekly* published a report with the title “Anarchist Riots in the West” (Fig.3).²⁶ Two months later, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* printed a story with the title “American Gangsters Cause Turmoil” (Fig.4)²⁷. The information and picture in *Dianshizhai Pictorial's* story can also be found in *Harper's* article about the Chicago haymarket riots, but some changes had been made. The *Harper's* article emphasizes that further harm to society can only be avoided by the means of harsh punishment of the culprits. It also gives high compliments to Chicago police: “The heroic fidelity and bravery of the police of Chicago in the late street battle with brutal ruffians, all of whom seem to have been foreigners, are worthy of all praise, and contrast strangely with the extraordinary incompetency of the other municipal and State authorities”.

Comparing the two pictures, the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* one imitated the original one, showing the dynamite bomb exploding among the audience. There are similar descriptions of

²⁵ Julia Henningsmeier compared the adaptations in her MA thesis. The examples and figures used here are from her article, The foreign sources of Dianshizhai huabao, a nineteenth century Shanghai illustrated magazine, in *Ming Qing Yanjiu* (Napoli; Roma) (1998),59-91.

²⁶ Anarchist Riots in the West, *Harpe's Weekly*, May 15, 1886.

²⁷ American Gangsters Cause Turmoil,*DSZHB*, July 1886. (rpt., 3, 83)

facial expressions, the conflict between the police and the anarchists, and the standing place of the speaker. However the artistic style of the bombing smoke is very different. The original one was made by copper plate printing, and the later one was made by lithography, with a more Chinese traditional way to draw clouds.

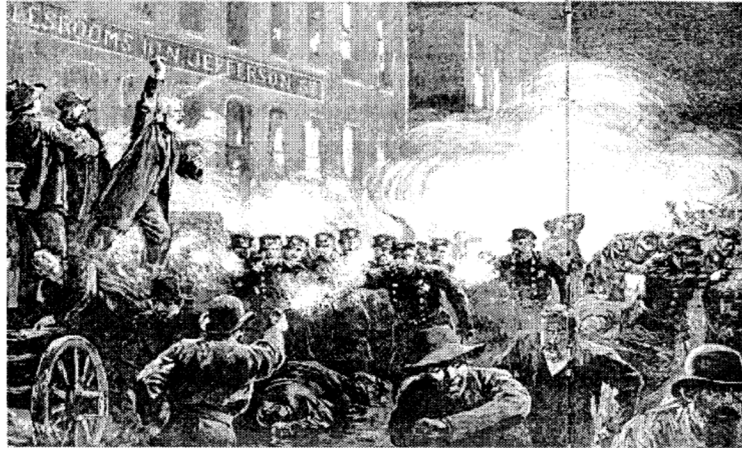


Figure 3. Anarchist Riots in Chicago, Harper's Weekly, May 15, 1886.



Figure 4. American Gangsters Cause Turmoil, Dianshizhai Pictorial, July 1886. (rpt., 3, 83).

The following example demonstrates how similar illustrations can be interpreted in different ways in the context of two different cultures. In the Aesopian fable, there is a story about a small mouse liberating a captured lion by biting the rope. The company Powell's used the well-known Aesopian fable to advertise its medicine for cough, named "Balsam of Aniseed".²⁸ (Fig.5) The message for the consumer is that a small capsule of Powell's balsam would liberate the ill body from disease just as the relatively powerless mouse liberated the mighty lion in the famous story.

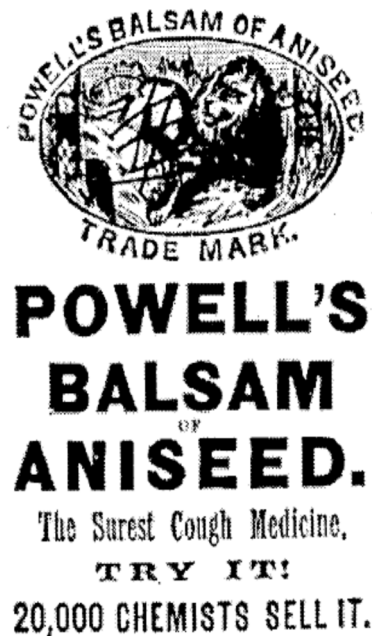


Figure 5. Powell's Balsam of Aniseed,
The Illustrated London News, November 1886.



Figure 6. Smart Way to Tame a Lion,
DSZHB, March 1886. (rpt., 2, 305)

But the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* seems only interested in the drawings (Fig.6). The author frankly informs his reader that he does not understand the Western characters. The Chinese story

²⁸ Advertisement for "Powell's Balsam of Aniseed" is published in diverse magazines, e.g. in *The Illustrated London News*, 27.11.1886, p. 581.

is entitled “A Smart Way to Tame a Lion”.²⁹ The point explanation of the drawing is given: “Lion is not easy to be tamed and a smart way to capture a lion is using net. Mice climb up to the rope steal the [the lion’s] food, because she is not dangerous now.”³⁰ From my point of view, it seems that the lion could also be a representation of China, which was captured and made weak by foreign countries. The mouse could be the foreign countries which signed the treaties and then stole the property from powerless China. This picture could be a metaphor created by the editors and artists to educate people about the history of untrustworthy foreigners in China.

In conclusion, the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* did not always attempt to fully understand the Western technology and policies; instead, the interpretations were still deeply embedded in Chinese tradition and values. Ancient legend and classical literature are quoted to bring foreign experiences into context, such as connecting the Lie Zi flying legend with balloons. At the same time, the materials were modified to fulfill the needs of entertaining and “educating” the Chinese audience. In the commentary of “American Gangsters Cause Turmoil”, the editor tries to educate the readers to be peaceful and not to join the dangerous riots. In a word, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*’s goal was to publish sensational and entertaining stories and to support them with pictures. Of course, at times, the editors tried to educate the readers to be peaceful in order to maintain the traditional social order.

²⁹ Smart Way to Tame a Lion, *DSZHB*, March 1886.(rpt.,2,305)

³⁰ Julia Henningsmeier, The foreign sources of *Dianshizhai huabao*, a nineteenth century Shanghai illustrated magazine, *Ming Qing Yanjiu* (Napoli; Roma) (1998),75.

3.0 INTRODUCING WESTERN MEDICINE

As a part of Western technology, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* also introduced Western medicine, especially the most practical surgery. People marveled at the surgeries performed by foreign doctors that could open the belly and remove a fetus or cut out a tumor and save a life. However, the practice of autopsy seemed to be more controversial to the traditional Chinese mind. Using selected examples as primary sources, this section analyzes the impact of the introduction of Western medicine, such as Surgery and Autopsy, in terms of changing the traditional concepts of disease and illness and challenging the traditional Chinese view of human body.

In its introduction of Western “new knowledge”, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* mostly gave admiration and approval. This Western “new knowledge” includes various technological innovations from the West, Western weapons and ships, and also includes Western hospitals, schools and recreational facilities. It is usually through narration of an incident or a story that the Western novelties are introduced. The fame of Western medicine was reported and spread through a series of “stories” and disseminated among the general public. To Chinese in Late Qing period, the Western learning manifested through scalpels was probably the most miraculous kind, and *Dianshizhai Pictorial* provided “seeing is believing” examples.

3.1 WESTERN SURGERY AS NEW KNOWLEDGE

Dianshizhai Pictorial recorded a number of cases in which people sought treatment for illness at Western clinics. Western doctors are usually described as kind and hard-working with excellent skills and ethics. Some doctors were of Christian missionary background. According to Unschuld, cataract surgery had been introduced to China from India during the Tang period, but it never became a common practice.³¹ Traditionally, people who suffered eye disease had very limited medical help available to them in Chinese medicine. This became an area in which Western surgery offered effective treatment and attracted many patients.

A story in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* detailed an eye surgery case. The commentary compared the Western doctor with legendary Chinese doctor Bian Que, both of them with talented skills. However, the editor commented that even though there were specialized Chinese doctors who could treat eye disease, “they can only work on eyes with sight, not on eyes that have lost sight”. Then he told the story about two Western doctors at a clinic in Fuzhou, who were famed for their medical skills.

There was a village craftsman called Wang Yushan who had lost his sight for nine years. One day he went to the clinic to see Dr. Adam. The doctor told Wang: “Human eyes have the structure of an onion, with 32 layers one over another. You have cataract at the fourth layer of your eyes. It can be removed surgically and treated with medicine. After the cataract is removed, your sight will be restored. You are lucky that there is no cataract on the fifth layer which is the important one.” Wang received the surgery and his sight was restored in ten days.³²

The introduction of Western medicine to China generated a re-conceptualization of the human body and disease. Surgery challenged the concept of the integrity of the human body,

³¹ Unschuld, Paul U. *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*. Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 238.

³² *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Pao 1, Gu Mu Fu Ming (瞽目复明).

which was one of the most fundamental principles of Chinese tradition. The human body was viewed as an integrated whole.³³ The integrity of the human body was given philosophical and moral significance. The idea of surgically removing part of it did not fit into the framework of traditional Chinese medicine, and thus received little acceptance. Though in the history of Chinese medicine, there are stories of surgical practice by legendary physicians like Hua Tuo, such medical practice did not seem to find successors. The individual success stories of surgery did not lead the practice into the mainstream Chinese medicine, instead they were treated as miracle deeds rather than knowledge contributed to medicine.³⁴

The struggle between this Western practice and traditional Chinese view is vividly reflected in *Dianshizhai* stories. Despite much cultural reservation about surgery, it usually became many people's last resort when suffering from tumor, deformity, injury, and difficult childbirth, etc. As the editor asked, would Western medicine offer a cure that can fill the deficiency of the Chinese creation? In fact, some Chinese accepted surgery because of its obvious effectiveness, but they would wait until the last minute.

There are several stories in *Dianshizhai* about *Tongren* Hospital in the American Concession in Shanghai. People came from other provinces to seek medical treatment at *Tongren*. In 1885, a woman from Anhui province came to have her giant tumor surgically removed. A female doctor at *Tongren* Hospital performed a successful surgery on her and removed a tumor a quarter of the women's bodyweight. The commentary talked about the providential relationship between the doctor and the patient: "If the patient had not sought the

³³ William C. Cooper and Nathan Sivin, "Man as Medicine: Pharmacological and Ritual Aspects of Traditional Therapy Using Drugs Derived from the Human Body," in *Chinese Science: Explorations of an Ancient Tradition*, ed. Shigeru Nakayama and Nathan Sivin, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973, 203-72.

³⁴ Ye, Xiaoqing. *The Dianshizhai Pictorial : Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003, 132-144.

doctor, her illness would be no cure; if the doctor had not encountered the patient, her miraculous skills would be unknown, this is the providential destiny between the two people.”³⁵

In 1895, a similar tumor surgery was reported at Ximen Hospital in Shanghai (Fig.7. Surgery to Remove Tumor). A woman had a tumor on her chest and the tumor was growing disturbingly. Her husband sought medical help in many places to no avail. The man was worried and heard that a Western woman doctor could treat it and took his wife to see her. The doctor was very surprised to see the size of the tumor. After the surgery, they preserved the tumor and sent it to a major hospital in the West to be researched:



Figure 7. . Surgery to Remove Tumor, Dianshizhai Pictorial, Yu 1.

After the doctor examined the tumor carefully, she found out that it is not incurable. Then she invited other Western doctors in Shanghai to give their opinions. They put the woman

³⁵ *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Yi 11, Zhu Shou Cheng Chun (著手成春).

on a mechanical chair and used medicine to make her lose consciousness, and remove the tumor with a sharp knife. Then the doctor sprayed water onto the women's face to wake her up. The women weighed 80 pounds after the surgery and the tumor weighed 150 pounds. Right now the woman has fully recovered. After being relieved of a heavy burden, she can sit, walk and get around and is extremely happy.³⁶

Since the early 19th century, Western missionaries began to open clinics and offer vaccination in China. American physician Pater Parker opened an eye clinic in Guangzhou in 1835 and won the trust of local people with his outstanding medical skills. Parker's clinic was the earliest clinic established by missionaries in China. Later, the eye clinic developed into a full-fledged hospital, named Guangzhou Hospital. John Glasgow, an American Presbyterian physician, continued Parker's work and took over Guangzhou Hospital. It was later renamed as Boji Hospital. According to statistics, John Glasgow received 740,000 outpatients in China and 40,000 inpatients. The success of Boji hospital earned a high reputation for Western medicine.

Foreign hospitals began to build at the major treaty ports. After 1860, with the signing of *Tianjing Treaty* and *Beijing Treaty*, missionaries were given permission to enter inland China, thus clinics and hospital further spread to the entire coastal area and enter inland China. By 1850, there were at least ten missionary hospitals in China and 61 hospitals by 1889.³⁷ Boji Hospital was mentioned in a *Dianshizhai* story in which a pregnant woman in difficult labor received a Caesarean section in 1892. This is believed to be the earliest documentation of Caesarean section in China:³⁸

³⁶ *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Yu 1, Miao Shou Ge Liu (妙手割瘤)[Surgery to Remove Tumor]. The translation is based on Ye Xiaoqing, and made some changes. See Ye, 2003.

³⁷ Li, Jingwei. *Zhong Wai Yi Xue Jiao Liu Shi*. Changsha Shi: Hunan jiao yu chu ban she, 1998: 281-282; Xiong, Yuezhi. *Xi Zhi Dong Jian : Jin Dai Zhi Du De Shan Bian*. Zhi Du Wen Ming Yu Zhongguo She Hui. Changchun: Changchun chu ban she, 2005, 257-258.

³⁸ Wang Ping, Deng Shaogen. *Dianshizhai Hua bao ji zai de zhong guo jin dai pou fu can shou shu*. *Zhong Hua Yi Shi Za Zhi*, 2004, 34 (2): 122-124.

A woman in Canton went into labor for a whole day, and the woman was on the verge of death. Her husband said: This needs to go to a Western doctor in Boji Hospital. Seeing the emergency, the male doctor Mr. Guan decided to treat the woman. The husband decided to take a chance and agreed to do surgery. Then the doctor gave the woman anesthesia, and cut open her abdomen and removed a crying baby girl. Then he stitched up her abdomen and applied medicine on the wound. A number of days later, the woman recovered and went home with her baby. Doctors like Mr. Guan are indeed equipped with miraculous skills.³⁹ (Fig.8. Surgery to Remove Fetus)

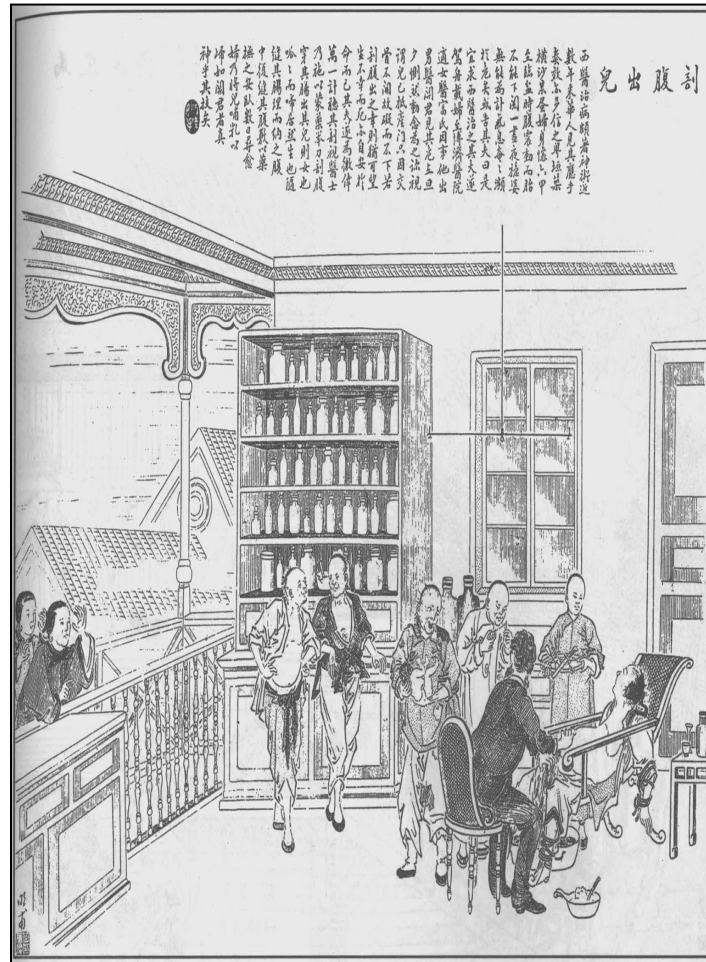


Figure 8. Surgery to Remove Fetus, Dianshizhai Pictorial, Zhu 9.

³⁹ *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Zhu 9, Pou Fu Chu Er (剖腹出兒) [Surgery to Remove Fetus].

These three surgery stories were reported with vivid description and illustration. One of them became valuable evidence of the introduction of Western Caesarean section practice in China. Related reports around the same period can also be found in *Shen Bao* and *China Medical Missionary Journal*, which was the publication of China Medical Missionary Association, mostly publishing work reports and medical cases at missionary hospitals. During that time, more and more Chinese began to believe in Western medicine after seeing its efficacy.

3.2 CONTROVERSY ABOUT AUTOPSY

Even by the late 19th century, the practice of postmortem examination was not widely accepted by the general public. Preserving the integrity of the body is the paramount reason for the reluctance toward autopsy. *Dianshizhai Pictorial* reported an autopsy case with disapproval. After a foreigner's sudden death, an autopsy was conducted to determine the cause of death. The spectators seem to be all foreigners including a photographer who is taking a picture of the autopsy scene. The commentator shows his disapproval at this "uncivilized" act.

Here is an example: a Westerner stayed at Licha hotel in Hongkou district, and was meeting with friends one night when he suddenly felt dizzy and died. The doctor came again to open his abdomen and look for cause of death before he was sent to the funeral house. The editor made the comments: "Western law does not allow physical mutilation. Even the felons are not dismembered. However, the practice of dissection has not yet been forbidden. They say that after death, the body becomes a pile of waste not worth being cherished. So they do not attach much importance to the principal of having body and soul rest in peace."

The editor understood that by examining the disease of one person, the doctors could discover ways of treating other people with similar diseases. So the corpse is utilized, from crown to heel, in the interests of others. But the editor continued to ask questions: “Is this really in accordance with the wishes of the dead? Moreover, some people die from a particular sickness, while others with the same sickness do not; many people die with the same symptoms, but the causes of their illnesses are different...but they use a knife to cut open somebody already dead, and innocent of any crime, to undergo the cruelty of dismemberment. So we can see that their skills are mediocre and their hands are vicious.”⁴⁰

However, due to different understandings of the role of autopsy among the educated class, there seemed to be mixed opinions and reactions to it. People who disapproved of autopsy mostly opposed it from a philosophical or cultural perspective, and did not relate autopsy to the practice of medicine. People who approved of Western medicine considered autopsy an indispensable approach of understanding human body, studying disease and contributing to the advancement of medical knowledge. It is obvious that among the educated class in Shanghai, there was enthusiastic welcome of Western medicine in its clinical practice.

An article in *Shen Bao* made the following comments: “Western medicine has very detailed methodology for treating diseases. It studies the minute details of human body, covering all internal organs, limbs, bones and orifices with great intensity, in order to observe and discover the origin of illness. Western medicine is a thousand times more detailed than the Chinese medical knowledge.”⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Chou 4, Qiang Shi Yan Bing (戕尸验病).

⁴¹ Yi Lun. *Shen Bao(Reprint)*, 1872, May 23.

In the tradition of Chinese medicine, whether there is cure or not is attributed to fate. Western medicine is the opposite: it treats the illness by investigating for instructional purpose and knowledge for posterity.

3.3 IMAGINATION OF THE HUMAN BODY

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

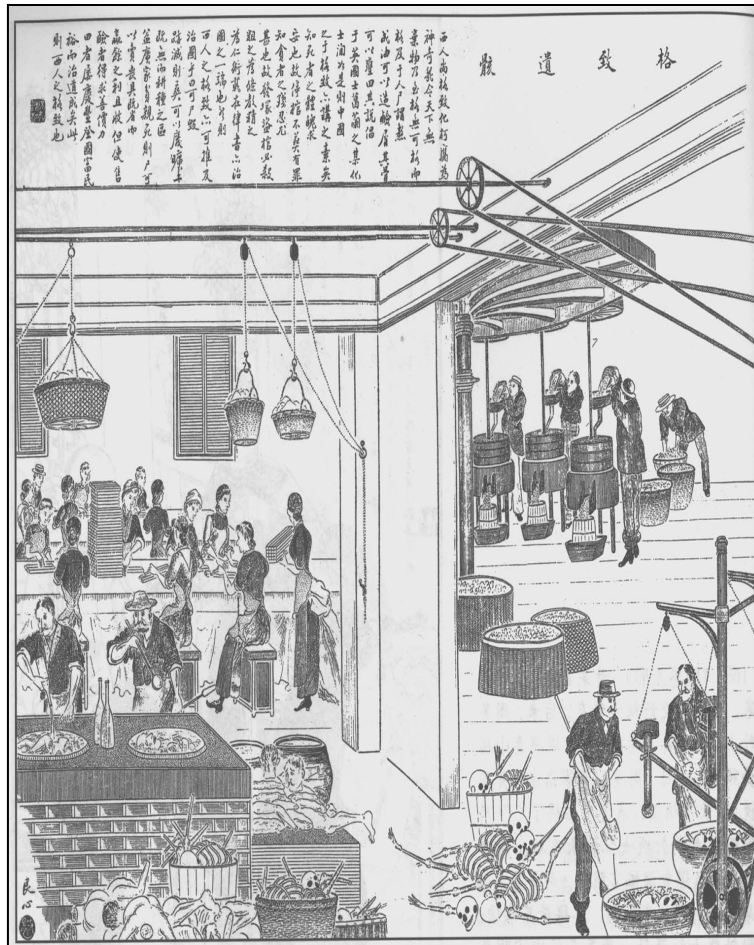


Figure 9. Corpse Innovation, Dianshizhai Pictorial, Mao 12.

One report was entitled ‘corpse innovation’. (Fig. 9. Corpse Innovation) It was about a discovery by a British scientist that could manufacture alkaline from human body fat and fertilizer from bones. The right side of the picture shows a workshop in which a group of foreigners are grinding human bones into power. One of the men is wearing an apron and waving a big shovel, the other man is operating the machine; the left side of the picture depicts two foreigners cooperating at the stove extracting fat from a human body. A group of women are sitting in the background, making alkali from human fat. As the commentary goes:

Westerners are fond of innovation, turning waste into treasure. The ultimate innovation is with human corpse: the corpse is processed into oil to produce alkali; the bones are

powdered to fertilize the soil. This method was advocated by a British chemist called Grant. He thought when the body is destroyed, there is no need for burial; there will be more land for farming. When there is death in a poor family, the corpse can be sold, which saves the burial and makes a profit.⁴²

These sensational overseas tales published within the same year raised attention from European and American consulates in China, who protested to the Chinese authorities against *Dianshizhai Pictorial*'s reporting. After several rounds of diplomatic correspondence among the foreign consulates, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Shanghai magistrate, *Dianshizhai* agreed to publish an apology, admitting the unverifiable nature of these accounts. The incident subsided quietly with little diplomatic friction.⁴³

From this incident, it is interesting to note how newspapers and periodicals were regulated in Shanghai in the late 19th century when there was little press censorship. The plurality of administration, the Chinese territory and foreign concessions, created multiple authorities and inconsistency regarding regulating press and cross-territory cultural agencies. Under such circumstances, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* seemed to enjoy a quite tolerant publishing environment with little censorship. This also explains why Shanghai had become a prosperous publishing center for newspapers and periodicals in China by the late 19th century.

To sum up, in *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, people marveled at the surgeries performed by foreign doctors that could 'open belly and remove fetus' or 'cut tumor and save life'. From the examples of surgery and autopsy, the introduction of Western medicine techniques changed the traditional concepts of disease and illness, and challenged the traditional Chinese view of the human body.

⁴² *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Mao 12, Ge Zhi Yi Hai (格致遺骸)[Corpse Innovation].

⁴³ *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Yi 1, p.7. The same correction was also published in Shen Bao on Feb. 10, 1889. Also see, Xiong Yuezhi. Cong Dianshizhai Hua Bao An Kan Wan Qing Shang Hai Yan Lun Zi You. *Shu Chuang*, 2000, (2).

Usually, it is unlawful not to inter the deceased since we know the body and soul of the deceased want peace. Even though the examination of corpses has a long history and was recorded in books such as *Xi Yuan Lu* (The Washing Away of Wrongs)⁴⁴ and other literature sources.⁴⁵ The exams from these sources are basically observing or touching the body, not actually cutting into the body.

⁴⁴ Sung Tz'u (13th c.). *The Washing Away of Wrongs*. Translated by Brian E. McKnight. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1981.

⁴⁵ Robert Hegel and Katherine Carlitz, eds., *Writing and Law in Late Imperial China: Crime, Conflict, and Judgment*. University of Washington Press, 2007.

4.0 SHARING IMAGES OF PUBLIC FIGURES

During the second half of the 19th century, China experienced an unprecedented internal and external crisis. There were many holders of high literary degrees who became involved in military affairs, including a powerful man: Li Hung Chang 李鴻章 (1823-1901).⁴⁶ This section focuses on the high ranking official Li Hung Chang, since he was an important public figure in the pictorial and a promoter of Western technology. As a pragmatic military and industrial commander, Li also helped develop arsenals, shipyards, and steamship transport, which played a key role in diplomacy.

The *Dianshizhai Pictorial* offered top Chinese officials the option to become public personalities, even public heroes, and to promote their political opinions. Li Hung Chang was also famous in the Western world. *Harper's Bazaar* published a picture of Li and Grant in 1885 (Fig. 10):

The American soldier and Chinese viceroy by his side present a striking contrast in their appearance. Li Hung Chang is the most remarkable man in the Chinese Empire- great in both peace and war. During the Taiping rebellion he commanded the imperial forces, and crushed that most threatening revolt. "General Grant and I," he said to his visitor, "have crushed the two greatest rebellions known in history." His name has since then become familiar to every diplomatist of the Western world.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Li Hung-Chang, "Li Hong-Zhang" in *Pinyin*, also as "Li Hung Chang; Li Hung-chang."

⁴⁷ General Grant and Li Hung Chang, *Harper's Bazaar*, April 25, 1885; p. 275

Li Hung Chang toured Europe and America in 1896 as an imperial envoy of the first rank. The aims of Li's visit were threefold: to contain Japan through diplomacy; to probe into the possibility of raising revenue through the Chinese Customs service; and to gain first-hand



Figure 10. General Grant and Li Hung Chang. Harper's Bazaar, April 25, 1885. p. 275.

knowledge of the West, especially in the areas of politics, science and technology.

Although some aspects of Li's career and evaluation have been given monographic treatment, there is yet little study, as far as I know, on his comments on some aspects of Western politics and his attitudes toward Western science and technology. How did such comments and attitudes arise? How did they differ from the traditional Chinese statecraft? Is Li a thorough and determined Modernizer? In particular, I want to emphasize Li Hung Chang's visit to England

and America in 1896, to see what his viewpoints were about some political issues and Western technology.⁴⁸

4.1 LI'S VISIT TO SEE WESTERN TECHNOLOGY

Li Hung Chang visited Great Britain in August 1896. While in the UK, he was received by Queen Victoria at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, and also met with a number of important people, including the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury, and the former Prime Minister, William Gladstone⁴⁹. The leaders of these countries showed off their new science and technology, so that they could sell the technological products. Therefore, Li was able to get a clearer picture of the strength of British science and technology.

Li gave a speech conveyed through an interpreter at Barrow Town Hall, saying “China is a nation of literature and philosophy. These are rather abstract subjects, but although the English people are the most practical in the world, they have still produced such eminent men in literature and philosophy as Lord Bacon, Shakespeare, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, and Huxley, and they have arrived at the same conclusion as our Liotsz[sic] and Confucius; but their principles were deduced from the experimental sciences in the most tangible form.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Several writers pay attention to the English reports about Chinese. For example, selected translations Of the New York Time. Zheng Xiyuan. ed., 2001. *Diguo de huiyi* (China in New York Times). Peking: Sanlian Shubanshe.

⁴⁹ Viceroy Li Hung Chang during his visit to England in 1896, Search from “British Periodical Database (1680-1930)” via University of Pittsburgh Library, the Figure from LI-HUNG-CHANG: His Place and Part in Modern Chinese Progress, *English Illustrated Magazine*, 154 (July 1896), p.283.

⁵⁰ Lecture of Li Hung Chang at Barrow Town Hall. *The Daily News*. London: Aug 18, 1896.

It could be seen through his congratulatory speech mentioned above that, with regard to the cultural differences between China and the Britain, and to the reasons for British scientific and technological superiority, Li appeared to have had a pretty level-headed understanding.

With an emphasis on communication, Li also gave a flamboyant toast at the reception for the Great Eastern Extension (telegraph and cable) company in Greenwich⁵¹: “We live in a world evolution, in which the two principles, the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest, will always hold good. Telegraphy and railways are the fittest means of communication, not only for the benefit of England and China, but for the benefit of the humankind in this world.”⁵² As he said, Li always advocated the amalgamation and combination of European skill with the unlimited natural resources in China.

After the visit in Britain, Li Hung Chang visited America. Worthy to be emphasized is a detailed interview, which recorded Li’s comments on American politics, especially about the Geary Act: the Chinese Exclusion Act. He sent out an invitation for the newspaper reporters to meet him in his reception room.

When one of the reporters asked: “Does your Excellency expect any modification of the existing Chinese Exclusion act?” Li focused on the Geary Act:

The Chinese Exclusion act is a most unfair law. It is admitted by all political economists that competition will always keep the markets of the world alive and active. This applies to labor as well as to commodities. Do not consider me as a high Chinese official, but as a cosmopolitan; not as a Mandarin, but as a plain citizen of China and of the world, and let me ask what you expect to derive from excluding cheap Chinese labor from America? Cheaper labor means cheaper commodities, and better commodities at lower prices. Your States represent the best type of modern civilization. You are proud of your liberty and your freedom; but is this freedom? This is not liberty, because you are prevented from utilizing cheap labor in your manufactories and on your farms.⁵³

⁵¹ I would like to thank Professor Liu Dun who sent me his research report when he was a Mellon Fellow at Cambridge University, and help me to locate these sources.

⁵² *The Times*. London: Aug 15, 1896.

⁵³ Argues for Free Competition in Labor. *New York Times*. New York, N.Y.: Sep 3, 1896.

Despite Li's political disagreement, he was very impressed with American technology. Paying special attention to mechanism, Li was surprised at the power of the Niagara Construction Company's Dynamos, and was struck by the American system of railroads. He wanted to duplicate them in China.⁵⁴ Just at that time, the new Imperial Postal Service of China has been established, which is patterned after the European method.⁵⁵

During his tour in Europe and America, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* printed two portraits in succession, one titled "Portrait of Prime Minister from Hefei"⁵⁶, the other titled "Portrait of Prime Minister Li at 74 years old".⁵⁷ The portraits were to fulfill the need of people who respect him, and the pictures also present the rise of Chinese officials becoming public figures.

Through Li's visit to Europe and America, Li Hung Chang gained a more profound knowledge than before of the general state of the world and of the weak condition China was in. His notions of combining European scientific knowledge with Chinese natural resources had great influence on Chinese policy and practices. One example of this was the self-strengthening policy of building up China's military and industrial enterprises.

4.2 LI'S SELF-STRENGTHENING POLICY

The debate of *Ti* and *Yong* occurred during the Self-Strengthening Movement of the 19th century. Feng Guifen (1809-1874) was among the first to argue for adopting useful Western techniques (*yong* 用) for national defense, economic development, or industrialization without altering

⁵⁴ Editor Article. *New York Times*. New York, N.Y.: Sep 6, 1896.

⁵⁵ China's Postal Service; How Mails Are Carried by Government and Private Agency. *New York Times*. New York, N.Y.: Sep 13, 1896.

⁵⁶ Portrait of Prime Minister from Hefei. *DSZHB*. July 1896 (rpt.,13, 82)

⁵⁷ Portrait of Prime Minister Li at 74 years old. *DSZHB*. Aug.1896 (rpt.,13,109)

Chinese essence (*ti*体).⁵⁸ Wei Yuan's slogan "learning the superior science of the barbarians so that we can control them (*shi yi zhi chang ji yi zhi yi* 师夷长技以制夷)" had the similar meaning. The main idea could be summarized as "absorbing Western learning to strengthen the Chinese culture and policy" (*zhong xue wei ti, xi yue wei yong* 中学为体, 西学为用).

In 1840s, it seemed that all China needed was ship-building and weapons-making techniques for its coastal defense. Thus the self-strengtheners' initial purchase list (1860s-1870s) largely comprised of foreign-made military hardware and related technologies to fight the Taiping Rebellion and to arm the Navy. Becoming a governor in Shanghai in 1862, Li Hung Chang was the foremost champion of the self-strengthening policy of building up China's military and financial power, primarily through the adoption of Western technology.

It needs to be emphasized that Li made efforts in introducing Western education and transmission of new science and technology. Li was the first high Qing official to advocate teaching Western mathematics and sciences in government schools. He also tried to build up military and industrial enterprises. Among his projects, the most famous were the Jiangnan Arsenal, the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, and the Pei-yang Navy.

Successful initially as a Confucian literati, Li turned into a military strategist, and became a national official and a regional strongman. What is the relationship between Li's policies and Confucian values? Turning from a Confucian to a General and to a Diplomat, did he remain within the conventional mode of a Confucian statesman?

Despite the fact that Li showed a degree of cultural open-mindedness, he never questioned the Confucian socio-political order, which still commanded his loyalty and was in any case the

⁵⁸ See Feng Guifen "On the Adoption of Western Learning," Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response to the West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979) pp. 51-52

source of his personal success and power. Although he was committed to the essentials of Chinese tradition as he understood them, he wanted to borrow Western methods primarily to protect that tradition.

The self-strengthening policy to build up China's military and financial power obtained limited success and faced failure at the end of the 19th century. Four disastrous wars with the West and Japan in the next decades demonstrated the insufficiency of the newly built military capability. What, then, was the relationship between Li's role and modernization?

I would argue that if modernization is not only a matter of such components of modern state power as an army, navy, or diplomatic corps, then Li was not certainly a modernizer. Actually, modernization is a deeper process of organizational and institutional change. Because of this, Li was not a determined modernizer, but a protector of traditional order and society.

5.0 CONCLUSION

As a cultural symbol in the late Qing dynasty, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* introduced “new knowledge” of the West to its readers through rich pictures and textual descriptions, including Western customs, people, festivals, medicine, innovations and technologies. The pictorial also vividly depicted, in both narrative and illustrational forms, the reactions of the Chinese toward foreign innovations: new machines, new habits, and new practices. The pictorial gave more attention to foreign concessions than the Old Chinese City.

It presented a multifaceted drama of cultural hybridization at this treaty port. The main actors were Chinese themselves who ventured to experiment with new lifestyles (working at Western ventures, seeing Western doctors, wearing sunglasses, watching horseraces, learning to use Western tableware, and funding girls’ schools). While the artists and journalists of *Dianshizhai Pictorial* welcomed the new knowledge, they also resented the arrogance and abuse of foreign presence and lamented the decline of both the Confucian ethic and traditional social order in the Chinese society.

The *Dianshizhai Pictorial* tried to combine traditional layout with new themes. From the detailed work reflected in its paper quality, printing, binding, drawings and layout as well as cultural orientation, it is obvious that it was designed to stay close to the traditional Chinese readership in every possible way, and at the same time it distinguished itself to represent the modern world by integrating timely news stories with hand-drawn images. The editorial team of

Dianshizhai Pictorial was made up of a group of Chinese artists and journalists, many of whom also contributed to *Shenbao*.

The selection of topics, the writing of the comments, and the artistic production were entirely entrusted to a Chinese director and editorial board who had a keen sense of the demands and expectations of the educated Chinese readership. It is clear from the content, style, diction and calligraphy of the commentaries that their authors were well educated in classical Chinese. Of course, the comments cannot be taken to mirror the reader's personal thoughts and sentiments. They rather represent a pattern: the average reader's idea and literati's comments about miniature admonitions or edifying tales. But thousands of commentaries also contained pieces of opinion and information portraying the urban middle-class value system in the late 19th century Jiangnan region.

For the influence of *DSZHB* on the readers' interests, several writers recalled that. The Chinese writer Bao Tianxiao recalls his fascination for *DSZHB* in his memoirs: "In general children love to see pictures, but this illustrated magazine was also very popular with adults...The pictures allowed [the reader] to grasp some general idea. As Shanghai was a very open minded city, new foreign inventions, such as paddle steamers or trains, which people from the countryside had never seen, would get to Shanghai first."⁵⁹ The appeal of the new printing and illustrating process was simple: it gave the reader new eyes for looking at a new world.

The famous writer Lu Xun said, "The influence of this illustrated newspaper at the time was very great, it was distributed throughout all provinces, it was in fact the ears and eyes for those who wanted to know about "current affairs" – which is what news was called at the

⁵⁹ Cf. Bao Tianxiao 1971, Vol. 1, p. 134.

time.”⁶⁰ In these senses, *Dianshizhai Pictorial* can be seen historically as a supplier not only of one man’s fantasy and of another’s historical memory, but also of a more anonymous marketing orientation that led to the industrial mass production of other forms of visual culture.⁶¹

From the themes of the collection, I see the intention of the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* artists and editors as to entertain its readers with “novelty stories”. Thus, their attention was attracted as much by the exhibition of a “wild man with a head and no body” displayed by an American swindler as by modern technologies such as X-ray machine or smallpox inoculation. These stories are good reminders that interaction between civilizations often occur in everyday life, for example, when a Chinese audience enjoyed a Western circus show, or the fun of riding a roller coaster.

I want to argue that the intellectuals and literati, such as the editors and artists of *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, were relatively receptive and open-minded towards “new knowledge” and other innovative aspects of Western culture. But they were also distressed at many of the social changes induced by Western interaction in the settlements. The Western presence introduced a new set of values backed by a Western legal and political system. The literati were mostly concerned about the disintegrating effect of the Western presence on the traditional values and mores of Chinese society.

In conclusion, my main argument is that seeing is not necessarily believing. The *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was a part of the mediation between *Ti* (Chinese tradition and values as foundation) and *Yong* (Western Technology as tools). The editors and readers, and even a high

⁶⁰ Lu Xun, Shanghai wenyi zhi yipie 上海文艺之一瞥, *Lu Xun Quanj*, Beijing: Renmin Press, 1981, Vol.4, p. 292

⁶¹ Christopher A. Reed, Re/collecting the sources: Shanghai's *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and its place in historical memories, 1884-1949, *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* (Columbus, OH) 12, no.2 (Fall 2000) 67.

ranked official like Li Hung Chang, wanted to see and use the Western technology as effective tools (*Yong*), however, they were seeing the tools through Chinese minds, interpreting and believing in Chinese tradition and values.

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