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Western Heroines in Late-Qing Women's Journals: The Voyage to China of Meiji-Era Writings on "Women's Self-Help"¹

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Biographies of Western exemplars first published in Meiji Japan left a deep imprint on readers in the late Qing period in China. This was particularly true of "women's self-help" writings, sold in immense quantities at the time in Japan. Not only were individual volumes translated in timely fashion,² but also the copious materials from these sources appeared in the biography columns in Chinese women's journals. This essay will examine three consecutively published and influential late-Qing women's journals: *Nübao* 女報 (Women's journal, later renamed *Nüxuebao* 女學報 [Journal of women's learning]), *Nüzi shijie* 女子世界 (Women's world), and *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 中國新女界雜誌 (Magazine of the new Chinese woman). I shall explore the ideas inherent in the biographies of Western heroines in these journals by locating them within the respective Chinese and Japanese circumstances when the journals were published. I shall also look for connections between these translations and the objectives of other women's journals.

"Women's Self-Help" in the Meiji Era

Following the Meiji Restoration, Japanese society accelerated the introduction of Western civilization. Amid the waves of enlightenment in the world of thought, July 1871 (the fourth year of the Meiji period) witnessed the publication of the translation by Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832-1891), who had served as supervisor of Japanese students in England, of Samuel Smiles's (1812-1904) *Self-Help* into Japanese under the title, *Saigoku risshi hen* 西國立志編. This translation, intended for the fashioning of "independent and autonomous"³ character among the Japanese people, was highly appealing to young readers because of the writing style of the original text that dotted story telling with maxims. Together with another work translated by Nakamura and published in the same year—*On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), *Jiyūron* 自由論 in

¹ The translator would like to thank Qian Nanxiu 錢南秀 for reading through an earlier and rougher version of this translation and helping to correct many problematic areas. The only emendation that I have made to Xia Xiaohong's manuscript is to add the dates of the people mentioned where that information was available. A shortened version of this essay appears in *Women and the Periodical Press in China's Long Twentieth Century: A Space of Their Own?*, ed. Michel Hockx, Joan Judge, and Barbara Mittler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 236-54—JAF.

² Such as Iwasaki Sodō 岩崎徂堂 and Mikami Kifū 三上寄風, *Sekai jūni joketsu* 世界十二女傑 (Twelve world heroines) (Tokyo: Kōbundō shoten, July 1902); the following year in February, it was published in a Chinese translation with the same character title—pronounced *Shijie ershi nüjie* in Chinese—in Shanghai.

³ Nakamura Masanao, "Sōron" 總論 (Introduction), in Samuel Smiles, *Saigoku risshi hen*, trans. Nakamura Masanao (Tokyo: Kihira Aiji, 1876), p. 32; original in Kanbun.

Japanese—these two volumes formed “the most widely distributed works of enlightenment of the early Meiji era.”⁴

Along with the popularity of *Saigoku risshi hen*, all manner of imitations began appearing one after the next. Among them were similar works about women compiled by different authors and driven by different modes of thought but all “encouraging the ambitions of women and girls.”⁵ They all bore this consistent orientation. Thus, the way of compilation was gradually transformed from slavish imitation into containing biographies only, with the number of maxims declining. Although there were volumes that mixed Japanese with Westerners, more works tended to separate the two.

The *Taisei retsujoden* 泰西列女傳 (Biographies of Western women), published in 1876, may be considered the first work to introduce the achievements of Western heroines. If, however, we are speaking of impact, then the *Fujo kagami* 婦女鑑 (A mirror for women) published by the Imperial Household Department in 1887 should be seen as second to none. Considered required reading in schools for young women of the nobility, the biographies compiled in it were of women who “were taken from our history and from Chinese and Western works, models of womanly virtue, womanly words, womanly bearing, and womanly work.”⁶ To be sure, not many stories of Western women were included and the narrative was built around the frame of traditional Chinese morality. Because this work was written at the wishes of the imperial household, however, the entry of Western women as models was of extraordinary significance.

With the model and leadership role played by the *Fujo kagami*, compiled and printed under the auspices of the Meiji Empress, from the early 1890s there was a sharp increase in the number of publications of women’s biographies. Amid the hundreds of such works concerned with “women’s self-help,” those concerned with Western heroines which were of considerable importance would include the following:

1892: Takekoshi Takeyo 竹越竹代 (1870-1944), compiler, *Fujin risshi hen* 婦人立志篇 (On women’s self-help) (Tokyo: Keiseisha)

1892: Shibue Tamotsu 涩江保 (1857-1930), compiler and translator, *Taisei fujo kikan* 泰西婦女龜鑑 (Models of Western women) (Tokyo: Hakubunkan)

1898: Tokutomi Roka 徳富芦花 (1868-1927), *Sekai kokon meifu kagami* 世界古今名婦鑑 (A mirror of famous women of the world, past and present) (Tokyo: Min’yūsha)

1901: Nagayama Moriyoshi 永山盛良, *Taisei meifu den* 泰西名婦傳 (Biographies of famous Western women) (Tokyo: Seiyōdō)

⁴ Kindai Nihon shisō shi kenkyūkai 近代日本思想史研究会 (Research group on modern Japanese intellectual history), *Jindai Riben sixiang shi* 近代日本思想史 (Modern Japanese intellectual history), trans. Ma Cai 马采 (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1983), vol. 1, p. 41.

⁵ Shirose Waichirō 白勢和一郎, “*Taisei retsujoden shogen*” 〈泰西列女傳〉緒言 (Introduction to *Biographies of Western women*), in *Taisei retsujoden* 泰西列女傳 (Biographies of Western women) (Shibata: Ryokujukan, 1876).

⁶ Sugi Magoshichirō 杉孫七郎, “*Fujo kagami jo*” 〈婦女鑑〉序 (Introduction to *A Mirror for Women*), in Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹, *Fujo kagami* 婦女鑑 (A mirror for women) (Tokyo: Kunaishō, 1887); original in Kanbun.

1902: Iwasaki Sodō 岩崎徂堂 and Mikami Kifū 三上寄風, *Sekai jūni joketsu* 世界十二女傑 (Twelve world heroines) (Tokyo: Kōbundō shoten)

1903: Katō Minryū 加藤眠柳 (d. 1920), *Joshi risshi hen* 女子立志編 (On women's self-help) (Tokyo: Naigai shuppan kyōkai)

1906: Nemoto Tadashi 根本正 (Shō, 1851-1933), translator, *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den* 歐米女子立身傳 (Biographies of women's success in Europe and the United States) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan)

It should be noted that this listing only includes collections of biographies, excluding volume-length biographies of individuals. And, when I speak of "importance" here, I am ultimately taking into consideration the circumstances prevailing at the end of the Qing.

From the foregoing, we know that biographies of Western women in the Meiji era generally underwent a transformation, as can be seen in the titles of books, from "retsujo" 列女 (exemplary women) to "meifu" 名婦 (famous women) to "joketsu" 女傑 (heroines). These changes in appellation in fact contained the process of the gradual throwing off of the tradition imported from China of Liu Xiang's 劉向 (79-8 B.C.E.) *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of exemplary women) and the rebuilding of a model for women. Corresponding to this in the classification of the writings there emerged a transformation from morality to profession. For example, the *Seiyō retsujo den* 西洋列女傳 (Biographies of exemplary Western women), published in 1877 and expanded and reissued in 1879, was divided into four parts: filiality (*kōkō* 孝行), fraternal love (*yūai* 友愛), chastity (*teisō* 貞操), and maternal love (*jibo* 慈母).⁷ The two 1892 publications, *Taisei fujo kikan* and *Fujin risshi hen*, both fall in an intermediate position with the former bearing the categories of "chaste women, filial women, writers, poets, as well as patriots, humanitarians, and courageous women, among others,"⁸ and the latter offering as a classification before each person's name: "politician," "educator," "chaste woman," "humanitarian," "literary author," "major religious figure," and "traveler."⁹ The *Taisei meifu den* of 1901 had completely eliminated all designations with moral connotations, and simply introduced figures by such identities as "French artist," "heroine of the Crimean War," "English humanitarian," "French novelist and political commentator," "American female educator," "American journal reporter," and again "English humanitarian."¹⁰

There must have been some profitable stimulus beneath the competing publications of numerous "women's self-help" books, and thus it was unavoidable that large quantities of such works would be churned out irrespective of quality. It is important, nonetheless, to note that this phenomenon reflects the social mentality of the Meiji era: that is, the desire

⁷ Fuller edition: Miyazaki Yoshikuni 宮崎嘉國, trans., *Seiyō retsujo den* (Tokyo: Kinsendō, 1879), 2 vols.; extracted from Elisabeth Stirling, *Noble Deeds of Women, or, Examples of Female Courage and Virtue* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, 1860; London: H. G. Bohn, 1864; London: Bell & Daldy, 1872).

⁸ Kōfuku 幸福 (pseud., Shibue Tamotsu), "Reigen" 例言 (Introductory remarks), *Taisei fujo kikan*, trans. Shibue Tamotsu (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1892).

⁹ Takekoshi Takeyo, comp., *Fujin risshi hen* (Tokyo: Keiseisha, 1892).

¹⁰ Nagayama Moriyoshi, *Taisei meifu den* (Tokyo: Seiyōdō, 1901).

for knowledge of this new model. As one would expect, new-style schools also formed an extremely important experimental site. The *Fujo kagami* clearly conveyed the advocacy coming from the royal family: “We have decreed that our palace literati and scholars” “compile the *Fujo kagami* in six fascicles as a reader for students and thus to aid in governance and civilization.” This intention speedily overcame the boundaries set at schools for girls of nobility and elicited a broad echo in society. In the volume’s introduction where the principles of compilation were expounded, we find: “The prosperity or decline of a family is tied to whether a woman in the household is virtuous or not; the rise and fall of governance of the realm is rooted in the prosperity or decline of a family. Is it not that a woman’s responsibility is great.”¹¹ One can see here similar objectives at work in volumes of a like kind. This new approach linking the prosperity or decline, the strength or weakness, of the realm—meaning the state—with women was a natural extension of the aim of *Saigoku risshi hen*, translated by Nakamura Masanao.

The great success and popularity of “women’s self-help” books in the Meiji period, which undertook the mission of refashioning the very character of Japanese women, soon spread to its close neighbor of China. The biographies of Western women particularly attracted the attention of translators in the late Qing. Because the acquisition of this sort of books was easy those who translated the biographies of Western heroines in the “biography” columns of late-Qing women’s journals basically omitted the tidy process of searching through the Meiji news media, and instead they imported these biographies directly from the ceaseless flow of new publications. In this way, the late-Qing transplant of Western female paragons shared similar experiences with the Meiji Japanese.

“Western Beauties” in *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*)

Nübao (*Nüxuebao*) was operated by Chen Xiefen 陳擷芬 (1883-1923), daughter of Chen Fan 陳範 (1860-1913) who owned the Shanghai newspaper *Subao* 蘇報. Its history can be divided into two stages: the first four installments published beginning in the winter of 1899 which have as yet not been discovered¹² and thus are impossible for me to discuss; and the period from May 8, 1902 when it was reissued—although the cover bore the words “continuation of *Nübao*,” the issues were renumbered—until October 1903 when it reached a total of thirteen issues. During this later period, the name of the “continuation” of the journal was solely *Nübao* through issue number 9 that came out in December 1902; with the first issue in March of the new year, the journal changed its name to *Nüxuebao*. Initially it came for free with *Subao*, and starting with the seventh issue in October 1902 it was first offered for sale. With the eruption of the famous *Subao* case at the end of June 1903,¹³ Chen Fan was implicated, and Chen Xiefen accompanied her father

¹¹ Sugi Magoshichirō, “*Fujo kagami* jo.”

¹² See “Xuban *Nübao* shili” 續辦〈女報〉事例 (The case of *Nübao*, the continuation) and “Shishi caixin huixuan” 時事采新匯選 (Recently selected events), May 21, 1902, reprinted in *Subao*.

¹³ Because revolutionary, anti-Manchu language was carried in *Subao* which was edited and published in Shanghai, the Qing government issued fierce demands, and on June 29, 1903 the Concession Police began to enter the newspaper office and cause difficulties for it; they also filed a case and commenced an

in seeking refuge in Japan. *Nüxuebao* also moved to Tokyo, and it is there that its final issue was edited and printed in October 1903.

Initially, Chen Xiefen edited the journal as an extracurricular activity in her capacity as a female student right through until it changed its name to *Nüxuebao*, and she became a professional female journalist. Especially commendable was the fact that this marks the beginning of a new phase, while the journal was in her hands, in which one modern woman alone managed a journal.¹⁴ As the “continuation of *Nübao*” was initially included gratis, we see that the male readers of *Subao* were its expected readers. It is, however, clear that it was also aimed at women, with a particular focus on female students. Despite the fact that girls’ schools run by Western missionaries were few in number at the time, and Chinese education for girls had only recently begun to emerge, the teachers and students in these few girls’ schools did indeed demonstrate considerable concern for this one and only women’s journal.¹⁵

Throughout its existence, *Nübao* (and later *Nüxuebao*) was primarily concerned with promoting female education, and at the same time devoted sustained efforts to “extend the general principles of women’s rights.”¹⁶ Thus, Chen Xiefen’s advocacy of “encouraging women’s education and reviving women’s rights”¹⁷ truly may be said to capture the guiding principles of her managing the journal. Not only was every regular column diligently focused on proclaiming this principle, but Chen filled many of her editorials essays—such as “Lun quan zhi chanzu zhi guanxi” 論勸止纏足之關係 (An exhortation to cease footbinding), “Yao you aiguo de xin” 要有愛國的心 (We must have patriotic minds), “Buyao guoyu zhuangshi” 不要過于裝飾 (Do not overdo it with adornment), “Dulu pian” 獨立篇 (On independence), and “Lun nüzi yi jiang tiyu” 論女子宜講體育 (Women need to discuss physical exercise),¹⁸ among others—with intellectual content in this vein. She even included Lao Fang’s 勞紡 (1867-1901) explanation in the vernacular of the *Nüjie* 女誡 (Admonitions to women), long seen as a

investigation. The famous revolutionary Zhang Binglin (1868-1936) was arrested, and the paper seized publication on July 7.

¹⁴ China’s first women’s paper, *Nüxuebao*, began publication on July 24, 1898; writing and editorial work was primarily the responsibility of the women board members and teachers at women’s schools in China. When Chen Xiefen took over management, she was just then studying at the McTyeire Home and School for Girls founded by American missionaries.

¹⁵ See under the collective title “Wuben nüxuetang keyi” 務本女學堂課藝 (The curriculum at the Wuben Girls’ School)—(*Xuchu*) *Nübao* (續出)女報 7-8 (October-November, 1902)—where there appears a seven-point editorial of female students concerning *Nübao*.

¹⁶ (Huang) Shouqu (黃) 守菴, “Wuben nüxuetang keyi, du *Nübao* shuhou” 務本女學堂課藝讀〈女報〉書後 (The curriculum at the Wuben Girls School, after reading the notice in *Nübao*) 7 (October 1902). For this essay, I am using the reprint of *Nüxuebao* obtained from Professor Qian Nanxiu 錢南秀; special thanks go to her.

¹⁷ Chen Xiefen, “Duli pian” 獨立篇 (On independence), *Nüxuebao* 1 (March 1903).

¹⁸ See (*Xuchu*) *Nübao* 1, 3, 7, and *Nüxuebao* 1, 2.

traditional reader of women's morality,¹⁹ and thereby effectively demonstrated numerous aspects of a publication going through transition.

One must recognize the considerable energy that Chen Xiefen devoted to the collection of women's biographies, as her essay "Xuban *Nübao* shili" 續辦〈女報〉事例 (The case of *Nübao*, the continuation) points out:

In every region of every land, any woman, live or dead, if she possesses special talents and erudite learning, and carries lofty ambitions and has accomplished extraordinary things, her relatives and friends should valorize her by writing her a biography, a eulogy, or a poem. Or, they can simply provide her deeds and this journal will help polish them. Either way is fine.

To be sure, the object of this appeal for subscriptions to the journal was confined to "relatives and friends." It also included poetry. All this was not fully consistent with what was actually published later. Its standard of selection, "possessing special talents and erudite learning, and carrying lofty ambitions and having accomplished extraordinary things," also sounds too general and vague. Even so, this first solicitation for articles on the theme of women's accomplishments affords immense significance. The publication of this request for such urgently needed articles ultimately did not leave people satisfied. Biographies of Chinese women that could meet the editor's standards had been quite few in number at that point, and stories of Western heroines had the additional impediment of needing to be translated, something difficult to accomplish. Therefore, it was not yet possible to structure an independent column for "biographies" in *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*).

Because the biographies published in *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*), aside from the last issue, were all essays sent to the journal or transcriptions from other sources, the principal editorial disposition could only be manifest through the selections published. Among them biographies of Western women constituted altogether four translated items which all appeared in differently titled columns: "Picha nüren zhuan" 批茶女士傳 (Biography of [Harriet] Beecher [Stowe]) under "Editorial"²⁰; "Luolan furen zhuan" 羅蘭夫人傳 (Biography of Madame Roland) as an "Appendix"; and both "Bishimaike furen zhuan" 俾士麥克夫人傳 (Biography of the wife of Bismarck) and "Yingguo nüjie Niejikeer zhuan" 英國女傑涅几柯兒傳 (Biography of [Florence] Nightingale of England) listed as "translated items." The journal's initial change of appearance transpired after moving to Tokyo, and at the time Chen Xiefen had an opportunity to personally get her hands on "women's self-help" writings of the Meiji period; and she found greater autonomy then in selecting and editing translated items. Both the original "Yingguo nüjie Niejikeer zhuan," signed with the translators' names, and Chen's own vernacular rewriting of the serial

¹⁹ Lao Fang's original work was entitled "*Nü jie qianshi*" 《女誡》淺釋 (Simple explanation of the *Nü jie*), and Chen excerpted its vernacular explication and changed the title to "*Nü jie yanshuo*" 《女誡》演說 (Talk on the *Nü jie*), (*Xuchu*) *Nübao* 2-4.

²⁰ This essay originally appeared in *Xuanbao* 選報 18 (June 1902), a journal edited and printed in Shanghai.

“Shijie shi nüjie yanyi” 世界十女傑演義 (Tales of ten world heroines) appeared in the final issue of the *Nüxuebao*. Unfortunately, this issue also marked the premature death of the journal.

The biographies carried in the pages of *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*) were mostly transcribed from elsewhere, and the foreign language Chen Xiefen had studied was English, not Japanese; thus, Chen may actually have been unaware that her selections of original pieces were from Japanese. Even if this is the case, though, the biographies of Western heroines that she published still bore the models set up in Meiji-period writings on “women’s self-help.” Once we track down the originals, we see that they mostly come from *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*.

“Luolan furen zhuan” and “Bishimaike furen zhuan” are both translations directly related to *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*. The former came from Liang Qichao’s 梁啟超 (1873-1929) work entitled “(Jinshi diyi nüjie) Luolan furen zhuan” (近世第一女傑) 羅蘭夫人傳 (Biography of Madame Roland, the first heroine of the modern age) which appeared in the journal he was editing in Yokohama, *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報 (New People’s Miscellany, issues 17-18, October 1902); transcribed in (*Xuchu*) *Nübao* (issues 8-9, November-December 1902, incomplete). The latter piece came from the Shanghai periodical *Dalu bao* 大陸報 (issue 3, February 1903), and it then appeared in *Nüxuebao* (issue 3, May 1903). The Japanese originals are, respectively, from *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*, “Furansu kakumei no hana (Rōran fujin no den)” 佛國革命の花(夫人の傳) (Flower of the French Revolution, a biography of Madame Roland) and “Bisumaruku fujin” ビスマルク夫人 (Bismarck’s wife) from the chapter entitled “Seijika no tsuma” 政治家の妻 (Wife of a politician).

Madame Roland (Marie-Jeanne Roland de la Platière, 1754-1793) was one of the first Western heroines introduced to Japan. Her name appears as early as 1876 in *Taisei retsujoden*, and she later appears frequently in many “women’s self-help” writings. The biography of Madame Roland edited by Tokutomi Roka under the title “Furansu kakumei no hana” projected a prominent relationship between the subject of the biography and the French Revolution. This event was the high tide of Madame Roland’s life and activities. The Japanese scholar Matsuo Yōji 松尾洋二 meticulously went through the text comparing and examining it in its entirety and thus establishing that Liang Qichao’s “Loulan furen zhuan” (aside from the beginning and the tail end) was a translation rooted fundamentally in Tokutomi’s piece. There were a handful of deletions and emendations in his translation, but the aim of watering down the original’s description and affirmation of the radical ideas and actions of Madame Roland fortuitously corresponded to the change in Liang’s thinking at the time, a retreat from revolution to reform.²¹ Quite evident are

²¹ Matsuo Yōji 松尾洋二, “Ryō Keichō to shiden, Higashi Ajia ni okeru kindai seishin shi no honryū” 梁啟超と史伝：東アジアにおける近代精神史の奔流 (Liang Qichao and historical biography, the rapid spread of the history of a modern spirit in East Asia), in *Ryō Keichō, Seiyō kindai shisō juyō to Meiji Nihon* 梁啟超：西洋近代思想受容と明治日本 (Liang Qichao: Meiji Japan and the reception of modern Western thought), ed. Hazama Naoki 狭間直樹 (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1999), pp. 273-77.

the facts that Madame Roland was a political figure and that Liang Qichao's objective in translating her biography was to convey her political ideals.

Although one cannot say that the intellectual direction of Liang Qichao's translated text was unimportant for women in the late Qing, Chen Xiefen's transcription of the text placed in the context of *Nübao* meant that the significance of this essay itself brought about a subtle change. Acclaiming her "the first heroine of the modern age" for the most part referred to Madame Roland's patriotic enthusiasm to save the nation; this is especially true of the opening lines of Liang's "Luolan furen" which were landmark for a time:

Who was Madame Roland? She was the mother of Napoleon, the mother of Metternich, the mother of Mazzini, Kossuth, Bismarck, and Cavour. In short, all men of the nineteenth-century European continent could not but regard her as mother; all civilizations of the nineteenth-century European continent could not but regard her as mother. Why? Because the French Revolution was the mother of nineteenth-century Europe, and Madame Roland was the mother of the French Revolution.

This passage uses Madame Roland's gender as a metaphor and extends her status as a woman to that as the mother of great men and the mother of civilizations. It thus promoted the popularity in the late Qing of the praiseworthy notion that women were "mothers of the nation" (*guomin zhi mu* 國民之母).²² This detached her from the political message Liang wished to convey. The transcription of this piece in (*Xuchu*) *Nübao* fortuitously came to an end just as Madame Roland is about to appear on the stage of the French Revolution, which made this section added by Liang Qichao all the more eye-opening.

Unlike "Luolan furen zhuan" that emphasized Madame Roland's identity as a politician, "Bishimaike furen zhuan" gave prominence to the status of the statesman's wife as the "wife of a politician." This biography deliberately focused on the profound familial joy that Johanna von Puttkamer (1824-1894) shared with her husband, the famous German "prime minister of blood and iron" (Otto von Bismarck, 1815-1898). To this end, when *Nüxuebao* transcribed this essay, it deleted the opening lines of the original from *Dalu bao* which recorded the mourning for Mrs. Bismarck in many countries after her passing in 1894 and her husband's great sadness. Also disappearing were the following lines added by the *Dalu bao* translator in order to elevate her importance, "the story of the life of [Bismarck's] wife is the story of the life of Count Bismarck; the story of the life of Count Bismarck is the story most recently of Germany." Thereupon, from the time she recognized Bismarck as a hero and accepted his marriage proposal, until the couple together reached their white-haired old age, Mrs. Bismarck's life was always centered upon her husband.

²² See my essay, "Shijie gujin mingfu jian yu wan-Qing waiguo nüjie zhuan" 〈世界古今名妇鉴〉与晚清外国女杰传 (The *Sekai kokon meifu kagami* and biographies of foreign heroines in the late Qing), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大学学报 2 (2009).

It was not that Mrs. Bismarck ever lacked any political aspirations, for the original Japanese text notes that “she was truly a woman with honorable intentions.” In a letter she wrote to an English woman, she regretted that “my country has no margin for a movement for women’s freedom.” However, in tracing the reasons for this, Tokutomi Roka mainly concluded that Bismarck feared the consequences of the Empress Dowager becoming involved in politics, and thus “Mrs. [Bismarck] lacked a clear opportunity to satisfy her honorable intentions.”²³ The Chinese translation changed it to the Empress Dowager’s “obstruction” (*juzhi* 沮止) of the political reform movement. In any event, however, Mrs. Bismarck accepted this limitation. Thus, the Chinese translator shifted the text in the Japanese original around, putting some things together and adding material before coming to the conclusion: “Now, Mrs. [Bismarck] made her family the nation and her family politics national politics. With the electricity of her mind, she assisted Bismarck to accomplish his life-long enterprise and so touched numerous political figures of the time. She was truly a technician of a political machine, a ‘political wife.’” The original text had “a political woman (*furen* 婦人)” which the translator rendered “a political wife (*furen* 夫人).” Whether or not this was a slip of the pen, “wife” and not female politician was without a doubt the core notion of “Bishimaike *furen* zhuan.” What is crystal clear from this is the notion that, without engaging directly in politics, women may still gain fame for life through assisting their husbands.

After Chen Xiefen fled to Japan, following the banning of her newspaper, although her “*Shijie shi nüjie yanyi*” written in the vernacular was but a flash in the pan, it was tied to the work upon which it was based, *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*. *Shijie shi nüjie* 世界十女傑 (Ten world heroines),²⁴ published in March 1903, and (in addition to *Sekai jūni joketsu*) it relied on *Sekai kokon meifu kagami* with some additions and deletions, among them at the very least half of it originating here. The anonymous “editor” also added much to the translation concerning “revolution” and “women’s rights,” and thus he could boast of *Shijie shi nüjie* that “although it was a compilation of translations, it really was closer to an [original] work.”²⁵

We can see in Chen’s revision of this work’s title with the addition of *yanyi* (tales) that her original plan was to use an anecdotal tone to recast the stories of “these ten extraordinary heroines.” Aside from amusement (“to extinguish all of our sisters’ melancholy”), Chen considered most important an appreciation and emulation of Western heroines: “If this is found to be acceptable, then one can learn just how to make herself also a heroine. Would this not be something of real value?”²⁶ Immediately beneath the

²³ “Bisumaruku fujin,” in the chapter entitled “Seijika no tsuma” of Tokutomi Roka, *Sekai kokon meifu kagami* (Tokyo: Min’yūsha, 1898), pp. 114-15.

²⁴ According to the diary of Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885/6-1967), entry dated April 9, 1903: “On that day received from Lu Xun ‘a letter dated the fifth from Japan.’ Says he’s asked someone to bring *Shijie shi nüjie* from the booklist.” *Zhou Zuoren riji* 周作人日记 (Diary of Zhou Zuoren), ed. Lu Xun bowuguan 鲁迅博物馆 (Lu Xun Museum) (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 1996), pp. 383-84.

²⁵ Editor, “Liyan” 例言 (Introductory remarks), in *Shijie shi nüjie* (n.p., 1903), pp. 1-2. For related matters, see my essay “*Shijie gujin mingfu jian yu wan-Qing waiguo nüjie zhuan*.”

²⁶ Chunan nüzi 楚南女子, “*Shijie shi nüjie yanyi*,” *Nüxuebao* 4 (October 1903).

title, there was a decorative frame with four Chinese characters meaning “Western beauties.” This subtitle not only advanced one step to demarcate the scope of “world heroines.” It also clearly followed the lead from Liang Qichao’s idea that the twentieth century would be “an age in which the two civilizations” of East and West “would marry”; thus “Western beauties would be able to breed for us ideal babies to invigorate our race.”²⁷ This encompassed the much higher aspiration of reforming the character of the Chinese people by introducing these Western heroines.

The tale “Meishier” 美世兒 (Louise Michel, 1830-1905) appeared in the final issue of Chen Xiefen’s *Nüxuebao*, and Michel’s biography in *Shijie shi nüjie* is based on the chapter “Rui Miseeru joshi” 路易美世兒女史 (Ms. Louise Michel) from *Sekai jūni joketsu*, and mixed in material from “Yashamen no jobosatsu (Rui Miseeru)” 夜叉面の女菩薩 (ルイ、ミセール) (Louise Michel, a female bodhisattva with a she-devil face), a chapter in *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*. The anonymous “editor” also added a fair number of arguments and plots to render it a completely revolutionary piece. Her title, “a female general of the anarchist party,” in the text proper of the two Japanese biographies was placed in the title of her biography in the “*Shijie shi nüjie*,” clearly demonstrating the intentions of the editor-translator.

When Chen Xiefen was revising the “Wuzhengfudang nüjuangjun: Luyi Meishier” 無政府黨女將軍：路易・美世兒 (Female general of the anarchist party, Louise Michel), she was obviously concerned that her readers also included young girls. Considering also the needs of entertainment, she thus cut out the first full two pages that advocated “give me *liberty* or give me *death*” and the anarchists’ advocacy of violent revolution, directly recounting her life from her birth. Although this vernacular tale only tells Louise Michel’s life as a girl prior to the age of fourteen when her political career had yet to begin, her revolutionary temperament had already by then been revealed.

Compared to *Shijie shi nüjie*, Chen Xiefen’s rewrite was moderate in many areas. Not only was the title simplified to “Meishier” but when the earlier text had Michel state in her youth: “I stand for justice and righteousness—even if we must use violence, I shall not retreat,”²⁸ in Chen’s hand this changed to: “I stand for the public and for justice and righteousness—if I thus offend someone, so be it!” Nonetheless, Chen Xiefen quoted in detail the earliest sprouts of Michel’s ideas of women’s rights and revolutionary thought from the *Shijie shi nüjie*, which in turn borrowed the passage from *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*. It reads: “At leisure she would ask her male cousin to sing the ‘Song of Women’s Rights,’ and she would accompany with a bamboo flute. She would borrow an uncultivated field and make it a stage and direct a group of children to enact the French Revolution. She would grasp a short sword; spirits invigorated, she assigned herself to be in charge of the guillotine (*koulegin* 扣樂沁), yelling ‘Long live liberty!!! Long live

²⁷ Liang Qichao, “Lun Zhongguo xueshu sixiang bianqian zhi dashi” 論中國學術思想變遷之大勢 (On the general trend in changes of Chinese academic thought), part 1: “Zonglun” 總論 (Preface), *Xinmin congbao* 3 (March 1902).

²⁸ “Wuzhengfudang nüjuangjun: Luyi Meishier,” *Shijie shi nüjie*, p. 3.

[liberty]' on a daily basis."²⁹ As she did not understand the word *koulegin* which was there for its phonetic value, she rendered it as "broke down the jail." Furthermore, in her narrative Chen also assumed responsibility to lead the topic to fit the current situation in China. For instance, she explained the word "liberty" after "long live liberty":

The two-character expression *ziyou* 自由 (liberty, freedom) has numerous fine points to it, so that it would be impossible to name them all in a short period of time. Its general meaning is that each person has his own right to freedom, and what he does with it is proper; the rich may not control the poor, and the mighty may not control the weak. Nonetheless, if someone does do something wrong, even if it is the high and mighty emperor of our China, he must be placed under the control of ordinary people.

This phrasing gave the text about the activities of a Western heroine the function of transmitting new ideas and new knowledge as well as fostering a new morality, thereby putting into practice the primary intention of *Nübao* and *Nüxuebao*, that of promoting women's education.

Although its origins were different, the introduction of Western women by *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*) clearly transcended the *lienüzhuan* 列女傳, traditional biographies of exemplary women, and kept in step with the Meiji-era "women's self-help" materials as it moved from the stage of "famous women" to that of "heroines." At the very least, one-half of the biographies came from *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*, and the very last issue of the journal carried "Shijie shi nüjie yanyi" and "Yingguo nüjie Niejikeer zhuan" as both bore the expression *nüjie* 女傑 (heroine, Japanese *joketsu*) in their titles. The directions in which these "Western beauties" were headed were numerous and confused. Western learning still needless to say carried within it patriotism, wise wife, revolution, women's rights, and the like; "Picha nüshi zhuan" and "Yingguo nüjie Niejikeer zhuan" both affirmed a sense of national salvation,³⁰ and were consonant with the journal's principles of promoting women's education and women's rights. They also echoed the manifold expectation of women scattered through many other articles. Most worthy of our attention at this time was Chen Xiefen's thoughtful intention to introduce these "Western beauties" as a means of reforming the character of Chinese women and giving birth to robust, new Chinese citizens. The biography column in *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*) thus provided late-Qing women in this transitional era with sufficiently fresh models through importing diverse images from the West.

²⁹ "Wuzhengfudang nüjiangjun: Luyi Meishier," *Shijie shi nüjie*, p. 4. On the circumstances, see *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*, pp. 241-42.

³⁰ These biographies are of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the American writer, and Florence Nightingale.

Western “Love of the Race” in *Nüzi shijie*

After *Nüxuebao* ceased publication in 1903, there appeared in Shanghai a journal entitled *Nüzi shijie* 女子世界 (Women’s world) on January 17, 1904 under the editorship of Ding Zuyin 丁祖蔭 (Chuwu 初我, 1871-1930). This new serial was a cooperative venture with the Changzhao Normal Study Association of Jiangsu,³¹ and it also accepted writers from a host of other places. He continued as editor until joint issue 4-5 which came out in July 1906,³² and the journal then changed its editor-in-chief. The (*Xuban*) *Nüzi shijie* (續辦)女子世界 (also known as *Xin nüzi shijie* 新女子世界) that appeared in July 1907 was no longer under Ding’s editorship. When this journal initially appeared in 1904, women’s education had already begun gradually to develop in various places, and Ding Zuyin, Xu Nianci 徐念慈 (1875-1908), and other members of the Study Association took advantage of the favorable situation and in December of that year founded a girls’ school in Changshu. Judging from a special column, “*Nüxue wencong*” 女學文叢 (Female learning series), that they created in the journal, and columns such as “*Shiye*” 實業 (Industry), “*Kexue*” 科學 (Science), and “*Weisheng*” 衛生 (Hygiene) that served the function of school texts added after the journal’s “major reform” with the fifth issue, we can see that the journal’s intended readership was primarily teachers and students at girls’ school.

Inasmuch as *Nüzi shijie* was published by an educational organization and its editor Ding Zuyin as well as its contributors were all enthusiastic about women’s education, its editorial principles were accordingly established to be the “promotion of women’s education and the enhancement of women’s rights.”³³ Nonetheless, there was a debate within the editorial board over whether “women’s education” or “women’s rights” should take priority. Although they reached a conclusion and the essay they published in January 1906 entitled “*Lun fu nüquan bi yi jiaoyu wei yubei*” 論復女權必以教育為預備 (To revive women’s rights we must prepare with education)³⁴ was meant to represent the position of the editorial board, the dispute still turned the journal itself into a “board of many voices,” and this foreshadowed the complete reorganization of (*Xuban*) *Nüzi shijie* at a later date. The journal also experienced a change in management directions, moving from the earlier emphasis on the “enhancement of women’s rights” evolving to a later inclination toward the “promotion of women’s education.”³⁵

³¹ See Luan Weiping 栾伟平, “Qingmo Xiaoshuolinshe de zazhi chuban” 清末小说林社的杂志出版 (The publication of journals by Xiaoshuolinshe in the late Qing), *Hanyu yanwenxue yanjiu* 汉语言文学研究 2 (2011).

³² Dates of publication for the original journal were not explicit, according to an advertisement in *Shibao* 時報, cited in Luan Weiping, “Qingmo Xiaoshuolinshe de zazhi chuban.” Below, the dates of publication for *Nüzi shijie* from issue 10 on are all based on this.

³³ Jin Yi 金一, “*Nüzi shijie fakanci*” 《女子世界》發刊詞 (Inaugural statement of *Nüzi shijie*), *Nüzi shijie* 1 (January 1904).

³⁴ Dan Chen 丹忱, “*Lun fu nüquan bi yi jiaoyu wei yubei*,” *Nüzi shijie* 3 (January 1906).

³⁵ See section four, “‘*Nüquan*’ youxian haishi ‘*nüxue*’ youxian” “女权” 优先还是 “女学” 优先 (Which comes first, “women’s rights” or “women’s education?”), in my essay, “Wan-Qing nübao de xingbie guanzhao: *Nüzi shijie* yanjiu” 晚清女报的性别观照：〈女子世界〉研究 (The gender perspective in late-

In the history of Chinese women's journals, it was with the publication of *Nüzi shijie* that "biographies" (historical biographies) were assigned a regular column for the first time. Considering that one year prior to this there already was *Sekai jūni joketsu*, *Shijie shi nüjie*, and Ding Zuyin's own translation, (*Jinshi Ou-Mei*) *haojie zhi xijun* (近世欧美) 豪杰之细君 (The wives of great heroes [in the modern West]),³⁶ for a time translated introductions of Western heroines was all the rage. Launched in early 1904, *Nüzi shijie* therefore aimed to go in a different direction. In the inaugural issue, the editor repeatedly stated that "we shall not display European fashions, but we shall offer our national essence"; they went to pains to commend outstanding ancient Chinese women of "valor," "knights-errant," and those accomplished in "literature and the arts." They expressed the hope that "our most beloved and intimate 200,000,000 female compatriots" would continue and enhance the glories of the tradition. "Together we must cultivate ourselves to become female generals, female knights-errant, and female scholars, struggling for existence in the twentieth century."³⁷ Evidently, the rediscovery of "great women figures" (*nüjie weiren* 女界偉人) in China³⁸ became a brand new approach of *Nüzi shijie* as it sought a model for women to emulate and to mold for women's character.

In addition, a close examination of the actual publications that appeared in the journal will demonstrate that they were consistent with changes in the direction of the journal. The "biographies" column at the same time also indicated a move from China to the West. Every biography carried in the first four issues of *Nüzi shijie* was that of an ancient Chinese female soldier or female knight-errant,³⁹ and they loyally carried out the editor's initial aim of commending the Chinese national essence. They thus offered a model for those quickly desiring the cultivation of "female soldiers" and "female knights-errant." The fifth issue of the journal, published as the lead article an essay entitled "Nüquan shuo" 女權說 (On women's rights) by Ding Zuyin's classmate and close friend, Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬 (Zhuzhuang 竹庄, 1873-1958). Jiang criticized "wild chatter about women's rights" and "wild chatter about liberty," and he initiated the dispute between "women's rights" and "women's education." The "biographies" column also

Qing women's journals, a study of *Nüzi shijie*), in my *Wan-Qing nüxing yu jindai Zhongguo* 晚清女性与近代中国 (Women in the late Qing and modern China) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2004), pp. 83-92.

³⁶ Muramatsu Rakusui 村松樂水, (*Jinshi Ou-Mei*) *haojie zhi xijun*, trans. Ding Chuwo (Changshu: Haiyu tushuguan, 1903).

³⁷ [Ding] Chuwo, "Nüzi shijie songci" 女子世界頌詞 (Ode to women's world), *Nüzi shijie* 1 (January 1904). See also in the same issue: Jin Yi, "Nüzi shijie fakanci."

³⁸ This formulation was first used in Yalu 亞盧 (Liu Yazi 柳亞子), "Zhongguo diyi nü haojie nü junrenjia Hua Mulan zhuan" 中國第一女豪傑女軍人家花木蘭傳 (Biography of Hua Mulan, China's first female hero and female soldier), *Nüzi shijie* 3 (March 1904); in 1906 the Xinminshe 新民社 in Yokohama also published Xu Dingyi's 許定一 *Zuguo nüjie weiren zhuan* 祖國女界偉人傳 (Biographies of great women of our country).

³⁹ See, for example, Shen Tongwu 沈同午 (Zhigong 職公), "Nü junren zhuan" 女軍人傳 (Biography of a female soldier); and Liu Yazi (Yalu, Pan Xiaohuang 潘小璜), "Zhongguo diyi nü haojie nü junrenjia Hua Mulan zhuan" and "Zhongguo nü jianxia Hongxian Nie Yinniang zhuan" 中國女劍俠紅線轟隱娘傳 (Biographies of Hongxian and Nie Yinniang, Chinese female knights-errant).

published for the first time essays about the activities of Western heroines. Thereafter, Western trends gradually overcame Eastern trends, despite the fact that overall there was roughly an even split between Chinese and Western ones.

Aside from two articles concerning contemporary Russian figures, the other five Western women's biographies that appeared in *Nūzi shijie* clearly had their incubus in Meiji-era "women's self-help" materials. Each of the authors was really a translator. The following lists the articles and their Japanese originals: "Jundui kanhufu Nandegeer zhuan" 軍隊看護婦南的睇爾傳 (Biography of the army nurse, Nightingale) was taken from "Kangofu, Furorensu Naichingeeru" 看護婦, フロレンス・ナイチンゲール (Florence Nightingale, nurse), a section in Takekoshi Takeyo, *Fujin risshi hen*; "Xingchang zhi baijin" 興場之白堊 (White clay on the execution ground), a section in "Furenjie zhi shuangbi" 婦人界之雙璧 (Double jade piece in the world of women) was taken from "Rōbaa fujin" ローバー夫人 (Mrs. Roper), a section in Shibue Tamotsu, *Taisei fujo kikan*; "Heiye zhi mingxing" 黑夜之明星 (Star in the night) was taken from "Shakai kairyō undō no haha, Uiruraado fujin" 社會改良運動之母・ウイルラード夫人 (Mrs. Willard, mother of the social reform movement), a section in *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*; "Nü wenhao Hailiaide Feiqushi zhuan" 女文豪海麗愛德・斐曲士傳 (Biography of Harriet Beecher, great female writer) was taken from "Bungakusha Biichaa Sutō fujin" 文學者ビーチャア・ストウ夫人 (Mrs. Beecher Stowe, author of literature), a section in Katō Minryū, *Joshi risshi hen*; and "Nü cike Shalutu Geerdie zhuan" 女刺客沙魯土・格兒埒傳 (Biography of Charlotte Corday, assassin) was taken from "Shaarotto Korudei jō" 沙魯土格兒埒嬢 (Ms. Charlotte Corday), a chapter in *Sekai jūni joketsu*. The only essay whose original I have not as yet been able to track down is "Yingguo da cishanjia Meili Jiaabinta zhuan" 英國大慈善家美利・加阿賓他傳 (Biography of Mary Carpenter, English humanitarian). Of the Japanese originals, the earliest published was *Fujin risshi hen* and *Taisei fujo kikan*, both 1892, and the latest was *Joshi risshi hen* of 1903. Based on what material was chosen for use, they were not drawn from the same well but were chosen from many and varied sources.

The models of Western heroines raised in the originals were similarly of many and varied sorts: there is Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) who administered first-aid on the battlefield of war and was a well known founder of the Red Cross, usually much admired for her "humanitarian" and compassionate temperament; then, there is Margaret Roper (1505-1544), eldest daughter of Thomas More (1478-1535, author of *Utopia*), who is designated a "filial daughter" in *Taisei fujo kikan*; Frances Willard (1839-1898), a founder of the World Women's Christian Temperance Union (dubbed in the Japanese text the *Bankoku fujin kyōfukai* 萬國婦人矯風會, or World Women's Society for the Reform of Morals), who received the appellation "mother of the social reform movement"; Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, who is always listed as a literary author, and Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1863-1957) in his dedication for *Fujin risshi hen* made a special point of praising how "in her one work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, she

made several million slaves look toward the sunny day of freedom”⁴⁰; and Charlotte Corday (1768-1793), whose name became associated with the history of the French Revolution, and who is prominently described as unswervingly determined and courageous in *Sekai jūni joketsu*, “brandishing the bare sword in her delicate hand, she killed the terrorist head Jean-Paul Marat (1743-1793) with one strike, and she then calmly went to meet her own death.”⁴¹

These Western women—be they assigned the status of nurse, filial daughter, social activist, author, or assassin—when placed in the Meiji “women’s self-help” series of works, shared the point of “being concentrated on a goal and steadfast irrespective of the consequences,” as emphasized in Nakamura Masanao in *Saigoku risshi hen*.⁴² Ding Zuyin, though, clearly had a different understanding, which he derived from Shibusawa Tamotsu, compiler and translator of *Taisei fujo kikan*:

For the purpose of discussion, while we have been looking only at the weaknesses of Japanese women and the strengths of Western women, Japanese women have been found to have narrow minds while Western women are seen as broadminded. Because of our narrow-mindedness, we may, controlled by our own feelings, focus our love on one specific person while ignoring the suffering of most people. Because of their broad-mindedness, they can love one person and love many others at the same time, and even in uncertain and difficult times, they do not forget their duty to devote themselves sincerely for the many.⁴³

Thus, the fact that *Taisei fujo kikan* made headway into Ding Zuyin’s viewpoint is linked with the collective appearance and significance of Western heroines in *Nüzi shijie* in a thought-provoking way.

In the sixth issue of *Nüzi shijie* (June 1906), the “Editorial” column published Ding Zuyin’s “Ai nü zhong” 哀女種 (Lament for the female race). In it he singled out causes of Chinese women’s weaknesses and identified it saying that “there are three [causes] for their unhealthiness in their heredity”: they “do not love the race,” “are not a race of warriors,” and “are not a race of soldiers.” The latter two items are clearly in agreement with the discussion above about aspirations to create “female knights-errant” and “female soldiers.” In Ding’s argument, the “love” in the expression “not loving the race” displaced “private,” “carnal love” “between men and women” and possessed a much broader spirituality: “Those who love their roots spread widely to protect every individual and the whole nation; they are the instruments for absorbing the masses and the gelatinous

⁴⁰ Sohō sei 蘇峰生, “Fujin risshi hen ni daisu” 婦人立志篇に題す (Dedication for *Fujin risshi hen*), in Takekoshi Takeyo, *Fujin risshi hen*, p. 2.

⁴¹ Iwasaki Sodō and Mikami Kifū, “Shaarotto Korudei jō,” in *Sekai jūni joketsu*, p. 1, Chinese translation by Zhao Bizhen 趙必振 (fl. 1903).

⁴² Nakamura Masanao, “*Saigoku risshi hen daijūichi hen jo*” 〈西國立志編〉第十一編序 (Introduction to the eleven essays in *Saigoku risshi hen*), in *Saigoku risshi hen*, p. 545; original in Kanbun.

⁴³ Shibusawa Tamotsu, “*Taisei fujo kikan shogen*” 〈泰西婦女龜鑑〉緒言 (Introduction to *Taisei fujo kikan*), in *Taisei fujo kikan*, p. 2.

matter for forging a nation.” If we see this together with a statement from his “Shuo nü mo” 說女魔 (On the she-devil)—“If we gain this sensibility and use it for good, then no one under Heaven can be better than women in moving people; all conceptions of a state, ideas of society, and nationalism sprout from this and are nurtured in this womb”—we can see that what Ding sought for women was that their personal relations expand to loving the nation and the race. His critique of the cause of Chinese women’s inherited ills also completely derived from a comparison of China with the West: “Looking at these three inherited, good female races, all exist in the Western countries and all are absent in our country; and in the Western countries all are nurtured daily, while in our country they are daily ravaged. How can our nation not perish? How can our race not disappear?”⁴⁴ The conclusion is not difficult to foresee: to eliminate the diseased roots of the ills afflicting Chinese women, he had no choice but to recommend the “good female races” of the West. And, thus Western heroines’ biographies now appeared in timely fashion in the pages of *Nüzi shijie*.

Following editor Ding Zuyin’s specific editorial concerns, the achievements of Western women that appeared in *Nüzi shijie* had generally similar aims. Two essays undertaken by Xu Nianci fit the bill: “Jundui kanhufu Nandeger zhuan” and “Yingguo da cishanjia Meili Jiaabinta zhuan.”⁴⁵ The former looked at Florence Nightingale’s activities helping the dying and healing the injured and placed them in the real life circumstances of the Russo-Japanese War at the time; it was hoped that her biography would serve as “a source of reflection” and to have the effect of encouragement to Chinese women. The latter piece discussed the lifetime of philanthropic work of Mary Carpenter (1807-1877), a founder of a free school for poor children, emphasizing in praiseworthy terms: “Women have a wealth of love, especially for children. This distinctive virtue remains true, past and present, East and West.” The latter biography and the piece by Ding Zuyin, “Ai nü zhong,” which appeared in the same issue, naturally resonated in the parallel columns.

Unlike Xu Nianci’s introduction to Florence Nightingale which was generally faithful to the original, Ding Zuyin’s own translations involved more rewriting, especially his “Furenjie zhi shuangbi.” His “Xingchang zhi baijin” concerning Margaret Roper deleted the introduction to her father, Thomas More, in the first half of the original which was excerpted from a volume entitled *Eikoku bungaku shi* 英國文學史 (History of British literature), and concentrated more on the moving circumstances surrounding the persecution of Thomas More, his daughter’s willingness to take risks, visit her father in prison, and then to secure and bury her father’s remains. His discussion in “Heiye zhi mingxing” of Frances Willard similarly cut out a large chunk of her life story before she turned twenty years of age, and thus gave prominence to major achievements in the arduous and difficult struggle to reform numerous social ills. At the end of this piece, he added “reporter’s words” in which he drew out the important point of affection in both biographies: “Alas! Many in the world love the race, especially among women.

⁴⁴ [Ding] Chuwo, “Ai nü zhong,” *Nüzi shijie* 6 (June 1906); [Ding] Chuwo, “Shuo nü mo,” *Nüzi shijie* 2 (February 1904).

⁴⁵ Gu’an 觚庵, “Jundui kanhufu Nandeger zhuan,” and Juewo 覺我, “Yingguo da cishanjia Meili Jiaabinta zhuan,” *Nüzi shijie* 5 (May 1904), 6 (June 1904), 8 (August 1904).

Although sacrifice for the family is different from that for the entire nation, there is no reason to remove love from us.”⁴⁶ To praise women’s compassion, some even willing to die only for the family, Ding Zuyin recognized this love all the same. This esteem for love reached high tide in his “Nü wenhao Hailiaide Feiqushi zhuan.” This essay spared no effort to sing the praises of Harriet Beecher Stowe as an “extraordinary woman in the literary world” during the period of the American Civil War: “We endeavor to expose her good deeds to the world, and to instill the power of her love into people’s minds. Was there any ancient hero who could compare in her capacity to move people? Is there such a literary figure as she in the world? Is there such a female literary figure in the world who could transform people’s feelings and nature as she could, and whose deeds are worth our eulogies and tears?” The author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* thus earned a string of glorious appellations: “loving flower of the world,” “goddess of liberty,” and “advance guard in the revolutionary army of the literary world.”⁴⁷ Thus, we can well understand that in Ding Zuyin’s mind “women writers” need be “affectionate figures,” with “love” as their root, and to expand their “power of love” to the world as their loftiest ideal.

As for Charlotte Corday’s biography, “Nü cike Shalutu Geerdie zhuan,” whose objective was agitating for national revolution and the use of violence and assassination, the translator still diligently indicated that using violence to control violence derives from the heart that “cannot bear it.” Thus, Charlotte Corday proclaimed after having assassinated Marat: “I could not bear to witness the destructive actions of these thugs, compelling my sacred fellow citizens to give up their lives. I thus vow to sacrifice my life and as a medium for peace and happiness I give up myself, no one else. With all my affairs now complete, how dare I retreat from the cauldron?”⁴⁸ The source from which this biography was derived, *Sekai jūni joketsu*, had no such words, though its similar mode of expression simply noted: “I have completed what I intended to do today, and now I am at your disposal.”⁴⁹ The heart that “cannot bear it” was in fact a kind of great love for the people of the world.

If the general tenor of these selections from the Meiji-era “women’s self-help” books which served as the sources for *Nūzi shijie* might be summarized, the argument in a section from the “editorial” in issue 7 entitled “Lun zhuzao guominmu” 論鑄造國民母 (On forging mothers of citizens) might be most appropriate:

Motherly love and kind-heartedness are distinct character traits of women. If we examine the civilized nations of the world, then among either royal parties, or political parties, or moderate parties, or progressive parties, or revolutionary parties, or anarchist parties, or any society, there will always be heroines working within who can astonish Heaven and move Earth. The enterprises they set out to establish include the founding of food centers, clinics, shelters for paupers and

⁴⁶ [Ding] Chuwo, “Nūzìjie zhi shuangbi,” *Nūzi shijie* 12 (March 1905).

⁴⁷ [Ding] Chuwo, “Nü wenhao Hailiaide Feiqushi zhuan,” *Nūzi shijie* 1 (March 1905).

⁴⁸ Daxia 大俠, “Nü cike Shalutu Geerdie zhuan,” *Nūzi shijie* 2 (September 1905).

⁴⁹ Iwasaki Sodō and Mikami Kifū, “Shaarotto Korudei jō,” in *Sekai jūni joketsu*, p. 6, Chinese translation by Zhao Bizhen.

outlaws, International Society for the Reform of Morals, and Red Cross stations to offer help.... We can see that in sacrificing the present and themselves to provide all manner of services to the masses, women are all only too happy to serve.⁵⁰

So, women's distinctive character of "motherly love and kind-heartedness" which transcends all of the many political parties and factions was also the highest ethical standard recognized by the editorial board of the journal as represented by Ding Zuyin, and at the same time this was pointed to as a deficiency in Chinese women. Determined to forge "mothers of citizens," *Nüzi shijie* therefore took all of these translated and introduced biographies of Western women and concluded that they might be summed up as humanitarianism, especially a kind of universal love.⁵¹

This means of integrating and explaining the model of Western heroines is still related to the internal debates at *Nüzi shijie*. Just as we find in the "reporter's words" in "Furenjie zhi shuangbi" as rewritten from *Taisei fujo kikan* and *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*, Ding Zuyin on the one hand praised: "even if the Earth perishes, the flower of love will bloom; all the roots of love throughout the world rely on this for its sustenance." On the other hand, though, he leveled criticism with his philosophy of love: "Some great activists of the world often appropriate the good names of liberty and equality and use them to destroy the family and extinguish social morality. Would they not feel ashamed facing these female heroes?"⁵² The context here is that from the fifth issue of the journal it was becoming ever stronger in its dissatisfaction with putting forward ideas of liberty and women's rights for "women who [lacked] their own autonomous erudition and morality."⁵³ This also may have led the reader to see that the distinctive perspective on Western heroines' biographies expressed in *Nüzi shijie* was born of, and in agreement with, circumstances specific to the late Qing.

"Female Citizens" of the West in *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi*

Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi, launched in Tokyo on February 5, 1907, was the first Chinese women's journal of the late-Qing period to be founded overseas. The background to its emergence was the large number of female Chinese students in Japan and the concentration of them in Tokyo. According to the statistics of a survey taken in 1906, the number of Chinese female students studying at Japanese schools at that time had already neared one hundred, and there were in addition many there who were not as yet enrolled in a school.⁵⁴ Editor Yan Bin was at just this time studying medicine at the Dōjin

⁵⁰ Yate 亞特, "Lun zhuzao guominmu," *Nüzi shijie* 7 (July 1904).

⁵¹ Jin Yi, "*Nüzi shijie* fakanci": "Women are the mothers of citizens. If we want a new China, we must have new women; if we want a strong China, we must have strong women; if we want a civilized China, our women must first be civilized; if we wish to deliver China from suffering, we must first deliver our women from suffering. About this there can be no doubt."

⁵² [Ding] Chuwu, "Nürenjie zhi shuangbi."

⁵³ [Ding] Chuwu, "Nüquan shuo" 女權說 (On women's rights), *Nüzi shijie* 5 (March 1904).

⁵⁴ See Lian Shi 煉石 (Yan Bin 燕斌), "Liu-Ri nüxuejie jinshi ji" 留日女學界近釋記 (Recent news on the female overseas student community in Japan), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 1 (February 1907).

Hospital connected to Waseda University,⁵⁵ and beginning on November 20, 1906 she took over the position of secretary for external matters of the Chinese women's students association in Japan which had been founded only two months earlier.⁵⁶ It is thus obvious that most of the authors of articles in this journal were overseas students, and no small number of them were women; the quality of the apprehension of Japanese and their understanding of Meiji publications as well as their other reading at the time would have been superior to those of Ding Zuyin. Because of issues involving costs, from issue no. 4 there began to be delays in publication, and finally it ceased publication altogether with issue no. 6, which appeared roughly in the period of November-December 1907.⁵⁷

Different from the two women's journals discussed above, whose editorial goals expected its readers' interpretation and understanding, *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* which was edited by the women students in Japan had clear principles and purpose. The "Main Principles of the Publishing Office" were listed as follows: "This journal is devoted to five principles.....: (1) to come up with the newest theories for women's education; (2) to introduce the new civilization of women in many countries; (3) to promote morality and encourage education; (4) to destroy old orders and bury confusions, and to reform society; and (5) to bring our feelings all together and praise that which cannot be seen."⁵⁸

Editor Yan Bin also wrote up a clear synopsis: "This journal most honors the words, 'female citizen.' The objectives of this journal, although only five in number, really come down to these [two] words."⁵⁹ Thus, in her "Fakanci" 發刊詞 (Inaugural statement), Yan Bin also paid close attention to the spiritual education of "female citizens": from the negative point of view, she noted that, "although China has a form for many female citizens, it lacks the spirit for many female citizens, and this is like a people without a people"; from the positive angle, "we must develop our new morality and enliven our new thinking, for to educate one woman is to truly gain one female citizen for China."⁶⁰ It is not difficult to see that female students in Japan such as Yan Bin had themselves adopted the sensibility of the "newest theories for education," and thus were in close concert with the nationalist mode of thought so prevalent in Japan at just this point in time. Because of this they

⁵⁵ See Xiao Yin 篠隱, "Lun nüjie yixue zhi guanxi" 論女界醫學之關係 (On the relationship between women and the study of medicine), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 1 (February 1907), introduced by a note by Lian Shizhi 煉石誌.

⁵⁶ See Lian Shi, "Liu-Ri nüxuejie jinshi ji"; Yan Bin, "Zhongguo liu-Ri nüxueshenghui chengli tonggaoshu" 中國留日女學生會成立通告書 (Announcing the founding of the Chinese women's students association), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 1 (February 1907), 2 (March 1907).

⁵⁷ "Benshe tebie guanggao" 本社特別廣告 (Special notice of the [journal's] main office), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 5 which was supposed to "come out in August of the Western calendar"; preparation for the printer "took seventy or more days before it would be ready." It went on to state that the issues for the remainder of the year "are estimated to appear within the two months November and December."

⁵⁸ "Shezhang luyao" 社章錄要 (Main principles of the publishing office), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 2 (March 1907).

⁵⁹ Lian Shi, "Benbao duiyu nüzi guominjuan zhi yanshuo" 本報對於女子國民捐之演說 (Speech for this journal on the female citizens' fund), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 1 (February 1907).

⁶⁰ Lian Shi, "Fakanci," *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 1 (February 1907).

induced the publication of a journal that bore the distinctive quality of aspiring to a “female citizenry.”

In the view of Yan Bin and others, the persons selected to bear the weight of “women’s new civilization” and to shoulder the role of spiritual teacher for Chinese “female citizens” could be none other than Western heroines. This recognition was fully realized in the biographies column.⁶¹ From the inaugural issue of *Zhongguo xin nüjia zazhi*, it published a continuous string of biographies of women, Chinese and Western. Furthermore, among the eleven biographies published, there was only one biography of a Chinese and one of a Japanese woman among them.⁶² All the other biographical subjects were Western.

It is worth noting that, while *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*) and *Nüzi shijie* did not distinguish among such collective nouns as “Taixi” 泰西, “Xifang” 西方, “Xiguo” 西國 (all meaning “the West”) and even “Shijie” 世界 (world), *Zhongguo xin nüjia zazhi* most often used the term “Ou-Mei” 歐美 (literally, “Europe [and] America,” implying the West). As Yan Bin put it in her “Fakanci”:

The powerful nations of the West (*Ou-Mei*)...have adopted enlightened principles with respect to women who receive the same education as young men. Their ideals of patriotism and duties to the nation have long been inculcated in their minds. Thus, female citizens will diligently take the nation’s tasks as their own responsibility, even at the expense of sacrifices to their own individual gain. This is why their nations can have cities and their national strength is developed. They are getting stronger and wealthier each day, and no one can bully them.

She was thus asserting that with the spread of the spiritual education of China’s female citizens, “after some ten years when speaking of Chinese women, I do not believe that they will be any less capable than their counterparts in the West.” Within the category of “Ou-Mei,” Yan Bin particularly liked the United States. Aside from translating “Meiguo nüjie zhi shili” 美國女界之勢力 (The influence of American women) and “Ji Meiguo furen zhanshi zhi weiye” 紀美國婦人戰時之偉業 (The great undertakings of American women in wartime), Yan Bin also time and again had words such as the following to say: “The most advanced in modern women’s rights is the United States of America”; “among the women of many countries around the world at present, the

⁶¹ There were numerous changes made to the biographies column in *Zhongguo xin nüjia zazhi*. At first placed in the “Yishu” 譯述 (Translation) column, in the second issue it was accorded a separate entry as a “Shizhuan” 史傳 (Historical biography) column, and this continued until the fourth issue; from the fourth issue the two columns “Yishu” and “Jizai” 記載 (Records) were combined with “Shizhuan” and renamed “Zhuanji” 傳記 (Biographies).

⁶² Issue five carried Lian Shi, “Luo Ying nüshi zhuan” 羅瑛女士傳 (Biography of Luo Ying), and issue six carried Zhuo Hua 灼華, “Houteng Qingzi xiaozhuan” 後藤清子小傳 (Short biography of Gotō Kiyoko).

most influential would be in the United States.”⁶³ Her explicit use of “Ou-Mei” must have been influenced by the currency of the term at the time in Japan, and her stress on the model of Western women, and especially American women, clearly was influenced by *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den*.

Nemoto Tadashi, a member of the Lower House of the Japanese Diet, published *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den* in April 1906. It was a product of his translations from experiences as a young man studying in the United States, though it differed from the earlier “women’s self-help” books which more inclined toward Europe in that it laid greater emphasis on the number of American heroines among the biographies.

The biographies that appeared in *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* without a doubt mostly originated from Nemoto’s *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den*. Aside from a “translator’s note” attached at the end of “Yingguo xiaoshuojia Ailiatuo nüshi zhuan” 英國小說家愛里阿脫女士傳 (Biography of Ms. Eliot, British novelist) which stated “I read *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den*,”⁶⁴ and thereupon pointed out the source, amid the nine pieces of biographies of Western women [published in the *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi*], six would derive from this same source. A comparison of the essay titles and chapters in Nemoto’s book runs as follows:

⁶³ Lian Shi, “Nüquan pingyi” 女權平議 (Discussion of women’s rights) and “Meiguo nüjie zhi shili,” *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 1 (February 1907).

⁶⁴ Qi Zhan 淸旃, “Yingguo xiaoshuojia Ailiatuo nüshi zhuan,” *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 4 (July? 1907).

“Chuangshe wanguo hongshizi kanhufu duizhe Naitinggeer furen zhuan” 創設萬國紅十字看護婦隊者奈挺格爾夫人傳 (Biography of Ms. Nightingale, founder of the International Red Cross nurse’s team)	“Naichingeeru kangofu” ナイチンゲール・看護婦 ([Florence] Nightingale, nurse)
“Meiguo da xinwenjia Asuoli nüshi zhuan” 美國大新聞家阿索里女士傳 (Biography of Ms. Ossoli, great American reporter)	“Osorii shinbun kisha” オソリー・新聞記者 ([Margaret] Ossoli, newspaper reporter)
“Meiguo da jiaoyujia Lihen nüshi zhuan” 美國大教育家梨痕女士傳 (Biography of Ms. Lyon, great American educator)	“Rion kyōikuka” リオン・教育家 ([Mary] Lyon, educator) ⁶⁵
“Da yanshuojia Lifoma nüshi zhuan” 大演說家黎佛瑪女史傳 (Biography Ms. Livermore, great speaker)	“Ribamōa enzetsuka” リバモーア・演說家 ([Mary] Livermore, speaker)
“Yingguo xiaoshuojia Ailiatuo nüshi zhuan” 英國小說家愛里阿脫女士傳 (Biography of Ms. Eliot, British novelist)	“Eriotto shōsetsuka” エリオット・小説家 ([George] Eliot, novelist)
“Boaizhuyi shixingjia Mode nüshi zhuan” 博愛主義實行家墨德女士傳 (Biography of Ms. Mott, activist on behalf of universal love)	“Motto kōensha” モット・講演者 ([Lucretia] Mott, lecturer)

Among them, two were British women and four were American, and the European-American ratio was thus tilting toward the latter. The original text had fifteen biographies with ten of them coming from the United States, making the balance precisely the same. In fact, we know from an advertisement in *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* announcing that *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den* was “completely written” and already approved for publication.⁶⁶ This clearly demonstrates the importance of this Japanese volume for the people involved in this Chinese journal.

In this same advertisement is an announcement of “(Faguo jiuwang nüjie) Ru’an zhuan” (法國救亡女傑)如安傳 (Biography of Joan [of Arc], heroine who saved France), and this piece appeared in *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* (issue no. 3) as “Faguo jiuwang nüjie Ru’an zhuan” 法國救亡女傑若安傳 (Biography of Joan [of Arc], heroine who saved

⁶⁵ In “Expanding the Feminine/National Imaginary: Social and Martial Heroines in Late Qing Women’s Journals,” Joan Judge notes: “Lingxi 靈希, the translator, faithfully renders the account from her Japanese source—Nemoto Shō’s *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den*.” In *Jindai Zhongguo funü shi yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究 15 (December 2007), p. 15.

⁶⁶ “Benshe chuban shuji yugao” 本社出版書籍預告 (Advance notice from the main office concerning books to be published), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 5 (October? 1907).

France); the original was *Jannu daruku* 惹安達克 (Jeanne d'Arc) by the novelist Nakauchi Giichi 中内義一 (1875-1937).⁶⁷ Additionally, two articles in issue 6—"Eguo nū waijiaojia (wuguan zhi quanquan dashi) Nabikefu furen" 俄國女外交家(無官之全權大使) 那俾可甫夫人 (Ms. Novikoff, Russian female diplomat and unofficial plenipotentiary) and "Faguo xinwenjie zhi nūwang Yadan furen" 法國新聞界之女王亞丹夫人 (Ms. Adam, queen of the world of French journalism)—both derived from *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*, respectively: "Mukan no Rokoku zenken taishi (Novikofu fujin)" 無官の露國全權大使(ノヴィコフ夫人) (Unofficial Russian plenipotentiary, Ms. Novikoff) from the chapter entitled "Ōshū seikai no san joketsu" 歐洲政界の三女傑 (Three heroines from the world of European politics) and "Fukkoku shinbunkai no joō (Adamu fujin)" 佛國新聞界の女王(アダム夫人) (Queen of the world of French journalism, Ms. Adam). When the journal published these texts in translation, although they were signed, it was not pointed out that the signed names were translators, a regular feature following *Nūzi shijie*.

Because the original source of the translated biographies was more or less consistent and the publication's principal aims were clear, these Western heroines chosen by both the Japanese and Chinese translators for inclusion in *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* also had a roughly unified objective. To borrow the language of Nemoto Tadashi:

To show restraint and remain hardworking as one succeeds in establishing oneself is the most essential factor.... From what I have observed, though, women and girls who have succeeded in establishing themselves have, in addition to restraint and assiduousness, another factor as well. What is that? It is the moral behavior of benevolence, wisdom, motherly love, and kindness. Moreover, for a girl, no matter how full of ability and wisdom, and refined in learning, if they lack a benevolent mind, then their learning, talent, and wisdom will not only be incapable of providing a helping hand for others or themselves, but it will in fact prove injurious to themselves and harmful to others.

Thus, those whose stories were included in *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den* were women who had "a strength to be restrained and remain hardworking while demonstrating a moral behavior of benevolence and motherly love. With this they had been able to establish themselves, and they had achieved great merit and their fame shone over the entire world."⁶⁸ We can see that, although Nemoto's work changed the countries of the selected Western women, he still continued the "self-help" tradition from *Saigoku risshi hen*.

What Nemoto commended as "benevolence, wisdom, motherly love, and kindness" are urgently raised in the journal by Yan Bin as "the new accepted international female morality." The "importance of this new morality is first and foremost motherly love,

⁶⁷ Nakauchi Giichi, *Jannu daruku*, no. 32 in series *Sekai rekishi dan* 世界歴史譚 (Discussions of world history) (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1901).

⁶⁸ Nemoto Tadashi, "Shogen" 緒言 (Preface), in *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1906).

wisdom, and universal love.” Related to the status of “female citizens,” this appeared naturally as “patriotic thought”; to be accomplished are those deeds which set as their goals that which “can enrich the country and benefit the populace, and make up for the world’s deficiencies.” The thesis adopted, then, is not to dispense with “the world of Western women.”⁶⁹ Thus, the leading role of the biographies in *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* assumed the concrete function of modeling the “new morality.” Needless to say Florence Nightingale was such a model. Even the American journalist, commentator, and reporter Margaret Fuller Ossoli (1810-1850) was praised as “full of a benevolent heart and a realization of the Christian doctrine of universal love” for her enthusiasm in helping the Italian unification movement during the years she lived in Italy.⁷⁰

It was especially clear that to encourage Chinese women to have a “responsible mind” regarding “undertakings in society,”⁷¹ Yan Bin and others gave prominence to Western women’s capacity for action. Serving as “leader of the Female Anti-Slavery Society,” Lucretia Mott (1793-1880) “advocated the principles of liberty and equality, not just as empty speech but also in action” and thus gained the praise from the translator of her biography as an “activist on behalf of universal love.” The translator even used this appellation to replace “lecturer” in the original title. Furthermore, at the beginning of the biography, the translator goes to great pains to emphasize Mott’s achievements which were the motive force in promoting abolition of slavery in America: “America freed the slaves and everyone said that it was the power of President Lincoln, but they do not know that this contribution does not belong to the president but to the people; the prime mover in abolishing slavery was not a man but a woman.”⁷² Now, as concerns Mary Ashton Rice Livermore (1820-1905), who made outstanding contributions during the American Civil War, *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* not only ran a biography of her, describing her actual achievements as “a great speaker, celebrated reporter, and a leader of the United States Sanitary Commission,” providing the North’s army with vigorous support. Furthermore, Yan Bin’s “Ji Meiguo furen zhanshi zhi weiye,” which appeared in the same issue of the journal, quoted extensively from Livermore’s speeches. Yan Bin opens this essay with praise: “American women are by nature extremely vivacious and promising, with patriotic minds, deeply sincere, and far more capable than women from other countries.”⁷³ Such language tended to reflect back on that of the biography, leaving the reader with a profound impression.

⁶⁹ Lian Shi, “Benshe wu da zhuyi yanshuo” 本社五大主義演說 (Speech on the five great principles of the main office), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 4 (July? 1907).

⁷⁰ Lingxi, “Meiguo da xinwenjia Asuoli nüshi zhuan,” *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 1 (February 1907). At the front of the same issue of the journal is a listing of names of supporters of it; “Wang Lingxi” 王靈希 from Hubei, a man, would have been the translator of this piece.

⁷¹ Lian Shi, “Mingyuxin yu zerenxin zhi guanxi” 名譽心與責任心之關係 (The relationship between fame and responsibility), *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 5.

⁷² “Boaizhuyi shixingjia Mode nüshi zhuan,” *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 5.

⁷³ Zhuo Hua, “Da yanshuojia Lifoma nüshi zhuan,” and Lian Shi, “Ji Meiguo furen zhanshi zhi weiye,” *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 4 (July? 1907). The latter piece renders Livermore’s name as “Libamao” 梨巴茂.

The reverence bestowed by *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* on the power of women's activism in the context of late-Qing circumstances is amply reflected in its admiration for heroines who saved the nation. The biography of Joan of Arc (1412-1431) in Mei Zhu's 梅鑄 translation not only in its eye-opening headline with its catchphrase "French heroine who saved the nation," but in that issue of the journal it was the longest article by far.⁷⁴ Even Mary Livermore who took part in her nation's war effort was dubbed by translator Zhuo Hua 灼華 in general terms to have "emerged as a sacrifice for the nation." Revealing her motive for this translation at the end of the essay, Zhuo Hua could not help but remark: "Thinking back on my motherland's desperate situation, how it seems like America in 1861"; and she demanded of "all of our sisters": "As long as you do not wait around for such a situation, you won't fail in the basic ideal in this biography that I have translated here."⁷⁵

Such impassioned calls for women to be patriotic and save the nation also influenced the establishment of the objective of women's education. In his translation and introduction to Mary Lyon's (1797-1849) strenuous efforts in women's higher education in the United States, Lingxi frequently deleted ideas from the original which took "good wives and wise mothers" to be "the motive force for social advancement" and the "greatest basis for genuine civilization."⁷⁶ Clearly, Lingxi did not regard as good this basic Meiji-era principle of women's education. He therefore rendered Lyon's educational ideal back to: "The basic element of a nation's civilization sits in the development of women's education." For this reason, Lyon received the highest praise that she "sacrificed her own life for the happiness of citizens."⁷⁷ Ultimately, the nation is placed above the family, and such is the purpose for *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* to "advocate education."

Aside from *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den*, we find the same ideas grounded in two biographies from the expanded edition of *Sekai kokon meifu kagami*: the Russian Olga Novikoff (1840-1925) and Frenchwoman Juliette Adam (1836-1936). In 1877-1878 during the Russo-Turkish Wars, Ms. Novikoff rushed back and forth canvassing to reconcile the differences between England and Russia, using her diplomatic skills to help Russia prevail. Juliette Adam, commentator to the press who had been the secretary for Léon Gambetta (1838-1882) of the French Cabinet, maintained through her life "the sentiment of patriotism and the ideal of revenge" first aroused at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, which she used to facilitate a Russo-French alliance to resist Germany. Thus, we have these two European political heroines—one dubbed a "female secret emissary of the Tsar" and one seen as a "defender of France." The translator chose these two women precisely because they were the only two who, "among the many millions of Western women, were able to stand out among the stately politicians and truly offer

⁷⁴ Mei Zhu, "Faguo jiuwang nüjie Ruohan zhuan," *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 3 (April 1907). This biography took up thirty pages in the journal; the next longest biography, "Chuanshe wanguo hongshizi kanhufu duiizhe Naitinggeer furen zhuan," was only ten pages, split between issues 1 and 2.

⁷⁵ Zhuo Hua, "Da yanshuojia Lifoma nüshi zhuan."

⁷⁶ See Nemoto, "Rion kyōikuka," in *Ō-Bei joshi risshin den*, pp. 75, 82.

⁷⁷ Lingxi, "Meiguo da jiaoyujia Lihen nüshi zhuan," *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 2 (March 1907).

assistance to society and benefit to the nation.”⁷⁸ This remark changed the appraisal in the original texts that only praised these two women’s eloquence, and therefore reveals the special concern of the journal editors.

One can see then that, compared to the previous two women’s journals we examined, the Western women introduced through translation in *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* had already dispensed with the familial model of wise wives and filial daughters and even consciously rejecting the ideology of “good wives and wise mothers” current in Meiji Japan. Its objective focused on patriotic heroines and even female politicians. This naturally emerged from the specifically sought goal of strenuous efforts to cultivate the spirit of “female citizens.” At the same time this meant that, by virtue of the inherent “benevolence” that women universally possessed, “patriotic thought” would be essential to the character of “female citizens,” and it enabled the journal editors to offer them particularly high esteem worthy of consideration. Thus, considering the continuity of intellectual evolution, one might easily recognize that Yan Bin and her colleagues had advanced a step beyond the base built by *Nüzi shijie*.

This discussion of *Nübao* (*Nüxuebao*), *Nüzi shijie*, and *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* enables us to clearly see the immense impact of Meiji-era “women’s self-help” writings on late-Qing women’s journals. The continuous references to various sorts of Western heroines enriched the models from which Chinese women could choose, directly played a role in reforming the old morality; and in the process of fostering the restructuring of a modern Chinese woman’s spirit with a new character, the impact was far-reaching. In translations and transplantations, the Chinese translators made use of the beginning and end of their essays, or to insert materials in between, or even to rewrite the originals. In this way they reinterpreted and revised the biographies that had been expounded in the Japanese originals to suit the circumstances of the late Qing, and thus made it possible for the biographies of Western heroines to appear in the pages of late-Qing women’s journals and for them to have sufficient significance to take root in the soil of Chinese women. The biographies columns that served the principles of these women’s journals, through working in concert, helped to form a different ethos for women’s journals of the late-Qing period.

⁷⁸ Zhenguo 振帼, “Eguo nü waijiaojia (wuhuan zhi quanquan dashi) Nabikefu furen,” and “Faguo xinwenjie zhi nüwang Yadan furen,” *Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi* 6. When typesetting this final quotation, there was a misprint, and the third character of *zhengzhijia* 政治家 (politicians) was placed in the wrong spot; I have corrected it.