中國新新聞先驅者李寶嘉
之傳記與評論研究
A Biographical And Critical Study on Li Pao-chia:
The Pioneer of New Journalism in China

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摘要

一九六○年代，美國盛行一種新文體—新新聞。本論文係研究此種新文體之中國先驅者李寶嘉之寫作生涯。李寶嘉係晚清小說家兼新聞工作者，他積極參與晚清變遷時期的維新（改革）運動。身為暴露小說之大師，他暴露當代中國社會最醜陋之一面——科舉與官場。身為實用主義者，他充滿使命感，努力呈現社會的巨觀面向，而非探索人性的微觀面向。分析研究他集新聞工作者、小說家及散文家於一身的寫作生涯，我們確信李寶嘉是中國文學史上的哥倫布以及中國的新新聞先驅者。
關鍵詞：新聞，非小說小說，變遷時期，維新（改革）時期，維新（改革）運動，自強運動，暴露小說，李寶嘉，官場現形記。
ABSTRACT

This is a biographical and critical study on Li Pao-chia as a pioneer of new journalism in China—a new form of narrative flourishing in the United States in the 1960s.

Li Pao-chia, a journalist and novelist in late Ch'ing dynasty, was involved in the reforming movement in the transitional period of Chinese history—the ending of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. As master of novels of exposure, he exposed one of the most defective aspects of contemporary Chinese society, the old system of examination and bureaucracy. As pragmatist, he felt the sense of mission. He tried to reproduce the social macrocosm rather than to explore the human microcosm.

Li Pao-chia is a writer of the documentary novels, and a social historian as well. His achievement lies in the preservation of the miscellaneous data of the political and social lives of late Ch'ing dynasty. Through the analytical research of his life-span career as a journalist, novelist and essayist, we are sure that Li is a Columbus in the history of Chinese literature—a pioneer of new journalism in China.

Key Words: new journalism, non-fiction fiction, transitional period, reforming period, reforming movement, self-strengthening movement, novels of exposure, Li Pao-chia, The Bureaucracy Exposed.
I. Li Pao-chia’s Life

Li Pao-chia (1867-1906) has been an indefatigable journalist, novelist, and essayist. He is the author of numerous novels of exposure. He has given us a revelation of late Ch’ing society and history.

1. From An Orphan to a Journalist

Li Pao-chia was a native of Nanking, Kiangsu. He was born in 1867. His father died in 1870 when he was only three years old; his elder brother who was five years old died in the same year. He had a younger sister who was a posthumous child. (1)

Being an orphan, he was brought up by his uncle, Li Nien-chih, who had been a prefect of Chi-nan for years. He left his uncle and returned his hometown when he was thirteen or fourteen years old.

When he was nineteen he married a lady whose maiden name was Chung. When he was thirty-four he took a concubine whose maiden name was Wang. He was thirty-seven when his first wife, Chung, died. He soon married a second wife whose maiden name was Chuang. He died of disease two years after he re-married.

His wives and concubine did not give birth of any child for him. He adopted his uncle’s son Li Tzu-Ch’uan who was Li Nien-ching’s grandson.

When he was still a small boy, he showed a flair for writing poems and the paku or eight-leg essays. He passed the local examination and became a licentiate. However, he took the provincial examination several times and had never passed. Then he purchased the rank of magistrate and received a warrant to fill a vacancy in the province of Shang-tung. He, however, did not go to fill it after all.

Despising the system of the civil-service examination and
officialdom, he went to Shanghai and decided to go into journalism. In Shanghai, he started Chih-nan Pao or The Guide in 1896 when he was 28 years old. One year later in 1897, he sold it and launched another paper called Yu-hsi Pao or Fun for which he wrote in a facetious, satirical vein. Later he sold this paper and brought out Hai-shang Fan-hua Pao or Shanghai Sight which carried news of actors and singsong girls, as well as poems and stories. Finally in 1903, he became the editor of an epoch-making journal entitled Hsiu-hsiang Hsiao-shuo or Illustrated Novel, which serialized his epoch-making novel of exposure —The Bureaucracy Exposed (Kuan-ch'ang Hsien-hsin Chi).

Li Pao-chia was a man of great ability. Not only was he excellent in writing, he was also skilled in calligraphy, drawing, and seal-engraving. He organized a society of artists of calligraphy and drawing in 1899 to promote them. He believed that the number of people who knew the art of calligraphy and drawing was not small, yet, they were not known very much because they did not have the chance to show themselves up. So he invited a famous artist of calligraphy and drawing to manage the affairs of this society. Everyday they published in the daily papers their articles on the art of calligraphy and drawing. Li Pao-chia set up a special room in his newspaper office waiting for the visit of literary men to sip tea and talk about art.

2. His Philosophy

Li Pao-chia was a confucian and an ameliorationist. He believed in gradual change, but he was firm in insisting upon modernization. He was against superstition and against revolution. As a conformist, it is natural that he was opposed to revolution against the Manchus on a racial basis. Like so many of his contemporaries, he was an advocate of non-violent and gradual reform in political affairs as well as in other
spheres of human activity. This attitude of Li Pao-chia was expressed by a transitory figure, the learned old Mr. Yao, who made only one fleeting appearance in the narrative.

"In all our understandings of the new and our elimination of the old, we should first of all use our efforts in what has been called the labor of water-grinding so that people will be transformed unawares and change gradually. We should avoid rashness and impetuosity, otherwise we would 'startle the snake by beating the grass' and spoil the whole thing." (Chapter 1, Wen-ming Hsiao-shih).

Li Pao-chia extremely laughed at those officials who pretended themselves to be the li-shüeh school of Confucians. In his novel, Li accused the provincial governor of Chekiang who was always instructing his subordinates with the principles of li-shüeh.

We, the li-shüeh school of Confucians, pay most attention to the exercise of self-control. As a result, we shouldn't be frightened to the unexpected appearance of anyone at the head of our beds, or annoyed when the roof was leaking, ...... My late father, for example, paid attention to the training of self-control. From the day when I was born till the day when he died, my father slept alone every night in his private library, and, never did he go to bed in his bedroom. Sometimes, my late mother sent a maid to bring him something to eat or drink, my late father never looked in the maid's face for fear that the sexual impulse might deprive him of his heavenly uprightness. My late father, indeed, is the perfect man of self-control, and the best example for others. (Chapter 20, The Bureaucracy Exposed).

Being contrary to this teaching of his, however, the acting provincial governor behaved himself hypocritically. He instructed his steward, for example, how to sell vacancy. "You may make decision by yourself, but six thousand teals will be enough, and, if you take one
coin more than that, it will prove how cheating you are. To be cheating is equal to cheating yourself, and, it is what is utmosty prohibited." (Chapter 22, The Bureaucracy Exposed).

Li Pao-chia had many pen-names. From these various pen-names he used we can know a little of his ambition and his philosophy of life. ①

(1) Nan-t'ın T'in-chang: (南亭亭長)

T'in-chang is an ancient term for a headman, or a village constable. Nan-t'ın may be the name of a village. Nan means the south, while Nan-mien, facing the south, means to be the ruler. As we know, the first emperor of Han dynasty, Liu Pang, was a T'in-chang before he raised a revolt. Using Nan-t'ın T'in-chang as a pen-name of his, Li Pao-chia expressed his ambition to be a ruler, and he really proved himself a ruler or leader in the Chinese literary world, by his abundant satirical writings. Besides, as a journalist, he became a 'king without crown'. His Chih-nan Pao or The Guide started in 1896 when he was 28 years old, showed his ambition to lead the common citizens.

(2) Yu-hsi Chu-jen: (游戯主人)

Yu-hsi Chu-jen means The Master of Amusements. Li Pao-chia started his Yu-hsi Pao or Fun in 1897, therefore, Yu-hsi Chu-jen means that he was the master or owner of Yu-hsi Pao. There was an article, "On The Purpose of Yu-hsi Pao," in that paper dated July 28, 1897, saying, "Yu-Hsi Pao is named after the western custom. Is it really for fun or amusement? There exists in it more profound meaning than amusement! Our nation becomes poorer and poorer, our citizens more and more exhausted, and the manners of intelligentsia more and more decaying. Those who have devoted themselves to the public affairs are struggling harder and harder, how can I sing songs and talk about funny stories for amusing my audience? However, if I tell common citizens about our government or our state affairs, they will not understand me at all. Therefore, I can not but teach them by amusement. Using allegory or
satire, I hope I can wake up those ignorant people. Using vernacular language, I hope they will understand it without difficulty. Figuratively, Yu-hsi Chu-jen is an educator, a great teacher, instead of The Master of Amusements.

(3) Ou-ko Pien-ssu Jen (謡歌變俗人)

Ou-ko Pien-ssu Jen means The Custom-reforming Singer, a singer who sings songs to achieve the reformation of the custom. In order to wake up people and remind them of the insult to China invaded by the eight foreign powers in 1900, Li Pao-chia wrote Kung-tzu Kuo-pien T'an-tz'u or The Ballad of the National Crisis of 1900. Of similar intention, he wrote Hsin-shih Yuan T'an-tz'u or The Ballad of Affinity To Arouse The Age, in order to get rid of the superstition of the Chinese people. Using the pen-name Ou-ko Pien-ssu Jen, Li Pao-chia intended to help the transformation of Chinese custom with his writings. Although he called himself the custom-reforming singer, he was above all a conformist.

3. A List of His Works

According to Wei Ju-hui's Four Leading Novelists of Late Ch'ing, a list of Li Pao-chia's works is given as follows.

(1) Full-length narratives:
- Kung-tzu Kuo-pien T'an-tz'u (1901-1902)
- Kuan-ch'ang Hsien-hsin Chi (1901-1906)
- Hai-t'ien Hung-hsue Chi (1903-1904)
- Wen-ming Hsiao-shih (1903-1905)
- Huo Ti-yü (1903-1906)
- Pin-shan Hsue-hai (1906)
- Chung-kuo Hsien-hsin Chi
- Li Lien-yin
- Huan-hua Mun
Hsin-shih Yuan T'an-tz'u

(2) Short pieces of essays:
   Yin-yuan Ts'ung-hua
   Ku-chi Ts'ung-hua
   Ch'eng-hai Miao-p'u
   Ch'i-shu K'wai-tu

(3) Notes (or Pi-chi):
   Nan-t'in Pi-chi
   Nan-t'in Su-hua

(4) Miscellanea (Tsa-chi):
   Yü-hsiang Yin P'u

4. A List of the Imitating Works Written by Other Authors

Kuan Shih-chie, by Shu-yuan Hu So, (1905)
Huan Hai Feng Po, by Ke Hui-nung, (1907)
Hsin Kuan-ch'ang Hsien-hsin Chi, edited by Hang-cho Laokung and others, (1907-1910)
Ho Kuan-ch'ang Hsien-hsin Chi, by Leng Chuan T'in Chang, (1908)
Kuan-ch'ang Feng-liu An, by Li Yun, (1908-1909)
Hsin Kuan-ch'ang Feng-liu An, by Ta Mung, (1909)
Huan Hai, by Chang Ch'eng-fan, (1909)
Huan Hai Sheng Ch'eng Lu, by Huang-ti, T'i-yi, Huang Hsiao-p'e, (1909)
Hsin Kuan-ch'ang Hsiao Hua, by Hsiang Meng Tz'u Jen, (1909)
T'e-pie Hsin Kuan-ch'ang Hsien-hsin Chi, Yen-lin Yin-so, (1909)
Kuan-ch'ang Hsiao-hua, by K'wei-lei Shan Jen, (1909-1910)
Tsui Ching Kuan-ch'ang Mi-mi Shih, by T'ien Kung, (1910)
Ho Kuan-ch'ang Hsien-hsin Chi, by Pai Yen, (1910)
Kuan-Ch'ang Kwai Hsien-chuang, by Lu Shih-eh, (1911)
Hsue-sheng Hsien-hsin Chi, by Chu Lu, (1906)
II. Li Pao-chia’s Chief Works

1. The Ballad of The National Crisis of 1900

The following is the brief description of Li's Kung-tzu Kuo-pien T'an-tz'u or The Ballad of The National Crisis of 1900 which was a long ballad in forty chapters, and published serially in Hai-shang Fan-hua Pao or Shanghai Sight from the year 1901 to the year 1902. It was published in book form in the winter of 1902.

(1) The Author’s Purpose for Composing The Ballad

What did the author compose the ballad for? In its preface, the author said:

After the Boxer Protocol (September 7, 1901), our citizens resume their old customs of pride and extravagance. They become unwilling to be responsible and go through the motions without sincerity. Forgetting what happened yesterday, they enjoy their peace and leisure today. I think, therefore, I am obliged to tell again the story of the Boxers’ rebellion. Writing in popular poems, I make it easy for women and children to understand, thus I can remind my readers of the old saying, 'Forget not the time of danger when you are in time of peace; remember the pains after it is cured.'
What do I compose these ballads for? It is only for reminding my readers, who enjoy the peace of life now, of the calamity we suffered last year. I want to cheer them up to undertake their task joyfully.

Originally I wrote no more than twenty lines of it and let it appear at the end of the newspaper everyday. Finally it was compiled into a volume of forty chapters. Persuaded by friends of mine who wanted to read it over again, it was published in book form. However, it is a book for women and children, not for those learned scholars.

As to the content of this book, some forty or fifty percent of it comes from the materials in Chinese or Western newspapers, some thirty or forty percent of it from the statements among my friends, only ten or twenty percent of it from myself. Therefore, this is a true story instead of an invention of mine.

(2) A True Story of The Rising of The Boxers

The Ballad began its story at Ch'ing-p'in county where a wu-chü, a military officer of provincial graduate, was quarreling with converts. Since the local official showed more favor to the converts than to the wu-chü, the wu-chü tried to revenge and gathered five hundred disciples of his to slaughter all the families of the two converts. The Ballad ended with the description of the peace conference in which Envoy Plenipotentiary Li Hung-chang signed Peace Treaty with the Powers, and the return of the emperor with the empress dowager.

Li's attitude toward this terrified calamity is reflected clearly in this book. He was not against the boxers, what he opposed were those ministers and officials who stood for the boxers, and the massacre made by the imperialists. He hinted that it was Tz'u Hsi, the empress dowager, who should be responsible for this fatal calamity. He was very sorry for the failure of the 1898 reformation.

This book is a good example of new journalism. It is good as a
document of contemporary events which is the true materials of history without any invention, especially the description of the calamity to common citizens. This book assures us that Li Pao-chia is the pioneer of new journalism in China.

In chapter two, for example, it is described that General Yuan was ordered to suppress the rising of the boxers. It resulted that a village was plundered by General Yuan's soldiers while they did not find any of the rebellious boxers at all.

In chapter eleven, it is described that the armed forces of the eight powers attacked with gunfire of poison gas when they were trying to seize T'ien-tsin. "People fell dead without any mark of injury. Three hours after the city had been seized, the foreign soldiers found several Chinese soldiers who, leaning against the wall and holding their rifles, were going to shoot. However, when they looked at them closely they found that those Chinese soldiers had been dead already, having been killed by gunfire of poison gas.

Those who tried to avoid being disturbed by the foreign invaders could only paste on their doors a piece of paper in which it was claimed that they were good citizens of such and such nations.

In short, this book is a true story of the misery of Chinese people caused by the rising of the boxers and the invasion to China of the eight powers.

2. A Short History of Civilization

Having published serially in the Illustrated Stories, Wen-ming Hsiao-shih or A Short History of Civilization was published in book form without the author's name and without illustrations by the Commercial Press (Shang-wu Yin-shu Kuan) in 1906. In this novel, the meaning of civilization is purposefully slanted—the modernization of
China, which has boastfully claimed a civilization of five thousand years.

This novel is a satirical description of the reforming age of late Ch'ing dynasty. All groups of political persuasion, from ultra-modernists to extreme conservatives, from high officials to the petty people, are evenly represented. Its equal attention to the various parts of the country is also unique from seaports to interior hamlets, from coastal areas to the hinterland parts, and even following the principal advocates of modernization to Hongkong, Japan, and the United States of America.

Reading this novel, we can know how an official was afraid of, submissive to, and flattering to the foreigners—foreign officials, foreign merchants, and foreign missionaries. Especially readable and creditable are the chapters (chapters 1-11) describing the local political conditions in Hunan province in which we can find minute and realistic delineation of the representatives of corrupt officialdom, impatient modernism, and uncontrollable foreign imperialism.

The enormousness of the settings and variety of the characters as well as the multiplicity of urgent issues had forced the author to make very little change in the organization of the story. Instead of utilizing one unifying narrator or observer, the author entrusts the narrative burden to a rotation of characters. Despite this complete change of characters every so often, the continuity of the narrative is guaranteed by the relatedness of the episodes and the problems.

In the preface, the author said:

What age do we live in now? Someone may say, "An old empire may become young again." And someone else may say, "Even if we are in the age of infantile, it is not hard to grow into adult with strength." In my opinion, we are not in the age of infantile nor are we in the old age......Recently, the movement of "new learning
and new politics" is advancing strikingly. Some of it is well done, some badly. Some have made certain achievement, some haven't. Nevertheless, it is nice that there are people who have ambition to do something... No matter whether they have succeeded or not, whether it is to abolish something or to establish something, whether it is selfish or public, true or false, all of these people will be counted meritorious to our civilized world. Therefore, I write this book, *A Short History of Civilization*, to show them forth.

As a matter of fact, *A Short History of Civilization* is a book of reprimanding, instead of "showing them forth." All those who worked for the promotion of "new learning and new politics" were selfish and hypocritical and destined to fail.

Reading from chapter one to chapter eleven, we know how corrupt, how vacillating, how dawdling, and how cruel Prefect Liu of Prefecture Yun-shun, Province Hunan, was.

......An Italian mining engineer sent by the General Governor of Lian-Kiang arrived at Yun-shun in search for the outcrop of mineral. When the mining engineer was dining at the hotel, his own bowl was broken by a careless waiter. When Prefect Liu knew it, he was so frightened that he himself went to the mining engineer to apologize. As a result, the mining engineer turned out to be greedy, ardently and proud of himself, longing for the present of money. When Prefect Liu refused to give him money, he appealed to the governor who degraded Prefect Liu immediately. His successor was Prefect Fu who was born cruel and anxious to display his merits.

Prefect Fu tried to anticipate and meet every wish of his boss as well as the foreigners. It resulted that the common citizens were suffered badly. Hundreds of local scholars gathered together in a literary society. They were put in prison by Prefect Fu who hated their attacking him of flattering foreigners. When he was pleased
for having revenged himself and was about to present a report of his merits to his boss, he was pressed by the missionaries who were friends of those scholars to release all of them. Consequently, Prefect Fu was degraded too.

Like *The Bureaucracy Exposed*, the characters of *A Short History of Civilization* are based on actual men, and the events are not totally invented. As a matter of fact, chapter forty-six is the true story of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the former is the teacher of the latter. An Shao-shan is, in reality, K'ang Yu-wei; and Yen Yi-hui is Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

### III. The Birth of *The Bureaucracy Exposed*

Because of the self-strengthening and the reforming movements, the flourishing of the printing enterprise, and the rise of the modern press, there appeared the new trends of literary creation in fiction. In consequence, *The Bureaucracy Exposed* was given birth.

1. **The product of the self-strengthening and the reforming movements**

In the latter half of the Ch'ing dynasty, the capitalist countries of the West carried out ceaseless economic and military aggression against China. All this time the Chinese people continued to fight against aggression and tyranny. The Opium War of 1840 was followed by the Taiping Revolution (1851-1864), the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the 1898 Reformation, and the Boxer Rising (1899-1901).

After the formal opening of China to the West in 1842, the influx of Western influence in all fields of national and cultural activities was steadily increased as a major historical trend. Cultural isolationism, in the following decades of further onslaughts of
Western military power, had to yield ground steadily. At that time, however, the leaders of the so-called self-strengthening movement insisted that China should learn from the West only in the sphere of the natural, technical, and military sciences, whereas philosophy, the laws, institutions, and literature, too, had to be protected against the European influence.

Realizing the increasing importance of the role played by Western powers, the Manchu government decided in 1861 to establish a new office to supplement, if not to replace, the traditional bureau in charge of the affairs of tributary states—the beginning of a full-fledged foreign office.

In 1867 an advanced foreign language school, the T'ung Wen Kuan, was established for the training of experts in European languages. Shortly afterwards plans were also made for the sending of Chinese students abroad on government fellowships.

Despite the repeated military and diplomatic defeats which China had sustained, the conservative social forces, however, were still adamantly opposed to these unprecedented policies. Nevertheless, the tide of the times could not be permanently retarded.

2. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the political novel

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was best known for his novels of exposure. His literary works showed us the enormous effect of the political novel. It was, indeed, indebted to the fruitful effort by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

After the suppression of the "hundred days of reform" of 1898, the reforming movement kept on flourishing under the leadership of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873–1929). As soon as he arrived in Japan after the failure of the Hundred Days' Reform, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao founded a newspaper, Ch'ing-yi-pao, in which appeared at the end of 1898 The
Preface to the Translated Political Novel (I-yin Cheng-chih hsiao-shuo hsü). This preface was written for the Chinese translation of the political novel by the Japanese writer Shiba Shiro (1825-1922) Kajin-no Kigu (The Strange Adventures of the Beauty,) which was probably the first political novel translated into Chinese at the end of the nineteenth century. In this preface Liang said, "The incessant political progress of America, England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy and Japan is mostly due to the political novel." Of all kinds of novels that were current in the creative practice of that time, Liang esteemed the political one most of all.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was the first among Chinese critics who showed the enormous effect of the political novel. As the ideological leader of a certain group of Chinese intellectuals, he decided to make use of the novel in propagating his political, philosophical and social opinions. The monthly New Novel (Hsin Hsiao-shuo) edited by Liang from 1902 to 1905 has been called China's first exclusively literary magazine. Its declared aim was to educate the political conscience of the population and to inspire patriotism, using the language of the novelist. More important than its actual content however was probably the exemplary effect it had as the first venture of this kind in China. Only one year later, 1903, appeared the Illustrated Novel (Hsiu-hsiang Hsiao-shuo) edited by Li Pao-chia, the Monthly Novel (Yüeh-yüeh Hsiao-shuo) established by Wu Wuo-yao and Chou Kui-sheng in 1906, and the Novel Forest (Hsiao-shuo-lin) established by Huang Wu-hsi, Hsü Nien-.tsu, and Tseng Meng-pu in 1907.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's very significant article, Lun Hsiao-shuo Yü Ch'ün-chih Kuan-hsi (On the Relations of the Novel to Politics), appeared in 1902 in the first number of the monthly New Novel, exerted a great influence on the forming of Chinese literary criticism and on the uncommonly rich novel production of that time. At the very
beginning there are the following words:

"He who will create a new nation, must first create a new novel of that nation. He who will create new morals, must create a new novel, who will create a new religion, must create a new novel, who will create new politics, must create a new novel... Even he who will create a new human thinking, a new human nature must create a new novel. Why? The novel has an unimaginable power as to the effect upon the Way of Man."

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao followed the political novel of Japan. The Japanese political novel followed chiefly the English political novel of the 1840s to the 1870s, especially its representatives Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) and Edward Earl Lytton Bulwer (1803-1873). This influence was probably exerted through the activity of the works of European political novels on the Japanese political novels and so through the activity of the Japanese political novels effecting Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's critical opinions. There was no elaborate theory of the political novel of those times in Japan.

Professor J. T. Shaw in his article Literary Indebtedness And Comparative Literary Studies wrote, "The seed of literary influence must fall on fallow land. The author and the tradition must be ready to accept, transmute, react to the influence. Many seeds from various possible influences may fall, but only the ones for which the soil is ready will germinate, and each will be affected by the particular quality of the soil and climate where it takes root, or, to shift the image, to the shoot to which it is grafted."

Only in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's case did the seed of foreign influence fall on fallow land. Not only Liang Ch'i-ch'ao but also his critical adherents and writers were ready to accept, transmute and react to this influence. A rich crop of novels of exposure (ch'ien-tse hsiao-shuo) as Lu Hsün (1881-1936) called them, was the chief result of the influence
of the foreign political novel. These novels of exposure were indeed affected by the particular quality of the Chinese soil where they took root between 1900-1911.

3. The advance of the printing skill

Lithography was introduced and facilitated not only the printing of maps, charts, and illustrations, but also the reproduction of Chinese texts in which complicated and out-of-the-way graphs were used. Lithography was, therefore, received with greater enthusiasm in China than it ever was in the Western world. As a result, not only were creative literary activities stimulated but even the reprinting of unavailable old literature was made possible. With the introduction of photolithography, antiquarian as well as literary interests were served by the easy facsimile reproduction of rare and fine printing of bygone periods.

4. The rise of the modern press

In 1872, the Shen Pao was established in the French Concession of the foreign settlements in Shanghai. It was the first full-fledged daily newspaper with feature columns supplementary to the carrying of international and domestic news. Because of its location in the foreign settlement, it was beyond the reach of the Manchu government and enjoyed certain kind of freedom of press—free from the control of the Manchu government and the pressure of the conservative social forces.

Because of the flourishing of printing enterprise and the freedom of speech in the foreign settlement, there appeared many periodicals in the coastal cities and overseas. In the following were the important ones listed.


Hsiao-shuo Lin (Forest of Stories): Established by Huang Mu-hsi, Hsü Nien-tsü, and Tseng Meng-p'u in 1907. It serialized Tseng's Nie Hai Hua.

5. The Bureaucracy Exposed was born\In the year 1900, two years after the failure of the 1898 Reform, broke out the Yi Ho Tuan Movement or The Boxing Rebel. It revealed the people's complete loss of faith in the Manchu Government. The government was so corrupt that men were in despair and everyone wanted to know the root of the trouble and who was responsible. Consequently, Li Pao-chia was commissioned by a publisher for a novel to meet this want of the public. In 1901 when he refused to enter the officialdom through special recommendation, he began his writing of The Bureaucracy Exposed, the first thirty-six chapters of the first three volumes were serialized in Yu-hsi Pao until 1903 when he established Fan-hua Pao.

Then the fourth and the fifth volumes were serialized in Fan-hua Pao. When he died in March, 1906, he had just finished the forty-eighth chapter. It was his friend, Ou-yang Chu-yuan, who, using Mao Yuan Hsi Ch'iu Sheng as his pen-name, continued to write the sixth volume for Li. (A Ying, Hsiao-shuo Hsien-t'an; and Chou Kui-sheng, Hsin-an Pi-chi.)
IV. The Characters of The Bureaucracy Exposed

Traditional Chinese novels very rarely focus on a single character development or one social phenomenon but depict instead a vast world of men in their complex interrelationships. So does Li's The Bureaucracy Exposed. In it we can find various stereotyped characters, such as the corrupt officials, the poor tso-tsa, or the officials with a purchased rank.

1. The actual men in the real life

Practically all the characters in The Bureaucracy Exposed are based on the actual men, and their names are often puns on or allusions to their names in real life. Referring to the writings of Chou Yi-pai, we can identify nearly all these characters.©

The deputy commissioner in chapter 19 is, in reality, Yiu chih-k'ai; Minister Shu of Grand Council in chapter 20, Wang Wen-shao; Provincial Commander-in-chief Shu in chapter 28, Ssu Yuen-ch'eng; chapter 29 is the story about Keng Sheng-chie; the Governor General Chia, in chapters 42-43, Chang Chi-tung; Imperial Commissioner T'ung in chapter 46, Hsu T'ung; and Shih Pu-t'eng in chapter 47, Kang Yi. Finally, Hei Ta Shu (or the Great Black Uncle) is, in reality, Li Lien-yin who is the favorite eunuch of The Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi.

2. Lao-san: The only one character of individualistic personality

If there is any character in The Bureaucracy Exposed who has ever shown in his behavior a little of individualism it is no one else but Wang Lao-san. I do not agree with Hu Shih who said in his criticism of this book of officialdom that Wang Lao-san, with hard work, might pass
the metropolitan examination and be an official. The question is whether Wang Lao-san would take part in the examinations. Of course, he would not, because Lao-san is the only one character in the book who would run away from the path of success—to be an official through literary examinations.

Lao-san, still no more than a teenager, was innocent enough to disdain the officialdom and "to stay in the kitchen, holding a piece of bone in his greasy hands and biting." When his father asked him to go with him to see Dr. Wang he "wouldn't go with his father, no matter how hard his father had been persuading." When his father, disappointed very much, beat him bitterly, Lao-san cried. Then a lot of men, in a haste, came to make peace between the father and the son. Finally, the father could not but give up. (Chapter one, The Bureaucracy Exposed.)

Being a conservative, a conformist, and a Confucian, however, Li Pao-chia was too much "culturally-conditioned" to let Lao-san keep on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucratic institution. Lao-san, instead, appeared and disappeared in a flash in chapter one. If we know the fact that the ruler of the state, in China, is traditionally regarded as the father of a family, we can say that Li, by using Lao-san's individualistic personality, had suggested slightly his prediction of the abolition of the old system of civil service examination in 1905.

3. The "pure" and corrupt officials

Li Pao-chia ruthlessly exposed those who spoke of themselves as incorruptible (or pure) officials. Ostensibly they tried hard to be incorruptible and to win good reputation; secretly, they took bribes. Behind the mask of so-called "pure officials", their greedy disposition existed.
In chapter nineteen of *The Bureaucracy Exposed*, the acting governor of Chekiang ordered, as soon as he took up his appointment, that his subordinates tried with all their might to stop luxurious habits.

Opening the lid of a cup of tea, the acting governor cursed his servant immediately, "Haven't I told you how to prepare tea? You can only take a handful of tea leaves to make a bowl of strongly infused tea which becomes 'tea-juice'. Dropping a little 'tea-juice' into a cup of boiled water, a cup of tea is ready for a visitor. Thus, a handful of tea leaves a day is enough. Otherwise, I'll be as poor as a beggar through tea-drinking."

Thereafter, the manner of the Chekiang officialdom changed. In the yamen, hundreds of officials, wearing patched garments, looked like beggars. Instead of comparing with one another how fashionably they were dressed, they now compared with one another how ragged they were.

Known as a pure official, he received an imperial edict of supplying an actual vacancy only half a year later. He did not forget, however, to receive as much as possible the present of money. Huang San-liu, for example, presented him ten thousand taels of silver money, and was received with politeness.

The governor told the chief commissioners of the Provincial Government, "Although this Mr. Huang is an official of purchased rank, he is worthy of praise for his reforming fearlessly his own errors. I can not help breaking a precedent to take him as an example. I will appoint him a vacancy as a reward for him." The certificate of appointment arrived, Mr. Huang indeed received the appointment of a post at the Military Secretariat. (Chapter 20, *The Bureaucracy Exposed*).

Reading chapter six of *The Bureaucracy Exposed*, we can see how extravagant it was when Governor of Shantung went on an inspecting tour around the province. Expecting the Governor's arrival, each of the
local officials of various counties would not only be ready to wait respectfully for him but also furnish temporary residence with delicious dinners for him.

When he would not bear to be fleeced so much, the local official was to be threatened by his superior official. In chapter forty-six of *The Bureaucracy Exposed*, the headman of Imperial Commissioner T'ung Tzu-liang threatened the magistrate of the leading county, the county where the provincial capital is located:

Now the Imperial Commissioner has arrived, he must be expected to stay a few days. He can find fault whenever he likes. We urge you to spend a little more recklessly in order that we will be peaceful to each other. Otherwise, once the Imperial Commissioner begins to find fault, it would be of no good to both you and me.

In addition to meeting the superior officials when they come to investigate a case at law or to go on a round of inspection, an official must be ready to give various kinds of present of money to the officials in the Capital, so that he may be acquainted with them enough to keep mutual collusion and exchange news or information. It is necessary, therefore, for the local officials to give the parting present, the winter present, or the summer present, to the officials in the Capital.

It is extremely large expenditure for a local official to keep acquainted with the officials in the Capital. In consequence, he turns to his subordinates for the present of money, and taking fees illegally. There is voluminous description in detail of various illegal fees and the subordinates' endurance of this financial burden. In chapter forty-two of *The Bureaucracy Exposed*, the grandfather Hsi who got a grandson burst into anger when he found that Ch'u Nai-an had given him such a small present of money.

Presently without any care of its being labelled as a present
for the Grandfather, he threw the silver dollars clanking down to
the ground·...Stamping his feet, he scolded, "He didn't give me any
present of money when he arrived at his official post. Now the present
for the celebration is still a little bit, huh! He shouldn't look
me down, sometime for something, he should know whether he could
run away from my control."

As the purchasing of rank has become a rule, the number of
expectant officials, including those who have passed the examinations
and those who have purchased the rank, increases so rapidly that it is
not easy for them to get a chance to fill a vacancy and the officials
of a substantive appointment who want to get promotion cannot but
trying their best to bribe the governor and the lieutenant governor.
Therefore, the sale of vacancy becomes wide-known in the officialdom of
late Ch'ing, and the vacancy becomes a kind of merchandises.

The most frequently applied way of bribery is to suborn an
official's wife or concubine. In chapter thirty of The Bureaucracy
Exposed, Mao Te-kuan expended much care and thought to flatter general
Yang's concubine:

Trying to show off her ability, the concubine asked for the company
of General Yang. Holding General Yang's beard in her hand, she insisted
that General Yang promised immediately to give Mao Te-kuan a position.
General Yang cannot but dismiss one of his officers and let Mao
Te-kuan take up the position as successor.

In addition to the sale of vacancy, bribery for running away from
impeachment is another corrupt way of making money. Making mistakes in
handling public affairs, an official will be dismissed, or removed to
the position of lower rank. He may, however, be free from these
punishments if he has tried his best to bribe the officials of higher
rank.
4. The officials with a purchased rank

In chapter 20 of The Bureaucracy Exposed, the governor of Chekiang classified the officials with a purchased rank into three different classes.

The first class were those sons of the high officials. They were conferred with imperial favor for generations. They considered themselves of high ability, and wanted to be esteemed, however, they failed in examinations when they tried several times. Since they could not follow the "proper path," of their official career, they tried to approach it through purchasing.

The second class were those businessmen. Having made a lot of money, they wanted to purchase an official rank so that they could bring glory to their parents in addition to being free from insult.

The third and lowest class were those who were good for nothing themselves, relying on their inherited riches only. They did not study hard, nor could they compose essays. They always wrote the Chinese characters wrongly. Since they had nothing to do, they purchased the official rank at their parents' expense and became officials.

Fan-t'ai Fu, a provincial treasurer, purchased a rank of intendant for his son who was only less than a month old. Thus the little baby was called "A born intendant." (Chapter 56, The Bureaucracy Exposed).

The Chinese class of officials and potential officials, during a greater part of the Ming-Ch'ing period, owed their status only partly to wealth but mostly to an academic degree. The official class is composed of officials, active, retired, expectant, and potential; subOfficials, chin-shih (or metropolitan graduates), chü-jen (or provincial graduates), kung-sheng (or senior licentiate), both regular and irregular.

Prior to 1451, wealth at best could only help to acquire a better
education and facilitate the eventual attainment of higher degrees and office, for until then officials had been recruited exclusively through regular civil-service examinations or special recommendations, or from among students of the Imperial Academy. The serious Mongol invasion of the Peking area in 1449 forced the Ming government to sell official ranks and titles and Imperial Academy studentships, a step which opened up an important new channel of social mobility for the rich. Yet, during the Ming dynasty the sale of offices, titles and studentships was generally held within bounds.

After the fall of Peking in the early spring of 1644 a Ming prince assumed the imperial title in Nanking and carried on the struggle against the Manchus. His chief means of raising funds was the sale of offices and titles on a grand scale. This runaway sale of offices was halted with the capture of Nanking by the Manchus in 1645, but it had a significant bearing on early Manchu policy. Indeed, from 1678 to 1682 the Manchu government not only sold offices and titles on a large scale but resorted to the almost unprecedented practice of selling the degree of sheng-yüan (or licentiate). The sale of offices and titles was subsequently resorted to at times of military campaigns, major natural calamities, and public works programs.

The Taiping rebellion of 1851-1864 forced the Manchu government to sell offices on a scale hitherto undreamt of. After its pacification the percentage of the unorthodox was invariably higher than that of the orthodox.

According to the 1886 edition of the official directory of Chekiang, we know that after 1850 money had become more important than academic attainments as a determinant of official status. Of the 90 educational officials, 60 were holders of regular degrees as against 26 who obtained offices through purchase and 4 by recommendation. But 26 of the 60 holders of regular degrees had resorted to purchase in order to
get themselves appointed. All but 34 of a total of 272 tso-ota, excluding a larger number of those who bought the rank 9 and unclassed offices, owed their positions to purchase alone.

5. The poor tso-ota (the petty officials)

The petty officials, such as the assistant magistrates, the secretaries to prefect, and the like, belonging to the eighth rank, are designated tso; whilst minor officials, of the ninth rank, and those unclassed, such as jail warden, etc. are designated tsa. Since they were expectants without any vacancy to fill, almost all of the poor tso-ota had financial hardship. They were so poor that they could hardly support their families with the lowest standard of living. The tso-ota, however, are the characters whom Li Pao-chia depicted best.

Chapter 43, 44, and 45 are the three chapters of the exposure of tso-ota. In Hu Shih's opinion, these three chapters are the best of the whole book. And there are three various actions in them.

The first action occurs at the gate of the principal hall in the yamen of the head prefecture Wu Ch'ang of Hu-pe province, where those tso-ota were standing on duty. Sui Feng-chan was admitted by the head prefect to get into his office to have a little talk. As soon as Sui Feng-chan retreated from the head prefect's office, twenty or thirty other tso-ota gathered around him and inquired him for what the head prefect had talked with him.

Although it was in deep winter, these tso-ota were thinly-dressed. Some were in unlined garments. Some were still in gauze shirts. In addition to their packed and ragged clothes, their shoes were worn out too. What they wore on their heads were worn-out head-coverings. Standing in front of the hall, they were freezing. Their faces and noses turned red with the cold. Those who wore mustache and beard were
found to have their tears and nasal mucus dripping along the mustache and beard.

V. The Arguments And Criticisms on The Bureaucracy Exposed

1. The features of late Ch'ing novels

The features of late Ch'ing novels are given by A Ying as follows:

The novel is a full reflection of its contemporary social phenomena and the situation of political affairs, a wide description of various aspects of the society. Using the novel as a weapon, the contemporary writers intentionally criticized the government and the ill phenomena of the society.

Using the form of novel, the contemporary writers devoted to the movement of enlightenment, introducing common citizens the new thought and knowledge.

The contemporary writers did not like the description of the relationship between the male and the female, even the publisher would not publish the novels with the theme of love affairs.

Instead of being for recreation, the novels became instrumental in social reformation. Becoming social novels, they presented the lives of common citizens instead of those of the nobility or the beauty and scholars.

As one of the leading novelists of late Ch'ing, Li Pao-chia kept the above features in his works, too.

2. A pioneer of new journalism in China

It is impossible for Hu Shih (1891–1961) as well as Lu Hsün (1881–
1936) to consider that Li Pao-chia is a pioneer of new journalism in China—the new form of narrative which was not called new journalism until 1960s in America.

Hu Shih said in 1927 that it was a regret in Chinese literature that The Bureaucracy Exposed fell to be a fiction of exposure instead of being that of satire. In Lu Hsün's opinion, innuendo and subtlety are essential in satirical writing. If the author exaggerates or puts the case too bluntly, his work loses its literary value. But later novelists did not pay enough attention to this, with the result that after The Scholars we can say there was no real satire.

In Hightower's opinion, however, The Scholars is the model for The Bureaucracy Exposed, the latter is an even more vicious attack on the bureaucracy. Like its predecessor, this work is made up of a series of almost unconnected incidents, but the pervading tone of ruthless satire lends it a unity of mood that compensates for the absence of plot.

Lu Hsün said in his Brief History of Chinese Fiction that The Bureaucracy Exposed was written hastily by Li Pao-chia who had no time to re-write it and was therefore not an excellent work. I do not agree to this opinion of Lu Hsün. In fact, Jack London's excellent description of events we read in The Call of the Wild and in The Sea Wolf were all written in haste and promptness. So was the description of the backyard, chapter three of Sinclair's The Jungle.

In Prusek's opinion, The Bureaucracy Exposed, like The Scholars, is presented in the form of a traditional narration, consisting of a series of rather loose episodes linked together by character A, hitherto the chief character, meeting character B, who then becomes the chief character, and so on ad infinitum.

The traditional narrator, into whose words the story is put, played a passive role—or rather, a neutral one. He simply related a story to audience without taking up any personal attitude toward it. Where he
did express an opinion, it was usually the generally accepted view, not his own. This traditional narrator suited Wu Ching-tzu perfectly, for although he set out to be critical, his aim was an objective, calm and judicious picture of his own class, only slightly colored by irony.

Writing at time of rising political passions, Li Pao-chia needed a vehicle for his hatred of the imperial officials who provided him with his subject; he wanted to rouse his readers against the corrupt bureaucracy whose sins he was recording. He wanted to rouse public opinion in order to achieve an improvement. Thus his aim is variance with objective approach of the narrator in the traditional novel. He loads his work with author's notes, commentaries, observations and resumes which disturb the traditional epic objectivity and conflict with the established narrative form.

It is clear that Li Pao-chia required quite a different form in which to present his work, with much more scope for individuality, and a far more personal narrator. In other words, The Bureaucracy Exposed is a new form of narrative, a forebear of new journalism in China, different from that of The Scholars. Therefore, I do not agree with Lu Hsün as he said, "This novel was very popular at the time, but as literature it is much inferior to The Scholars."

VI. Conclusion

Li Pao-chia's The Bureaucracy Exposed is more than an imitation of Wu Ching-tzu's The Scholars, it is, indeed, the first one of the new form of narratives in China—the new journalism, a term brought forth in America in 1960s. Li has given us vivid portraits of the late Ch'ing officialdom, as well as the Chinese life in those caotic, bewildering and changing years.

In 1960s, in America, the narrative with this new form of narration,
which we find in Li Pao-chia's works written at the beginning of the twentieth century, was called by a number of terms—"higher journalism", "new journalism", "the literature of fact", "non-fiction novel", "history as a novel", and "the novel as history".

The American novelist's preoccupation with the rush and frenzy of events in the sixties diverted the impulse for fiction into the special kind of journalism, namely, new journalism. Significantly, novelists have turned away from the necessity of invention of plots and characters to direct confrontations with social reality. One significant direction the new writing took was toward documentary forms, eyewitness reports, and personal and confessional narratives.

Multiplicity of details, striving to reproduce the social macrocosm rather than to explore the human microcosm, appears to be, as John L. Bishop remarks, a characteristic of Chinese fiction; and this is especially true of the literary works by Li Pao-chia.

Pragmatically, Li Pao-chia believes in the function of the novel as an instrument for social reform, and a means to achieve political, social, moral, or educational purposes. His works are the full reflection of his contemporary social phenomena and the situation of political affairs. His works are the wide description of various aspects of the society.

Notes


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