辛克萊的《叢林》與李寶嘉的《官場現形記》之平行研究

Upton Beall Sinclair's The Jungle and Li Pao-chia's The Bureaucracy Exposed : A Parallel Study

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摘 要

本論文係辛克萊的《叢林》與李寶嘉的《官場現形記》之平行研究。我們無法舉證辛克萊與李寶嘉之間有任何相互影響之處，我們所能舉出者為二氏之類同。因此，筆者採用美國學派的比較研究法，強調類同的平行研究，而非採用法國學派的影響研究。

辛克萊與李寶嘉有眾多平行之處：二氏皆為小說家兼新聞記者，皆生逢十九世紀末二十世紀初之變遷時代——在美國係進步時期，在中國則係維新（改革）時期。辛克萊暴露當代美國社會最醜陋之一面：屠宰場及食品包裝工業；李寶嘉則暴露當代中國社會最醜陋之一面：科舉與官場。二氏皆為實用主義者，具足使命感，結果，《叢林》成爲一部改變美國的書，《官場現形記》則成爲一部改變中國的書。

我們似乎可以說，辛克萊與李寶嘉係一種新文體的先驅，此種新文體遲至一九六○年代美國文學批評界始稱之為「新新聞」。但願本論文之撰述對世界文學有涓滴之貢獻。
This is a parallel study between Upton Beall Sinclair’s *The Jungle* and Li Pao-chia’s *The Bureaucracy Exposed*. We cannot find anything at all to prove that both of the two writers have ever influenced each other. All we can find is the analogical resemblance between them. Consequently, in my study of Sinclair and Li, I use the comparative methods presented by those of American school, instead of those of French School. I stress "fewer 'mechanistic' source, success, and influence studies, but more comparative investigations of analogies, motifs, stylistic genres, movements, and traditions."①

There are parallels between Sinclair and Li. They are the journalists and novelists in the transitional period—the ending of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the age of progressive or muckraking movement in America and the age of reforming movement in China. While Sinclair exposed one of the most defective aspects of contemporary American society, the stockyard and the food packing industry; Li exposed one of the most defective aspects of contemporary Chinese society, the old system of civil service examination and bureaucracy.

As pragmatists, both of them felt the sense of mission, *The Jungle*, as a result, became a book that changed America, while *The Bureaucracy Exposed*, a book that changed China.

It seems that both Sinclair and Li are the pioneers of "new journalism"—a new form of narrative, a term brought forth in America in 1960’s. My conclusion is that the difference between Sinclair and Li is the result of the different cultural background, while the analogical resemblance is the analogy of these two cultural traditions. I hope my parallel study of Sinclair and Li will have a little contribution to the
waterway flowing into the ocean of world literature.

I. The products of the transitional period

Both Sinclair's *The Jungle* and Li's *The Bureaucracy Exposed* are the products of the transitional period, the ending of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The former is the product of the progressive period in America, the latter is that of the reforming period in China.

1. The product of the progressive period

Author of nearly one hundred books and pamphlets on nearly every conceivable aspect of modern life, Upton Beall Sinclair (1878-1968) was master of the literary method of "exposure," and was best known for *The Jungle*, a best seller which is the product of the muckraking movement of the progressive period (1904-1917) and the summation of Sinclair's own life and experience.

With the opening of the twentieth century, the exposure of injustices and abuses in the national life of America became the most popular of literary subjects. In politics, the 1900's were the era of Theodore Roosevelt's progressivism and "trust-busting"; in literature, the era of the "muckrakers." Literature was dedicated to the exposé, and scores of books revealed all sorts of malpractices to an indignant public. This should have been the most fruitful decade since the Civil War. The novelists did strike at the very center of Americans' national existence. They wrote of the great industries, the political movements, the struggles of labor.

They wrote of railroad owners, land speculators, stock brokers, meat packers, ward bosses, governors, and presidents. They showed
how men made great fortunes and how they achieved high office. They wrote, too, of humble workmen in factories, on farms, in offices. They showed the influence of industrialism on women and children. They traced the course of commercialism in the professions. And they were not drawing on their imaginations; they knew how things were done. They were newspapermen, many of them, and had seen for themselves; and what further information they needed they knew how to get from books and investigations. ②

The strength of this group ultimately depended on the strength of the progressive movement in politics and in labor unionism. And in the progressive period of 1904-1917, it is chiefly by way of the muckrakers that we trace the connection between the progressive movement and the literature of the period. It is not merely that certain of the novelists—Sinclair, Phillips, White, Lewis—also wrote muckraking articles; the connection is more fundamental. In the first place, the muckrakers, by arousing a widespread interest in the operations of politicians and businessmen, created an audience for the novel of politics and business. In the second place, they revealed to the novelist the dramatic value in the lives of the great financiers and big bosses and in the struggles for supremacy. And finally, they helped to define the various attitudes the novelist might take towards this material. ③

The muckraking movement was so named by Theodore Roosevelt in 1906 in his attack on corruption in politics and business. It began as a movement in 1902, reached its climax some ten years later, and ended in 1916. The leading vehicle for the muckrakers was McClure's Magazine (1901-1912) with its staff of brilliant writers and investigators headed by Lincoln Steffens (its managing editor, 1902-1906), Ida M. Tarbell, and Ray Stannard Baker. Other journals associated with the movement were the Arena, Independent, Collier's, Cosmopolitan, American Magazine, and Everybody's—on the last two of
which Steffens was for a time an associate editor. A few influential newspapers sponsored the movement, notably the New York World and the Kansas City Star. Upton Sinclair associated himself with the movement and published The Jungle (1906), on the Chicago meat-packing industry, and The Money Changers (1908), dealing with Wall Street.

Chicago has been the scene of "exposure literature," notably in Frank Norris's The Pit (1903)—dealing with the grain market; Upton Sinclair’s The Jungle (1906)—the meat packing industry; and Robert Herrick’s Chimes (1926)—the University of Chicago.

The muckraking movement, as Lincoln Steffens had insisted, was journalistic in spirit. The muckrakers were not indifferent to reform, but, regarding their exposures as a sufficient contribution to the cause, they left the formulation of a remedy to their readers. Very few of them tried to evolve a theory of government or sought to discover the way in which the various forms of corruption were related. In addition to exposure, however, The Jungle asked its readers to receive socialism as the way of solution; and this makes Sinclair quite different from the other muckrakers.

There is an autobiographical element in The Jungle, the most authentic and most powerful of the muckraking novels, the element is present even though the novel seems far from Sinclair's own life, as we learn from reading his memoirs. Thus Upton Sinclair said of his best book, The Jungle:

I wrote with tears and anguish, pouring into the pages all that pain which life had meant to me. Externally, the story had to do with a family of stockyard workers, but internally it was the story of my own family. Did I wish to know how the poor suffered in Chicago? I had only to recall the previous winter in a cabin, when we had only cotton blankets, and had
put rags on top of us, shivering in our separate beds......Our little boy was down with pneumonia that winter, and nearly died, and the grief of that went into the book.
In his introduction to the Viking Press Edition of *The Jungle* (1946), Sinclair also said: ⚫

The physical and mental sufferings about which you read in the story were those not merely of the stockyards workers, but of a youth who had supported himself through nine years of college and university study, and was determined to survive as a writer or not at all.

The author had come from "the South," a part of the country impoverished by the Civil War. He had learned to hate poverty, and the limitations it put on his desire for learning, as well as its crushing effect on the dignity of men and women. He had discovered the Socialist party and ardently championed its program as the way to end poverty everywhere on earth. Now here it was in its ugliest aspects, the worst of which was the ignorance of its victims themselves. With the exception of a very small minority, they had no idea that they had the right to a better way of life. It was moral, spiritual, and physical degradation, a "jungle" in which humans lived barely above the level of animals.

*The Jungle* is dedicated "To the Workingmen of America." Into it had gone Sinclair's heartsick discovery of the filth, disease, degradation, and helplessness of the packing workers' lives. But any muckraker could have put this much into a book; the fire of the novel came from Sinclair's whole passionate, rebellious past, from the insight into the pattern of capitalist oppression shown him by Socialist theory, and from the immediate extension into the characters' lives of his own and his wife's struggle against hunger, illness, and fear. It was the
summation of his life and experience into a manifesto. The title of the book itself represented a feat of imaginative compression, for the world in which the Lithuanian immigrant Jurgis and his family find themselves is an Africa of unintelligibility, of suffering and terror, where the strong beasts devour the weak, who are dignified, if at all, only by their agony.

2. The product of the reforming period

In the latter half of the Ch'ing dynasty, the capitalist countries of the West carried out ceaseless economic and military aggression against China. Thus the feudal society which had lasted for so many centuries collapsed, and China became a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country.

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. First of all it occurred only in the economical and political fields, and it was as late as the last two decades of the nineteenth century that scientific and cultural fields were covered, too. 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 (western studies for practical use) (Hsi hsūeh wei yung), whereas philosophy, the laws, institutions, and literature, too, had to be protected against the European influence (Chinese Studies as the fundamental structure) (Chung hsūeh wei t'i).

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 Mu-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 1840's to the 1870's, especially its representatives Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) and Edward Earl Lytton Bulwer (1803-1873). Disraeli's novel Coningsby was the first European work to have a great success in Japan. His understanding of using the novel as an instrument of propagating an author's suggestion and the method offering the best chance of influencing opinion was quickly adopted by the Japanese writers. This understanding became the basis of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's treatises as well. Of course, it does not mean that there was direct contact between Disraeli and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao nor between Disraeli's opinions, concerning the political novel, and the Japanese writers.

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. ☀

Li Pao-chia (1867-1906), who was also known as Li Po-yüan and wrote under the pen-name Nan-t'ing T'ing-chang or The Village Constable of Nan-T'ìn, was a native of Nanking, Kiangsu. He was a novelist, a journalist, and a writer of popular literary works. ☆

His father died in 1870 when Li Pao-chia was only three years old. Being an orphan, he was brought up by his uncle.

When he was still a small boy, he showed a flair for the paku or eight-leg essays and for writing poems. He passed the local examination and became a licentiate, but he took the provincial examinations 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-hsing Chi*). In Shanghai, he was best known for his production of novels of exposure. His literary works showed us the enormous effect of the political novel. All these were, indeed, indebted to the fruitful effort by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

II · Arguments and criticisms on Sinclair and Li

Both Sinclair and Li are writers of the documentary novels. Upton Sinclair is an unpretentious social historian, one of the chief interpreters of the United States to other nations. Li Pao-chia's achievement lies in the preservation of the miscellaneous data of the political and social lives of late Ch'ing dynasty.

1 · The unpretentious social historian

Although almost any novel will yield meaningful information about the place and time in which it was written, three kinds provide particularly happy hunting for the historian. The first is the highly autobiographical novel--Herman Melville's *White Jacket* --with characters modeled upon real people and incidents closely resembling real events. The second is the reminiscent novel--Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*--where the characters and incidents are largely imaginary, but the setting is one intimately known to the author through his own experience. The
third is the documentary novel—Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*—in which the setting, although somewhat removed from his normal experience, gains authenticity from the novelist's search for facts.

Upton Sinclair is an unpretentious social historian. With the same impulsive directness that he has converted Jurgis into a Socialist in the last awkward chapter of *The Jungle*, he jumps ahead to make himself a "social detective," a pamphleteer-novelist whose books are a call to action. *The Jungle* is memorable because it is one of the earliest examples of a peculiarly American form of fiction: the reportorial novel.

It is only in small part a work of the imagination; the great bulk of it consists of facts—detailed, specific, and noted down with meticulous care. In the succeeding years this tradition of the reporter-novelist has produced some of the most characteristic fiction of America—Lewis's *Arrowsmith*, Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, and Hersey's *The Wall*, to mention only three. Each of them, and hundreds of their lesser relatives, owe an unconscious debt to *The Jungle*. If Sinclair has never been a great creative novelist, he has been something else of value—one of the great information centers in American literature. Few American novelists have done more to make their fellow citizens conscious of the society, all of it, in which they live.

Many American novelists who are highly "realistic" in their treatment of surface detail find their themes upon some entirely abstract political or economic "idea." These generalizations apply most obviously to such "angry" and directly "intentional" novels as Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and *The Metropolis*, and Jack London's *The Iron Heel*—though that novel is set in the future. In these novels a steady accretion of shocking events, a rhetoric of action, often takes the
place of thought or, except at a journalistic level, even of observation.

2. The interpreter of the United States to other nations

Upton Sinclair is doubtless one of the chief interpreters of the United States to other nations. The consciousness of writing primarily for a foreign audience--since The Jungle his books have circulated abroad more than at home, until he is probably the most widely read American writer--has given him a sensitivity to aspects of American life that his contemporaries have overlooked or scorned as too ephemeral to be dignified in prose. As a result he has recorded and explained a wide variety of native phenomena, ranging from the ramifications of prohibition to the development of religious revivals in southern California, and capturing those commonplace expressions of American culture that usually go unrecorded solely because they are commonplace. ①

As one of the group of the novelists who determine to write of "life as it is," stripped of sentimentality and void of reticence, Sinclair has been translated freely into foreign tongues, and to many Europeans he represents the most significant development in American fiction. He has never pretended to be a professional literary critic. He has been a creative artist and a pamphleteer. To those readers who dislike his work he is the latter exclusively. But to the world at large he takes his place as one of the great literary men of the day. His works are almost immediately translated into French, German, Spanish, Swedish, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian, which is a testimony to his popularity, if not to his art. His books contribute to the forming of opinions about America in almost every country on the globe. ②

The Chinese translation of Sinclair's works appeared approximately from 1911 to 1935. Kuo Mo-jo, using Yi K'an-jen as his pen-name,
translated *The Jungle*, *Oil*, and *King Coal* into Chinese. The following is a list of Sinclair’s works translated into Chinese—the original title, the title of Chinese translation, and the name of the translator are given in the list. *Samuel the Seeker* was translated by four different translators into four different translations in Chinese.

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<th>Original title</th>
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Instead of being widely translated into foreign languages as those of Sinclair's, Li Pao-chia's works have not been translated into any western languages. Some studies on Li's *The Bureaucracy Exposed* are given as follows.

Werner Bettin's Ph.D. Dissertation, "Die Künstlerische Methode Li Boyuans, dargestellt in seinem Werk *Aufzeichungen über die heutigen Zustände im Beamtenapparat*" is a study of the artistic methods employed in Li Pao-chia's novel of social criticism and satire, *The*

Arguing that the novel is a work of historic insight and aesthetic integrity (contrary to the general view), Holoch concludes that the novel exemplifies the earliest bourgeois fiction in China and reveals new insight into late Ch'ing society and history. Christel Ruh's Das Kuan-Ch'ang Hsien-Hsing Chi, Ein Beispiel fur den "Politischen Roman" der ausgehenden Ch'ing-Zeit, is the study of the thought and structure of the first 30 chapters and the last chapter of The Bureaucracy Exposed, including a detailed analysis of its language and style.

3. The preservation of the political and social lives of late Ch'ing dynasty

As a writer of documentary novels and a social historian, Li Pao-chia has given us a revelation of late Ch'ing society and history.

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

Having published serially in the Illustrated Novel, 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. It is a satirical description of the reforming age of late Ch'ing dynasty. All groups of political persuasion, from ultramodernists to extreme conservatives,
from high officials to the petty people, are evenly represented. 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. Its equal attention to the various parts of the country is also unique: from seaports to interior hamlets, from North China to the extreme south, from coastal areas to the hinterland parts, and even following the principal advocates of modernization to Hongkong, Japan, and the United States of America.

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. Nevertheless, the characters are based on actual men, and the events are not totally invented.

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 Chü-yüan, who, using
Mao Yüan 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.)

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 can be found various stereotyped
characters, such as the corrupt officials, the poor tso-tsa, or the
officials with a purchased rank. Practically all the characters are based
on the actual men, and their names are often puns on or allusions to
their names in real life. By referring to the writings of Chou Yi-pai,
we can identify nearly all these characters. ☞

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 "cuturally-conditioned" to let Lao-san keep on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucratic institution. Instead, Lao-san 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 had suggested slightly his prediction of the abolition of paku essay, the abolition of the old system of civil service examination in 1905.

III. A pioneer in fictional discovery

Upton Sinclair may be a pioneer in fictional discovery, that is to say in the discovery that modern America can be dealt with by writers of fiction. But to say that he has discovered the fictional possibilities of modern America is quite a different thing from saying that he has discovered America. In the history of American literature Sinclair may indeed be a Columbus. But like Columbus, there were others before him; like Columbus he has never set foot on the continent of America; and like Columbus he has never known, what continent he has discovered. In my opinion, Li Pao-chia may be a pioneer in fictional discovery, too. The new continent of literature discovered by them is not known until 1960's as new journalism or non-fiction fiction—a new genre of literature, a new form of narrative.

1. The pioneer of new journalism

In Aaron's classification of the left wing writers, Sinclair belongs to the group of the unclassifiables. Upton Sinclair, according to Aaron, is completely sui generis: a faddist, a Puritan, and a socialist. Also,
in Morgan's opinion, Sinclair does not belong to any of the five groups of American writers in rebellion: Mark Twain, the optimist as pessimist; William Dean Howells, the realist as reformer; Hamlin Garland, the rebel as escapist; Frank Norris, the romantic as naturalist; Theodore Dreiser, the naturalist as humanist. ©

According to John Hollowell, the muckraking journalism of the reform period from 1890 to 1912 reveals some works that are very similar to certain varieties of the new journalism. The vivid exposés of city life and the corruption of government and big business, such as Ida Tarbell's *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, and Lincoln Steffens's *The Shame of the Cities* are forebears of the advocacy journalists of the 1960's. Although Tarbell and Steffens were more concerned with social reform than with literary style, their work involves the scene setting and narrative passages common to the articles of Wolfe, Talese, Sheehy, and the other new journalists in the 1960's. ©

The new journalist uses literary techniques to convey information and to provide background not usually possible in most newspaper and magazine reporting. The six literary techniques frequently employed in the new journalism are as follows: (1) portraying events in dramatic scenes rather than in the usual historical summary of most articles; (2) recording dialogue fully rather than with the occasional quotations or anecdotes of conventional journalism; (3) recording "status details," or "the pattern of behavior and possessions through which people experience their position in the world"; (4) using point of view in complex and inventive ways to depict events as they unfold; (5) interior monologue, or the presentation of what a character thinks and feels without the use of direct quotations; and (6) composite characterization, or the telescoping of character traits and anecdotes drawn from a number of sources into a single representative sketch. ©
The most important difference between the new journalism and traditional reporting is the writer's changed relationship to the people and events he depicts. Traditionally, the straight news article is based on an "objectivity" that requires a commitment to telling both sides of the story, and an impersonality on the part of the journalist characterized by the lack of value judgments and emotionally colored adjectives. In sharp contrast to the "objectivity" that the reporter strives for in the standard news article, the voice of the new journalist is frankly subjective; it bears the stamp of his personality. Less interested in official statements to the press corps by powerful spokesmen and the need for balance, the new journalist records his personal reaction to the people and events that make news.

Sinclair's great talent is a talent for facts, a really prodigious capacity for social research. As he continued to give America after the war the facts about labor in *Jimmie Higgins*, the petroleum industry in *Oil!*, the Sacco-Vanzetti case in *Boston*, prohibition in *The Wet Parade*, it mattered less and less that he repeated himself endlessly, or that he could write on one page with great power, on another with astonishing self-indulgence and sentimental melodrama. In a day when the insurgent spirit had become obsessed with facts of contemporary society, and newspapermen could write their social novels in the city room, Sinclair proved himself one of the great contemporary reporters, a profound educative force. He was a hero in Europe, one of the forces leading to the modern spirit in America, and a real pioneer of the new journalism of the 1960's.

Sinclair is the first important American novelist to see in the struggle between capital and labor the driving force of modern industry. He has done more than any other American novelist toward breaking the path for a full and realistic treatment of working-class life in fiction--the battles he has been engaged in, the enemies he has
attracted and the silence and persecution with which his books have been met being his personal cost for that pioneering work.

Sinclair is one of the writers who can not be classed as word men. He is so headlong in his rush after ideas that he is inclined to let the words fall, like chips, where they may. However, he has an abundant supply of the one great talent which is indispensable to the novelist: he can tell a good story. The Jungle keeps moving, from the very first page, and even the most cynical capitalist is likely to go on turning the pages to find out what happens to Jurgis and his star-crossed family. Moreover, Sinclair has the precious ability to persuade his readers that what he tells them is true. For all its melodrama, the novel carries a conviction that everyone of its injustices actually happened—if not to Jurgis, then to some other maltreated Lithuanian working in the Yards. The slums described here are clearly places where flesh-and-blood people had to live; the gruesome details of the slaughter-house sound indisputably real.

Sinclair’s major achievement lies in the preservation of such miscellaneous data rather than in his stylized and inflexible political studies. When he tells us how strikes are put down or sold out, or how public officials are corrupted, or how labor spies are planted, he is describing a formula, and with that his interest ceases and his imagination fails to give him anything new or fresh. The memorable parts of his books lie in such details—the exact descriptions of how pigs were killed in the Chicago stockyards in 1906, the vivid account of the drilling of the wells in Oil! the picture of a Colorado mining town in King Coal—remaining when the hackneyed characterizations and the mechanical concept of how society is controlled have been forgotten.

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. 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 Hsun’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.

2. Being a pragmatist

According to Abram’s four classes of theories of art: mimetic, pragmatic, expressive, and objective, we apply the mimetic concept when we say that both Li and Sinclair are expository novelists. We apply the expressive concept when we say that both of them are not objective enough in their description of events. The most important point is, however, that both of them show pragmatism in their works, both of them have shown apparent purposes and aims in their works.

Being a pragmatist, Sinclair devotes himself to the movement for reform, and the militant and sensational exposé of existing corruption in business or politics. Sinclair may be right in feeling that a novel may help the cause of the pure food crusade more than a volume of documented facts, but after all, it is the facts, not the fiction, that calls the book to Theodore Roosevelt’s attention and results in its popularity. The Jungle’s description of the economic jungle and the helpless human creatures who suffer in it is the most vivid and
convincing in American fiction, and the power of its vividness, in fact, defeats its purpose. For, as Sinclair is to complain, it is an appeal to its readers' heads and hearts which, instead, hits them in their stomachs.

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.

Writing at time of rising political passions, Li Pao-chia needs a vehicle for his hatred of the imperial officials who provides him with his subject; he wants to rouse his readers against the corrupt bureaucracy whose sins he is recording. He wants 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.

IV · Conclusion

The American attitude is invariable empirical rather than doctrinal. An American is more concerned with practical gains than with any doctrine. The American tradition is to tinker, to deal with specific evils as they appear, but almost never to commit oneself to a large theory. It follows from this point of view that, while the spirit of reform is again and again present in American politics, it is satisfied with the limits of the existing social and economic order. Gradualism is the guiding
principle of American action.

Sophisticated readers, professors and critics, may hold that Sinclair's novels are not "literature." However, if a passionate interest in the substance of all great literature--life, if a wide acquaintance with its special manifestations of the writer's own day, if a deep conviction about the values underlying its varied phenomena and the ability to set them forth, count in the making of enduring literature, all these Sinclair has demonstrated again and again that he possesses.

Conservative critics have found him radical and unsound; extreme left-wing thinkers have condemned him for not adhering strictly enough to the Marxist line. Of his earnestness and honesty there is no longer much question. He is a thoroughly American personality. A fluent--a fatally fluent--writer with an unconquerable desire to preach and teach, he has a heart honorably moved by human suffering. His insight into society is sometimes shrewd, and his prophecies are occasionally correct. Above all, his courage is the courage of American individualism, which has nothing to do with the socialism of Sinclair's dream.

Li Pao-chia is a Confucian and an ameliorationist. (Ch'en Shou-yi, Chinese Literature: A Historical Introduction. p. 614). He believes in gradual change, but he is firm in insisting upon modernization. He is against superstition and against revolution. As a conformist, it is natural that he is opposed to revolution against the Manchus on a racial basis. Like so many of his contemporaries, he is an advocate of non-violent and gradual reform in political affairs as well as in other spheres of human activity.

As a writer of documentary novels, Li Pao-chia has given us vivid portraits of the late Ch'ing officialdom, as well as the Chinese life in those chaotic, bewildering and changing years. 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. ②

If we are right to say that the fictional techniques of the new journalism derive from the combination of periodical journalism and storytelling that gives rise to the novel in the eighteenth century; we are also right to say that, because of the rise of the new journalism, the once clearly demarcated differences between mere journalism and literature, between elite art and the popular arts, have become increasingly difficult to distinguish. ③

"There is no more fiction or nonfiction...only narrative." E.L. Doctorow said in an acceptance speech for the best novel of 1975, awarded by the National Book Critics Circle. Thus I believe that Sinclair and Li are the pioneers of the new journalism.

The emergence of a new literary structure is not only a question of genius, but a new social and literary situation. The important question is what new directions the inventiveness and adaptability of writers will take as they respond to new pressures and changes in their mutual experience of political and social life. For, surely, art will continue to find new ways of imitating life.

Notes


Company. 114. 238. 254.


8. Galik, M. op. cit. 47.


Kazin, A. op. cit. 119-120.


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the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. *ArOr.* 38, 169-178.


Glossary

1: A Ying 阿英
2: Chih-nan Pao 指南報
3: Ch'ing-yi-pao 清議報
4: Ch'ien-tse hsiao-shuo 譴責小說
5: Chou Kui-sheng 周桂笙
6: Chou Shu-jen (Lu Hsün) 周樹人 (魯迅)
7: Chou Yi-pai 周贻白
8: Chung hsüeh wei t'i 中學為體
9: Hai-shang Fan-hua Pao 海上繁華報
10: Hsiao-shuo-lin 小說林
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①：Hsi hsüeh wei yung 西學為用
②：Hsiao-shuo hsien-t’an 小說間談
③：Hsin-an pi-chi 新庵筆記
④：Hsin Hsiao-shuo 新小說
⑤：Hsiu-hsiang hsiao-shuo 織像小說
⑥：Hu Shih 胡適
⑦：I-yin cheng-chih hsiao-shuo hsü 譯印政治小說序
⑧：Kajin-no Kigu 佳人の奇遇
⑨：Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛
⑩：Kuan-ch’ang Hsien-hsing Chi 官場現形記
⑪：Kung-tzu Kuo-pien T’an-tz’u 庚子國變彈詞
⑫：Kuo Mo-jo (Yi K’an-jen) 郭沫若（易坎人）
⑬：Li Pao-chia (Li Po-yuan) 李寶嘉（李伯元）
⑭：Liang Ch’i-ch’ao 梁啓超
⑮：Lun hsiao-shuo yü ch‘ün-chih kuan-hsi 論小說與群治關係
⑯：Mao-yüan Hsi-ch’iu-sheng 茂苑惜秋生
⑰：Ou-yang Chü-yüan 歐陽巨源
⑱：Nan-t’ing T’ing-chang 南亭亭長
⑲：Paku 八股
⑳：Shiba Shiro 柴四郎
㉑：Tso-tsa 佐雜
㉒：Wen-ming Hsiao-shih 文明小史
㉓：Wu Wu-yao 吳沃堯
㉔：Yu-hsi Pao 游戲報
㉕：Yüeh-Yüeh Hsiao-shuo 月月小說