

Everydayness as a Critical Category of Gender Analysis: The Case of *Funü shibao* (The Women's Eastern Times)*

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Abstract

This essay analyzes the links between the valorization of the everyday and gender in early twentieth century China. While the quotidian had been a topic of discussion for centuries in Confucian family instruction manuals and encyclopedias for daily life, what was new in the late Qing and early Republic was the proliferation of print materials that disseminated everyday knowledge, the links that authors of these materials drew between new scientific learning and the quotidian, and the centrality of women as lynchpins between a newly scientized daily life and pressing questions of social evolution and national revitalization. The essay asserts that this link between women and new

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theorizations of the quotidian is critical to understanding the range of possibilities that opened up for women in this period, and that the everyday is a potentially more productive category of gender analysis than either nationalism or feminism.

The authors of the progressive “Everyday Agenda” were not the well known intellectuals writing for the flagship publications of the reform or New Culture movements. Much of the material on daily life that was published in Shanghai and avidly read by urban audiences dispersed throughout China, was produced by writers for the commercial rather than the intellectual or ideological periodical press. These writers’ impassioned quest to explore, expose, and elevate the everyday in the pages of fiction, women’s, and general interest magazines is arguably as important a source of historical change as the more widely trumpeted epic social vision of the reformist, May Fourth, and Communist movements.

The prime source for this essay is one of these publications, China’s first commercial women’s journal, *Funü shibao* 婦女時報 (The women’s eastern times, Shanghai 1911-1917). The journal’s stated objectives were directly in line with the “Epic Agenda” promoted by late-Qing reformers and May Fourth-era iconoclasts—to promote women’s learning in the service of the nation—and much of the journal’s content addresses this theme. The focus of this essay is, however, on the journal’s alternative and arguably more historically significant “Everyday Agenda,” which was articulated in its editorial column, discursive essays, essay contest themes, readers’ columns, diaries, and surveys. While the point of departure for the Epic Agenda was national weakness and the need to project new global ideals of citizenry downward, the sources of the Everyday Agenda were quotidian, local concerns that had to be elevated through new, scientific knowledge and new inductive methods of education.

This essay focuses on two of these prominent areas of concern, which both female and male contributors addressed: women’s reproductive health and household education. Whereas most scholars of these materials have posited a stark division of gendered labor, with male journalists critiquing a female realm of inadequacy or male theorists formulating social policy for women to execute, a close reading of *Funü shibao* challenges the ubiquity of this dynamic. In so doing, it underlines the importance of the everyday as a critical category of gender analysis.

Key Words: everyday, gender, commercial periodical press, *Funü shibao*, Epic Agenda, Everyday Agenda, Qu Jun, Ye Shengtao, Yun Daiying, Wang Jieliang

The early-twentieth-century Shanghai publishing industry was instrumental in valorizing the everyday and raising it to a level of unprecedented national interest—processes central to the profound social transformations that define modern Chinese history.¹ Writing on the everyday was not new to this period—family instruction manuals were integral to the Confucian textual repertoire and encyclopedias for daily life had been staples of the commercial publishing industry from the late Ming dynasty. What was new in the early twentieth century was the proliferation of print materials that disseminated everyday knowledge, the links authors of these materials drew between new scientific learning and the quotidian, and the centrality of women as lynchpins between a newly scientized daily life and pressing questions of social evolution and national revitalization.

The importance of gender within this new, print-driven, valorization of the everyday has been largely unrecognized in the literature on this period. To date, scholars who have focused on the writing of reformers such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) have associated the movement for women's education and political participation with nationalism and self-strengthening. While not disputing the discursive links between gender and nationalism, this essay argues that the everyday is a potentially more productive category of gender analysis.² It asserts that this new emphasis on the quotidian from the turn of the 20th century is critical to understanding the range of possibilities that opened up for women in this period. It also contends that the largely male-driven women's movement was more an effect of the valorization and scientization of daily life on the part of certain groups of intellectuals, than of a fundamental shift in gender or national consciousness.

The authors of this progressive social agenda were not the iconic intellectuals writing for the flagship publications of the reform or New Culture movements. Much of the material that was produced in Shanghai and avidly read

1 On the link between the valorization of the everyday and modernity, see, for example, Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 20.

2 As Denise Riley has argued ("*Am I That Name?*" *Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* [London: Macmillan, 1988], 7), "The arrangements of people under the banners of 'men' or 'women' are enmeshed in the histories of other concepts too, including those of 'the social' and the 'the body.' And that has profound repercussions for feminism." I argue here that everydayness is one such historically significant concept that created new kinds of openings for women. See also Joan W. Scott, "AHR Forum, Unanswered Questions," *American Historical Review* (December 2008), p. 1425.

by urban audiences dispersed throughout China was created by individuals *retroactively identified* as members of the so-called “mandarin duck and butterfly school” (*yuanyang hudie pai* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派).³ Their impassioned quest to explore, expose, and elevate the everyday in the pages of countless fiction, women’s, and general interest magazines is arguably as important a source of historical change as the more widely trumpeted epic social vision of the May Fourth and Communist movements.

This essay analyzes one of the journals that was instrumental in valorizing the everyday in the early twentieth century, *Funü shibao* 婦女時報 (The women’s eastern times, Shanghai 1911-1917). China’s first commercial women’s journal, *Funü shibao* was the prototype for later journals in this proliferating genre, most notably the longer-running and better-known *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 (“The Ladies’ Journal,” 1915-31).

Funü shibao’s stated objectives were directly in line with the late-Qing and early-Republican “Epic Agenda” promoted by Liang Qichao and continued by May Fourth-era iconoclasts—to “promote women’s learning and advance women’s knowledge”—and much of the journal’s content addresses these themes.⁴ The focus of this essay is, however, on the journal’s alternative and arguably more historically significant “Everyday Agenda.”⁵ This agenda is articulated in the journal’s editorial column and discursive essays which are the prime sources for this article, but also in essay contest themes, readers’ columns, diaries, and surveys which I will only touch on here.⁶

Both the Epic and Everyday Agendas were redemptive in orientation. Premised on notions of lack and lag, they were driven by ameliorative aspirations

3 I recognize the strong arguments put forward by scholars including Theodore Hutters, Michel Hockx, and Chen Jianhua against continuing to use this pejorative and misleading term to label the richly varied writing found in early-twentieth-century fiction and journals.

4 These objectives are articulated, for example, in an announcement soliciting contributions that appeared in most issues of the journal. See “Benbao chengwen li” 本報徵文例 (This journal’s rules for soliciting manuscripts), *Funü shibao* 婦女時報 (The women’s eastern times, [hereafter FNSB]) 1 (June 11, 1911), [back matter]. The themes of women’s learning and education in FNSB are explored in Chapter 3 of my manuscript: *Republican Lens: Everyday Knowledge, Gender, and the Periodical Press in Early-Twentieth-Century China*.

5 Analysis of this tension between the Epic and Everyday Agendas is central to *Republican Lens*, particularly Chapter 1.

6 These other parts of the journal such as readers’ columns are more fully analyzed in *Republican Lens*.

and informed by knowledge of foreign theories and practices. While the point of departure for the Epic Agenda was national insufficiency and the need to project new global ideals of citizenry downward, however, the sources of the Everyday Agenda were quotidian, local concerns—the difficulties women encountered in their daily lives or the crippling effects of inadequate pedagogy in the home—which had to be elevated through new, scientific knowledge of reproductive health and new inductive methods of informal education.⁷ This material on the everyday included both descriptive accounts and discursive essays; both reports on the difficulties of childbirth or the challenges of managing the household economy, and foreign-inflected theories on the links between statistics on the menses and women's health, or between science and common knowledge.⁸

After briefly introducing the journal *Funü shibao*, I analyze its editorial column, the site for the clearest articulation of the journal's Everyday Agenda. I then focus on two of the prominent areas of concern in this agenda—women's reproductive health and household education. Both female and male contributors to the journal addressed these themes. Among the former are some of the more prolific female contributors to the periodical press in this period. Among the latter are a number of future leaders in the fields of medicine, politics and literature for whom *Funü shibao* served as a platform early in their careers.

7 Tang Xiaobing has discerned a similar tension in his examination of literary, visual, theatrical, and cinematic texts in *Chinese Modern: The Heroic and the Quotidian* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000). A tabulation of the articles published in *Funü shibao* reveals the number of articles focused on the "Epic" versus the "Everyday Agendas." If we bracket the literary sections of the journal, the six categories with the most articles can be divided into three broader rubrics. Two of these reflect the Epic Agenda: the state of Chinese womanhood (34 articles) with an emphasis on women's education (32 articles); and the introduction of foreign topics (33 articles) and models (34 articles). Of equal weight in the pages of the journal, however, are articles on the Everyday Agenda: women's physical and reproductive health (38 articles), and the practical unfolding of their daily lives (29 articles).

8 The impetus for the focus on the everyday in the early Republican periodicals like *FNSB* differs from what Rebecca Karl has found for periodicals that focused on private life in the 1920s. Where Karl sees intellectuals creating "a gendered realm of inadequacy," in the case of *FNSB* both male and female writers are committed to exposing a realm of suffering and insufficiency. In both cases, however, commentators are positioned as those with the knowledge necessary for successful social intervention. See Rebecca Karl, "Journalism, Social Value, and a Philosophy of the Everyday in 1920s China," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 16:3 (Winter 2008), pp. 549-566, quote on 542.

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

Funü shibao bore witness to seven crucial but as yet poorly understood years in modern Chinese history, the years between the 1911 Revolution and the consolidation of the New Culture Movement. Four issues of the journal appeared before the abdication of the Qing dynasty, the first in June of 1911, and the last of the remaining seventeen issues was published in May of 1917. One of the handful of gendered journals able to outmaneuver Yuan Shikai's censors in the early Republic, *Funü shibao* was the longest lived. It contributed to ongoing discussions on revolution, women's suffrage, and education that emerged in the late Qing and were revisited at the time of the May Fourth Movement. More importantly, however, it documents not seismic political change but the more subterranean social, cultural, and linguistic shifts that mark the unfolding of the everyday.

The journal cost four *jiao* 角, had a circulation at mid-point of over 6,000, and was disseminated in over 30 distribution centers in Beijing, Shanghai, and some ten provincial capitals.⁹ It was founded by Di Baoxian 狄葆賢 (Chuang 楚青, 1872-1941), the publisher of one of the most successful Shanghai daily newspapers of the period, *Shibao* 時報 ("The Eastern Times"). Di was both a commercial publisher concerned with profit, and a cultural entrepreneur closely attuned to current social trends. He responded to one of the most prominent late Qing developments—the drive for women's education—by establishing *Funü shibao* as a supplement to *Shibao*. The women's journal benefited from the institutional solidity of the *Shibao* conglomerate, the *Shibao guan*, and from the financial backing of Di's publishing house, the Youzheng shuju 有正書局

9 On the circulation of 6,000-7,000 for the journal, Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, "Bianji shi" 編輯室 (From the office of the editor, hereafter BJS), *FNSB* 6 (May 1, 1912), p. 88; BJS, *FNSB* 9 (February 25, 1913), p. 92. On other aspects of the journal see the front and back matter to *FNSB*. For a general discussion of the journal, see Jiang Sishuo 薑思鑠, "Bao Tianxiao bianji huodong ceying" 包天笑編輯活動側影 (A profile of Bao Tianxiao's editorial activities), *Zhongguo bianji* 中國編輯 3 (2007), p. 89. See also, Xu Chuying 徐楚影, "Funü shibao" 婦女時報 (The women's eastern times), in Ding Shouhe, ed., *Xinbai geming shiqi qikan jieshao* 辛亥革命時期期刊介紹 (An introduction to periodicals from the period of the 1911 Revolution) 5, pp. 150-158.

(Youzheng book company).¹⁰ These commercial connections made it possible for *Funü shibao* to remunerate all contributors to the journal and to offer books from the Youzheng Book Company as prizes to winners of *Funü shibao*'s ongoing essay competitions (Xuanshang wen 縣賞文).¹¹

While Di Baoxian founded *Funü shibao*, two of *Shibao*'s editors were responsible for editing the women's journal: Chen Lengxue 陳冷血 (fl. 1906) and, most importantly, Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (Gongyi 公毅, Langsun 郎孫, 1876-1973). Di had first hired Bao, a native of Suzhou, as an editor for *Shibao* in 1906. Bao had been a keen reader of the periodical press from his youth; his family was one of the few in Suzhou to subscribe to the daily newspaper *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai news) and Bao also avidly consumed pictorials and journals available on the Suzhou print market such as *Dianshi zhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (Dianshizhai illustrated magazine). Convinced that the critical function of this new medium was to bridge the gap between erudite knowledge (*boshi* 博識) and general knowledge (*changshi* 常識),¹² Bao took this as the mandate for two journals he established in Suzhou. The first, *Lixue yibian* 勵學譯編 (Compendium of translations to encourage learning), literally offered translations of new theories, while the second, *Suzhou baihua bao* 蘇州白話報 (Suzhou vernacular journal), translated between cultural registers.¹³ Bao would go on to edit some ten journals after moving to Shanghai, most of them fiction magazines. He was also a journalist in his own right, a translator—or more accurately, a polisher of translations—and a fiction author.¹⁴ In addition, Bao had a special interest in

10 The Youzheng shuju's primary list consisted of fine art books including painting reproduction volumes and art catalogues.

11 Winners of first, second, and third prize in the contest would receive five, three, or one *yuan* 圓 respectively worth of Youzheng shuju publications of their choosing. See "Xuanshang wen" 縣賞文 (Essay contests) in *FNSB1*, 3, pp. 4-17. [these are issue not page numbers]

12 Bao had this response to the popular pictorial *Dianshi zhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (Dianshizhai Illustrated Magazine), see Li Renyuan 李仁淵, "Xinshi chubanye yu zhishi fenzi: yi Bao Tianxiao de zaoqi shengya weili" 新式出版業與智識分子：以包天笑的早期生涯為例 (New-style publishing and intellectuals: with Bao Tianxiao's early life as an example), *Si yu yan* 思與言 43:3 (September 2005), p. 67.

13 On these journals see Li Renyuan, pp. 78-79.

14 Among the fiction journals Bao would edit or co-edit were Di Baoxian's *Xiaoshuo shibao* 小說時報 (The fiction eastern times) in 1909, *Xiaoshuo congbao* 小說叢報 (Thicket of fiction magazine) in 1914, *Xiaoshuo daguan* 小說大觀 ("Grand Magazine") in 1915, and *Xingqi zhoukan* 星期週刊 (The weekly) in 1922.

women's education and taught at a number of Shanghai girls' schools while serving as a *Shibao* editor. Given Bao's pedagogical and editorial experience, it was natural that Di chose him to run the Shibao guan's new women's journal.¹⁵

Bao Tianxiao left a profound imprint on *Funü shibao* through his column, "From the office of the editor" ("Bianji shi" 編輯室) or "Conversation from the office of the editor" ("Bianji shi zhi tanhua" 編輯室之談話), which appeared in ten of *Funü shibao*'s 21 issues. This column was the medium through which Bao communicated with his audience. He used it to solicit articles; report on the status of submitted and rejected manuscripts; announce columns, essays, and letters that would appear in future issues; and publicly answer reader's queries. More importantly, he used this platform to set the parameters for the tone and content of the magazine.

Bao addressed a female readership in his editorial column and doggedly solicited manuscripts from female writers. He hoped these writers would galvanize other female readers just as General Han Xin 韓信 of the Han dynasty successfully mobilized his soldiers.¹⁶ At the same time, however, Bao was aware that the level of female literacy in this period was low and that the women who did read and write for *Funü shibao* belonged to the small percentage of China's, or more accurately, Jiangnan's educated elite.¹⁷ In early 1916, Bao announced that he was

15 From 1906, Bao taught at a number of the more prominent girls' schools in Shanghai including Shanghai nüzi cangye xuetang 上海女子蠶業學堂 (Shanghai girls' sericulture school), his close friend Yang Baimin's 楊白民 Chengdong nüxue 城東女學 (Chengdong girls' school), Minli nüzhong 民立女中 (People's girls' middle school), Wuben nüxue 務本女學 (Wuben school), and Aiguo nüxue 愛國女學 (Patriotic girls' school). Chiou Chun-Ming [Qiu Junming] 邱俊明, 'Jia you xianmu, shi you liangqi': *Funü shibao* 1911-1917 jiating jiaoyu taolun chutan 「家有賢母，室有良妻」：《婦女時報》(1911-1917) 家庭教育討論初探 ('A wise mother in the home, a good wife in the family: A preliminary examination of the discussion of household education in *Funü shibao*, 1911-1917) (MA Thesis: Taiwan University, Department of History, 2010), p. 11; Jiang, Bao, pp. 86-87. Given the good salary Bao was earning as an editor and author, he was not teaching at these girls' schools for money but out of interest. On Bao's salary at this time, see Li Renyuan, p. 54.

16 BJS, *FNSB* 1 (June 11, 1911), p. 85.

17 Bao Tianxiao, *Chuanying lou huiyilu* 釧影樓回憶錄 (Reminiscences from the bracelet shadow chamber) (Hong Kong: Dahua chubanshe, 1971), p. 432. Much more work needs to be done on the question of female literacy. Based on the work of Evelyn Rawski, who has estimated that two to ten percent of females were literate in the 1800s (*Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989], p. 140), and of Susan Mann, who has documented the high female literacy rate in the Jiangnan region in the same period (see

receiving over ten submissions a day from women and that 70 to 80 percent of these were by members of that Jiangnan demographic: virtuous and talented women from good families whom he variously referred to as *guixiu* 閨秀, *guiyan* 閨彥, *mingyuan* 名媛, and *shuyuan* 淑媛.¹⁸ Bao was extremely grateful for these writings, which provided the journal with at least some authentic female content, mostly poetry in the form of *shi* 詩 or *ci* 詞. At the same time, however, he often revealed his frustration that the journal was unable to reach beyond these genteel women or to attract writings on a richer variety of topics than those discussed in their lyrical texts. His prime editorial ambition was to address the quotidian concerns and lived experience of a broad range of Chinese women.

This editorial preoccupation is mirrored in the topics the journal set for the essay contests announced in sixteen of the journal's 21 issues. Eight of these sixteen contest themes had to do with women's occupations. A contest for the best essay on "Women's occupations in all regions" (Gedi funü zhi zhiye" 各地婦女之職業) was announced in three consecutive issues, on "Female agriculture" (Guanyu nüzi zhi nongye 關於女子之農業) in four, and on "Women and industry" (Funü yu shiye 婦女與實業) in one.¹⁹ Bao noted in the seventh issue that the topic of "Women's occupations in all regions," which had been advertised in the third to fifth issues, had resulted in a number of submissions (many of which were published). He stated that together with more general articles, the magazine would particularly welcome investigations of specific female occupations. He gave as an example an article that appeared in the first issue of the journal on "Diaojing niang" 掉經娘, poor young women who prepared looms for weaving by attaching the vertical threads or warp of fabric.²⁰ Bao further attempted to

"Appendix: The Spatial Distribution of Women Writers in Qing Times," *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997], pp. 229-232), and given the advances that had been made in female education before *Funü shibao* was published, we could make a very gross estimate of ten to 35 percent in Shanghai in this period.

18 Bao Tianxiao, "Bianji shi zhi tanhua" 編輯室之談話 (Conversation from the office of the editor, hereafter BJSZTH) *FNSB* 18 (June, 1916), p. 95. These women represented a demographic similar to that of the *cainü* 才女 or *guixiu* of the High Qing whom Susan Mann has written about in her landmark study. Bao noted in the second issue that most *shi* submissions were from Yushan 虞山 (in Jiangsu province, Changshu 常熟 county), a region Mann has identified as one of the most concentrated areas of female writers in the eighteenth century. Mann, *Precious Records*, p. 6.

19 "Xuanshang wen" 縣賞文 (Essay contests, hereafter XSW), *FNSB* 3-5; *FNSB* 9-12, *FNSB* 7.

20 BJS, *FNSB* 7 (July 10, 1912), p. 83.

de-center discussions of women's experience by moving beyond the Shanghai region and exploring local customs through such contest topics as "Marriage customs in my native place" (Woxiang hunjia zhi fengsu 我鄉婚嫁之風俗).²¹

Bao's preoccupation with everyday experience is also manifest in his repeated solicitation of diaries from his readers. Already in the first issue he lamented that the journal had not yet received any texts of this kind.²² In the ninth issue he again reminded *guiyan* that the journal would enthusiastically welcome the submission of their household diaries (*jiating riji* 家庭日記).²³ By the nineteenth issue in the summer of 1916, women had sent in a number of such daily chronicles. Unfortunately many of them revealed just how dull the everyday can be. Bao complained of hackneyed (*chenfu* 陳腐) works that were little more than monotonous records of getting up, going to bed, and eating. Such diaries were, he stated, not worth straining either the energy of the journal's compositors (*shoumin* 手民) or the eyesight of its readers.²⁴

One diary by a certain Suxia 素霞 that focused on the material conditions rather than the subjective experience of everyday life did meet Bao's approval. Suxia's submission was not a daily but an annual record of the influence of society and politics on her family's economic situation over the period from 1903 to 1912.²⁵ She focused on the impact of specific events on the household economy—her father's death, her siblings' studies, the chaos that ensued after a French missionary murdered the magistrate of her native Nanchang (she is silent on the murder of six French missionaries in retaliation), a fire, and the 1911 Revolution. She also included a lengthy digression on the complex currency situation in this period.²⁶

Other articles published in the journal were more focused on women's emotional experience and responded to *Funü shibao*'s declared aim of advancing women's happiness in the family and at work. Bao stated that the time when women selflessly swallowed their grievances (*yinben* 飲恨) and suppressed their

21 XSW, *FNSB* 1 (June 11, 1911), p. 86.

22 BJS, *FNSB* 1 (June 11, 1911), p. 85.

23 BJS, *FNSB* 9 (February 25, 1913), p. 92. Bao assured readers that their surnames would not have to be published.

24 BJS, *FNSB* 19 (August, 1916), p. 114.

25 BJSZTH, *FNSB* 20 (November 1916), p. 112.

26 Suxia 素霞, "Wujia shinian lai zhi zhuangkuang" 余家十年來之狀況 (Our family situation over the last ten years), *FNSB* 21 (March 1917), pp. 14-24.

complaints (*tunsheng* 吞聲) had passed with the establishment of the new Republic. In the eighteenth issue he proudly announced the publication of two articles which contributed to greater social transparency. The first was Jin Yuanzhen's 金媛貞 "Pohuai jiating xingfu zhi weixian dongwu (wuhu qie)" 破壞家庭幸福之危險動物 (嗚呼妾), The dangerous animal that could destroy a family's happiness [Alas! The concubine] which exposed the domestic turmoil that resulted from the practice of concubinage. Two bleak options awaited the abandoned wife when another woman was introduced into the household, according to Jin: piety or despair. She would either embroider Buddhas, fast, and cultivate good deeds for the future, or become so despondent that she would cry herself to death.²⁷ The second article, Wanxiu's 晚秀 "Shanghai pinnü shengya zhi diaocha" 上海貧女生涯之調查 (Investigation of the lives of poor women in Shanghai), described the economic trials women faced eking out a miserable living at such lowly occupations as reeling silk cocoons, picking tea leaves, or wrapping cigarettes.²⁸ Bao strongly encouraged *mingyuan* whose hearts were filled with compassion (*beitianminren* 悲天憫人) to send in more accounts of social problems they had either heard of or personally encountered.²⁹

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND HYGIENE

Bao had already published one such account in the journal's first issue, an article by a certain Qiu Ping 秋蘋 entitled "Chanfu zhi xinde ji shiyan tan" 產婦之心得及實驗談 (The knowledge and experience of women who have just given birth). Qiu's article, which describes the death of two of her friends from complications of childbirth and calls for the professionalization of midwifery in China, seems to have roused Bao's commitment to improving Chinese women's reproductive health. He forcefully articulated this commitment in the spring of 1912. "Every year," he declared, a number of our female compatriots die

27 Jin Yuanzhen 金媛貞, "Pohuai jiating xingfu zhi weixian dongwu (wu hu qie)" 破壞家庭幸福之危險動物 (嗚呼妾) (The dangerous animal that could destroy a family's happiness Alas! The concubine), *FNSB* 18 (June, 1916) pp. 8-10.

28 Wanxiu 晚秀, "Shanghai pinnü shengya zhi diaocha" 上海貧女生涯之調查 (An investigation of the careers of poor women of Shanghai), *FNSB* 18 (June, 1916), pp. 22-31.

29 BJSZTH, *FNSB* 18 (June 1916), p. 95.

mistakenly at the hands of ignorant female quacks (*yongyi yufu* 庸醫愚婦).”³⁰ It was therefore imperative to raise the *Funü shibao* audience’s knowledge of medicine and hygiene. Bao attempted to do this by setting essay contests on the topics of “Household hygiene” (*Jiating weisheng lun* 家庭衛生論) and the need for women to have basic medical knowledge (*Nüzi dangyou putong yixue zhishi* 女子當有普通醫學知識).³¹ He also planned a question and answer column on hygiene for issue ten.³²

Qiu Ping explained that she had been driven to write her essay by the deaths from complications of childbirth of two of her fellow students and friends. Qiu lamented that the study of midwifery (*champo zhi xue* 產婆之學) did not exist in China and that the most crucial and delicate of human processes—childbirth—was consigned to old women (*laopo* 老婆) with no understanding of physiology (*shengli* 生理) or medicine. Reciting the popular saying, “if you cannot be a good prime minister, be a good doctor,” she implored women who were marginalized from politics to serve their sisters and the larger society through medicine as midwives or nurses. She offered a series of reflections on the experience of childbirth based on her own observations and on what she had learned from friends. These included graphic details about breast infections and the expansion of womb in pregnancy, and detailed descriptions of the visual aids, specimens, and skeletons that equipped midwife schools in Japan.³³

Not all of *Funü shibao*’s readers appreciated this kind of explicit discussion. In the issue following the publication of Qiu’s essay, Bao lamented that a reader had written in to criticize the article, complaining that it was not sufficiently refined. Bao questioned why critics only celebrated women’s contributions to literature (*wenxue*) and the fine arts while “life and death topics that are also part of women’s roles are regarded with such disdain.” The journal would persevere, he stated, in promoting the agenda Qiu had set for women: to pursue occupations as nurses and midwives.³⁴ It would also remain assiduous in seeking foreign

30 BJS, *FNSB* 6 (May 1, 1912), p. 88.

31 XSW, *FNSB* 8 (September 25, 1912), p. 83; *FNSB* 13 (April 1, 1914), p. 84; *FNSB* 14 (July 15, 1914), p. 81.

32 BJS, *FNSB* 9 (February 25, 1913), p. 92.

33 Qiu Ping 秋蘋, “Chanfu zhi xinde ji shiyan tan” 產婦之心得及實驗談 (A woman’s knowledge and experience of childbirth), *FNSB* 1 (June 11, 1911), pp. 17-20.

34 BJS, *FNSB* 2 (July 26, 1911), p. 86.

solutions to the dangers of childbirth.

Bao presented two such solutions in the nineteenth issue of the journal: the French method of contraception and the recent German discovery of a “painless, safe method of giving birth.” Bao was most enthusiastic about the German option and announced that he had already arranged to have an article explicating it translated.³⁵ The translation (from Japanese rather than the original German) appeared in the next two issues. It describes Drs. Bernhardt Kronig and Karl Gauss’s use of scopolamine or “Twilight Sleep” at the Women’s Clinic of the State University of Baden to alleviate the agony of childbirth.³⁶

In addition to publishing translated descriptions of recent advances in obstetric methods and personal accounts of women’s experiences of childbirth, *Funü shibao* also published articles by Chinese specialists in this field. The most prominent of these was Qu Jun 瞿鈞 (Shaoheng 紹衡, 1888-1960), a key figure in facilitating the dissemination of information on women’s reproductive health in China. Originally from Chuansha 川沙 in Jiangsu Province, Qu trained as a doctor in Japan and devoted his career to the study and practice of obstetrics and gynecology in China. He graduated from Osaka Higher Medical School (Ōsaka Kōtō igakkō 高等医学校) in 1916, and went on to found a number of hospitals in China. His wife, Yao Yingnai 姚英乃, also a contributor to *Funü shibao*, studied in Japan at the Midwife Training Institute for Overseas Students attached to Osaka Higher Medical School (Liu Ri Daban gaodeng yixue xiao fushu chanpo yangcheng suo 留日大阪高等醫學校附屬產婆養成所).³⁷ Together, Qu and Yao founded

35 BJSZTH, *FNSB* 19 (August 1916), p. 114.

36 Qin Zong 琴宗 trans., Zhi Xin 知新 trans., “Wutong anchan fa” 無痛安產法 (Painless childbirth), *FNSB* 20 (November 1916), pp. 46-54. Zhi Xin 知新 trans., Qin Zong 琴宗 trans. “Wutong anchan fa xu” 無痛安產法(續) (Painless childbirth, continued). *FNSB* 21 (April 1917), pp. 56-70. The original source is Aoyagi Yūbi 青柳有美, *Jissen mutsūan sanpō, Fuku: Ijutsu no shinpo* 実験無痛安產法 附・醫術の進歩 (The practice of painless childbirth, supplement on medical progress) (Tokyo Jitsugyō no sekaisha, 1915). An article on the treatment by Marguerite Tracy and Constance Leupp in *McClures Magazine* in New York in 1914 inspired fervent American interest and a number of wealthy American women went to the Germany for the treatment. In 1915, Mary Sumner Boyd and Marguerite Tracy wrote a book together, *Painless Childbirth*. It is likely that the Aoyagi’s text was a translation of this English one but I have yet to connect all of the dots. By 1916 when the *FNSB* articles appeared, the treatment had already been discredited in both the US and Germany. See Mark Sloan, *Birth Day: A Pediatrician Explores the Science, the History, and the Wonder of Childbirth* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2009), 108ff.

37 In an article she wrote for *FNSB*, Yao’s institutional affiliation is given as Liu Ri Daban gaodeng

the Qushi fufu yiyuan 瞿氏夫婦醫院 (The Dr. and Mrs. Qu Hospital) in 1922. Qu was also involved in founding and running the Women's School of Obstetrics (Nüzi chanke xuexiao 女子產科學校) and the Advanced School for Obstetrics (Shengsheng gaoji zhuchan xuexiao 生生高級助產學校) established in 1923. That same year he was sent by the Ministry of Education to study in Germany. He continued to write and be active in this field through at least the 1930s.³⁸

Qu shared Bao Tianxiao's conviction that Chinese women were not only suffering but dying as a result of benighted practices and unenlightened taboos against the open discussion of issues related to women's reproductive health. He also shared Bao's commitment to improving medical practice in China by bridging the gap between scientific knowledge and everyday knowledge on the topic of women's reproductive health. In addition to writing articles in specialized journals and teaching materials for use in training hospitals, Qu composed a popular songbook, *Three Hundred Popular Songs on Gynecology* (Tongsu chanke sanbai yong 通俗產科三百咏). As a student in Osaka, he also wrote articles on women's health and compiled a survey on the onset of menstruation, both published in *Funü shibao*. Qu viewed the survey as a means of elevating the level of knowledge of the menses in China to that of the Western world.³⁹

In his two *Funü shibao* articles both published in 1911, Qu asserted that female illnesses could generally be traced to complications of menstruation or childbirth. He knew that women's unwillingness to broach such topics with men, doctors, or even with other women often proved fatal. Determined to put an end to this misguided modesty, he openly discussed issues related to feminine hygiene. He asserted, for example, that the pads Chinese women used at the time of their

yixue xiao fushu chanpo yangcheng suo 留日大阪高等醫學校附屬產婆養成). Qu Yao Yingnai 瞿姚英乃, "Xiaoer yingyang fa" 小兒營養法 (Nutrition for children), *FNSB* 15 (November 1, 1914), pp. 24-27.

38 Yao Yi 姚毅, *Kindai Chūgoku no shussan to kokka shakai: yishi, josanshi, sessaiba* 近代中国の出産と国家社会: 医師・助産士・接生婆 (Nation, society, and childbirth in modern China: doctors, midwives, and birth grannies) (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 2011), p. 115, 118, 124, 129, 202, 203, 283.

39 Qu Jun 瞿鈞, "Funü zhi weisheng yi ban - yuejing zhi zhuyi/ renshen zhi baoyang" 婦女之衛生一班——月經之注意/ 妊娠之保養 (A lesson on women's hygiene - menstruation care/pregnancy care), *FNSB* 3 (September 22, 1911), pp. 25-29; "Furen zhi weisheng zahua" 婦人之衛生雜話 (Miscellaneous comments on women's hygiene), *FNSB* 4 (November 5, 1911), pp. 17-19; "Diaocha funü yuejing qi" 調查婦女月經啟 (Investigation of the onset of menstruation), *FNSB* 16 (February 1915), pp. 84-85.

periods were coarse and unhygienic and encouraged his female compatriots to follow Japanese women in using superior Western sanitary napkins. Qu also provided information about various aspects of care during pregnancy including what women should eat and wear, how they should wash, whether they should travel, and what they needed to do in the case of a miscarriage.⁴⁰

報 時 女 婦

國 民 華 中

表 查 調 經 月 女 婦

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	省 府 縣	歲 (月 日 生)	省 府 縣		歲 (月 日)		日	歲 (月 日)	歲 (月 日)	次	歲 (月 日)	

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清 芬 集

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清 芬 集

暮春即事 陳彬子

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香。風。陣。陣。襲。冰。肌。幾。處。珠。樓。笑。語。粉。蝶。飛。舞。亂。紅。花。人。去。不。多。時。

記。憶。年。來。力。漸。微。入。時。花。樣。扇。中。愁。支。離。無。語。拈。針。想。雙。飛。

飛。上。衣。

花。外。柳。千。絲。綠。肥。紅。瘦。涼。春。本。是。感。時。節。添。得。離。聲。更。斷。腸。

八十五

Qu Jun 瞿鈞, "Diaocha funü yuejing qi" 調查婦女月經啓 (Investigation of the onset of menstruation), *FNSB* 16 (Feb. 1915), p. 85.

40 Qu Jun, "Funü zhi weisheng yi ban," pp. 25-29.

In early 1915, Qu continued his efforts to demystify and scientize menstruation by designing a survey on patterns of the menses in China, the “Republican Chinese Survey of Women’s Menstruation” (Zhonghua Minguo funü yuejing diaocha biao 中華民國婦女月經調查表). In introducing the survey, Qu noted that, unlike China which lacked a unified system of medical knowledge, all advanced (*wenming* 文明) nations kept statistics on menstruation. Such statistics were, he argued, critical for predicting a woman’s fertility and managing her health. His concern with the future happiness of the 200 million women of China inspired his efforts to integrate the most intimate details of their lives into global circuits of knowledge. He provided his readers with a table that recorded the average age at the onset of menstruation in various countries including Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Spain, Japan, India, and Holland. He then encouraged his *Funü shibao* audience to fill out his own survey, which was printed in the journal.

The survey requested the following information:

- surname (in recognition of the potential reluctance of some women to fill out the survey Qu noted that they could use a pseudonym [*anzì* 暗字] although he encouraged them to give their own surnames)
- native place
- age
- current place of residence
- age at onset of menstruation
- characteristics of periods from beginning to end
- duration of periods
- age at marriage (to be left blank by those who have not had children)
- age at birth of first child (to be left blank by those who have not had children)
- number of births (to be left blank by those who have not had children)
- age when period ended

Qu assumed that male assistance would be necessary if his project was to succeed. He asked for men’s cooperation in overseeing the completion of the survey and in mailing them to the Shanghai *Funü shibao* society. The *Funü shibao* office would then send all completed surveys to Qu in Japan.⁴¹

41 Qu Jun, “Diaocha funü yuejing,” pp. 84-85.

SCIENTIZED FAMILY EDUCATION

Just as Qu Jun attempted to bridge the gap between scientific knowledge of the reproductive process and women's experience of menstruation and childbirth, other *Funnü shibao* authors attempted to integrate scientific knowledge into family pedagogy. Their concern was not so much to elevate household education through the enunciation of abstract, enlightened principles as it was to bring scientific principles to bear on the concrete experience of everyday life. Similar to Bao Tianxiao, who based the kinds of knowledge the journal would disseminate on women's lived experience, so these authors considered experiential learning under the guidance of mothers in the context of the family—rather than more theoretical instruction expounded by impersonal teachers in the classroom—to be the foundation of children's learning.

A tremendous amount of ink was spilled on the topic of household education in *Funnü shibao* as it was in all women's, educational, and general interest periodicals of the period. Both male and female authors discussed various aspects of informal education in the home, from its links to formal girls' education and universal education to its national relevance and moral influence.⁴² A number of these articles on the crucial impact of education in the home spoke directly to Bao's Everyday Agenda. They included essays by two male authors who would become prominent figures in modern Chinese history and by one of *Funnü shibao*'s better published female authors.

The renowned writer, publisher, and advocate of "Literature in the service of life" (文學爲人生), Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶 (Ye Shaojun 葉紹鈞 1894-1988), published the first article in his long and prolific career in *Funnü shibao* in September of 1911.⁴³ An eighteen-year-old primary school teacher and recent

42 See, for example, Zhao Yuan 趙媛, "Jiating jiaoyu lun" 家庭教育論 (On family education), *FNSB* 1 (June 11, 1911), pp. 6-11; Chu Qizhen 褚琦珍, "Jiating jiaoyu yu nüzi jiaoyu de guanxi" 家庭教育與女子教育的關係 (The relationship between family education and women's education), *FNSB* 3 (September 22, 1911), pp. 10-12; Gao Kezhi 高克智, "Jiating yu guojia zhi guanxi" 家庭與國家之關係 (The relationship between family and nation), *FNSB* 20 (November 1916), pp. 107-109.

43 For Ye's life and career, see Liu Zengren 劉增人, Feng Guanglian 馮光廉, *Ye Shengtao yanjiu ziliao* 葉聖陶研究資料 (Research materials on Ye Shengtao), (Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe 北京十月文藝出版社, 1988), p. 23. Ye Tao 葉陶 (Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶), "Ertong zhi guannian"

graduate of the Caoqiao zhongxue 草橋中學 (Caoqiao Secondary School) in Suzhou when the article was published, Ye would become a key figure in May Fourth literary circles. He was a member of the progressive *Xinbao she* 新潮社 (New Tide Society) in 1919, a founder of the Wenxue yanjiu hui 文學研究會 (Literary research association) in 1921, and a close associate of Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936) and other left-wing writers thereafter.⁴⁴ In the scholarly understanding of Ye's career to date, 1919 is considered a crucial turning point: the pivotal moment when he abandoned frivolous literary pursuits and turned to serious writing.⁴⁵ A close reading of Ye's little known first article, which was published in *Funü shibao* in September of 1911, challenges this view. It both sheds light on important pre- and post-May Fourth continuities, and confirms the historical importance of *Funü shibao*'s Everyday Agenda.

Ye's maiden essay provides the first textual evidence of what would become two of his lifelong missions: to explore the everyday in prose and to directly address children through fiction. Ye shunned contrived plots and romantic flights of fancy in his writing and was reluctant to describe anything beyond what he had personally observed. His prose writing was "concrete, factual, informative,"⁴⁶ and the narrative situations in his stories were always grounded in domestic or local life.⁴⁷ Ye's particular interest in children within the domestic sphere is apparent in his *Funü shibao* article, "Ertong zhi guannian" 兒童之觀念 (Children's

兒童之觀念 (Children's understanding), *FNSB* 3 (September 22, 1911). Ye's second article was also published in *FNSB*, Shengtao 聖陶 (Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶), "Lun guizu funü you gechu zhuangshe shechi zhi ze" 論貴族婦女有革除妝飾奢侈之責 (On wealthy women's responsibility to eliminate lavish spending on make-up and fashion), *FNSB* 4 (November 5, 1911).

44 Liu Zengren 劉增人, Feng Guanglian 馮光廉, *Ye Shengtao yanjiu ziliao* 葉聖陶研究資料 (Research materials on Ye Shengtao) (Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe 北京十月文藝出版社, 1988), p. 23. Ye Tao, "Ertong." Ye's second article was also published in *FNSB*, Shengtao 聖陶 (Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶), "Lun guizu funü you gechu zhuangshe shechi zhi ze" 論貴族婦女有革除妝飾奢侈之責 (On wealthy women's responsibility to eliminate lavish spending on make-up and fashion), *FNSB* 4 (November 5, 1911).

45 See, for example, Bonnie S. McDougall and Kam Louie, *The Literature of China in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 102. I am grateful to Michel Hockx for pointing me to this source and sharing his insights on constructions of Ye Shengtao's pre-May Fourth career.

46 David Pollard, *The Chinese Essay* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 167.

47 Marston Anderson, *The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in The Revolutionary Period* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), p. 96.

understanding). Ye insisted that eight- or nine-year-old children learned more through their concrete and affective experiences at home than they did through book learning at school. He gave the example of a young boy whose mother instructs him to burn incense for his ancestors—a profound act certain to deeply mark a young child. When this same child attends school and learns from his textbook that ancestor worship is equivalent to the superstitious worship of idols (*ouxiang* 偶像), he would just laugh. A textbook narrative could not compete with ingrained ritual practices reinforced within the context of the family.⁴⁸

While Ye's article addressed one of the fundamental principles of the Epic Agenda—the need to properly educate the women who were raising the nation's children—it placed everyday childhood experience rather than abstract national aspirations at the center of literary reform. “Children's understanding” also foreshadowed the seminal role Ye would play in establishing the field of China's new children's literature. An author and editor of children's books and magazines, he was also a pioneer of the Chinese fairytale. His “astonishing command of the juvenile mind” which the literary historian C.T. Hsia would celebrate decades later was already manifest in this maiden essay.⁴⁹

Whereas Ye used literature to explore maternal influence within the familial realm, the author and activist Yun Daiying 惲代英 (1895-1931) was one of the strongest proponents of the scientization of household education. Yun was a student at the Sili Wuhan Zhonghua daxue 私立武昌中華大學 (Wuhan private Chinese university) when he wrote for *Funü shibao* in 1916 and 1917.⁵⁰ As a young intellectual, Yun was committed to social improvement through self-reflection, communal solidarity, and public engagement. He was highly attuned to radical cultural politics in Beijing, Shanghai and elsewhere in China as a journal editor and as the organizer of a Mutual Aid Society (Huzhu she 互助社), a communal bookstore, and numerous associations of young Wuhan activists. He joined the Communist Party in 1921 but did not physically leave Wuhan for Shanghai until 1923.⁵¹

48 Ye Tao, “Ertong.”

49 Mary Ann Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China: From Lu Xun to Mao Zedong* (Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), pp. 93-95, Hsia cited on 93.

50 Yun's family was originally from Wujin in Jiangsu province but he grew up in Wuhan, Hubei. He entered Sili Wuhan Zhonghua daxue in 1913 and graduated in 1918.

51 On Yun's life see, Zhang Yu 張羽, Tie Feng 鐵鳳, *Yun Daiying zhuan* 惲代英傳 (Biography of

Yun was a prolific writer. According to the Shanghai Library's *Quanguo baokan suoyin* 全國報刊索引 (National periodicals index) he published 30 articles between 1915 and 1924, while the Dacheng laojiukan quanwen ziliao ku 大成老舊刊全文資料庫 (Dacheng old periodicals database) lists 40 articles over approximately the same period. Neither of these sources, however, comes close to capturing Yun's full journalistic output. This output was partially economically driven: it was through his writing that Yun supported his family and earned stock for his communal bookstore.⁵² Yun was, nonetheless, passionately invested in the themes he wrote about. This is evident in a close reading of the essay "Jiating jiaoyu lun" 家庭教育論 (On family education) which was published in the last two issues of *Funü shibao* in November 1916 and April 1917.⁵³

Mainland scholar Zhao Zhongxin 趙忠心 heralds Yun's essay as one of the most important academic studies in the history of family education in China, citing in particular its path-breaking introduction of science into household pedagogy.⁵⁴ In the essay, Yun's principal concern was to underscore the central importance of family education. In the first part of the two-part article, he emphasized the parents' multi-faceted role in educating their children. With unacknowledged echoes of the tale of Mencius's mother, Yun asserted that parents must create the perfect environment for their child's educational development, from choosing the right friends to equipping the household with the appropriate furnishings. More importantly, however, and reflecting Yun's own personal preoccupation with self-cultivation, parents must carefully monitor their own words and deeds in order to successfully serve as the powerful models

Yun Daiying) (Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1995); Zhao Zhongxin 趙忠心, *Gujin jiajiao wencui* 古今家教文萃 (Collection of ancient and modern writings on family education) (Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 263-264; Shakhrah Rahav, "Yun Daiying and the Rise of Political Intellectuals in Modern China: Radical Societies in May Fourth Wuhan," (Ms. Oct. 25, 2009).

52 On the material incentives for writing specifically for *FNSB* see Zhou Xuqi 周敘琪, "Yuedu yu shenghuo: Yun Daiying de jiating shenghuo yu *Funü zazhi* zhi guanxi," 閱讀與生活——惲代英的家庭生活與《婦女雜誌》之關係 ("Reading and Life: The Relationship between Jun Daiying's Family Life and the *Ladies' Journal*"), *Si yu yan* 思與言 43:3 (September 2005), p. 162. Authors in this period were often paid for their submissions in books as was the case with *FNSB* which offered authors books from its publisher, the Youzheng shuju.

53 Yun Daiying 惲代英, "Jiating jiaoyu lun" 家庭教育論 (On family education), *FNSB* 20 (November 1916), pp. 15-24; Yun Daiying 惲代英, "Jiating jiaoyu lun" 家庭教育論 (On family education, continued), *FNSB* 21 (April, 1917), pp. 1-14.

54 Zhao Zhongxin, p. 288, 293.

they inevitably are for their own children. While this emphasis on self-cultivation and modeling is highly resonant with Confucianism, Yun directly takes issue with the Confucian teaching that a father should distance himself from his son's education.⁵⁵ Instead he invokes foreign authorities including Winifred Sackville Stoner (ca. 1870-1931, Sitongle 司通勒), an educator and founder of three schools of "Natural Education," who claimed that even with incomplete knowledge, a mother was several times more qualified to instruct her child than an unrelated teacher. The highest form of parental modeling, Yun insisted, was imperceptible influence (*qianyimohua* 潛移默化).⁵⁶

Yun most directly linked family education to his own concerns with both self-betterment and pragmatic everyday knowledge in the second part of the essay. Expressing sentiments that he also articulated in a piece entitled "Zisong yu" 自訟語 (Self-blame), Yun elevates everyday knowledge over book learning, quotidian matters over epical abstractions. He berates himself in "Zisong yu" for only knowing how to read books while remaining unskilled in practical matters,⁵⁷ and he amplified this theme in the second installment of "Jiating jiaoyu lun." He asserted that books are dead things and that a child could only learn the vital principles of all under heaven by reading nature's living books. Again invoking

55 Yun references the following passage from the Analects, XVI: XIII: 陳亢問於伯魚曰：「子亦有異聞乎？」對曰：「未也。嘗獨立，鯉趨而過庭。曰：『學詩乎？』對曰：『未也。』『不學詩，無以言。』鯉退而學詩。他日又獨立，鯉趨而過庭。曰：『學禮乎？』對曰：『未也。』『不學禮，無以立。』鯉退而學禮。聞斯二者。」陳亢退而喜曰：「問一得三，聞詩，聞禮，又聞君子之遠其子也。」 Chen Kang asked Bo Yu, saying, "Have you heard any lessons from your father different from what we have all heard?" Bo Yu replied, "No. He was standing alone once, when I passed below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, 'Have you learned the Odes?' On my replying 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with.' I retired and studied the Odes. Another day, he was in the same way standing alone, when I passed by below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, 'Have you learned the rules of Propriety?' On my replying 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the rules of Propriety, your character cannot be established.' I then retired, and learned the rules of Propriety. I have heard only these two things from him." Chen Kang retired, and, quite delighted, said, "I asked one thing, and I have got three things. I have heard about the Odes. I have heard about the rules of Propriety. I have also heard that the superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son." See, James Legge, trans., *Confucius: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean* (New York rpt.: Dover, 1971), pp. 315-316.

56 Yun, "Jiating," *FNSB* 20, p. 17.

57 The essay was published in the journal *Xuesheng zazhi* 學生雜誌 (Student magazine), cited in Zhang Yu and Tie Feng, p. 85.

foreign authority to support his claim, he cited “an American science magazine” (*Meiguo kexue zazhi* 美國科學雜誌) that advocated learning through investigation, experimentation, and the study of natural science rather than of error-ridden textbooks (*canque miuwu zhi jiaokeshu* 殘缺謬誤之教科書). Yun further valorized everyday knowledge by equating it with science, quoting Aldous Huxley’s (1825-1895 Hexuli 赫胥黎) statement that science is nothing more than systematic everyday knowledge (*changshi* 常識). Whether students are being introduced to the concept of death, the utility of arithmetic, or the spectrum of colors and feelings, they need to learn from induction, Yun insisted, from personal, practical experience.⁵⁸

Yun Daiying cited a number of sources in his article, from foreign experts such as Aldous Huxley and Winifred Sackville Stoner to historical Chinese pedagogical authorities including Tang Jixiu 唐翼修 (Tang Biao 唐彪, fl. 1708). One unacknowledged source for his theorization of the family seems, however, to have been *Funü shibao* articles written by women, among them, the frequent *Funü shibao* contributor, Wang Jieliang 汪傑樑 (fl. 1912).⁵⁹ We have concrete evidence that Yun was an engaged reader of *Funü shibao*.⁶⁰ Not only did he submit articles and translations to the journal, he seems to have used it as a template for the Zhonghua University organ, the *Guanghua xuebao* 光華學報 (The Guanghua Bulletin), that he edited from 1917. In September of that year, between the appearance of Yun’s second and third publications in *Funü shibao*, he added both readers’ and editor’s columns with identical titles to those found in the Shanghai women’s journal (“Duzhe julebu” 讀者俱樂部 and “Bianji shi zhi tanhua” 編輯室之談話).⁶¹

Yun also seems to have gained some of his insights into the value of family education from Wang Jieliang’s essays. The caption to a photograph published in issue three of the journal on September 22, 1911 (in which Wang Jieliang does *not* appear) reveals that Wang graduated from Yang Baimin’s 楊白民 Chengdong nüxue 城東女學 (Chengdong girls’ school), one of the school’s at which Bao

58 Yun, “Jiating,” *FNSB* 20, pp. 3-6.

59 Wang published eight articles in *FNSB* in 1911 and 1912. According to Chiou (26), she was the second most prolific female author for the journal following Jiang Renlan 江纫蘭.

60 There is evidence in Yun’s diary that he purchased the 17th, 19th, 20th, and 21st issues of *FNSB*, but he seems to have read, if not purchased it earlier. See Zhou Xuqi, p. 188.

61 On these editorial changes see Rahav, p. 68.

Tianxiao had taught. She then took up a teaching position at the Rugao shashi xiaoxue 如皋沙市小學 (Rugao Sha City Elementary School) in Nantong, Jiangsu Province. Her photograph was subsequently printed in the tenth issue in May of 1913 and she is identified as a writer for the journal.



A contributor to this journal, Ms. Wang Jieliang 汪傑梁, *FNSB* 10 (May 1913).

Wang wrote for *Funü shibao* on a range of topics including women's education, women's occupations in America, and women's participation in the

military, and on related themes such as the ideal family and childcare.⁶² She also contributed to other journals of the period: in 1915 she published an article in *Zhonghua funüjie* 中華婦女界 (The Chinese women's magazine) on Shanghai marriage customs.⁶³ Wang's writing was so respected that one of her articles on childhood illnesses was reprinted in the journal *Xiandai jiating* 現代家庭 (Modern family) some twenty-seven years after it was first published in *Funü shibao*.⁶⁴

There are distinct resonances between Wang's article on the ideal family published in January of 1912, and Yun's essay on family education discussed above. A number of these similarities are not particularly remarkable. They include Wang's contention that three years of education in the home under maternal guidance are more important than three years of education in university. They also include her conviction, which Yun shared, that physical education is the source of a child's sense of independence and autonomy and thus the foundation of intellectual and moral education. More striking, however, is her advocacy of the inductive method of learning that Yun also promoted in his later article. Like Yun, Wang insisted that children could learn most effectively if they learned directly from nature and from personal experience. She encouraged members of her projected female audience to use family vacation time collecting natural science specimens (*bowu biaooben* 博物標本), learning from on-site experience, painting landscapes, and investigating local customs.⁶⁵

62 Wang Jieliang 汪傑樑, "Meiguo nüzi zhi zhiye" 美國女子之職業 (American women's occupations), *FNSB* 1 (June 11, 1911), pp. 38-41; "Rugao luxing ji" 如皋旅行記 (Rugao travelogue), *FNSB* 1 (June 11, 1911), pp. 36-38; "Lun jinri jiyi chuangshe funü buzhu xueshu" 論今日急宜創設婦女補助學塾 (On the urgent need to establish subsidized schools for women), *FNSB* 2 (July 26, 1911), pp. 1-2; "Xiaoer baoyufa" 小兒保育法 (How to take care of young children), *FNSB* 2 (July 26, 1911), pp. 35-40; "Xiaoer jibing kanhu fa" 小兒疾病看護法 (How to care for sick children), *FNSB* 3 (September 22, 1911), pp. 35-39; "Nüzi congjun xuanyan shu" 女子從軍宣言書 (A declaration on women joining the army), *FNSB* 5 (January 23, 1912), pp. 45-47; "Lixiang de jiating mofan" 理想的家庭模範 (The ideal family model), *FNSB* 5 (January 23, 1912), pp. 1-7; "Lun chudeng jiaoyu" 論初等教育 (Elementary education), *FNSB* 8 (September 25, 1912), pp. 14-15.

63 Wang Jieliang 汪傑樑, "Shanghai hunyin zhi lijie" 上海婚嫁之禮節 (Shanghai marriage customs), *Zhonghua funüjie* 中華婦女界 (The Chinese women's magazine) 1:4 (April 1915).

64 Wang Jieliang 汪傑樑, "Xiaoer jibing kanhu fa" 小兒疾病看護法 (How to care for sick children), in Li Shiyong 李士英, ed., "Fufu zhi dao: Diwubian: taijiao wenti: (er) Yuying 夫婦之道：第五編：胎教問題：(二) 育嬰 (The way of husband and wife: fifth edition: the problem of fetal education: (2) raising infants, *Xiandai jiating* 現代家庭 (Modern family) 9-10 (1938), pp. 115-120.

65 Wang Jieliang, "Lixiang de jiating mofan," pp. 4-5.

CONCLUSION

It is, of course, possible that Yun derived his arguments for evidentiary-based education from other books or articles, or that he developed some of these ideas on his own. It is also possible that he and Wang drew on similar sources while remaining ignorant of one another's writing. The similarities between Wang's arguments and Yun's, nonetheless point to a gendered characteristic of the Everyday Agenda that is at odds with conventional depictions of the roles and representation of women in the Republican periodical press. Whereas most scholars of these materials have noted a stark division of gendered labor with male journalists critiquing and theorizing a female realm of inadequacy or with male theorists formulating social policy and women executing it, a close reading of *Funü shibao* challenges the ubiquity of this dynamic.⁶⁶

Bao Tianxiao formulated *Funü shibao*'s commitment to exploring issues related to women's reproductive health on the basis of articles like the one submitted by the female contributor Qiu Ping. Qiu's piece did not only offer raw material on the physical difficulties of childbirth which male authors and editors could then theorize. It also highlighted the institutional and professional obstacles women faced in getting both adequate care and specialized training. And it offered concrete suggestions for remedying this situation that were based on experience abroad and informed by knowledge of foreign scientific practices. Bao silenced a critique of Qiu's article that surfaced immediately after it appeared, signaling that the journal valued the kind of graphic details it proffered as a potential catalysts for the changes in mores and institutions that the journal advocated. This commitment to greater transparency on questions of women's reproductive health that began with Qiu's article in the journal's first issue continued through its last installment. When *Funü shibao* went out of print in 1917 Bao was expecting to publish the continuation of a translation on a new German method of alleviating the pain of childbirth.

The content of *Funü shibao* and other periodicals of the period is richly varied. In addition to the materials explored in the preceding pages—essays on

66 On this gendered division of labor see, for example, Karl, 542; Chiou, 50.

family education and women's reproductive health, surveys on women's occupations and menstruation, editorial columns and essay contests—they include advertisements for textbooks, sewing machines, and courtesan albums; visual materials—from cover art to photographs, and illustrative diagrams; myriad genres of writing—classical *shi* 詩 and *ci* 詞 poetry on both boudoir and current themes, translated fiction, and biographies of martyred widows.⁶⁷ As scholars are increasingly exploring this cacophony of riches⁶⁸ it is important to look beyond often predictable discussions of topics such as women and the nation, and to do more than search for resonances with the late Qing or antecedents to the May Fourth Epic Agendas. As this essay has attempted to suggest, the complexity of the social and cultural dynamics that were at play in this period cannot be fully apprehended without attention to the unfolding of Everyday Agendas in the pages of the periodical press. Nor can the profound repositioning of women in this era be understood without using the everyday as a critical category of gender analysis.

67 Many of these sources are explored in Judge, *Republican Lens*.

68 An international collaborative project on the periodical press in China, "A New Approach to the Popular Press in China: Gender and Cultural Production, 1904-37" http://www.yorku.ca/ycar/Joan_Judge.html, 2011, has reached the end of its first phase (funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada and the German Humboldt foundation), and has just begun a second phase, "Early Chinese Periodicals Online" (funded by the CCK foundation). This ongoing project involves research on particular periodicals, the development of new methodologies for reading periodicals, and the construction of a database that includes data, metadata, and high-resolution images: <http://kjc-fs-cluster.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de/frauenzeitschriften/> For preliminary access to the Phase One database see <http://kjc-fs-cluster.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de/frauenzeitschriften/>

性別分析的關鍵範疇「日常性」： 以《婦女時報》為中心

季家珍

摘 要

本文分析在 20 世紀初期的中國，日常生活與性別的聯繫。幾百年來，日常瑣事一直是家訓家規及日用類書的討論主題；但到了晚清及民國初年，印刷文化出現一些新的現象：如傳遞日常知識的出版品激增，新科學與日常生活的關聯性日益緊密，女性在新式的科學化日常生活、社會演化及國家復興等急迫性問題上扮演關鍵性角色。本文認為，婦女與日常生活理論化之間的聯繫，能夠促使我們了解這個時期究竟提供婦女什麼樣的機會，同時，日常生活可能比國族主義或女權主義更有效地進行性別分析。

擬定「進步日常生活議程」的作者並不是赫赫有名的知識份子，亦少撰寫關於社會改革或新文化運動的著作。這些在上海出版、以全國城市讀者為對象的日常生活材料，多半由商業出版社出版，而非學術或意識形態掛帥的出版社。作者熱切地在小說、婦女刊物及一般性雜誌中，探索、挖掘並提升日常生活的地位；這些資料作為歷史變遷的動力，其重要性並不亞於改革派、五四新文化及共產黨革命知識分子所提出的社會願景。

本文的主要史料是中國最早的商業性婦女期刊《婦女時報》（上海：1911-1917），該刊宗旨乃與晚清及五四知識份子所提出的「宏偉議程」一致，均著眼於國家之利來提倡女學，該刊內容亦多敘此議。然而本文的焦點

放在該刊的另類「日常生活議程」，它出現在社論、議論文、徵文比賽主題、讀者投書、日記及調查等各種欄目。這兩種議程的不同點在於前者重點在於國家衰微，需要為沈淪的市民打造新的全球性理想，後者所關注的則是地方性的日常生活，必須透過新的、科學知識及新的誘導式教育加以提升。

本文焦點放在男女作者所共同關注的兩方面，婦女的生育健康及家庭教育。關於這些議題，大部分學者假定一種嚴格的性別分工，即男性記者批評女性領域的不足，或男性理論家提出社會政策，由女性來執行；但細讀《婦女時報》後發現，這種模式並不全然正確。因此，本文認為日常生活是性別分析的關鍵範疇。

關鍵詞：日常生活、性別、商業性出版社、婦女時報、宏偉議程、日常生活議程、瞿鈞、葉聖陶、惲代英、汪傑樑